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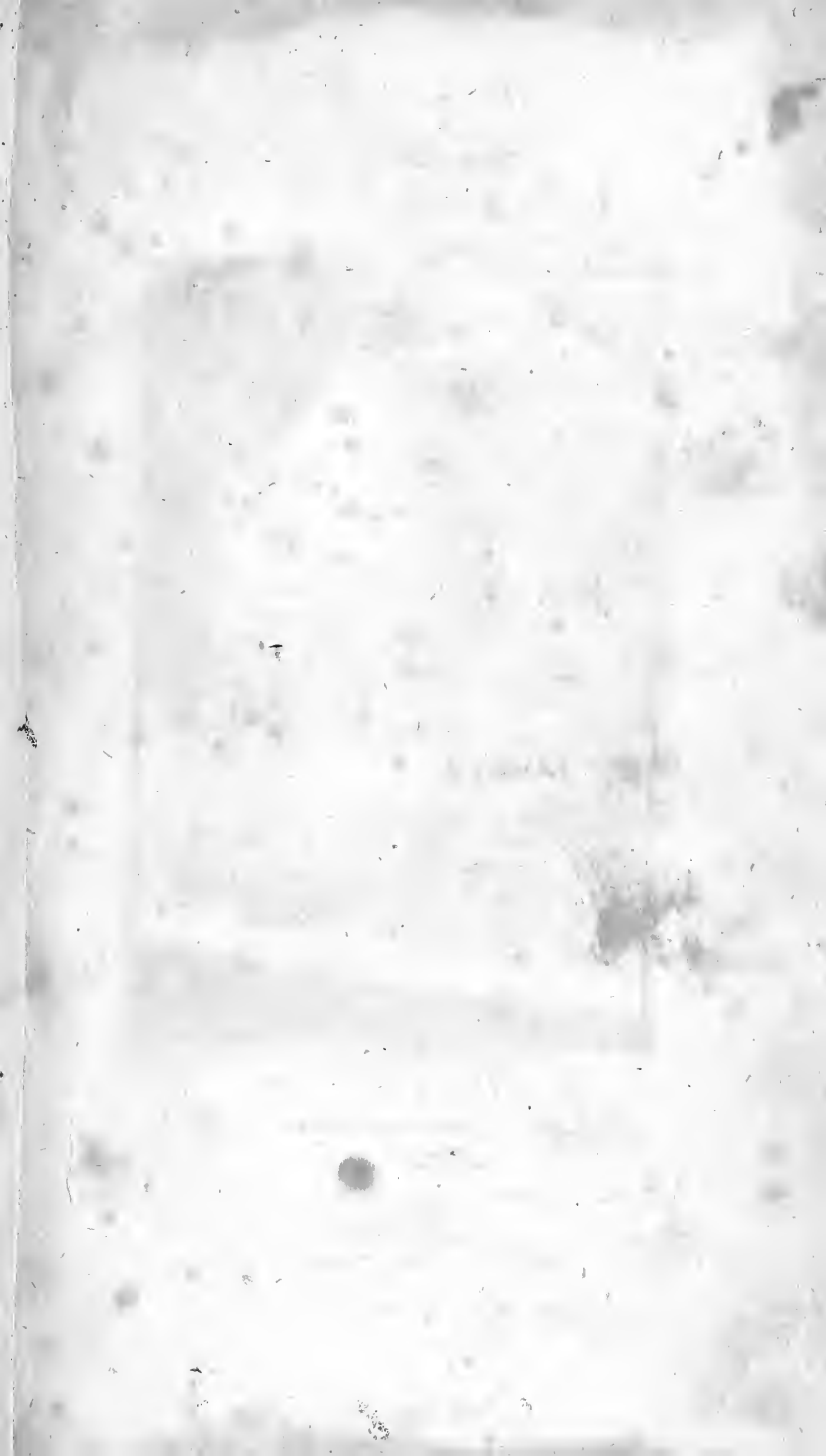


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VI



Frontispiece.



Tbarkara Sc.

COLUMBUS

*describing the Countries he had
discovered.*

The
WORLD DISPLAYED;
OR, A
Curious Collection
OF
Voyages AND Travels,

Selected and compiled from the

WRITERS of all NATIONS;

BY

Smart, Goldsmith, & Johnson.

FIRST AMERICAN EDITION,

Corrected & Enlarged.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL I.

Philadelphia.

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W. Harrison sen^r sculp^t.

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minimisation

INTRODUCTION.

NAVIGATION, like other arts, has been perfected by degrees. It is not easy to conceive that any age or nation was without some vessel, in which rivers might be passed by travellers, or lakes frequented by fishermen; but we have no knowledge of any ship that could endure the violence of the ocean before the ark of Noah.

As the tradition of the deluge has been transmitted to almost all the nations of the earth; it must be supposed that the memory of the means by which Noah and his family were preserved would be continued long among their descendants, and that the possibility of passing the seas could never be doubted.

What men know to be practicable, a thousand motives will incite them to try; and there is reason to believe, that from the time that the generations of the post-deluvian race spread to the sea shores, there were always navigators that ventured upon the ocean, though, perhaps, not willingly beyond the sight of land.

Of the ancient voyages little certain is known, and it is not necessary to lay before the reader such conjectures as learned men have offered to the world. The Romans by conquering Carthage, put a stop to great part of the trade of distant nations with one another, and because they thought only on war and conquest, as their empire encreased, commerce was discouraged; till under the later emperors, ships seem to have been of little other use than to transport soldiers.

Navigation could not be carried to any great degree of certainty without the compass, which was unknown to the ancients. The wonderful quality by which a needle, or small bar of steel, touched with a loadstone or magnet, and turning freely by equilibration on a point, always preserves the meridian, and directs its two ends north and south, was discovered, according to the common opinion, in 1299, by John Goia, of Amalphi, a town in Italy.

From this time it is reasonable to suppose that navigation made continual, though slow improvements, which the confusion and barbarity of the times, and the want of communication between orders of men so distant as sailors and monks, hindered from being distinctly and successively recorded.

It seems, however, that the sailors still wanted either knowledge or courage, for they continued for two centuries to creep along the coast, and considered every headland as unpassable, which ran far into the sea, and against which the waves broke with uncommon agitation.

The first who is known to have formed the design of new discoveries, or the first who had power to execute his purposes, was Don Henry, the eldest son of John the first king of Portugal, and Philippina, sister of Henry the fourth of England. Don Henry having attended his father to the conquest of Ceuta, obtained, by conversation with the inhabitants of the continent, some accounts of the interior kingdoms and southern coasts of Africa; which, though rude and indistinct, were sufficient to raise his curiosity, and convince him that there were countries yet unknown and worthy of discovery.

He therefore equipped some small vessels, and commanded that they should pass as far as they

could along that coast of Africa which looked upon the great Atlantic ocean, the immensity of which struck the gross and unskilful navigators of those times with terror and amazement. He was not able to communicate his own ardour to his seamen, who proceeded very slowly in the new attempt; each was afraid to venture much farther than he that went before him, and ten years were spent before they had advanced beyond cape Bajador, so called from its progression into the ocean, and the circuit by which it must be doubled. The opposition of this promontory to the course of the sea, produced a violent current and high waves, into which they durst not venture, and which they had not yet knowledge enough to avoid by standing off from the land into the open sea.

The prince was desirous to know something of the countries that lay beyond this formidable cape, and sent two commanders, named John Gonzales Zarco, and Tristán Vaz, in 1418, to pass beyond Bajador, and survey the coast behind it. They were caught by a tempest, which drove them out into the unknown ocean, where they expected to perish by the violence of the wind, or perhaps to wander for ever in the boundless deep. At last, in the midst of their despair, they found a small island, where they sheltered themselves, and which the sense of their deliverance disposed them to call Puerto Santo, or the Holy Haven.

When they returned with an account of this new island, Henry performed a public act of thanksgiving, and sent them again with seeds and cattle; and we are told by the Spanish historian, that they set two rabbits on shore, which increased so much in a few years, that they drove away the inhabitants, by destroying their corn and potatoes, and were suffered to enjoy the island without opposition.

In the second or third voyage to Puerto Santo, (for authors do not agree which) a third captain, called Perello, was joined to the former. As they looked round the island upon the ocean, they saw at a distance something which they took for a cloud, till they perceived that it did not change its place. They directed their course towards it, and, in 1419, discovered another island covered with trees, which they therefore called Madera, or the Isle of Wood.

Madera was given to Vaz or Zarco, who set fire to the woods, which are reported by Souza to have burnt for seven years together, and to have wasted, till want of wood was the greatest inconveniency of the place. But green wood is not very apt to burn, and the heavy rains which fall in these countries must surely have extinguished the conflagration, were it ever so violent.

There was yet little progress made upon the southern coast, and Henry's project was treated as chimerical by many of his countrymen. At last Gilianes, in 1433, passed the dreadful cape, to which he gave the name of Bajador, and came back to the wonder of the nation.

In two voyages more made in the two following years, they passed forty-two leagues farther, and in the latter, two men with horses being set on shore, wandered over the country, and found nineteen men, whom, according to the savage manners of that age, they attacked; the natives having javelins, wounded one of the Portuguese, and received some wounds from them. At the mouth of a river they found sea-wolves in great numbers, and brought home many of their skins, which were much esteemed.

Antonio Gonzales, who had been one of the associates of Gilianes, was sent again, in 1440, to bring back a cargo of the skins of sea-wolves.—He was followed in another ship by Nunno Trif.

tam. They were now of strength sufficient to venture upon violence, they therefore landed, and without either right or provocation, made all whom they seized their prisoners, and brought them to Portugal, with great commendations both from the Prince and the nation.

Henry now began to please himself with the success of his projects, and as one of his purposes was the conversion of infidels, he thought it necessary to impart his undertaking to the Pope, and to obtain the sanction of ecclesiastical authority.— To this end Fernando Lopez d'Azevedo was dispatched to Rome, who related to the Pope and Cardinals the great designs of Henry, and magnified his zeal for the propagation of religion. The Pope was pleased with the narrative, and by a formal Bull conferred upon the crown of Portugal all the countries which should be discovered as far as India, together with India itself, and granted several privileges and indulgencies to the churches which Henry had built in his new regions, and to the men engaged in the navigation for discovery. By this Bull all other Princes were forbidden to encroach upon the conquests of the Portuguese, on pain of the censures incurred by the crime of usurpation.

The approbation of the Pope, the sight of men whose manners and appearance were so different from those of Europeans, and the hope of gain from golden regions, which has been always the great incentive to hazard and discovery, now began to operate with full force. The desire of riches, and of dominion, which is yet more pleasing to the fancy, filled the courts of the Portuguese prince with innumerable adventurers from very distant parts of Europe. Some wanted to be employed in the search after new countries, and some to be settled in those which had been already found.

Communities now began to be animated by the the spirit of enterprize, and many associations were formed for the equipment of ships, and the acquisition of the riches of distant regions, which perhaps were always supposed to be more wealthy, as more remote. These undertakers agreed to pay the prince a fifth part of the profit, sometimes a greater share, and sent out the armament at their own expence.

The city of Lagos was the first that carried on this design by contribution. The inhabitants fitted out six vessels, under the command of Lucarot, one of the prince's household, and soon after fourteen more were furnished for the same purpose, under the same commander; to those were added many belonging to private persons, so that in a short time twenty-six ships put to sea in quest of whatever fortune should present.

The ships of Lagos were soon separated by foul weather, and the rest, taking each its own course, stopped at different parts of the African coast, from Cape Blanco to Cape Verd. Some of them, in 1444, anchored at Gomera, one of the Canaries, where they were kindly treated by the inhabitants, who took them into their service against the people of the isle of Palma, with whom they were at war; but the Portuguese at their return to Gomera, not being made so rich as they expected, fell upon their friends, in contempt of all the laws of hospitality and stipulations of alliance, and, making several of them prisoners and slaves, set sail for Lisbon.

The Canaries are supposed to have been known, however imperfectly, to the ancients; but in the confusion of the subsequent ages they were lost and forgotten, until about the year 1340, the Biscayners found Lucarot, and invading it, (for to find a new country and invade it has always been the

fame,) brought away feventy captives and fome commodities of the place. Louis de la Cerda, count of Clermont, of the blood royal both of France and Spain, nephew of John de la Cerda, who called himfelf the Prince of Fortune, had once a mind to fettle in thofe iflands, and applying himfelf firft to the King of Arragon, and then to Clement VI. was by the Pope crowned at Avignon, King of the Canaries, on condition that he fhould reduce them to the true religion; but the Prince altered his mind, and went into France to ferve againft the Englifh. The Kings both of Caftile and Portugal, though they did not oppofe the papal grant, yet complained of it, as made without their knowledge, and in contravention of their rights.

The firft fettlement in the Canaries was made by John de Betancour, a French gentleman, for whom his kinfman Robin de Braquement, admiral of France, begged them, with the title of king, from Henry the Magnificent of Caftile, to whom he had done eminent fervices. John made himfelf mafter of fome of the ifles, but could never conquer the Grand Canary; and having fpent all that he had, went back to Europe, leaving his nephew, Maffiot de Bentancour, to take care of his new dominion. Maffiot had a quarrel with the vicar-general, and was likewise difgusted by the long abfence of his uncle, whom the French king detained in his fervice, and being able to keep his ground no longer, he transferred his rights to Don Henry, in exchange for fome diftricts in the Maderas, where he fettled his family.

Don Henry, when he had purchafed thofe iflands, fent thither in 1424 two thoufand five hundred foot and an hundred and twenty horfes; but the army was too numerous to be maintained by the country. The king of Caftile afterwards

claimed them, as conquered by his subjects under Betancour, and held under the crown of Castile by fealty and homage ; his claim was allowed, and the Canaries were resigned.

It was the constant practice of Henry's navigators, when they stopped at a desert island, to land cattle upon it, and leave them to breed, where neither wanting room nor food, they multiplied very fast, and furnished a very commodious supply to those who came afterwards to the same place. This was imitated in some degree by Anson, at the isle of Juan Fernandez.

The islands of Madera, he not only filled with inhabitants, assisted by artificers of every kind, but procured such plants as seemed likely to flourish in that climate, and introduced sugar canes and vines, which afterwards produced a very large revenue.

The trade of Africa now began to be profitable, but a great part of the gain arose from the sale of slaves, who were annually brought into Portugal, by hundreds, as Lafitau relates, and without any appearance of indignation or compassion ; they likewise imported gold dust in such quantities, that Alphonfus V. coined it into a new species of money called Crusades, which is still continued in Portugal.

In time they made their way along the south coast of Africa, eastward to the country of the Negroes, whom they found living in tents, without any political institutions, supporting life with very little labour by the milk of their kine, and millet, to which those who inhabited the coast added fish dried in the sun. Having never seen the natives or heard of the arts of Europe, they gazed with astonishment on the ships when they approached their coasts, sometimes thinking them birds and sometimes fishes, according as their sails were

spread or lowered ; and sometimes conceiving them to be only phantoms, which played to and fro in the ocean. Such is the account given by the historian, perhaps with too much prejudice to a Negro's understanding ; who, though he might well wonder at the bulk and swiftness of the first ship, would scarcely conceive it to be either a bird or a fish ; but having seen many bodies floating in the water, would think it, what it really is, a large boat ; and if he had no knowledge of any means by which separate pieces of timber may be joined together, would form very wild notions concerning its construction, or perhaps suppose it to be a hollow trunk of a tree, from some country where trees grow to a much greater height and thickness than in his own.

When the Portuguese came to land, they increased the astonishment of the poor inhabitants, who saw men clad in iron, with thunder and lightning in their hands. They did not understand each other, and signs are a very imperfect mode of communication even to men of more knowledge than the Negroes, so that they could not easily negotiate or traffick ; at last the Portuguese laid hands on some of them to carry them home for a sample ; and their dread and amazement were raised, says Lafitau, to the highest pitch, when the Europeans fired their cannon and muskets among them, and they saw their companions fall dead at their feet without any enemy at hand, or any visible cause of their destruction.

On what occasion, or for what purpose, cannon and muskets were discharged among a people harmless and secure, by strangers who without any right visited their coast, it is not thought necessary to inform us. The Portuguese could fear nothing from them, and had therefore no adequate provocation ; nor is there any reason to believe but that

they murdered the Negroes in wanton merriment, perhaps only to try how many a volley would destroy, or what would be the consternation of those that should escape. We are openly told that they had the less scruple concerning the treatment of the savage people, because they scarcely considered them as distinct from beasts; and indeed the practice of all the European nations, and among others, of the English barbarians that cultivate the southern islands of America, proves that this opinion, however absurd and foolish, however wicked and injurious, still continues to prevail. Interest and pride harden the heart, and it is in vain to dispute against avarice and power.

By these practices the first discoverers alienated the natives from them, and whenever a ship appeared, every one that could fly betook himself to the mountains and the woods, so that nothing was to be got more than they could steal; they sometimes surprised a few fishers and made them slaves, and did what they could to offend the Negroes and enrich themselves. This practice of robbery continued till some of the Negroes who had been enslaved learned the language of Portugal, so as to be able to interpret for their countrymen, and one John Fernandez applied himself to the Negroe tongue.

From this time began something like a regular traffick, such as can subsist between nations where all the power is on one side; and a factory was settled in the isle of Arguin, under the protection of a fort. The profit of this new trade was assigned for a certain term to Ferdinando Gomez, which seems to be the common method of establishing a trade that is yet too small to engage the care of a nation, and can only be enlarged by that attention which is bestowed by private men upon private advantage. Gomez continued the discoveries to

Cape Catherine, two degrees and a half beyond the line.

In the latter part of the reign of Alphonso V. the ardour of discovery was somewhat intermitted and all commercial enterprizes were interrupted by the wars, in which he was engaged with various success. But John II. who succeeded, being fully convinced both of the honour and advantage of extending his dominions in countries hitherto unknown, prosecuted the designs of Prince Henry with the utmost vigour, and in a short time added to his other titles, that of king of Guinea and of the coast of Africa.

In 1463, in the third year of the reign of John II. died Prince Henry, the first encourager of remote navigation, by whose incitement, patronage, and example, distant nations have been made acquainted with each other, unknown countries have been brought into general view, and the power of Europe has been extended to the remotest parts of the world.

What mankind has lost and gained by the genius and designs of this Prince, it would be long to compare, and very difficult to estimate.—Much knowledge has been acquired, and much cruelty been committed, the belief of religion has been very little propagated, and its laws have been outrageously and enormously violated. The Europeans have scarcely visited any coast, but to gratify avarice, and extend corruption; to arrogate dominion without right, and practise cruelty without incentive. Happy had it then been for the oppressed, if the designs of Henry had slept in his bosom, and surely more happy for the oppressors. But there is reason to hope that out of so much evil, good may sometimes be produced, and that the light of the gospel will at last illuminate the sands of Africa, and the deserts of America,

though its progress cannot but be slow, when it is so much obstructed by the lives of Christians.

The death of Henry did not interrupt the progress of king John, who was very strict in his injunctions, not only to make discoveries but to secure possession of the countries that were found. The practice of the first navigators was only to raise a cross upon the coast, and to carve upon trees the device of Don Henry, the name which they thought it proper to give to the new coast, and any other information for those that might happen to follow them; but now they began to erect piles of stone, with a cross on the top, and engraved on the stone, the arms of Portugal, the name of the king, and of the commander of the ship with the day and year of the discovery. This was accounted sufficient to prove their claim to the new lands, which might be pleaded with justice enough against any other Europeans, and the rights of the original inhabitants were never taken into notice. Of these stone records, nine more were erected in the reign of king John, along the coast of Africa as far as the Cape of Good Hope.

The fortress in the isle of Arguin was finished, and it was found necessary to build another at S. Georgio de la Mina, a few degrees north of the line, to secure the trade of gold dust, which was chiefly carried on at that place. For this purpose a fleet was fitted out of ten large and three smaller vessels, freighted with materials for building the fort, and with provisions and ammunition for six hundred men, of whom one hundred were workmen and labourers. Father Lafitau relates in very particular terms, that these ships carried hewn stones, bricks, and timber for the fort, so that nothing remained but barely to erect it. He does not seem to consider how small a fort could be made out of the lading of ten ships.

The command of this fleet was given to Don Diego d' Azambue, who set sail Dec. 11, 1481, and reaching La Mina, Jan. 19, 1482, gave immediate notice of his arrival to Caramanfo, a petty Prince of that part of the country, whom he very earnestly invited to an immediate conference.

Having received a message of civility from the Negroe Chief, he landed and chose a rising ground proper for his intended fortrefs, on which he planted a banner with the arms of Portugal, and took possession in the name of his master. He then raised an altar at the foot of a great tree, on which Mass was celebrated; the whole assembly, says Lafitau, breaking out into tears of devotion at the prospect of inviting these barbarous nations to the profession of the true faith. Being secure of the goodness of the end, they had no scruple about the means, nor even considered how differently from the primitive martyrs and apostles, they were attempting to make profelytes. The first propagators of Christianity recommended their doctrines by their sufferings and virtues; they entered no defenceless territories with swords in their hands; they built no forts upon ground to which they had no right, nor polluted the purity of religion with the avarice of trade or insolence of power.

What may still raise higher the indignation of a Christian mind, this purpose of propagating truth appears never to have been seriously pursued by any European nation; no means, whether lawful or unlawful, have been practised with diligence and perseverance for the conversion of savages. When a fort is built and a factory established, there remains no other care than to grow rich. It is soon found that ignorance is most easily kept in subjection, and that by enlightning the mind by truth, fraud and usurpation would be made less practicable and less secure.

In a few days an interview was appointed between Caramansa and Azambue. The Portuguese uttered by his interpreter a pompous speech, in which he made the Negro prince large offers of his master's friendship, exhorted him to embrace the religion of his new ally, and told him that as they came to form a league of friendship with him, it was necessary that they should build a fort which might serve as a retreat from their common enemies, and in which the Portuguese might be always at hand to lend him assistance.

The Negro, who seemed very well to understand what the admiral intended, after a short pause, returned an answer full of respect to the king of Portugal, but appeared a little doubtful what to determine with relation to the fort. The commander saw his diffidence, and used all his art of persuasion to overcome it. Caramansa, either induced by hope, or constrained by fear, either desirous to make them friends, or not daring to make them enemies, consented with a shew of joy to that which it was not in his power to refuse, and the new comers began the next day to break ground for the foundation of a fort.

Within the limit of their intended fortification, were some spots appropriated to superstitious practices, which the Negroes no sooner perceived in danger of violation by the spade and pick-axe, than they ran to arms and began to interrupt the work. The Portuguese persisted in their purpose, and there had soon been tumult and bloodshed, had not the admiral, who was at a distance to superintend the unloading the materials for the edifice, been informed of the danger. He was told at the same time that the support of their superstition was only a pretence, and that all their rage might be appeased by the presents which the prince expected, the delay of which had greatly offended him.

The Portugueſe Admiral immediately ran to his men, prohibited all violence, and ſtopped the commotion ; he then brought out the preſents, and ſpread them wiith great pomp before the prince ; if they were of no great value they were rare, for the Negroes had never ſeen ſuch wonders before, they were therefore received with ecſtaſy, and perhaps the Portugueſe derided them for their fondneſs of trifles, without conſidering how many things derive their value only from ſcarcity, and that gold and rubies would be trifles, if nature had ſcattered them with leſs frugality.

The work was now peaceably continued, and ſuch was the diligence with which the ſtrangers haſtened to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the country, that in twenty days they had ſufficiently fortified themſelves againſt the hoſtility of the Negroes. They then proceeded to complete their deſign. A church was built in the place where the firſt altar had been raiſed, on which a maſs was eſtabliſhed to be celebrated for ever once a day for the repoſe of the ſoul of Henry, the firſt mover of theſe diſcoveries.

In this fort the Admiral remained with ſixty ſoldiers, and ſent back the reſt in the ſhips, with gold, ſlaves, and other commodities. It may be obſerved that ſlaves were never forgotten, and that wherever they went, they gratified their pride if not their avarice, and brought ſome of the natives, when it happened that they brought nothing elſe.

The Portugueſe endeavoured to extend their dominions ſtill farther. They had gained ſome knowledge of the Jaloffs, a nation inhabiting the coaſt of Guinea, between the Gambia and Senegal. The King of the Jaloffs being vicious and luxurious, committed the care of the government to Bemoin his brother by the mother's ſide, in pre-

ference to two other brothers by his father. Bemoin, who wanted neither bravery nor prudence, knew that his station was invidious and dangerous, and therefore made an alliance with the Portuguese, and retained them in his defence by liberality and kindness. At last the King was killed by the contrivance of his brothers, and Bemoin was to lose his power or maintain it by war.

He had recourse in this exigence to his great ally the King of Portugal, who promised to support him on condition that he should become a Christian, and sent an ambassador accompanied with missionaries. Bemoin promised all that was required, objecting only that the time of a civil war was not a proper season for a change of religion which would alienate his adherents, but said, that when he was once peaceably established, he would not only embrace the true religion himself, but would endeavour the conversion of the kingdom.

This excuse was admitted, and Bemoin delayed his conversion for a year, renewing his promise from time to time. But the war was unsuccessful, trade was at a stand, and Bemoin was not able to pay the money which he had borrowed of the Portuguese merchants, who sent intelligence to Lisbon of his delays, and received an order from the King, commanding them under severe penalties to return home.

Bemoin here saw his ruin approaching, and hoping that money would pacify all resentment, borrowed of his friends a sum sufficient to discharge his debts, and finding that even this enticement would not delay the departure of the Portuguese, he embarked his nephew in their ships with a hundred slaves, whom he presented to the King of Portugal, to solicit his assistance. The effect of this embassy he could not stay to know, for being soon after deposed, he sought shelter in the fortress

of Arguin, whence he took shipping for Portugal with twenty-five of his principal followers.

The King of Portugal pleased his own vanity and that of his subjects, by receiving him with great state and magnificence, as a mighty monarch who had fled to an ally for succour in misfortune. All the lords and ladies of the court were assembled, and Bemoin was conducted with a splendid attendance into the hall of audience, where the King rose from his throne to welcome him. Bemoin then made a speech with great ease and dignity, representing his unhappy state, and imploring the favour of his powerful ally. The King was touched with his affliction and struck by his wisdom.

The conversion of Bemoin was much desired by the King, and it was therefore immediately proposed to him that he should become a christian. Ecclesiastics were sent to instruct him, and having now no more obstacles from interest, he was easily persuaded to declare himself whatever would please those on whom he now depended. He was baptized December 3, 1489, in the palace of the Queen with great magnificence, and named John after the King.

Some time was spent in feasts and sports on this great occasion, and the Negroes signalized themselves by many feats of agility, far surpassing the power of Europeans, who having more helps of art, are less diligent to cultivate the qualities of nature. In the mean time twenty large ships were fitted out, well manned, stored with ammunition, and laden with materials necessary for the erection of a fort. With this powerful armament were sent a great number of missionaries under the direction of Alvarez the King's confessor. The command of this force, which filled the coast of Africa with terror, was given to Pedro Vaz d' Acugna surnam-

ed Bifagu ; who soon after they had landed, not being well pleased with his expedition, put an end to its inconvenience by stabbing Bemoin suddenly to the heart. The King heard of this outrage with great sorrow, but did not attempt to punish the murderer.

The King's concern for the restoration of Bemoin was not the mere effect of kindness, he hoped by his help to facilitate greater designs. He now began to form hopes of finding a way to the East-Indies, and of enriching his country by that gainful commerce: This he was encouraged to believe practicable, by a map which the Moors had given to Prince Henry, and which subsequent discoveries have shewn to be sufficiently near to exactness, where a passage round the south part of Africa was evidently described.

The King had another scheme yet more likely to engage curiosity, and not irreconcilable with his interest. The world had for some time been filled with the report of a powerful christian Prince called Prester John, whose country was unknown, and whom some, after Paulus Venetus, supposed to reign in the midst of Asia, and others in the depth of Ethiopia, between the ocean and Red-sea. The account of the African Christians was confirmed by some Abyssinians who had travelled into Spain, and by some Friars who had visited the holy land ; and the King was extremely desirous of their correspondence and alliance,

Some obscure intelligence had been obtained, which made it seem probable that a way might be found from the countries lately discovered to those of this far-famed monarch. In 1486, an ambassador came from the King of Bemoin, to desire that preachers might be sent to instruct him and his subjects in the true religion. He related that in the inland country, 350 leagues eastward from

Bemin, was a mighty monarch called Ogane, who had jurisdiction both spiritual and temporal over other Kings; that the King of Bemin and his neighbours, at their accession, sent ambassadors to him with rich presents, and received from him the investiture of their dominions, and the marks of sovereignty, which were a kind of sceptre, a helmet, and a latten cross, without which they could not be considered as lawful Kings; that this great Prince was never seen, but on the day of audience, and then held out one of his feet to the ambassador, who kissed it with great reverence, and who at his departure had a cross of latten hung on his neck, which ennobled him thence forward, and exempted him from all servile offices.

Bemoin had likewise told the King that to the east of the kingdom of Tombut, there was among other Princes, one that was neither Mahometan nor Idolater, but who seemed to profess a religion nearly resembling the Christian. These informations compared with each other, and with the current accounts of Prester John, induced the King to an opinion, which though formed somewhat at hazard, is still believed to be right, that by passing up the river Senegal his dominions would be found. It was therefore ordered, that when the fortress was finished an attempt should be made to pass upward to the source of the river. The design failed then, and has never yet succeeded.

Other ways likewise were tried of penetrating to the kingdom of Prester John, for the King resolved to leave neither sea nor land unsearched 'till he should be found. The two messengers who were sent first on this design, went to Jerusalem and then returned, being persuaded that for want of understanding the language of the country, it would be vain or impossible to travel farther.—Two more were then dispatched, one of whom

was Pedro de Covillan, the other Alphonso de Paiva: they passed from Naples to Alexandria, and then travelled to Cairo, from whence they went to Aden a town of Arabia, on the Red-sea near its mouth. From Aden, Paiva set sail for Ethiopia, and Covillan for the Indies. Covillan visited Conaver, Calicut, and Goa in the Indies, and Sofula in the eastern Africa, whence he returned to Aden, and then to Cairo, where he had agreed to meet Paiva. At Cairo he was informed that Paiva was dead, but he met with two Portuguese Jews, one of whom had given the King an account of the situation and trade of Ormus; They brought orders to Covillan, that he should send one of them home with the journal of his travels, and go to Ormus with the other.

Covillan obeyed the orders, sending an exact account of his adventures to Lisbon, and proceeding with the other messenger to Ormus; where having made sufficient enquiry, he sent his companion homewards with the caravans that were going to Aleppo, and embarking once more on the Red-sea, arrived in time at Abyssinia, and found the Prince whom he had sought so long and with such danger.

Two ships were sent out upon the same search, of which Bartholomew Diaz had the chief command; they were attended by a smaller vessel laden with provisions, that they might not return upon pretence of want either felt or feared.

Navigation was now brought nearer to perfection. The Portuguese claim the honour of many inventions by which the sailor is assisted, and which enable him to leave sight of land, and commit himself to the boundless ocean. Diaz had orders to proceed beyond the river Zaire, where Diego Can had stopped, to build monuments of his discoveries, and to leave upon the coasts Ne-

grove men and women well instructed, who might enquire after Prester John, and fill the natives with reverence for the Portuguese.

Diaz, with much opposition from his crew, whose mutinies he repressed partly by softness and partly by steadiness, failed on till he reached the utmost point of Africa, which from the bad weather that he met there, he called Cabo Tormentoso, or the Cape of Storms. He would have gone forward, but his crew forced him to return. In his way back he met the Victualler, from which he had been parted nine months before; of the nine men which were in it at the separation, six had been killed by the negroes, and of the three remaining, one died for joy at the sight of his friends: Diaz returned to Lisbon in December 1487, and gave an account of his voyage to the King, who ordered the Cape of Storms to be called thenceforward Cabo de Buena Esperanza, or the Cape of Good Hope.

Some time before the expedition of Diaz, the river Zaire and the kingdom of Congo had been discovered by Diego Can, who found a nation of Negroes who spoke a language which those that were in his ships could not understand. He landed, and the natives, whom he expected to fly like the other inhabitants of the coast; met them with confidence, and treated them with kindness; but Diego finding that they did not understand each other, seized some of their chiefs, and carried them to Portugal, leaving some of his own people in their room to learn the language of Congo.

The Negroes were soon pacified, and the Portuguese left to their mercy were well treated; and as they by degrees grew able to make themselves understood, recommending themselves, their nation, and their religion. The King of Portugal sent Diego back in a very short time with the Ne-

groes whom he had forced away ; and when they were set safe on shore, the King of Congo conceived so much esteem for Diego, that he sent one of those who had returned back again in his ship to Lisbon, with two young men dispatched as ambassadors, to desire instructors to be sent for the conversion of his kingdom.

The ambassadors were honourably received, and baptized with great pomp, and a fleet was immediately fitted out for Congo, under the command of Gonfhalvo Sorza, who dying in his passage was succeeded in authority by his nephew Roderigo.

When they came to land, the King's uncle, who commanded the province, immediately requested to be solemnly initiated into the christian religion, which was granted to him and his young son, on Easter day, 1491. The father was named Manuel, and the son Antonio. Soon afterwards the King, Queen, and eldest Prince received at the font the names of John, Eleanor, and Alphonso ; and a war breaking out, the whole army was admitted to the rites of christianity, and then sent against the enemy. They returned victorious, but soon forgot their faith, and formed a conspiracy to restore paganism ; a powerful opposition was raised by infidels and apostates, headed by one of the King's younger sons ; and the missionaries had been destroyed had not Alphonso pleaded for them and for christianity.

The enemies of religion now became the enemies of Alphonso, whom they accused to his father of disloyalty. His mother, Queen Eleanor, gained time by one artifice after another, till the King was calmed ; he then heard the cause again, declared his son innocent, and punished his accusers with death.

The King died soon after, and the throne was disputed by Alphonso, supported by the christians,

and Aquitimo his brother followed by the infidels, A battle was fought, Aquitimo was taken and put to death, and christianity was for a time established in Congo, but the nation has relapsed into its former follies.

Such was the state of the Portuguese navigation, when, in 1492, Columbus made the daring and prosperous voyage, which gave a new world to European curiosity and European cruelty. He had offered his proposal, and declared his expectations to King John, of Portugal, who had slighted him as a fanciful and rash projector, that promised what he had not reasonable hopes to perform. Columbus had solicited other Princes, and had been repulsed with the same indignity ; at last Isabella of Arragon furnished him with ships, and having found America, he entered the mouth of the Tagus in his return, and shewed the natives of the new country. When he was admitted to the King's presence, he acted and talked with so much haughtiness, and reflected on the neglect which he had undergone with so much acrimony, that the courtiers who saw their Prince insulted, offered to destroy him ; but the King, who knew that he deserved the reproaches that had been used, and who now sincerely regretted his incredulity, would suffer no violence to be offered him ; but dismissed him with presents and with honours.

The Portuguese and Spaniards became now jealous of each others claim to countries, which neither had not yet seen ; and the Pope, to whom they appealed, divided the new world between them by a line drawn from north to south, a hundred leagues westward from Cape Verd and the Azores, giving all that lies east to the Portuguese. This was no satisfactory division, for the east and west must meet at last, but that time was then at a great distance.

According to this grant, the Portuguese continued their discoveries eastward, and became masters of much of the coast both of Africa and the Indies; but they seized much more than they could occupy, and while they were under the dominion of Spain, lost the greater part of their Indian territories.

THE
FIRST VOYAGE

OF

Christopher Columbus to America.

CHAPTER I.

Columbus's first Voyage. The Difficulties with which it was attended. His Discovery of the Lucayan or Bahama Islands, when the Men, despairing of finding Land, were about to throw him overboard. His discovering Cuba and Hispaniola. His Return to Spain, with the Reception he met with from their Catholic Majesties.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was born in the territory of Genoa, and being early taught navigation, lived by drawing charts for the sea-service. The skill of the Portuguese in maritime affairs at length engaged him to settle at Lisbon, where by his sobriety, temperance, and the regularity of his conduct, he acquired a considerable number of friends, married a woman of fortune, and for some time after, traded to the coast of Guinea.

Columbus, reasoning upon the spherical figure of the earth, thought it highly probable that the continent on one side was balanced by an equal quantity of land on the other, in which he was

fully confirmed, by observing, when at the Cape de Verd islands, that the winds at a certain season blew constantly from the west, which he thought must be owing to a large tract of land on that side. And as the Portuguese had already discovered great part of the coast of Africa, and were filled with hopes of finding a passage to the Indies, he had no doubt that by sailing to the west, he should discover a shorter way thither, and by that means obtain the spices and other rich commodities of those countries, much cheaper than they were sold to the Venetians in Egypt, after being brought by land through Persia.

Having strengthened his opinion by many observations drawn from reason, he laid them before the state of Genoa, with a proposal for making new discoveries; but that republic rejected his scheme from the fear of drawing upon it the resentment of several Princes; on which he addressed himself to John II. King of Portugal, who listened to his project, and amused him with the hopes of putting it in practice, 'till having drawn from him the essential part of his scheme, he, under the pretence of sending supplies to the Cape de Verd islands, fitted out a vessel, in order to make these discoveries, without allowing Columbus either the profit or honour he might justly have hoped to receive from them. His ungenerous enterprise, however, miscarried through a want of courage and conduct in the persons employed.

This unfair and clandestine conduct was so deeply resented by Columbus, that he resolved to leave Portugal, and that very year, 1485, sent his brother Bartholomew with the same proposals to Henry VII. king of England, while he himself prepared to go to Spain on the same account; but Bartholomew being taken and plundered by pi-

rates on his passage, was on his arrival at London, reduced to such extreme poverty, as rendered him unable to gain an audience of his majesty, untill by drawing and selling charts he obtained some reputation, and put himself into such an equipage as was necessary for his obtaining access to the King. This honour he obtained in the year 1488, when he met with all the success that could be desired, and actually entered into an agreement with Henry VII. on behalf of his brother, several years before Christopher closed with their catholic majesties.

Mean while Christopher Columbus met with many difficulties at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, where his scheme being treated as an idle chimerical project, and himself exposed to ridicule, he was with difficulty prevented, by some who espoused his cause, from coming to England, to see what success his brother Bartholomew had met with. However, Queen Isabella at length approving his scheme, the articles of agreement were signed in 1492, by which Columbus was made Viceroy of the countries and Admiral of the seas he should discover; that he should have the tenth of all that was bought, bartered, found or acquired, within those limits, after the charge of the conquest should be defrayed, together with an eighth part of all he should bring home with his fleet, in consideration of which he was to be at one eighth part of the expence in fitting it out.

The necessary preliminaries being thus adjusted, he was allowed three small vessels, the Santa Maria, commanded by himself; the Pinta under the command of Martin Alonzo Pinzon; and the Nina, with square sails, commanded by Vincent Yanez Pinzon, brother to the former; the latter furnishing one half of Columbus's share of the expence.

This small fleet, which carried only about 120 men, set sail from Palos on the 3d of August 1492, but the next morning the rudder of the Pinta broke loose, which obliged the Admiral to lie by. This damage, which was supposed to have been contrived by the master, who was averse to the voyage, was however soon repaired. This accident some of the superstitious seamen would have interpreted as an ill omen; but Columbus wisely told them, that no omen could be evil, where people were engaged in a good design. He endeavoured to divert their attention from such trifles by teaching them the principles of navigation, and to keep up their spirits by giving them right sentiments of the undertaking in which they were embarked.

The fleet reached the Canaries on the 11th, and staid at the islands of grand Canaria and Isabella, till the 6th of September, in order to purchase another ship, but being disappointed, they failed to the westward with very little wind. Three days after losing sight of land, many people on board wept bitterly from an apprehension that they should never see it more. To remove this childish despondency, which it was feared would infect the whole company, Columbus gave them the most confident assurances of prosperity and wealth, and at the same time thought proper to deceive them in his reckoning; for though they failed eighteen leagues that day, he pretended they had made no more than fifteen, resolving thus to disguise his reckoning during the whole voyage, that these spiritless fellows might not think themselves so far from Spain as they really were.

On the 12th of September he was 150 leagues west of Ferro, and at this distance from land discovered the body of a large tree, which appeared to have been long floating in the water. He here

found a strong current setting to the north-east, and having run fifty leagues farther westward, he on the 13th perceived the needle varying half a point towards the north-east, and at day-break half a point more. This variation which had never been observed before, filled him with great surprize; but his amazement was much encreased when sailing about 100 leagues farther, he found that the needle varied at night about a point to the north-east, and in the morning pointed upon the north-star.

On the 14th, the people on board the Nina were surprized at the sight of a heron, and some tropic birds; but the next day their astonishment was greatly encreased at seeing the sea covered with green and yellow weeds that seemed to have been lately washed away from some rock or island: Hence they concluded that they were near land, especially as they found a live lobster floating among the weeds, and afterwards perceived the sea-water grow less salt as they advanced; they were also attended by a great shoal of tunny fish.

On the 18th, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, Captain of the Pinta, who was a-head, lay too for the Admiral, and informed him that he had seen a great number of birds flying westward, and thought he discovered land to the northward at 15 leagues distance; but the Admiral, being convinced that he was mistaken, would not alter his course, though solicited by the people, who readily gave credit to such an agreeable allusion; but the next day the Admiral seeing a number of sea-gulls, which he supposed could not fly far, began himself to conceive hopes of soon reaching land; yet sounding with a line of 200 fathom he could find no bottom.

Three days after they took a bird like a heron, of a black colour, with a white tuft on the head, and web-footed; they also saw abundance of weeds

and in the evening were visited by three small birds singing, which flew away at day break, and confirmed Columbus in the opinion, that they could not be far from land. The next day they also saw a tropic bird, but met with such a quantity of weeds as filled them with apprehensions that their course would be impeded.

As the wind had hitherto been always right aftern, the people were under the most dreadful apprehensions that they should never have a fair gale to carry them back ; but about this time it shifted to the south-west, which gave great satisfaction to the Admiral, as it afforded him room to convince the sailors of the vanity of their fears ; yet in spite of all his reasons and remonstrances, they began loudly to murmur from the apprehension of perishing at sea in quest of a country that had no existence, and their discontent made them so outrageous, that a mutiny would probably have ensued had not a brisk wind sprung up at the west-north-west, and demonstrated that they should always have a chance for returning. Their hope of obtaining land was also revived by seeing a pigeon fly over the ship, and by the sight of several small birds flying from the west.

In proportion as the people were elated by these signs, the greater was their mortification on their disappointment. They not only complained against the Admiral, who, they said, had from a foolish and ill-grounded fancy formed the design of raising his own fortune and family at their expence, but caballed against him, maintaining that they had already proceeded far enough to shew their courage and perseverance, and that it was therefore high time to return to their friends and country, though they should be even obliged to compel Columbus to consent to it. They considered that the Admiral was a foreigner, and there-

fore would scarcely have interest enough at court to bring them to punishment for their disobedience, especially as he had powerful enemies, who they knew, would embrace every opportunity of opposing his designs. In short, their terror and despair were raised to such a height, that some proposed throwing him overboard, and alleged that when that was done they should be secured from all farther danger, by their affirming, on their return to Spain, that he had fallen into the sea while he was making his observations. Columbus who was not ignorant of this mutinous spirit, exerted all his abilities in order to remove it: He sometimes represented the duty they owed him, as being invested with a legal authority, which he was resolved to maintain at the hazard of his life; and at others reproached them with their pusillanimity and impatience, which even the most evident signs of their being near land could not remove. In short, he shewed the folly of their fears, and so far encouraged their hopes as to prevent their taking any resolution that could prejudice the important enterprize in which they were engaged.

On the 25th of September, about sun-setting, Pinzon, whose ship was along side of the Admiral, suddenly cried out Land! land! and pointed towards the south-west, where there appeared something like an island at 25 leagues distance. This at once filled the men with such joy that they gave thanks to God with great fervour and devotion, and though Columbus was of a different opinion, he readily complied with their clamorous demand of sailing to it, and stood towards the supposed island during the greatest part of the night; but in the morning they saw all their hopes vanished, when their dissatisfaction returning, they renewed their complaints. The admiral, however, with a steadiness and intrepidity peculiar to himself, persisted in the execution of his purpose.

On the 29th they saw several wagtails and gulls, many flying fishes also appeared, and sometimes fell into the ship, and in the afternoon they met with a large quantity of weeds, which the men fancied afforded a proof that there was ground near them under water, and that they should soon run upon it and perish.

On the 1st of October the pilot of the admiral's ship was by his own account, 578 leagues west of the island of Ferro, and though the distance according to Columbus's reckoning was 707, he winked at the mistake, lest the sailors should be more dejected on knowing their great distance from home. Two days after perceiving no birds, they imagined they had passed between some islands, and the sailors earnestly intreated the admiral to steer either to the one side or to the other in quest of the land they imagined they had left. He however refused to comply with their entreaties, being unwilling to lose the favorable wind that carried him to the westward, and resolved not to take any step to lessen the reputation of his undertaking, which must have suffered in the opinion of his people, had he changed his course from that which he had all along assured them would terminate in the accomplishment of their wishes. This fortitude they termed obstinacy and madness, and were actually on the point of taking some desperate resolution to his prejudice, when their hopes were again revived by the arrival of upwards of forty sparrows, and other birds flying from the west.

On the 7th of October there appeared some imperfect signs of land; but nobody would venture to mention it; for though their Catholic majesties had promised a pension of thirty crowns per annum for life, to him who should be so happy as first to discover land, yet in order to prevent the noisy exclamations at every trifling imagination of

this sort, it was also decreed, that whoever should cry land three days before it was actually made; should forfeit the reward, even though it should be afterwards proved that he was the discoverer. In spite of this precaution the Nina, which being the best sailer kept always a head, fired a gun, and hoisted her colours in token of land; but the appearance that misled them totally vanished at their nearer approach. The people were, however, the next day in some measure comforted under their disappointment by observing many flights of large and small birds, which proceeded from the west to the south-west, when the admiral being fully persuaded that they could not go far to sea, in imitation of the Portuguese, who had discovered several islands by following the flight of such birds, altered his course and stood to the south-west; for he had now run 750 leagues to the westward of the Canaries, within which space he himself expected to make land.

On the 8th of October they were visited by 12 singing birds of different colours, and saw many others, as jays, ducks, and gulls, flying to the south-west. The air also appeared fresh and odorous, but the pusillanimous seamen had been so often deceived, that these certain signs of their being near land could not suppress their murmurs, which, during the two following days, increased to such a degree, that the brave Columbus, in spite of all his endeavours, would not have been able much longer to have withstood the storm, which was ready to burst into open rebellion, when it was providentially dissipated by such manifest proofs of their approach to land as could not be disputed.

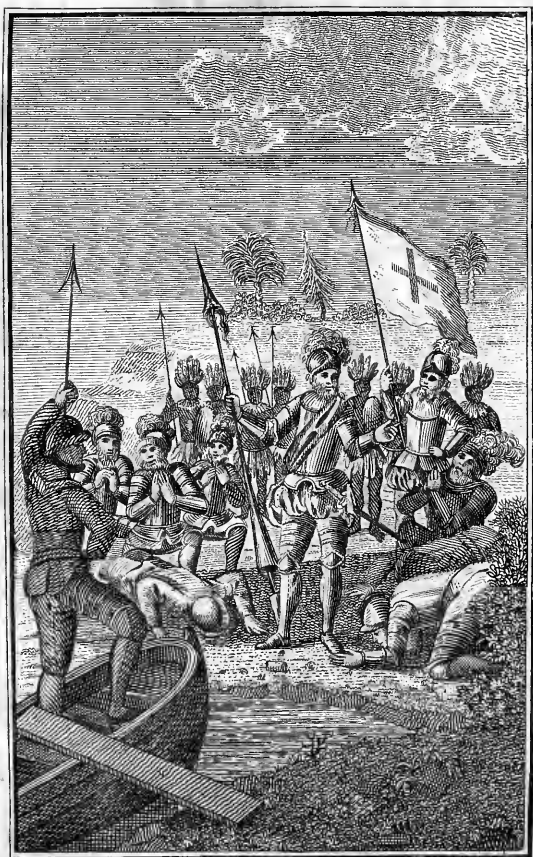
On the 11th of October, those on board the admiral's ship saw a green rush together with a large rock fish swim by the ship; the sailors of the Pinta

discovered a cane floating, and, what was much more extraordinary, took up a staff curiously wrought, together with a small board, and at the same time the crew of the *Nina* perceived a branch of thorn full of red berries.

These objects having now assured the admiral of their new approach to land, he at night, after prayers, reminded them of the mercy of God in granting them fair weather during such a long voyage, and exhorted them to be vigilant that night, as he expected to see land the next day, and not only mentioned the pension of thirty crowns, but promised to give a velvet doublet to him who should be the first discoverer. After this speech he retired to the great cabin, from whence perceiving what appeared to be a light on shore, he called to one of the sailors, who being desired to observe, acknowledged that he plainly saw it, and supposed it to be a candle or torch belonging to some fishermen or traveller, as it seemed to move, and to vanish and appear by turns. This increased their vigilance and caution, though they still pursued their course until about two in the morning, when the *Pinta*, being far a-head, gave the signal of land, which was first discovered by a sailor at the distance of two leagues; the pension however, was given to the Admiral, who had before perceived the light. As they were now so near the shore, all the ships lay to, and the people waited for morning with the greatest impatience, in order to feast their eyes with what they had so long and so earnestly wished to behold.

Their hopes, however, were not now disappointed, for day no sooner dawned than they perceived an island about forty-five English miles in length, and almost one continued plain, covered with green trees; it was supplied with delightful rivers, and had a great lake in the middle. It was





Thackara Sc.

COLUMBUS
*taking possession of St. Salvadore in
America.*

inhabited by a number of people, who being astonished at the sight of the ships, which they at first mistook for living creatures, ran down to the shore. The Spaniards were inflamed by the most eager curiosity to know the particulars of this interesting discovery, and the vessels were no sooner brought to an anchor, than the admiral landed in his boat well armed, with the royal standard displayed, attended by the other two captains in their respective boats with the particular ensigns of this enterprize.

Immediately on their landing they kneeled on the shore, gave thanks to God, and shedding tears of joy, kissed the ground. Columbus then standing up, gave the island, which was called by the natives Guanihani, the name of Saint Salvador, (now called Cat Island) and took possession of it for their Catholic majesties. This ceremony being performed, he was acknowledged as admiral and viceroy by the Spaniards, who now implored his pardon for the affronts and insults they had offered him, and joyfully swore to obey him as their majesties' representative.

A multitude of the Indians were present at these transactions, and they appearing to be a very simple and quiet people, Columbus distributed amongst them strings of glass beads, red caps, and other things of small value, which they received with transport, and on his returning to his ship, some of them swam after him, while others followed in canoes, with javelins armed with fish-bones, spun cotton, parrots, and other things, to barter for such trifles as he had distributed among the rest. Few of these people seemed to be above thirty years of age, they were of a middle stature, well-shaped, and of an olive-colour, with thick lank black hair, which was generally cut short above their ears, though others had suffered it to

grow, and tied it up like the tresses of women. They had open countenances, very regular features, and high foreheads. The bodies of some and the faces of others were painted black, white, and red, though a few of them had only their noses and eye-lids coloured. But all of both sexes were entirely naked; and so little were they acquainted with European arms, that they handled a naked sword by the edge, without any suspicion that it was capable of hurting them. Some of these people being asked by signs how they had got the wounds, the marks of which were still visible on their bodies, they answered in the same manner, that they received them in their own defence, when fighting against the inhabitants of other islands who came with a view to enslave them.

The next morning, being the 13th of October, many of the Indians came to the ships in their canoes, which were made by hollowing the trunk of a tree. Some of these were so small as to hold only one person, and others large enough to contain forty. They were rowed with paddles, and were so light that if they happened to be overset, the rowers could easily set them right again, and empty the water with calabashes, or dried gourds, which they carried with them for that purpose.

These Indians had no jewels nor any kind of metal except small plates of gold that hung at their nostrils, which by their signs, they informed the Spaniards came from the south and south-west, where there were many countries and islands.— They were so fond of possessing any thing belonging to the Spaniards, that some of them picked up bits of broken earthen ware that lay upon the deck, leaped into the sea and swam ashore with them. They were ready to exchange any thing in their possession for the most insignificant trifles, and some of them gave twenty-five pounds of well

spun cotton for three small pieces of Portuguese brass coin not worth a farthing. Not that they believed these things had much intrinsic value; but they seemed to prize them only because they belonged to white men, whom they considered as people descended from heaven, and of whom they desired to keep some memorial.

On the 14th of October the admiral coasted the island in his boat towards the north-west, until he discovered a large bay or harbour sufficient to contain all the ships of Europe, being all the while followed both by sea and land by crowds of the inhabitants, who expressed their wonder and regard by a variety of gesticulations. At length arriving at a peninsula, he saw several of their houses and plantations, which appeared as pleasant as those of Castile in the month of May.— However, finding that this was not the land he was in search of, he took seven of the Indians to serve as interpreters, and returning to his ships, sailed to other islands that were visible from the peninsula.

On the 15th of October, having sailed seven leagues, he arrived at the west end of another island which he found to be about ten leagues in length, and gave it the name of St. Mary of the Conception; but perceiving that the inhabitants differed but little from those of St. Salvador, and that it produced nothing worth notice, he continued his course westward, and anchored upon the coast of another larger island, which extended north-west and south-east above twenty-eight leagues. Before he reached this agreeable spot, which he named Fernanda, he took up an Indian whom he found at sea in a small canoe, furnished with a piece of their bread, a calabash filled with water, and a little earth resembling vermilion, which was used by those people in painting their

bodies. This Indian had also a small basket, in which was contained a string of glass beads and two small pieces of Portuguese money, from which it appeared that he was bound from St. Salvador to Fernanda, with the strange news of the admiral's arrival; but the voyage being long he was weary with paddling, and desired to be taken on board. Columbus treated him courteously, gave him bread and honey to eat, made him drink wine, and on setting him on shore gave him some toys, in order that by his favourable report he might prepossess the natives of Fernanda in favour of the Spaniards. The success answered the admiral's expectation; for the islanders, on hearing the favourable account given by the Indian, came in their canoes to barter with the same sort of commodities which were found at St. Salvador; but they appeared to have more sagacity, and made more advantageous bargains. The women wore a kind of cotton cloth round their middle. Their houses were built like tents, but had scarcely any furniture; and the beds in which they lay were formed of a kind of nets that hung from two posts. Here were some trees that seemed as if ingrafted by their bearing leaves or branches of four or five different kinds. There were plenty of fish of different shapes and colours, with some lizards, snakes, and dogs that could not bark.

Columbus, finding nothing valuable in this island, sailed on the 19th of October to another, to which he gave the name of Isabella, in honour of her Catholic majesty. This island far exceeded the others in beauty and extent. It abounded with rivers, pleasant meadows and groves, and the prospect was diversified with hills, which the rest wanted: the ear was delighted with the songs of birds, which not only hopped from bough to bough, but even flew in such flocks as darkened

the air. Near one of the lakes the Spaniards killed an alligator seven feet long with their spears, which, though at first they beheld with horror, they afterwards skinned and eat, this animal being esteemed by the Indians as most delicious food.

Columbus was no sooner acquainted with the produce of Isabella, and the manners of the inhabitants, than he set sail with a fair wind, for a large country to the south, which was extolled by the Indians under the name of Cuba, and arrived there on the 28th of October. It exhibited a pleasing variety of hills and dales, woods and plains, and from the extent of its coast and the largeness of its rivers, appeared to be of great consequence.

To obtain some intelligence of the natives, the admiral cast anchor in a broad river, the banks of which were shaded by thick and tall trees that were at the same time adorned with blossoms and fruit entirely unknown in Europe. Soon after their landing they entered two houses which were deserted by the natives, who, being terrified at the appearance of ships, had fled; upon which the Spaniards re-embarked without touching any of their effects, and continued their course westward until they arrived at the mouth of another river: but this being larger than the other, Columbus sailed a considerable way up it. The banks were all along inhabited; but here also the natives fled with all the effects they could carry to the mountains, which arose to a considerable height, and were covered with lofty trees.

Columbus being sensible that if the inhabitants should thus continue to avoid him, he should never be able to learn the nature of the island, and being afraid of encreasing their terror by landing a number of men, ordered two Spaniards attended by

an Indian of St. Salvador and another of Cuba, who had boldly ventured to come a-board with his canoe, to travel up into the country, and to endeavour by their obliging behaviour to remove the terror of the people. In the mean time he directed his ship to be careened, on which occasion he observed that the only fuel of the country was mastic wood, which grew there in great plenty.

On the 5th of November the two Spaniards returned, accompanied by the Indian king and his son, and informed the admiral that they had travelled twelve leagues into the country, where they found a town consisting of fifty wooden houses covered with straw, which contained about one thousand people; that they were met by the principal persons of the place, who took them by the arms and led them to the town, where they were allowed a spacious lodging, in which they were seated upon wooden benches in the form of some strange animals with their tails lifted up for them to lean upon, and had eyes and ears of gold. The Spaniards being seated on these benches, the Indians sat around them on the ground, and came one by one to kiss the hands and feet of these strangers, imagining they had come from heaven; they at the same time treated them with boiled roots, which in their taste resembled chestnuts. After the men had thus fulfilled the rites of hospitality, they retired, to make room for the women, who also kissed their hands and feet, and entertained them with their homely fare. This favourable reception they owed to the two Indian attendants, who represented the Spaniards as a humane and generous people.

On their setting out to return to the ship, a great number of the natives proposed to accompany them; this offer they declined, and would accept of none but the Cacique or king and his

son, under whose protection they were entertained with great respect at several petty towns; meeting many of the inhabitants, who always carried lighted brands to kindle the fires with which they roasted the roots that constituted their principal food. In return for these civilities, the Cacique and his son were treated by the admiral with great kindness and respect.

In this excursion they saw a variety of birds, among which were partridges and nightingales; but no quadrupedes, except a kind of dogs which could not bark. A great part of the land was cultivated and produced besides the bread-root, maize or Indian corn, of which the natives made a very well tasted flour. Their principal manufacture was cotton, which they gathered from trees that grew without the least care or culture, and of this they made vast quantities of well spun yarn, but had no other use for it than forming hammocks and short aprons for the women. The Indians afterwards carried great quantities of this cotton on board the ships, where they willingly exchanged a basket full of it for a thong of leather. They had no gold, pearl or spices, but pointed towards the east, where they intimated that there was a country plentifully stored with them.

In consequence of the above information, Columbus resolved to sail to a place which the Indians called Bohio; but before he left Cuba he seized twelve Indians whom he intended to carry into Spain, which seizure was made with such little disturbance, that the husband of one of the women he had taken, came to the ship in his canoe, and begged that he might be allowed to accompany his wife and children. This instance of affection gave great pleasure to the admiral, who instantly granted his request, and gave orders for their being kindly treated.

On the 12th of November, Columbus, who had before endeavoured to leave the island, but was driven back, steered eastward for the island of Bohio, but the wind being still contrary, he was obliged to ply two or three days between the islands of Cuba and Isabella. In this interval Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who had been informed by some Indians whom he had concealed in his ship, that Bohio abounded in gold, took advantage of the swiftness of his vessel, and left Columbus in the night, in order to anticipate his success, and ingross the treasure of that wealthy island to himself.

Columbus being thus abandoned by one of his consorts, and the weather growing so rough as to render it dangerous for him to keep the sea, he returned to another harbour in Cuba, to which he gave the name of St. Catherine's. While the crews were here employed in taking in wood and water, he accidentally discovered signs of gold on some stones in the river, and up in the country saw mountains covered with tall pines sufficient to furnish masts for the largest ships, and plenty of oaks fit for planks. In his run along the coast for ten or twelve leagues to the south-east, he discovered many large rivers and excellent harbours, and was so delighted with the beautiful appearance of the country, that he was even tempted to fix his habitation there for life. Sailing up one of the rivers, he saw a canoe drawn upon land as large as a twelve oar barge, and afterwards perceived in the water another canoe, which, though formed of the trunk of a single tree, was seventy feet long, and capable of containing fifty men.

The admiral having coasted the island for 106 leagues, set sail again for Bohio, which, though it was but at 16 leagues distance, he was prevented by the currents from reaching till the next day,

when he anchored in a port to which he gave the name of St. Nicholas, from its being the festival of that Saint. He found that the harbour was large, deep, extremely safe, and encompassed with a great number of tall trees, which however were not in general so large as those of Cuba; but not being able to obtain any intercourse with the inhabitants, who fled at his approach, he coasted the island to the northward, until he arrived at a port which he called the Conception, when observing that the country was very extensive, and in many respects resembled Spain both in the trees, plants, and fishes, he gave it the name of Espaniola or Hispaniola. He here saw a number of the natives, who, upon the landing of the sailors fled from them with great precipitation; but they having at length taken a young woman who had a plate of gold hanging at her nose, she was conducted to the admiral, who presented her with several trifles, such as small bells and glass toys, civilly dismissed her to the town where she dwelt, sending with her three Spaniards and the same number of Indians.

The next day eleven men well armed, went on shore, and travelled four leagues up the country, where they found a town which consisted of one thousand houses, and though the inhabitants, as usual, fled at their approach, they soon returned, at the persuasion of a St. Salvador Indian, who followed them, and removed their fears by the favourable account he gave of the Spaniards, on whom they gazed with equal astonishment and awe: they even brought them food, and pressed them to stay in the town all night: the Spaniards however, declined accepting this invitation, and returning to their ships, told the admiral, that the country was fertile and pleasant, and the people whiter and handsomer than those they had hitherto

seen ; that they were courteous and tractable, and had let them know that gold was to be found farther to the eastward.

At this news Columbus immediately set sail, and between Hispaniola and a small island on the north coast, called afterwards Tortuga, he took up, in a very rough sea, an Indian who was struggling with the waves in a little canoe, and giving him some presents of a small value, set him safe ashore on the coast of Hispaniola. This man informing his countrymen of the manner in which he had been treated, induced them to come on board, but they brought nothing with them of consequence, except some small grains of gold which hung at their ears and nostrils, of which they shewed by signs that there was a great quantity higher up in the country.

While the Spaniards were on shore the next day bartering with the Cacique or sovereign of that district for a plate of gold, forty men in a canoe approached from the island of Tortuga, when the Cacique perceiving them sat down with his people on the strand, as a signal that they should not commit hostilities, but notwithstanding this they landed ; upon which he arose, and by his threats obliged them to re-embark, and then giving a stone to one of the Spanish officers, made a sign for him to throw it at the Tortugans, to shew that he would espouse the cause of these strangers against the Indians of the canoe, who on their seeing this, returned to the island.

On the 18th of December the same Cacique came to pay the admiral a visit, carried in state on a palanquin and attended by 200 men, though both he and they were entirely naked. He made no difficulty of going on board Columbus's ship, and the admiral being at dinner, entered the cabin without ceremony, attended by two old men who

seemed to be his counsellors, who sat down at his feet. Columbus received him with great civility and respect, and had provisions and wine set before him, which on his tasting he sent to some of his men who remained upon deck. After dinner, during which both he and the two old men spoke but little, he presented the admiral with two thin pieces of gold and a wrought girdle; in return for these he received a string of amber beads, which the admiral took from his own neck, a pair of red shoes, a counterpane, and a bottle of orange flour water, wherewith this prince and his two attendants were so delighted, that they signified to Columbus, that the whole island was at his disposal. The admiral then shewed him the effigies of Ferdinand and Isabella imprest in a gold medal, which he viewed with admiration, and indeed shewed signs of astonishment at every thing he saw. In the evening he was, at his own desire, sent ashore in the ship's boat, and saluted with a discharge of several guns, the noise whereof filled him with amazement and terror; he was, however, so satisfied with his reception, that he ordered his people to entertain the Spaniards who conducted him to land, and returned home with the admiral's presents carried with great pomp and ostentation before him.

On the 24th of December, Columbus weighed, and sailed to a promontory, afterwards called Punta Santa, where, the weather being calm, he anchored about a league from shore and retired to rest, which he had not enjoyed for two nights before; his example was followed by the crew, who, contrary to his repeated orders, had the folly to leave only a boy at the helm. This instance of neglect proved fatal; for about midnight the vessel was carried upon a ridge of rocks, before any on board were aware of the danger. The ad-

miral being the first who was awakened by the cries of the boy at the helm, ran upon deck and perceiving the rocks, ordered the master and three sailors to leap into the boat and carry out an anchor astern; but instead of obeying his directions, they rowed to the other ship in order to preserve their own lives. Upon this, Columbus immediately caused the vessel to be lightened, and the masts to be cut away; but all his endeavours were ineffectual, and the water ebbing, the seams of the ship opened. But while they were in this emergency the boat returned, the other ship refusing to receive the men who had deserted their duty. The admiral then seeing no hopes of saving his own vessel, took the boat, and going with his men on board the other, the next morning dispatched messengers to inform the Cacique of this disaster, and to desire the assistance of the natives in unlading the ship. The Cacique, who condoled their misfortunes with tears in his eyes, immediately ordered his people to repair to the wreck in their canoes, and to obey Columbus's directions; and by their assistance all the valuable effects were carried on shore, and deposited in the houses appointed for that purpose.

On the 26th of December this friendly Cacique, whose name was Guacanagari, paid another visit to the admiral, whose loss he lamented with many expressions of sorrow: made him several presents, and perceiving how fond the Spaniards were of gold, promised to send for a great quantity of that metal from a place called Cebao. Mean while a canoe with Indians from another island brought plates of gold to exchange them for bells, on which they set a very great value, and the seamen on shore traded with the natives of Hispaniola who came from the inland part of the country, and bartered gold for points and other trifles. Among

the rest, an Indian came to the shore with a piece of gold that weighed four ounces, and holding it in one hand stretched out the other, and an hawk's bell being put into it, he let go the gold and ran away, thinking he had cheated the Spaniard.

Columbus being greatly pleased both with this island and the manners of its inhabitants, resolved to settle a colony upon it, and was encouraged to take this step by many of his men voluntarily offering to settle there. While the Cacique Guacanagari instead of being disposed to take umbrage at their neighbourhood, considered them as valuable allies, who would protect him against the invasion of the Caribbee Indians: and in order to shew the importance of his friendship, Columbus gave orders, in the presence of this prince, for firing a great gun at the wreck, through which the ball penetrated, and fell into the water on the opposite side, to the great astonishment of the Indians, who believed that their guests knew how to dart the thunder of heaven, and therefore earnestly implored their protection. In compliance with this request made to him by Guacanagari, Columbus ordered a fort to be built of the timber of the wreck, and having furnished it with provisions, ammunition, small arms and cannon, manned it with a garrison of thirty-six men under the command of Roderick d'Escovedo, Peter Gutieres, and James d'Arana, whom he warmly recommended to the favour and good offices of the friendly Cacique and his people. Having thus provided the fort with all necessaries, he caused a few houses to be built, named the place the town of Nativity, and resolved to return immediately to Castile, lest some misfortune happening to the only ship he had now under his command, he should be for ever disabled from letting their Catholic majesties know the important discoveries he

had already made, and the countries he had annexed to their dominions.

When every thing was ready for his departure, he called those together who chose to be left upon the island, and addressing himself to them, desired them to return thanks to God for having carried them to such a country to plant his holy faith; and not to forsake him their Almighty Friend, but by living like good Christians to insure his protection; he exhorted them to love and obey their captain; to respect Guacanagari, and to give no offence to any of his people; and that the opinion of their coming from heaven might be confirmed, they should offer no violence to any of the natives, observing that it would be for their interest to barter with them fairly without covetousness; to endeavour to learn their language, which would be of great use, and to gain their friendship, which would render them happy and secure. In return for which he promised to intreat their majesties to reward them for opening the way to that new world.

He set sail from the port of Nativity on the 4th of January, taking such notice of the land as would enable him to discover the mouth of the harbour in any future expedition; and sailing to a high mountain, he gave it the name of Monte Christo; but the wind being contrary, he made but little way, when two days after he fell in with the *Pinta*, under the command of Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who going on board, strove to excuse his desertion, by pretending he had lost sight of the admiral in the night, and by alleging other frivolous excuses; but though Columbus plainly saw the fallacy of all these pretences, he chose to disguise his sentiments rather than run any risk of prejudicing the common cause, by giving rise to a dangerous dissention.

Pinzon had sailed to a river fifteen leagues to the east of the port of Nativity, where he had spent sixteen days in bartering with the natives for gold, of which he had procured a considerable quantity; one half whereof he distributed among his crew in order to obtain popularity, and to gain their consent to keep the remainder for his own use. He afterwards anchored near Monte Christo, the wind not permitting him to proceed farther, and then he sailed in his boat up a river to the south-west of the mount, where discovering some gold dust among the sand, he called it the Golden river.

On the 13th of January, being near the cape called Enamorado, Columbus sent his boat on shore, where there stood some Indians, with all the signs of consternation and great fierceness in their countenances. They were armed with bows and arrows, and other weapons, and made a shew of opposition; but by the mediation of a St. Salvador Indian, they were brought to a kind of conference. One of them then ventured on board the admiral's ship, but appeared extremely savage both in speech and aspect, which was smutted with charcoal. This man having answered several questions, partly by signs and partly by means of the Indian interpreter, he was feasted, and then set ashore with presents of glass beads and bits of red and green cloth, that he might persuade his countrymen to bring in gold in exchange for such trifles.

At the place where he was set on shore there were 50 men with long hair adorned with plumes of parrots feathers, and being armed with bows and arrows, refused to trade with the Spaniards, notwithstanding the persuasions of their countryman; but on the contrary treated them with scorn and even began to commit hostilities. The Spaniards, who were but seven in number, seeing them advance with fury in their looks, met them

half way, and boldly charging them, shot one with an arrow and wounded another with a sword, on which they instantly fled. Columbus was far from being displeased at this skirmish, which he imagined would give them such an high opinion of the bravery of his men as would prevent their making any attempts to the prejudice of the settlement at the Nativity.

On the 16th of January the admiral set sail with his two ships for Spain, but after having enjoyed a favorable gale until they were within two hundred and sixty-three leagues to the westward of Ferro, they were overtaken by such a tempest on the 14th of February, that the sea running mountains high, they were unable to work their vessels, and were tossed about at the mercy of the waves. During this storm, the two ships were separated, when the seamen in each, concluding that those in the other had perished, betook themselves to acts of devotion, and the admiral vowed to go a pilgrimage to our Lady of Gaudalupe; but the storm still increasing, the whole crew of the admiral's ship joined in a vow to walk barefoot and in their shirts to some church dedicated to the blessed Virgin, in the first Christian country on which they should land. They had great scarcity of provisions, and their ship wanting ballast, was in danger of being overset. To remedy this last inconvenience, Columbus ordered his casks to be filled with sea water, and that his discovery might have some chance of being known, in case he and his men perished, he wrote a brief account of it upon two skins of parchment which he wrapt in oil-cloths covered with wax, and having inclosed them in two separate casks, had them thrown into the sea. This must be allowed to have been an extraordinary instance both of his prudence and fortitude.

On the 15th of February, at which time the storm still continued, one of the sailors discovered land, which the pilot judged to be the rock of Lisbon, though the admiral imagined it to be one of the Azore islands, where they with great difficulty cast anchor four days after. The admiral being lame in both his legs in consequence of the fatigue he had undergone, many of the inhabitants came on board with fresh provisions and compliments from the governor, expressing their amazement at the success of the expedition, and seeming to rejoice at Columbus's discovery. They were also surprised to see that they had outlived the storm, and letting the sailors know that there was in that neighbourhood an hermitage dedicated to the blessed Virgin, the admiral and his crew resolved to perform their vow, by walking thither barefoot. To fulfil this penance he sent his boat on shore with one half of the company, with orders to return immediately, that the rest might succeed them in the same kind of devotion ; but the first company had no sooner undrest themselves and began their procession, than they were attacked and made prisoners by the governor, who lay in ambush with some of his people for that purpose. Columbus, having in vain waited from daybreak until noon for the return of the boat, began to suspect foul play, and not being able to discover the hermitage, he sailed round a point, by which means he obtained a full view of it, and perceiving several Portuguese on horseback alight and enter his boat, as he imagined, to attack the vessel, he ordered the sailors to be upon their guard.— He hoped that the commander of the men would come on board, in which case he resolved to detain him as an hostage ; but the Portuguese not daring to advance beyond a certain distance, he demanded the reason of their committing such an outrage

upon his men who had gone on shore upon the faith of a safe conduct, and let them know that the king of Portugal would certainly be offended at this act of hostility committed against the subjects of their Catholic majesties with whom he was in alliance. To this the Portuguese captain answered, that what they had done was by the king's express orders, which giving Columbus reason to imagine that there was a breach between the two crowns, and calling all his people to bear witness to what they heard, he again directed his discourse to the Portuguese, and swore that he would never quit his ship until he had seized a hundred Portuguese, and destroyed the whole island.

He now returned to the port he had left, but the next day the wind increasing he lost his anchors, and was obliged to stand out to sea towards the island of St. Michael, though not without being exposed to great danger from his having only three able seamen on board, the rest being landmen, Indians, and boys. The weather being mild, the next day he endeavoured to recover the island of St. Mary, which he reached on the 21st, and soon after his arrival, a boat was sent to him with five men and a notary, who, in the governor's name desired to know whence the ship came, and whether he had really the king of Spain's commission. Being satisfied in these particulars, they returned and caused the Spaniards to be released; for the king of Portugal had sent orders to all his governors to secure the admiral's person; but as this scheme did not succeed, on account of Columbus's staying on board, it was thought proper to dismiss the prisoners. The admiral, having recovered his men, departed from the island of St. Mary on the 24th of February, with a very favourable wind; but on the 3d of March he was exposed to another tempest, during which his sails

were split, and he narrowly escaped being wrecked on the rock of Lisbon, which they accidentally discovered at midnight; but having weathered it with great difficulty, he was the next day obliged to come to an anchor in the river Tagus, on which he immediately sent an express by land to their Catholic majesties with the news of his arrival, and another to the king of Portugal, to desire leave to cast anchor before the city, as he did not think himself safe in his present station.

On the 5th of March the master of a guard ship, with a boat filled with armed men, came up to Columbus, and ordered him to give an account of himself to the king's officers, as was customary with all the vessels that entered the river. To this Columbus replied, that he was the king of Spain's admiral, and would not degrade himself so far as to send the most inconsiderable person on board his ship on such an errand. The Portuguese finding him resolute, desired to see the king's letter, which being complied with, they returned to their ship, and made a proper report to Alvaro d' Acunha, who soon after came on board Columbus's ship, attended with fifes, drums, and trumpets, and congratulated him on his return with many expressions of friendship. The nature of Columbus's voyage was no sooner known at Lisbon than the people were filled with the utmost curiosity to see the Indians, and to learn the particulars of his amazing discovery; the whole river was therefore seen covered with boats filled with people, some of whom praised God for Columbus's success, while others lamented the hard fate of their nation, which had lost such a prize through the incredulity or avarice of their king.

His majesty having received the admiral's letter, gave orders for his being presented with all kinds of refreshments and necessaries gratis, and at the

same time wrote to him to congratulate him upon his happy return, and to let him know that he desired to see him before he left his dominions.— Columbus at first doubted whether he ought to accept this invitation ; but considering that Spain and Portugal were at peace, and that he had been already treated by the king with uncommon respect, he resolved to wait on his Portuguese majesty, who then resided at Val Paraíso, a place nine leagues from Lisbon ; he therefore set out on Saturday the 9th of March when the king ordered his whole court to go out and meet him, and Columbus being conducted into the royal presence, his majesty insisted on his putting on his cap, and being seated in his presence, he heard with seeming pleasure the particulars of the voyage, and offered to supply him with every thing he desired ; yet observed, that as Columbus was before in his service, the conquest of right belonged to him ; but the admiral modestly gave his reasons for being of a contrary opinion : to which the king replied that “it was very well, and he did not doubt but that justice would be done.”

Columbus having staid all Sunday and part of Monday, took his leave, after his majesty had in vain attempted, by very considerable offers, to re-engage him in his service. On his return, he was attended by many persons of rank, and passing by a monastery in which was the Queen, her majesty desired to see him, and received his visit in a respectful manner. The same night a gentleman arrived from the king to inform him, that if he chose to go to Castile by land, he would accompany him, and provide him with accommodations on the road, as far as the frontiers of Portugal. This offer he declined with suitable acknowledgments, and setting sail on Wednesday the 13th of March, 1493, arrived on the Friday following at Saltes, and

came to an anchor in the port of Palos, whence he had departed on the 3d of August in the preceding year.

Columbus was received on his landing by all the people in procession, giving thanks to God for his success, which it was hoped would greatly redound to the spreading of Christianity, and the advantage of their Catholic majesties. Pinzon had already arrived in Galicia, and had resolved to carry in person the agreeable news of the discovery to court, when he received orders which forbade his coming without the admiral under whose command he had been sent on the expedition; and this mortifying disappointment made such an impression upon him, that he immediately fell sick, and returning to the place of his birth, he in a few days after died of grief and vexation.

In the mean time Columbus set out for Seville on his way to Barcelona, where their majesties then resided, and the roads were crowded with people of all ranks, who flocked to see him and the Indians in his train. He arrived at Barcelona about the middle of April, and was received by the whole court and city in the most solemn manner. The streets could not contain the multitudes that pressed to see him, with the Indians and curiosities he brought which were carried uncovered. Their majesties to do him honour, ordered the royal throne to be placed in public, on which they seated themselves with prince John under a canopy of cloth of gold. The admiral was introduced by several gentlemen, and on his approaching the throne, the king rose up and gave him his hand to kiss, when Columbus kneeling, his majesty desired him to rise, ordered a chair to be brought him, and made him sit by his side. Columbus then gave an account of his voyage, his discoveries, and his hopes of finding still more extensive and im-

portant countries ; shewed them the Indians, as they appeared in their native countries, and gave them a specimen of every thing he had brought from the new world. When he had done speaking, their majesties rose, and kneeling down with their hands lifted up, and with tears in their eyes, returned thanks to God, which was immediately followed by the choristers of the chapel singing *Te Deum*.

In short, Columbus was treated as a grandee of the first rank who had performed the most important services for his country, and when the king rode about Barcelona, he would have him constantly by his side ; an honour which had been conferred upon none but princes of the blood. He was also gratified with new patents, which confirmed and enlarged the privileges he had before obtained. The more his discoveries were canvassed by the council the more important they appeared, and therefore their Catholic majesties not only agreed that he should continue them, but dispatched an ambassador to Pope Alexander VI. to desire him to exert his apostolic authority in their favour, and to grant them an exclusive title to the countries that had been, or should be discovered. The Pope complied with this request, and drawing a line from pole to pole, at the distance of one hundred leagues westward from the Azores, or from the Cape de Verd Islands, bestowed on their Catholic majesties the dominions of all sovereigns and states in that extensive part of the globe.

THE
SECOND VOYAGE

OF

Christopher Columbus to America.

CHAPTER II.

Columbus's Second Voyage. He sails with a more numerous fleet, arrives at the Carribbee-Islands, and discovers Dominica, Marigalante, and Gaudalupe, in which last place he lands, and endeavours, in vain, to trade with the natives. He thence proceeds to several other islands, the most remarkable of which are, Montserrat and St. John's, and arriving at Hispaniola, finds the colony ruined, and the Spaniards destroyed by their own folly; upon which he restores things to a good situation, quells a mutiny, and having taken the most prudent measures, sets sail upon other discoveries, lands at Jamaica; meets with a multitude of Islands to which he gives the name of the Queen's Garden; steers along the coast of Cuba, and after suffering many difficulties, returns to Hispaniola, where he finds every thing in great confusion; but having made new regulations for the security of the settlement, he sails for Spain.

IN a little time such measures were taken for Columbus's second expedition, that seventeen vessels were fitted out for farther discoveries, and the settlement of colonies. The thirst of gold, and the success of the first voyage drew together such a multitude of volunteers, that a great number was rejected, the admiral resolving to take no more than fifteen hundred persons, amongst whom there were many artificers and labourers.

Columbus having provided all kinds of utensils, with a large stock of trifles most agreeable to the Indians, and having taken on board cows, horses, asses and other animals for breeding in the new plantations, with the seeds of plants, trees and all kinds of grain, &c, he sailed from the road of Cadiz on the 25th of September, 1493, and stood south west for the Canary Islands. He arrived at the Grand Canaria on the 2d of October, and on the 5th anchored at Gomera, where he took in water, wood, and cattle, and in particular eight sows, from which were produced all the swine now in the West-Indies.*

On the 7th he continued his voyage for the Indies after his having delivered his orders sealed up, which were not to be opened unless the fleet should be separated by stress of weather: They now ran 400 leagues west of the Canaries without meeting with any of those weeds which they had seen in their first voyage.

On the 2d of November, Columbus perceiving a great alteration in the winds, and there falling a violent shower of rain, concluded that he was seven leagues to the westward of a high mountainous island which he named *Dominica*, from its being discovered on a Sunday. Three other islands were discovered much about the same time, when they returned thanks to God for their wonderful success, in having sailed near 800 leagues in the space of twenty days. The admiral finding no convenient place for anchoring on the east side of *Dominica*, stood over to another island which he called *Marigalante*, after his own ship, and having landed, he with the usual solemnity, took posses-

* They received the name of West-Indies from Columbus's sailing to them by the west, and expecting to find the spices at that time brought from the east by the way of the Red-Sea.

tion of it for their Catholic majesties, as he had before done with respect to all the other islands he had discovered.

On the 4th of November, he sailed to another considerable island, which he named St. Mary of Guadalupe, (one of the largest of the Caribbee Islands) in consequence of a promise he had made to the friars belonging to a convent of that name. He there, at two leagues distance, perceived a very high rock which terminated in a point, whence gushed a large torrent of water, which fell with a prodigious noise. Here he landed some men who went to a town, which at their approach was abandoned by all the inhabitants except some of the children, to whose arms the Spaniards tied a few baubles as a mark of friendship. They here found geese like those of Europe, a great number of large parrots, and other birds, pompions, ananas, or pine-apples, of exquisite taste and flavour: they also found bows and arrows, cotton, and several other things, which they left behind them in order to give the owners a good opinion of their morals.

The next day the admiral sent two boats on shore, with orders, if possible, to take a few of the natives, from whom he might obtain some important information; and these returned with two young men, who by their signs let him know that they were born in another island, and were taken prisoners by those of Guadalupe, who were called Caribbees. The boats again going on shore for some of the men they had left, found six women who had fled to them, and desired to be carried on board, which being done, the admiral gave them bells and beads, and then dismissed them, though by their signs they shewed an ardent desire to stay; but they were no sooner landed than the Caribbees robbed them of their ornaments in the very sight

of the Spaniards. The next time the boat's crew landed, these poor creatures leapt into the boat, and by the most expressive gestures implored protection from the cruelty of the islanders, who, they signified, had kept their husbands in slavery.— This information occasioned their being brought to the admiral, whom they gave to understand, that towards the south, there were many islands and a large continent. Columbus would have immediately left Guadalupe, had he not been informed, that the captain of one of his ships had, without his permission, landed with eight men before it was light, and was not yet returned; he therefore sent several of his people on shore with trumpets and musquets, the noise of which might be heard through the woods; and this search proving fruitless, he sent another detachment of forty men, commanded by a captain, with orders to proceed through the country, and make observations on its productions. They found abundance of cotton, some trees which in taste and smell resembled cinnamon, and also frankincense, ginger, sanders, aloes, and mastic. They likewise saw nightingales, daws, partridges, geese, herons, kites, and falcons. While they were thus employed, the stragglers returned of their own accord, when Columbus ordered their captain to be put in irons, and punished the rest by shortening their allowance of provisions. The admiral himself then landing, found great quantities of cotton, spun and unspun, with many human skulls and bones hung up in baskets; and observed that the natives were better accommodated with lodging, provisions, and other necessaries, than those of the other islands he had before discovered.

On the 10th of November, the admiral weighed anchor, and sailing with his whole fleet towards the north-west in search of Hispaniola, passed an

island, to which, on account of its height he called Montferat, and having passed by St. Mary Redonda, and St. Maria la Antigua, he discovered several other islands, near one of which he cast anchor, and called it St. Martin. His people here seized four men and three children, but as the boat was putting off with them from shore, they met with a canoe in which were four men and one woman, who finding it impossible for them to escape, put themselves in a posture of defence, when the woman shot an arrow with such force and dexterity, that it passed through a strong target; but the Spaniards endeavouring to board them, overset the canoe, on which the Indians betook themselves to swimming, and one of them used his bow and arrow in the water with the same dexterity as if he had been on dry land.

The admiral again setting sail continued his course west north-west, leaving to the northward above fifty islands, the largest of which he called St. Ursula, and the others the Eleven Thousand Virgins. He then came to an island to which he gave the name of St. John Baptist, and having anchored in a bay on the west side of it, his men caught several kinds of fish, as skate, soles, pilchards and shads; and also saw falcons, and some shrubs, resembling wild vines. Some of the men afterwards landed, when they perceived several houses with a square in their front, from which was a spacious road down to the sea, flanked on both sides with towers made of cane, the tops of which were curiously interwoven with greens, and at the end of the road next the sea, was raised a lofty gallery or balcony capable of containing ten or twelve persons.

On the 21st, the admiral arrived in the bay of Samana, on the north side of Hispaniola, and immediately sent on shore one of the Indians, a na-

tive of that part of the country, whom he had carried into Spain, and who, being converted to the Christian faith, undertook for the submission of all his countrymen.

The admiral, continuing his voyage to the town of the Nativity, was visited at Cape Angel by some Indians, who came on board to barter their commodities for those of the Christians: and coming to an anchor in the port of Monte Christo, some of his people were sent on shore in a boat, when to their great surprize, they saw at a small distance, the bodies of two men with a rope about their necks made of a kind of broom, and their arms extended upon a piece of wood in the form of a cross; but though they could not discern whether they were Europeans or Indians, they considered this as an ill omen.

The next day, which was the 26th, the admiral sent several persons on shore in different places, when many of the Indians went to them with great confidence and appearance of friendship, and pronounced several Spanish words they had learnt from the settlers, which eased the admiral of the apprehensions he had begun to conceive, judging that they would not have behaved with such freedom and unconcern, had they been conscious of their having injured the men he had left behind him; but the next day put an end to his doubts; for on his anchoring near the town of the Nativity, some Indians in a canoe came to the fleet enquiring for the admiral, but refused to come on board until they saw him. From them he learnt that some of the Christians, left there, died of distempers, and the rest were separated and gone to other countries; but though Columbus suspected foul play, he for the present concealed his suspicions, and the same evening dismissed the messengers with a present of baubles made of tin, and

other trifles for the Cacique Guacanagari, and themselves.

The next morning Columbus landed, when, to his great concern, he saw nothing but ruin and desolation; the houses and fort were burnt, and nothing left belonging to the Christians but a few ragged clothes, and things of no value. As he had ordered the Spaniards, at his leaving them, if any thing happened, to throw the gold into a well he had made in the fort, he ordered that well to be cleansed; but no gold was to be found there: he soon after found the bodies of eleven Spaniards who seemed to have been dead about a month.— However, while he was ruminating on this event with a mind filled with resentment and sorrow, he was visited by the Cacique Guacanagari's brother, who came attended by some Indians, who learned to talk a little Spanish, and by whom he was informed that he had scarce set sail, when those he had left behind began to quarrel amongst themselves, every man endeavouring to amass all the gold he could obtain, and to take as many wives from the natives as his unbounded appetite demanded. That Escovedo and Peter Gatières, having killed one of the men named James, had, with nine others, retired with their women to Caunabo, a Cacique, who was lord of the mines, and who put them all to death; after which, that Cacique came, attended by a great number of men, to destroy the town, when there were only James de Arana and ten of his men, who had remained with him to guard the fort, the rest having dispersed themselves about the island. Caunabo, who came upon them in the night, instantly set fire to the houses where these eleven Spaniards lived with their women; on which they fled into the sea, where eight of them perished, and the other three were slain on shore, while Guacana-

gari endeavoured to revenge the Spaniards by making war on Caunabo; but was put to flight, after his having received a dangerous wound, which confined him to his house, and prevented his waiting on the admiral.

This account perfectly agreed with the intelligence received from some Spaniards who had been sent up the country, and had visited the wounded Cacique at his own house, who greatly desired to see Columbus. The next day therefore the admiral paid him a visit, and was received with the utmost cordiality and concern for what had happened. Guacanagari repeated the melancholy story, with all the marks of unfeigned sorrow, and at the same time shewed his own wound, and those of his men, which they had received in defence of the Christians, and which plainly appeared to have been made with wooden swords and arrows pointed with fish bones, and not with any European weapons. The compliment of condolence being passed, the Cacique presented the admiral with eight strings of small beads, composed of red, green, and white stones, a string of gold beads, a crown of the same metal, and three small calabashes full of gold dust, which weighed about thirty two ounces. In return for these valuable presents, the admiral gave him a variety of baubles, which might be worth about three reals, or twenty-pence. Though the Cacique was extremely ill, he insisted on attending his guest to the fleet, where he was courteously entertained, and much pleased at the sight of the horses, of which the Spaniards had before given him an account. The Cacique was afterwards instructed in the mysteries of the Christian religion, which he was at first unwilling to embrace.

Columbus being disgusted at a spot which had been the scene of so many disasters, and knowing

that there were better and more commodious places in the island, for a settlement, sailed on the 7th of December with the whole fleet to the eastward, and cast anchor before an Indian town where he resolved to plant a colony. With this view the people designed for settlers were landed, with provisions and proper utensils, in a plain where he built a town, to which he gave the name of Isabella, in honour of the Queen. It was conveniently situated near a rock where a fort might be erected; the harbour was spacious, and at the distance of a bow-shot ran an excellent river, from whence canals might be easily cut through the midst of the place, and beyond it lay an open plain, from which the Indians said, the mines of Cebao were not far distant.

From the 11th of December to the 12th of March in the following year 1494, Columbus was employed in completing this new settlement, and having at length regulated the affairs of the town, he dispatched Alonzo de Hojeda, with fifteen men, in search of the gold mines, and on the 2d of February, sent twelve of his ships back to Castile, with a letter to their Catholic majesties, in which he gave a very particular account of whatever had happened since his arrival in the West-Indies.

Hojeda soon after returned from this expedition, and informed the admiral that on the second day after he set out from Isabella, he lay at the pass of an almost inaccessible mountain, and afterwards at the distance of every league, found Caciques, by whom he was hospitably entertained; but continuing his journey, he arrived on the sixth day at the place called the Mines of Cebao, where he saw the Indians picking up gold out of a small river, as they did from many others in the same province. This information was highly agree-

able to the admiral, who was just recovered from a fit of sickness occasioned by fatigue; and on the 12th of March, having caused all the ammunition belonging to the other ships to be put on board his own, he left a strong guard in the two ships, and three caravels, and set out from Isabella for Cebao, attended by all the rest of his people, some of whom were on horseback, and others on foot.

The admiral took this precaution of securing the ships, in consequence of his having detected a conspiracy headed by one Bernardo de Piza, who had embarked from Spain in quality of comptroller to their Catholic majesties. This person had taken the opportunity of the admiral's illness to tamper with some of the men, who being disappointed of the gold they expected to find without the least trouble, and dissatisfied with the regulations of the new settlements, readily joined him in the design of revolting from the admiral, and seizing the ships in order to return to Spain; but this mutiny being discovered, the admiral caused the ringleader to be secured, until he could have an opportunity of sending him home to take his trial.

Columbus, in order to fill the Indians with the greater awe and respect, made his men march in regular order through the villages, with trumpets sounding, and colours flying, and also carried with him every thing necessary for building a fort at Cabao. He marched along the banks of the river which runs by Isabella, and crossing another river, lay in a pleasant plain which extended to the foot of a high and craggy rock, which formed a pass. The next day he entered a spacious plain, in which he travelled five leagues, and spent the night near a broad river, which the men crossed on floats and in canoes. This, which he called the river of

Canes, falls into the sea at Monte Christo. In his march he passed by many Indian towns, composed of round thatched houses, the doors of which were so low that no person could enter them without stooping down. The inhabitants seemed to have very little notion of private property; for the Indians who attended the Spaniards from Isabella, freely entered the houses and took what they liked best, without giving the least offence to the former possessors, while the latter attempted to take what they liked from the Spaniards, and seemed surprised at meeting with a repulse. The way was hitherto agreeably diversified with mountains covered with wild vines, and other fruit-trees of various sorts.

On the 14th of March, Columbus set forwards from the River of Canes, and at the distance of a league and a half, arrived at the banks of another river, which he named the Golden River, from their gathering here some grains of that metal. Having passed it with some difficulty, he proceeded to a large town, where he found that many of the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, and the rest barred their doors against him with canes; and having passed by another river, and several towns which were barricaded against him in the same manner, he entered the province of Cebao, which though rough and stony, yielded plenty of grass, and is watered by several rivers which abound with gold washed down from the mountains; but though this is a very large province, it has few or no trees except some pine and palm-trees, which grow on the banks of the rivers.

In this country he caused a fort to be erected in a very strong, though pleasant situation, to command the country about the mines, and protect the Spanish adventurers. This fort, which was built of timber and clay, was of sufficient strength

to withstand the attack of any number of Indians, and having placed a garrison in it of sixty men, among whom were workmen of several forts, to finish and repair the works, he set out on his return, and was met by considerable numbers of the natives, who came to sell their provisions, which chiefly consisted of a kind of bread and garlick.

On the 29th of March he arrived at his new colony of Isabella, where he found melons already fit to eat, though the seed had not been above two months in the ground; and a wild vine of that country being pruned, produced large and excellent grapes; some wheat which had been sown in the latter end of January, already produced ears fit to gather; vetches produced a ripe crop of a much larger sort than those they had sown, within twenty-five days; sugar-canes, and the stones of fruit sprouted out in seven days; vine-branches produced leaves in the same time, and yielded green grapes in 25 days: Columbus had therefore great reason to be pleased with the soil and climate, and particularly with the water, which was extremely pure, cool, and palatable.

On the first of April, a messenger arrived at Isabella from the new fort, to which he had given the name of the Castle of St. Thomas, with advice that the Cacique Caunabo was preparing to attack it. Columbus was but little concerned at this news, as he knew that he had nothing to apprehend from the natives, who were under great apprehensions at the sight of his horses; yet as he intended to go to sea with three caravals, in order to discover the continent, he thought it necessary to leave every thing in tranquility behind him, and therefore sent a reinforcement to the fort, of seventy men, part of whom were to be employed in making the road more passable, and in searching for the fords of the rivers. In the mean

time he completed his town, which was laid out in regular streets, with a convenient market-place; supplied it with river-water by a canal, and erected a water-mill for grinding wheat; but as his people were not accustomed to the food of the natives, and provisions began to fail, he resolved to send the superfluous mouths to Spain. This step he thought himself obliged to take, from his finding that the climate disagreed with many of his people who were in a sickly and languishing condition. As for those who enjoyed health, and were not absolutely necessary in the town, they were sent to traverse the island, in order to observe its situation, and accustom themselves to the Indian diet.— These were commanded by Hojeda, who had orders to march to Cebao, and deliver up the command of these men to Peter Margarite, who was to conduct them round the island, while the former commanded the fort of St. Thomas.

On the 29th of April, Hojeda with his party, which consisted of above four hundred men, left Isabella, and having crossed the river del Oro, or the Gold River, apprehended a Cacique and his brother whom he sent in irons to the admiral. This Cacique had accommodated three Spaniards with five Indians to carry their clothes over a river, but being in the middle they turned back, and ran away with the baggage, while the Cacique, instead of punishing them, converted what they had taken to his own use. Another Cacique, who dwelt beyond the river, relying on the service he had done to the Christians, went with the prisoners to Isabella, to intercede in their behalf. Columbus entertained him very kindly; but, to heighten the favour he intended to grant, ordered the Cacique and his brother to be put to death, in the market-place; at which their honest friend shed a flood of tears, and earnestly begged that their lives might

be spared ; whereupon the admiral instantly forgave them. These were no sooner released, than a man on horseback, who had just arrived from fort St. Thomas, told the admiral, that in his way through the town belonging to the Cacique who had been his prisoner, he alone had rescued four Spaniards whom the Indians had taken by way of reprisal, and chased above four hundred persons, who fled at the sight of his horse.

The admiral being now resolved to discover the continent, appointed a council to govern the island in his absence,* consisting of his brother Diego, who was present, and five other persons. He then sailed with three ships to Cuba, and running along the south side of that island, entered a large bay, which he called Puerto Grande, from its extent and depth of water. While he continued his course along the coast, a great number of Indians came on board in their canoes with presents of bread, water, and fish ; in return for which he gave them a few bells, beads, and other trifles.

* It is worthy of remark, that while Columbus was thus settling the affairs of Hispaniola, John Cabot, (a citizen of Venice, who lived at Bristol) and his son Sebastian, sailed from the last mentioned city on discoveries ; saw the continent of Newfoundland, to which they gave the name of Prime Vista, or First-teen ; and on the 24th of June, the same year, 1494, went on shore on an Island, which they called St. John's, from its being discovered on St. John's day. John Cabot, on his return to England, reported, that this island was barren ; but that the sea near the coast abounded with fish ; that the people wore bear-skin clothes, and were armed with bows, arrows, pikes, wooden clubs, darts and slings ; and upon this report he obtained a patent for making discoveries ; but this gentleman dying soon after, king Henry VII. granted a new patent to his son Sebastian, who set sail on the 4th of May, 1497, before Columbus began his third voyage. Sebastian sailed as far as 60 d. 30 m. north latitude ; proceeding from thence into the south latitude, to 56 deg. and from thence ran down to 38 deg. along the coast of the continent of America, which, he expressly says, was afterwards called Florida, where provisions growing short, he sailed back, touched at Newfoundland, and returned to England.

On the 5th of May he reached Jamaica, where he had been told there was great plenty of gold. On his casting anchor at that island, he thought it the most beautiful of any he had yet seen, and a surprising multitude of the natives came in canoes of different sizes to exchange provisions for toys. The next day he coasted along the island; but sending out his boat to sound the mouths of the harbours, they were soon surrounded with canoes filled with armed men, who seemed resolved on beginning hostilities. However, the Spaniards being determined to enter Puerto Bueno, saluted them with such a flight of arrows, that several of them being wounded, the rest instantly retired.— In that port the admiral repaired his ships, and afterwards sailed back to Cuba, with a firm resolution to know whether it was an island or a continent. The same day a young Indian of Jamaica, coming on board, begged to accompany Columbus to Spain, and though many of his kindred and other persons intreated him with tears in their eyes to return, he persisted in his resolution, and the admiral gave orders that he should be treated with the utmost civility.

On the 15th he reached the point of Cuba, which he named Cabo de Santa Cruz, or Cape Holy Cross; but as he coasted along, was overtaken by a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, which was the more dangerous as he was entangled amongst the currents and flats, which hindered him from taking in his sails. He found the sea to the north and north-east of that island covered with a prodigious number of small, low, and sandy islands, some of which scarcely appeared above the surface of the water, and consequently rendered the navigation very hazardous. It is true, the nearer they sailed to Cuba, the higher and pleasanter these islands appeared, and it being

a matter of difficulty, and of no advantage to give a name to each of them, he filed them all in general the Queen's Garden. The next day these islands seemed to multiply on all hands, so that his men reckoned 160 of them, parted from each other by navigable channels, through which the ships sailed. In some of them they saw a great number of cranes that were as red as scarlet; abundance of turtles and their eggs, and an infinite number of small singing birds; and, what appeared still more extraordinary, the air was as sweet, as if it had been impregnated with the richest perfumes. In one of the above channels, they found a canoe with fishermen, who seeing the boat approach, they without the least concern, made signs to the Spaniards to keep off until they had done fishing; and as their manner of catching fish appeared very surprising, they were willing to comply. The man had tied some small fishes, called *reves*, by the tail, which meeting with another fish, fixed themselves to it by the sucker on the top of the head, when the fishermen drew them up together. Upon this occasion they caught a sea turtle, to whose neck the *reve* or sucking fish had fastened itself; and in this manner they will sometimes adhere to sharks of the largest size. The Indians in the canoe having taken a turtle, went on board to the admiral, and made him a present of all the fish they had caught; for which he gratified them with a few baubles.

On the 22d of May, Columbus landed in an island somewhat bigger than the rest, which he called St. Mary's; but entering a town, all the inhabitants fled, when the Spaniards found nothing but fish in their houses, which was all the food those people lived upon, and some dogs resembling mastiffs, that lived on the same food. He then directed his course north-east, where he was still

bewildered by an astonishing number of flats and islands; and, notwithstanding all his precautions in founding and keeping men upon the round top to look out, the ship was often aground, and this obliged him to relinquish his design of sailing east about, before he returned to Spain.

Being now in great want of water, he again touched at Cuba, when one of his sailors mounting a tree with a cross bow, to kill some bird or beast, discovered thirty people armed with spears and staves, and among them a person dressed in a white vest which hung down to his knees, carried by two men in long garments that reached to their feet, all three being as white as the Spaniards; but seeing so many of their attendants he was terrified, and calling to his companions, the Indians ran away without looking back. The next day the admiral sent some people on shore to discover the truth of this report; but the woods and marshes were so impassable, that after having travelled about a league from the shore, they were obliged to return.

Having sailed about ten leagues to the westward, they observed houses on the shore, from whence the natives came in canoes with food and water, for which they were well paid. The admiral however caused one of the Indians to be detained; but told him and the rest, by his interpreter, that he would let him go as soon as he had given him proper directions for his voyage, and some account of the country. The Indian satisfied with this promise, let him know, that Cuba was an island; and that the coast was very low and surrounded with small islands.

The next day, the admiral being inclosed between two islands, was obliged to tow the ships over a flat, where there was but very little water; when bearing up to the coast of Cuba, the Spa-

niards saw very large turtle in such numbers that they covered the sea. The next morning the sun was darkened by a multitude of sea-crows which flew towards the shore and lighted upon it; there also appeared abundance of pigeons and other birds; and the next day there came such a swarm of butterflies, that they darkened the air from morning till night; when they were carried away by a great shower of rain.

On the 13th, Columbus perceiving that the coast of Cuba ran far west, and that there would be the greatest difficulty in sailing that way, resolved to return to the town he had began to build at Hispaniola, but being in want of wood and water, he anchored at Evangelista, an island of about thirty leagues in compass, and having provided the ships with what they wanted, directed his course to the south; but after having sailed a few leagues through a channel which seemed to be the clearest, found himself embayed, and being in a manner destitute of provisions, was under a great consternation. However, for fear of discouraging his men, he appeared as cheerful as possible, and having returned as he entered, sailed towards some islands to the north-west, near which the sea seemed to be of different colours, owing in all probability to the shallow water, and the nature of the bottom seen through it. Soon after his ship ran aground so fast that she could not be got off without great difficulty and danger; but however, this was at last effected, and after many difficulties, he escaped from those shoals and islands, and arrived again at Cuba.

On the 7th of July, landing to hear mass, he was visited by an old Cacique, who appeared very attentive, and afterwards signified his belief of the existence of a supreme being, who rewards virtue and punishes vice in a future state.

On the 16th of July, as Columbus was steering towards Cape Cruz, in the island of Cuba, he was surprized with such a violent storm, that the ships were almost overfet before the sails could be furled, and they shipped so much water, that the men could scarce keep them clear by pumping; for his men were rendered extremely weak by fatigue and want of provisions, their allowance being only a pound of biscuit, and half a pint a wine a day, unless they happened to catch fish. This allowance the admiral himself did not exceed. However, at his arrival at Cape Cruz, he was civilly entertained by the Indians, who supplied him with bread of grated roots, with plenty of fish, and great quantities of delicious fruit.

Columbus now stood over to Jamaica; and coasting along to the westward, found that part of the island full of excellent harbours, and abounding with inhabitants. He then made the south side of Hispaniola, and having lost sight of the other two ships that were under his command, cast anchor at a small island, where his men killed eight seals that lay asleep on the shore, and took great numbers of pigeons and other birds, which being unaccustomed to the cruelty of the human species, stood still while they were knocked down with staves.

Six days after the admiral, being joined by the other ships that were missing, proceeded on his voyage and coasted along Hispaniola, which exhibited the prospect of a delightful plain, extending a mile from the sea, and so populous, that for a league together, it seemed one continued town, in the neighbourhood of which was a lake five leagues in length. Here the natives came on board in canoes, and told the admiral, that they had been visited by some Spaniards from Isabella, where all was well; when being greatly pleased

with this information, he immediately dispatched nine men across the island with the news of his safe return, while he and his ship continued sailing along the coast to the eastward. In this course he sent the boats ashore for water, near to a great town, from which the Indians came to oppose their landing with boats and poisoned arrows, and produced some ropes with which they threatened to bind the Christians. But as soon as the boats reached the shore, they civilly laid down their arms, asked for the admiral, and carried him provisions. Near this place they saw a large fish of the size of a middling whale. It bore its head, which was of the size of a pipe or butt above the water; and had a long tail, like that of a tunny fish, and two vast fins on the sides. From this, and other concurring circumstances, the admiral prognosticated a change of weather, and seeking some place where he might ride secure, cast anchor under a little island, called by the Spaniards, Saona. He then observed an eclipse of the moon, which was followed by a tempest that lasted several days, during which he was under the greatest apprehensions on account of the other vessels which could not get in. However, they weathered the storm, and joined the admiral, who continued his voyage, but was soon after seized with a lethargy which deprived him of his senses and memory. On this account it was agreed to sail directly to Isabella, where they arrived on the 29th of September. The admiral, on his landing, soon recovered his health, though his weakness lasted several months.

Columbus, on his arrival, found his brother Bartholomew at Isabella, and perceived that the natives had taken up arms against the Spaniards. The admiral's joy was extreme at the sight of Bartholomew, who returning to Spain from the

court of England, where all his demands were granted, had been informed of his brother Christopher's success, by Charles, king of France, who presented him with one hundred crowns to defray the expence of his journey. Upon this he made all the haste he could to overtake the admiral in Spain; but before his arrival at Seville, Christopher had failed on his second voyage; however, waiting on their Catholic majesties, he was received with honour, and ordered to sail with three ships to the West Indies, in order to carry provisions to his brother, where he arrived while the admiral was gone upon the discovery of Cuba.

Christopher Columbus now gave his brother Bartholomew the title of governor of the Indies, which their Catholic majesties very much resented, alleging that he had no power to grant so high an office; but this difference was at length compromised, and his place confirmed under the title of Adelantado, or Lord Lieutenant of the Indies.

Though Christopher Columbus rejoiced at having the company and assistance of his brother, he was immediately involved in a great trouble and vexation by the misconduct of Peter Margarite, who instead of obeying his orders by traversing of the island with 360 foot and 14 horse, which had been left under his command, had encamped in a large plain at ten leagues distance from Isabella, from whence he dispatched the most insolent letters to the council; but finding at length that he was unable to obtain the supreme command, and dreading the return of the admiral, who might punish him for his presumption, he, together with father Boyle, who had been sent to convert the Indians, embarked on board one of the three ships that had brought over Bartholomew, and with others of his party, returned to Spain, with-

out assigning any reason for his departure, or disposing of the men under his command; on which they dispersed themselves through the country, robbed the natives of their women and effects, and committed such outrages, as not only entirely alienated the affection of the Indians from the Spaniards, but induced them to lay schemes of revenge. A Cacique, who had a large town, attacking some small straggling parties, killed ten of the Spaniards, and set fire to a house in which eleven of them were sick. Six of the Spaniards were killed in other parts of the island, and much greater numbers would have perished, had it not been for the admiral's return. The Indians indeed might have easily shaken off the Spanish yoke, had they but united in their own defence; for there were four principal Caciques or kings, each of whom had seventy or eighty petty lords under his subjection, who were obliged, when called upon, to assist in the wars.

Columbus was very uneasy at finding, that the christians, by their vices, had rendered themselves hated by the Indians, who could not bear their insolence and barbarity. Guacanagari, indeed, continued a firm friend to the Spaniards, and visiting the admiral at his return, declared that he had been so far from joining with his enemies, that he had protected and maintained an hundred of his people, by which means he had incurred the displeasure of the other Caciques: Bohechico had killed one of his women, and another of them had been carried off by Caunabo; he therefore desired Columbus's assistance to recover the one, and revenge the death of the other. This the admiral readily promised, and some of the natives who had murdered his men were punished with death, and others sent to Spain. Columbus and Guacanagari set out from Isabella to prosecute the war against





Scot & Allardice sc.

Columbus with 200. Foot, 20. Horse, &
20 Wolf Dogs, assisted by a body of
the Islanders defeats 100,000. Indians.

the Indians, who were assembled to the number of 100,000, while Columbus's forces consisted only of 200 foot, 20 horse, and 20 wolf dogs, and Guacanagari's of a body of Indians.

Columbus, being in sight of the enemy on the second day of his march, divided the little army under his command into two bodies; one of which he gave to his brother Bartholomew, that by attacking the enemy in two places at once he might increase their terror and confusion. The Indians were immediately thrown into disorder by the discharge of the muskets and cross-bows, when the Spaniards rushing upon them with their horses and dogs, so terrified them that they were soon routed, and many slain, and a great number taken prisoners, among whom was Caunabo, with all his wives and children, who confessed that he had before killed twenty of the christians at the town of Nativity, and that he intended to have acted in the same manner at Isabella. This confession together with his being taken in arms, induced the admiral to send him and his whole family into Spain, where they might be tried in such a manner as was most agreeable to their Catholic majesties.

This victory, and the captivity of Caunabo, so much intimidated the Indians, that within the space of a year, Columbus, without any other engagement, reduced the whole island to obedience, and imposed a quarterly tribute to be paid the king and queen of Spain; every inhabitant of Cebao being taxed at a certain quantity of gold, and the rest at twenty-five pounds of cotton a head. Things being thus settled to the satisfaction of all parties, the natives became so quiet and pacific, that a single Spaniard might travel in safety over the whole island, and every where meet with an hospitable and friendly reception. However, the diseases of the climate, and change of diet, had re-

duced the colony of Ifabella to less than one third of the number that first settled there.

The Spaniards, by conversing with the natives, now became better acquainted with their manners and customs, and learned amongst other things, that the islands produced ebony, cedar, long pepper, ginger, frankincense, a great number of mulberry-trees, and copper.

In regard to religion, every Cacique had a detached temple set apart for the service of certain wooden images called Cemies, before which they performed several ceremonies, and prayed with great devotion. In each of these temples was a round table, on which a certain kind of powder, which, being laid on the head of the idol, the devotee snuffed it up through an hollow cane, which consisted of two branches, at the same time repeating a kind of Jargon which seemed altogether unintelligible, and by this powder he was immediately intoxicated. These images had different names, and some were in much higher reputation than others, so that a Cemi of character was frequently stolen. The Indians carefully concealed these ceremonies from the Christians, whom they would not suffer to enter the place of their devotions. However, some Spaniards once rushed into a temple, at which the idol began to cry aloud in the Indian tongue: the Christians however soon comprehended, and discovered the trick, by kicking it down, when they perceived that it was supplied with a trunk, the farther end of which reached to a dark corner of the apartment, where a man lay concealed among boughs and leaves, and spoke what was dictated by the Cacique, who now finding himself detected, earnestly intreated the Spaniards not to communicate the discovery to his subjects, as it would render it impossible for him to keep them in obedience.

Most of the princes had also three stones, which both they and their people devoutly worshipped, one of which, they said, presided over the corn and other grain, the other affected women in child-birth, and the third had an influence on the weather.

When a sick Indian was deemed past recovery, he was strangled by order of the Cacique, and was either burnt, buried, or embalmed, at the pleasure of his relations. Some, on being embowelled and dried, were laid in hammocks, with bread and water at their heads, and others deposited in a cave furnished with the same kind of provisions. It is observable, that Caunabo being questioned about a future state, said, that after death he should go to a certain vale, where he should find his parents and predecessors, and eat, and drink, and enjoy all sensual pleasures in the highest perfection.

But to return to Don Pedro Margarite and father Boyle, who, after having thrown the island into confusion, had, as has been already mentioned, deserted their posts and returned to Spain. These persons united in speaking ill of the Indies, and misrepresented every thing done by Columbus, because they had not found gold ready for them to plunder heaped up in chests, or growing on the trees; and there being also letters written by some of the mal-contents, which gave an ill character of the admiral, their Catholic majesties sent John Aguado, groom of the king's bedchamber, to observe what was doing in the island of Hispaniola; who set sail with four ships laden with necessaries, for the relief of the people.

John Aguado arrived at Isabella while the admiral was in a distant province, and pretending to be invested with extraordinary authority, interposed

in matters of government; reproved the admiral's ministers, and some time after followed Columbus, attended by a body of horse and foot: who, hearing that John Aguado was in search of him, returned to Isabela, where Aguado behaved with the utmost indiscretion, and treated the admiral with the greatest disrespect. Mean while the people complained to him of having no other provisions but a daily allowance out of the king's stores, of a porringer of wheat and a slice of rusty bacon or rotten cheese, with a few beans or Spanish pease, and of the admiral's obliging them, as they were in the king's pay, to work at the fortifications, his own house and other structures, and he resolved to lay these complaints before their majesties.

At this time the four ships brought by Aguado perished by a hurricane in the harbour, and there was no vessel left to carry him back, but the admiral's two caravels; when Columbus observing his presumption, and being informed that others had misrepresented him at court, where he had no other support than his own merit, resolved to appear before their majesties to vindicate himself; to let them know what he had found in his second discovery, relating to the island of Cuba, and his opinion as to the partition that was to be made between the two crowns of Castile and Portugal. But before he left the island, he ordered several new forts to be built; and being informed by some of the Caciques, that there were gold mines on the south side of the island, he found it necessary in order to support his own credit, to discover as much of that metal as possible, and therefore sent several persons with his Indian guides, who advancing into the most southern province, found gold in all the brooks, and, digging in several places, met with such plenty of it, that one labourer in

a day could get above three pesos. These they called the mines of St. Christopher, from a fort the admiral ordered to be erected there.

Columbus having settled the affairs of the island, and appointed his brother Bartholomew his lieutenant, went on board one of the caravels, and John Aguado in the other, and taking with him 225 Spaniards, who wanted to return, with thirty Indians, sailed from Isabella on the 10th of March 1496. He continued his course until the 6th of April, but meeting only with contrary winds, and finding his provisions falling short, and his men discouraged, he stood off towards the Caribbee Islands, and on the nineteenth of April anchored at Guadalupe, where many women came with bows and arrows to hinder their landing; but as the sea ran very high the boats were not able to reach the shore; upon which he ordered two Indian women to swim to it, and to tell the islanders that they wanted nothing but provisions, for which they would give them a valuable consideration.

The female warriors no sooner understood the demand of the Spaniards, than they directed them to sail to the other side of the island, where they could be supplied by their husbands. But on their arrival there, a great number of people came down to the shore, and discharged their arrows at the boats; but perceiving that the Spaniards rowed towards the land, retired and formed an ambuscade in the nearest woods, whence they were easily driven by the firing of guns, when their houses and effects being abandoned, were pillaged by the Spaniards, who being acquainted with the method of making bread, went to work, and made a sufficient quantity of it to supply their wants. In these Indian houses, which, contrary to the practice of the other islands, were square, they found

large parrots, honey, wax and iron. While many of the people were employed in baking bread, the admiral sent forty men to obtain some intelligence of the country, and the next day they returned with ten women and three boys, amongst whom was the wife of a Cacique, whom a man born in the Canaries had much difficulty to overtake, which he could not have done, had she not, on seeing him alone, turned back, when seizing him, she threw him upon the ground, and would certainly have stifled him had not others come to his assistance. These women swathed their legs with a piece of cotton from the ankle to the knee, and wore their hair long and flowing upon their shoulders; but no other parts of their bodies were covered. It is pretended that the captive said, the island was inhabited only by women, and that amongst those who endeavoured to oppose the Spaniards, there were only four men who happened to be there by accident; and that at certain times of the year they came to propagate their species.

Columbus, having provided his ships with a supply of wood and water, set sail from Guadalupe on the 20th of April, after having made some presents to all the inhabitants they had in their possession, and set them on shore, except the chief and her daughter, who chose to go to Spain with Caunabo, who was a native of the Caribbees, though a Cacique of Hispaniola.

On the 20th of May, when the ships were about 100 leagues west of the Azores, their provision began to fail, on which each man was allowed only six ounces of bread, and something less than a pint of water a day, and though there were eight or nine pilots in these two floops, yet none of them knew where they were. On the 8th of June, several days after the reckonings of all the pilots had been out, except the admiral's, they were in

fight of Odemira, between Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent, which some mistook for the coast of Galicia, while others maintained that they were in the English channel. The scarcity on board was now so great, that many of the men proposed to eat the Indians, while others, to save the little provision that remained, were for throwing them overboard. These cruel expedients were rejected by the admiral, who was obliged to exert all his address and authority in order to protect them, and the next morning he was rewarded for his humanity with the sight of land, which agreed so well with his having the evening before asserted that he was near Cape St. Vincent, which all on board had laughed at, that his men believed him to be prophetic in sea-affairs.

The admiral on his landing, set out for Burgos, where he was favourably received by their Catholic majesties, who were then celebrating the nuptials of their son with Margaret of Austria, the daughter of the emperor Maximilian. He presented the king and queen with several sorts of spice, various kinds of rich woods, birds of beautiful colours, girdles and masks adorned with gold plates, a large quantity of gold dust, with grains of that metal of different sizes; and had so far improved their former discoveries as to be able to affirm that there were innumerable islands in these new discovered seas, that had the richest soil, and abounded with the most valuable natural productions.

Columbus, having vindicated his own conduct to their majesties' satisfaction, earnestly solicited to be sent back with supplies to the colony he had left both in want of men, and many necessaries; but notwithstanding the warmth of his solicitations, the court was so dilatory, that ten or twelve months elapsed before he could obtain a supply, which was sent in two ships commanded by Peter

Fernandez Coronel. And after his departure, Columbus continued at court to procure the equipment of such a fleet as was proper for him to conduct to the West-Indies. This was however long retarded by the negligence and ill management of the king's officers, and particularly of Don Juan de Fonseca, arch-deacon of Seville, who was afterwards created bishop of Burgos, and proved an inveterate enemy to Columbus, whom he at length brought to disgrace.

THE
THIRD VOYAGE

OF

Christopher Columbus to America.

CHAPTER III.

Columbus steers a new course, passes by the Cape de Verde Islands, and anchors at one of them, where the Portuguese send their lepers to be cured by living upon turtle. He thence sails to the West, and discovers the Isle of Trinidad, and afterwards the Continent, which he at first supposed to be an Island, but finding his mistake, called it Paria. He trades with the Inhabitants, and returns to Hispaniola. A succinct History of the troubles of that Island, and of the Admirals endeavours to pacify them: But the court of Spain being alarmed at the many complaints sent from the Indies, depute a person to go thither to hear and determine them; upon which the Admiral is sent home in irons with his two brothers.

COLUMBUS at last set sail from the bay of St. Lucar de Barrameda, on the 30th of May 1498, with six ships laden with provisions and necessaries for the planters in Hispaniola, with a firm resolution to discover the continent. On the seventh of June, he arrived at the island of Puerto Santo, where he took in wood and water: on the 9th, touched at Madeira, where he received other refreshments on board; and on the 19th reached Gomera, at which place a French ship had taken three Spanish vessels, and stood to sea with them,

in sight of the squadron. The admiral, on being informed of this capture, ordered three of his ships to give chase; but they had made too much way for the Spanish ships to come up with them. However, one of the prizes was retrieved by the bravery of the Spaniards whom the French had left on board; for, clapping their captors under the hatches, they returned with the vessel safe into port.

Columbus sailed from thence to the island of Ferro, and having resolved to send three of his ships to Hispaniola, while he sailed with the rest to the Cape de Verde Islands, and from thence to the continent, he appointed John Antonio Columbus, his kinsman, Peter d' Aranda, and Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, captains of the ships bound for Hispaniola, with orders that each should command a week in his turn. Having dismissed them near the island of Hiero, he, on the 27th of June, discovered the island of Sal, the first of the Cape de Verde islands, and passing it, anchored close to a small island to which all the lepers in Portugal were sent to be cured by eating tortoises or turtle, and washing themselves frequently with their blood; for in the months of June, July, and August, abundance of those amphibious animals resort thither from the continent, to lay their eggs in the sand, and are easily caught by turning them on their backs while they are asleep. This was the sole business of the wretched lepers, and these animals their only sustenance, for there is neither tree nor spring in the island, so that they are obliged to drink the water of certain pits, which is brackish and unpalatable. The healthy people living on that island amounted to only six or seven, whose whole employment consisted in killing and salting goats, of which there were such multitudes on the mountains, that they have sometimes, in the course

of one year, killed to the value of 4000 ducats, though the whole stock was produced from eight goats carried thither by Roderick Alphonso, the proprietor of the island.

On the 30th of June, Columbus sailed for the island of St. Jago, where he cast anchor the next day in the evening, and sent ashore to buy cows and bulls wherewith to stock his plantation in Hispaniola; but finding that he could not obtain them without some difficulty and delay, he was unwilling to stay in so unhealthy a place, and his men beginning to sicken, he sailed to the south-west, resolving to continue that course until he should be under the line, and to steer due west in search of undiscovered countries. He proceeded in this course notwithstanding his meeting with violent currents, which set towards the north and north-west, until he arrived within five degrees of north latitude, where he was becalmed for eight days, during which the heat was so excessive, that the men could hardly breathe, and had not the air been sometimes cooled with showers of rain, the crew apprehended that they should have been burnt with their ships. The admiral therefore resolved to steer due west; but having sailed many days in that course, and judging that the Caribbee Islands lay to the north, he resolved to sail directly for Hispaniola.

Columbus therefore stood to the northward, and one day about noon a sailor going up to the round top observed land at the distance of fifteen leagues that had the appearance of three mountains. This island the admiral distinguished by the name of La Trinidad, or Trinity; and sailing due west, he anchored five leagues beyond a point which he called Punta de Galera, from a rock which at a distance resembled a galley under sail; but finding no convenience for taking in water, he sailed

farther west, and cast anchor at another point. He there took in some water, without seeing any houses or people, though in coasting along he had left several towns behind him. The same day, being the 1st of August, they discovered the continent at the distance of 25 leagues; but mistaking it for another island, the admiral gave it the name of *Isla Santa*.

Columbus now proceeded to a more westerly point of the island of *Trinidad*, which he named *Punta del Arenal*, or sandy point, where landing with his men in order to obtain refreshments, a Cacique of the island came to him, and observing that he wore a cap of crimson velvet, not only paid him great respect, but took off a circle of gold he had on his head and put it on the admiral's, and with the other hand took off the admiral's cap, with which he was greatly pleased, and put it on his own head. The same day, when they were aboard their ships, a large canoe carrying 25 men came from the eastward; but being about the distance of a musket-shot, the Indians gave over rowing, and called aloud; but as what they said could not be understood, the admiral ordered some of the men to allure them to the ship by giving them some little brass basons, looking glasses, and other glittering toys; but this proving ineffectual, Columbus, thinking to please them, ordered one of the men to ascend the poop and play upon the tabor and pipe, while others danced around him. This, however had a quite contrary effect, for they took it for a signal of war, and therefore quitting their oars, laid hold of their targets and bows, and let fly their arrows. Upon this the admiral ordered the music to cease, and some cross-bows to be brought, but only two of them to be shot; whereupon the Indians immediately laid down their arms, and ran in close under

the stern of one of the caravels, the pilot of which went down into the canoe, and giving one who seemed to be a principal person a red cap, they made signs to him to go ashore, intimating that they would give him such things as they had; but while he went in the boat to ask the admiral's leave, they rowed away.

These people were whiter than the Indians of the other islands, and had agreeable countenances. Their hair was long and straight; about their heads they tied a piece of cotton-cloth curiously wrought of several colours, and another about their waists. The admiral wondered that being so near the equinoctial, he every morning felt the cold, notwithstanding its being in the dog days; he observed that the rivers ran with greater rapidity than that of Seville; that the sea at high water flowed above 48 paces up the shore, as it did at St. Lucar, and that the current set with such strength between the islands of Trinidad and Santa, which were only two leagues asunder, that it resembled a rapid river. The Spaniards found that the fruit, trees, soil and climate were the same as in Hispaniola. They saw parrots, some of a light green, others whitish, and others intermixed with red and yellow; and also caught very large oysters, and great quantities of other fish.

The ships having taken in water at Punta del Arenal, Columbus proceeded to a point in the north-west of what he until then called Isla Santa, which he thought to be extraordinary high land, as indeed it is; and this, which is a part of the continent near the vast ridge of mountains called the Andes, he afterwards called Paria.

Columbus now proceeded to another mouth or channel which he called Bocca della Sierpe, or the Serpent's mouth, from the danger of the place; for anchoring near a rock, the sea ran so furiously to the northward, that it resembled the mouth of

a great river, the stream of which encreasing with a hideous noise, met with another current from the gulph of Paria, and swelled up the sea with terrible roaring, to the astonishment and consternation of the Spaniards, who expected to be overwhelmed. However they suffered no other damage than one of the ships dragging her anchor. This danger being past, the admiral sailed westward along the coast of Paria, discovering several good harbours and rivers; and going ashore, saw many monkeys, and found plantanes, and other fruit like those of the islands.

On the 6th of August, they sailed five leagues further down, between the coast and the isle of Trinidad, where dropping anchor, three men came in a canoe, and being carried to the admiral, were treated with great civility; presented with toys, and set on shore at a place where a number of the Indians were assembled; who no sooner understood the pacific disposition of the Spaniards, than they came in their canoes to barter with the same things that had been bought by the Spaniards at the islands. They drank a liquor as white as milk, and another that was green made of fruit and maize. The men covered their heads and waists with well-woven cotton of different colours; but the women here, as well as in the isle of Trinidad, were entirely naked; but they seemed in general to be more civilized and tractable than the inhabitants of Hispaniola, and were particularly fond of brass trinkets and bells; but having nothing of value, except a few inconsiderable plates of gold that hung about their necks, Columbus ordered six of them to be taken on board, and then continuing his course saw a fine country well peopled, and a town, which for its beauty he called the Gardens, where he anchored, and many resorted to the ships with wrought cloths on their heads, and some of them with plates of gold about their

necks. The Indians on board said that there was plenty of that metal in those parts, and shewed how they gathered it. As they sailed farther they were still visited in more canoes, in which all the people wore gold collars, with beads of various sorts; and one Indian in particular had a single grain of gold as big as an apple. The women wore strings of beads about their arms, some of which were very fine pearls; these they signified were found in oysters to the westward of Paria; and the admiral having purchased some of these for a present to their Catholic majesties, sent the boats to make farther enquiry about that valuable commodity; but though the sailors had no design to land, two of the Indian chiefs constrained them to it, and conducted them to a house, where they were kindly entertained with bread, fruit of several sorts, the white liquor before mentioned, and another of a red colour, and good taste; the men all the time keeping together at one end of the house, and the women at the other. When they had been thus treated by the eldest, the youngest took them to another house, and treated them in the same manner. The sailors returned well satisfied to their boats, highly pleased with the people, who were whiter than any other of the Indians, and of a very good stature; but what appeared to the admiral as very extraordinary, was, the country appearing cool and delightful, notwithstanding its being so near the equinoctial.

Columbus still continuing his course, found that the water grew more and more shallow, and therefore anchoring upon the coast, he sent the smallest caravel to discover whether there was an outlet to the westward among what appeared to be islands, but she returned the next day with a report, that what seemed islands was one continued continent; so that standing back to the

eastward, he repassed the streights called the Dragon's Mouth, between Paria and Trinidad Island, but not without great difficulty and danger from the boisterous currents. He now sailed westward along the coast of Paria, and after passing by several islands, on the 30th of August entered the harbour of St. Domingo in Hispaniola, where his brother had built a town which he called by that name in memory of his father, whose name was Dominick.

Columbus was at this time almost blind with watching, and quite exhausted with fatigue; but he indulged the hope of tasting the sweets of repose, and enjoying rest and tranquility. He was however grievously disappointed: For he soon found that the whole island was in the greatest confusion. The greatest part of those he had left were dead; above 160 were miserably infected with the venereal disease, and a great number had rebelled, at the head of whom was Francis Roldan, whom he had appointed Alcade or Chief Justice.

It has been already observed, that a considerable time elapsed before Columbus could obtain a supply from their Catholic majesties for the colony of Hispaniola. In this interval, provisions began to fail, the Spaniards of that island began to murmur, became dissatisfied with their situation, and even despaired of his return. Roldan, whose office gave him a considerable influence, resolved to take advantage of this spirit of discontent, in order to centre the whole power in his own hands, and therefore encouraged the murmurs of the discontented against Bartholomew Columbus, the lieutenant, and his brother Diego, to whose tyranny he imputed all their sufferings. His intrigues were so successful, that the minds of many of the Spaniards were alienated from the

brothers of Christopher Columbus, and even made several attempts upon their lives. Roldan, at length, pulling off the mask, assembled his men, who amounted to 65, and attempted to seize the town and fort of Conception. But this scheme miscarried through the vigilance of Ballester, the commander, who obtaining intelligence of his design, communicated it to the lieutenant, who sent him a reinforcement. This rebellious behaviour obliged Bartholomew to send orders to Roldan, to resign his post, and submit to an impartial trial; but he disdainfully refused to obey these commands, marched with his mutineers to Isabella, where he there tried in vain to launch a caravel which was upon the stocks, plundered the storehouses and magazines, and obliged Diego Columbus to retire for protection into the fort; after which he fell upon the cattle that grazed in the neighbourhood, killed many of them for provisions, and took all the beasts of burden to serve his people in their march to the province of Xaragua, where he chose to reside, on account of its being the most pleasant and plentiful part of the island, and its abounding with beautiful women.

Before Roldan set out for his retreat, he resolved to try his strength, and if possible, surprize the town of the Conception, where he intended to murder the lieutenant, and did not doubt but he should easily subdue his men, who were too fond of an idle and voluptuous life; but Don Bartholomew, who was a man of equal courage and discretion, took such measures, that not one of his people would forsake him, and boldly marching out against Roldan, the latter did not think fit to hazard a battle. Roldan now, by artful insinuations to the prejudice of Christopher Columbus and his brothers, engaged Guarinoex, a powerful Cacique, in his interest; and several Indian lords,

who were flattered with the hope of having their tribute remitted, entered into an association, by which it was resolved, that at the full moon, the natives should surprize and murder the Spaniards, who, for the convenience of subsistence, lived amongst them in small detached parties. But this project also miscarried through the ignorance of the Indians, some of whom being mistaken with respect to the appearance of the moon, fell upon the christians before the appointed time, and were easily repulsed; by which means the conspiracy was discovered, and the Spaniards put upon their guard.

Roldan, who was greatly mortified at these repeated miscarriages, now retired with his followers to Xaragua, proclaimed himself the protector of the Indians against the oppression of the lieutenant and his brother; and his artful misrepresentations had not only an effect upon some of the natives, who refused to pay the tribute, but made an impression on the minds of those Spaniards who still remained under the government of the lieutenant, many of whom were, by the warmth of the climate, disposed to a life of idleness, and were discontented at their having received no supplies from Spain; and indeed, such a spirit of disaffection was diffused amongst them, that the lieutenant did not dare to punish the guilty for fear of a general revolt.

From these apprehensions he was, however, in some measure relieved by the arrival of the two ships first sent, in consequence of the admiral's solicitations; for these bringing a reinforcement of men and provisions with the assurance that the admiral himself would soon follow, the people were encouraged to persevere in their duty. These two ships being arrived at St. Domingo, Roldan marched towards that city in order to obtain ne-

cessaries, and if possible seduce some of the new comers ; but he was anticipated by the activity of the lieutenant who reached the place before he was within six leagues of it, and so effectually guarded the passes, that he could not succeed.— Yet as he earnestly wished to have the admiral to find the island in tranquility, he sent overtures of accommodation by the commander of these vessels ; but Roldan sent him back with a contemptuous refusal.

While things were in this situation, the three ships which the admiral had detached from the Canary Islands arrived, but instead of entering the harbour of St. Domingo, were driven by the currents as far westward as the province of Xaragua, where they were visited by Roldan and his followers, who seduced many of the people, and prevailed on them to enter into his service. The captains of these three vessels, understanding that Bartholomew Columbus and the Alcade were at variance, agreed that Carvajal, the commander of one of the ships, should stay in Xaragua, and endeavour to produce an accommodation ; that John Antonio Columbus, who commanded one of the other vessels, and was kinsman to the admiral, should conduct the workmen over land to St. Domingo, and that captain Arana should sail round with the ships. John Antonio Columbus accordingly landed with forty men ; but on the second day of his march, all his followers except six or seven, deserted to the rebels, and with these he was obliged to return on board, after his having in vain expostulated with Roldan upon his treacherous conduct on this occasion.

After a troublesome voyage, in which their provisions were spoiled, and Carvajal's vessel greatly damaged, he arrived at St. Domingo, where the

admiral was just returned from the discovery of the continent. His brother had informed him of Roldan's revolt; at which being greatly concerned, he caused Roldan to be informed, that he was extremely sorry for the breach that had happened between him and the Adelantado, or lieutenant, and was very desirous of healing it; that he should be extremely glad to see him, and would grant him a safe conduct. At the same time hearing that the rebels complained of their being detained upon the island for want of a vessel to carry them home, he published a proclamation, granting leave to all that desired it, to return to Spain, promising to supply them with provisions and a free passage. Roldan, however, treated all the admiral's advances towards a reconciliation with indignity and insult, boasting that it was in his power either to support or suppress the authority of the admiral, with whom he would not treat without the mediation of Carvajal, whom, he said, he knew to be a man of honour and discretion.

As Carvajal was a person of consequence and had some prudence, Columbus, though he had reason to suspect his fidelity, since he had supplied the rebels with arms while the ships lay at Xaragua, consented to employ him in this negotiation. Roldan, however, refused to treat with them, sent an insolent letter to the admiral, and being at length persuaded to accept of a safe conduct, and to visit Columbus, made such extravagant proposals, as he could not embrace without exposing himself to contempt. Columbus therefore explained his reasons for rejecting them, and proclaimed a free pardon to all who should return to their duty within thirty days; a copy of which, with new overtures of peace, was carried to the rebels by Carvajal; and about the same time Columbus sent five ships to Spain, with a letter to their Majesties,

containing a particular account of the colony and its diffentions.

After many disputes, it was at length agreed, that the admiral should deliver to Roldan two good ships well manned and victualled for transporting him and his party to Spain; that they should be paid their salaries and wages to the day of their departure, and that such of their effects should be restored as had been seized by his and the lieutenant's order. Matters being thus compromised, the admiral gave orders for equipping the ships, but the weather being extremely boisterous, some time elapsed before they were ready, and could be brought round to Xaragua, and during this interval, Roldan changed his mind, and refused to embark; but expressing a desire to see the affair accommodated, demanded a safe conduct in order to treat with the admiral in person. The latter being sensible of the mutinous disposition of his own people, was so solicitous about healing this division, that he not only complied with Roldan's demand, but went round with two caravels to the port of Azua near Xaragua, where he had a conference with the rebel chief, in which it was agreed that fifteen of Roldan's followers should be sent home to Spain; that lands and houses should be given instead of pay to those that remained; that Roldan should again be appointed perpetual alcade, and that an act of general amnesty should be published.

This troublesome affair being thus adjusted, the admiral caused a captain at the head of a body of men to march round the island, in order to pacify and reduce the rebellious Indians; and that no cause of animosity might be left at Hispaniola, he proposed to take his brother the lieutenant with him to Spain; but while he was preparing for the voyage, Alonza de Hojeda arrived in the island

with four ships from a cruize, in which he had pretended to make discoveries, and putting into the port of Yaquimo, not only committed several outrages against the Indians, but by letters began to tamper with some of the Spaniards, who were hardly yet confirmed in their duty. To these he insinuated that Queen Isabella was in a very bad state of health, and after her decease, the admiral would find no protection at court, but would fall a victim to Hojeda's kinsman, the Bishop of Burgos, and Columbus's inveterate enemy.

Columbus being informed of these proceedings, ordered Roldan to march against him with 21 men. This order he obeyed so suddenly, that Hojeda, finding it impossible to escape, went to meet him, excused his landing under the pretence of his being in want of provisions, and declared that he had no intentions to disturb the repose of the island, but would soon sail to St Domingo, and give the admiral an account of his voyage. But notwithstanding these professions, he sailed to the province of Xaragua, where he seduced many of the people by telling them that he and Carvajal had been appointed by their Majesties Counsellors as checks upon the admiral, and that as he had not been so just as to pay them, they should go under his command and do themselves justice by force. This wild scheme being opposed by some of the Spaniards, who were amazed at Hojeda's presumption, a tumult ensued, in which several persons were killed and wounded; but Roldan marching a second time against him, he retired to his ship. The alcade, perceiving he was out of his reach, invited him to come ashore, and treat of an accommodation; and upon his refusal, offered to go on board, when Hojeda sending his boat well-manned, Roldan, with six or seven of his followers, entered it, and when it was least suspected, fell upon

Hojeda's men, made themselves masters of the boat, and returned with it to land, which obliged Hojeda to submit to a treaty, and to give security that he would depart the island.

Soon after another commotion was raised by Ferdinand Guevara, who was in disgrace with the admiral, for being concerned in the late sedition, and he being exasperated against Roldan, for not permitting him to marry the queen of Xaragua's daughter, entered into a conspiracy with one Adrian de Mozica, and having engaged many people in his interest, resolved to surprize and murder the alcade. But Roldan being informed of their proceedings took his measures so well, that he seized the chief conspirators, and being ordered by the admiral to punish them according to law, he proceeded to a fair trial, in consequence of which Mozica was hanged, some of the confederates banished, and others sent to prison.

This example had such an effect, that tranquility was restored throughout the whole island; and about this time such rich gold mines were discovered, that every man left the king's pay, and went to dig on his own account, allowing the king one third of all that was found. In this employment they met with such success, that one would sometimes gather 40 ounces in a day, and a lump of pure gold was found weighing 196 ducats.

While Columbus was thus exerting all his prudence, and exercising his humanity in appeasing the troubles of Hispaniola, he little thought that a storm was rising against him at home. A number of malcontents had been sent to Spain during the rebellion, who represented him as an insolent alien, ignorant of the laws and customs of the Spanish nation; oppressive and cruel in his disposition; elated with the dignity to which he had been raised, and so avaricious and unjust, that he not only withheld the pay due to the servants

of the government, but embezzled the riches of the island. They inveighed with still greater vehemence against his brother the lieutenant, nor did Diego escape the utmost virulence of their censure. These invectives being spread abroad by the friends of those who had been the disturbers of the peace of Hispaniola, and encouraged by many persons at court, who envied Columbus's success and reputation, such a clamour was raised in Castile, that the king and queen were daily surrounded in the streets by the people demanding justice against that proud and tyrannical foreigner, who had oppressed so many Castilians, and discovered a mischievous country to be the ruin and grave of the Spanish gentry. Their Majesties sent over an Inspector-general to Hispaniola, with power to enquire into the admiral's conduct, and if he should be found guilty to send him home, while the Inspector was to remain governor of the island in his room. Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of the order of Calatrava, but in very low circumstances, was chosen for this high office; and being furnished with full powers, arrived at St. Domingo in the latter end of August 1500, while the admiral was at the Conception with most of the people of consequence, settling the affairs of that province.

Bovadilla finding nobody at St. Domingo who could be a check upon his conduct, immediately took possession of the admiral's palace, seized his effects, assembled all who were disaffected to the brothers; declared himself governor, dispatched orders to the admiral to repair to him without delay, and to back his summons, sent him the king and queen's letter, which contained no more than that their majesties had sent the bearer to acquaint Columbus with their pleasure, which he was directed to obey; and this order was signed both by the king and queen.

Columbus, immediately on his receiving this letter, set out for St. Domingo, to wait upon Bovadilla, who, without any legal information, sent him and his brother Diego on board a ship, where they were laid in irons, placed under a strong guard, and entirely excluded from the speech of any person whatsoever. A process was then begun against them, and all their enemies being admitted as evidences, their depositions were so malicious, incoherent, and absurd, that nobody who had not been determined at all events to ruin the accused, would have paid the least regard to their allegations. Bovadilla, however, on this occasion countenanced the most flagrant perjuries, and even encouraged the rabble to insult the prisoners, by blowing horns at the port where the ships lay at anchor, and by reading scandalous libels at the market place. The lieutenant, who was not yet returned from Xaragua, might probably have rescued his brothers by force of arms, had not the admiral ordered him to submit quietly to their majesties authority, vested in the person of the new governor, who had no sooner laid his injunction on Andrew Martin, the captain of the ship, to deliver the admiral in irons to the bishop de Fonseca, by whose direction he acted, than he began to embezzle the treasure, squander the king's revenue among his creatures, oppress the Indians, countenance the greatest profligacy, and destroy all the prudent regulations established by the admiral.

Andrew Martin was no sooner out at sea, than being ashamed to see the brave Columbus in this disgraceful situation, would have knocked off his irons; but he resolved to wear them during his whole passage, and to keep them ever after as a memorial of the reward he had obtained for his services; and indeed these fetters he always preserved in his own chamber, and, at his request, they were at length buried in the same coffin with his body.

On the 20th of November, 1500, he wrote to their Catholic majesties to acquaint them with his arrival at Cadiz. Upon which they gave immediate orders for his being released ; sent him very gracious letters, in which they expressed their sorrow for his sufferings, and invited him to court, promising that he should soon be sent again, and fully restored to his honours.

On his arrival at Granada, the king and queen gave him a favourable reception, and let him know that they were offended at the author of his imprisonment, who had acted thus without their orders, and promised that he should have full satisfaction. Mean while they directed his affair to be examined, and the accusations against him plainly appearing malicious and frivolous, he was honourably acquitted ; and at the same time a new governor of Hispaniola was appointed, in order to redress the admiral's grievances, and oblige Bovadilla to restore what he had unjustly seized. This commission was granted to Nicholas de Obando, commendary of laws, a man of abilities, but crafty, cruel, and revengeful, who afterwards exercised great barbarity upon the natives and their chiefs.

It was at the same time resolved to send the admiral upon some voyage that might turn to his advantage, and keep him employed, until Obando could settle the affairs of Hispaniola ; but there being some delay in the execution of this design, and the admiral being apprehensive of future disgrace, from the indefatigable efforts of his enemies at court, desired to be excused from embarking again, and intreated their majesties to defend him against all dangers. This procured him a very favorable answer, and soon after the most advantageous grants and concessions, which made him resolve once more to expose his life in another voyage to the Indies, in order to perfect his discoveries.

CHAPTER IV.

A DIGRESSION,

Containing the Discoveries made by other Spaniards, while Columbus was engaged in the third Voyage.

BEFORE we proceed to Columbus's next voyage, it is proper that we should give some account of the discoveries, whether real or pretended, that were made before he again set sail for America. Alonzo Hojeda, who has been already mentioned in the course of this voyage, and Americus Vesputius, obtained from the bishop of Burgos, the draughts and plans which, by their majesties order Columbus had deposited in the hands of that prelate, who, out of hatred to that great commander, and to rob him, if possible, of his credit and reputation, gave them up without the knowledge of the king and queen. The licences he gave these gentlemen were also clandestine. They set sail from Cadiz on the 20th of May 1499, and steered directly in search of the continent, pursuant to the admiral's scheme, which before this time he had actually carried into execution. This was the first voyage made by Americus Vesputius, and though he now only touched at that part of the continent which had been visited by the admiral, yet he impudently pretended to discover it; and by confounding this with a voyage he afterwards made into those parts, dressed up a plausible story, and being an excellent geographer and draftsman, imposed upon the greatest part of Europe. In

Spain, however, he was soon detected; for pretending that he returned directly to that kingdom after a voyage of thirteen months spent in discoveries, Hojeda made oath that only five months were spent in the voyage, and that finding themselves short of provisions, they sailed to Hispaniola for a supply.

It was no sooner known that Alonzo Hojeda and America Vesputius had obtained the above licences, than others resolved to make use of the same interest in order to acquire a share of the riches of the new world; and a company was formed by some of the inhabitants of Seville, the principal of whom was Peter Alonzo Nino of Palos, who was with the admiral when he discovered Paria, and Christopher Guerre of Seville.

Nino having obtained the king's licence, upon condition of his not coming to an anchor, or landing within fifty leagues of any place discovered by Columbus, set sail soon after Hojeda and Vesputius, discovered land, and arrived at the province of Paria a few days after them; where finding the Indians behave peaceably, he, contrary to his instructions, landed and cut Brazil wood, and then continuing his course, came to what Columbus had called the Bay of Pearls, formed by the island of Margarita, and the continent, and which he had visited in 1498.

The people here went on board Nino's ships without any apprehensions, carrying pearl necklaces, and wearing jewels in their noses and ears; for which the Spaniards gave them hawks-bells, bracelets, rings, and several trifles made of tin. Having thus purchased a considerable quantity of valuable pearls, the Spaniards passed by Coro, near the province now called Venezuela, 130 leagues below Paria and the Dragon's Mouth, and

anchored in a bay where they were well received by fifty men, who came from a place at a league's distance, and very earnestly pressed them to anchor at their town: upon which the Spaniards gave them some toys, and the Indians taking off all the pearls they had about their necks and arms, in the space of an hour gave them as many as weighed fifteen ounces.

The next day the Spaniards came to an anchor before a town called Curiana, where the Indians made signs to them to come on shore; but being no more than 33 men, they durst not venture, and therefore by their signs invited the Indians to come on board, which they did in their canoes, carrying pearls, which they freely exchanged for toys; by which the Spaniards being convinced of their sincerity, landed and stayed twenty days on shore, during which they were courteously entertained with venison, rabbits, geese, ducks, parrots, fish, and bread made of maize. They perceived that the natives kept markets or fairs; that they had earthen jars, dishes, and other vessels of several shapes, and that in their pearl necklaces they had frogs and other creatures made of gold. They asked by signs where that metal was gathered, and were answered in the same manner, that it was got six days journey from thence, at a place called Curiana Cauchcito.

The Spaniards therefore sailed thither, and found that the people were very tractable; for they came on board in their canoes without the least jealousy, and bartered with them for wrought and unwrought gold, though they would not part with their pearls. They also gave them some monkeys, and very beautiful parrots of various colours.

Leaving this place they proceeded farther; but as they approached the shore above 5000 naked men came armed with bows and arrows to oppose

their landing, and, though they strove to please them by shewing them hawks bells, and other things, they could not prevail, and therefore returned to Curiana, where they were received with the same satisfaction as before, the Indians now trading with them for pins and needles, which the Spaniards shewed them would be of use in drawing the thorns out of their feet, when they happened to tread upon them. The Indians were highly pleased, thinking they had made very advantageous bargains with the Spaniards, who carried away above 12,000 ounces of pearls, some of which were very beautiful, and well coloured, and as large as small hazle-nuts; but they were ill bored, the Indians having no iron. The Spaniards were now so well satisfied with the success of their voyage, that they resolved to return home, and arrived at Galicia on the 6th of February 1500, two months after they left Curiana, when Nino and Christopher Guerre, who shared in the expence and profits of the voyage, were accused before the governor, by their own ship's crew, of having defrauded the king of his duty, which was the 5th part.

The great riches which the adventurers gained by this voyage, promoted the spirit of discovery, more especially among such as knew the proposals made by Columbus, or had served under him in his first two voyages. Of these none was so capable of prosecuting them as Vincent Yanez Pinzon, of whom we have already spoken. He had a liberal education, great courage, and a large fortune; he therefore fitted out, at his own expence, a squadron of four stout ships, with which he sailed to the Cape de Verd Islands, where he took in refreshments, and steered from St. Jago, about the year 1500, first standing to the south and then to the west, and was the first subject of the crown of Castile and Leon, that crossed the Equinoctial.

But he had hardly crossed the line, when he met with a dreadful storm, in which all on board expected to perish: However, having run 240 leagues farther to the westward, they on the 26th of February discovered land at a great distance, which Yanez called Cabo de Consolation, or Cape Comfort (now called Cape St. Augustine,) and sounding, had fourteen fathoms water. Captain Pinzon going on shore, took possession of the country in the name of their Catholic majesties, and endeavoured to the utmost of his power, though without effect, to induce the people to trade with him; for the natives being inflexible, and having no good opinion of these invaders, an engagement ensued, in which some were slain on both sides.

This made captain Pinzon resolve to retire, and continue his voyage, which he did to the mouth of the river Maranon, where he observed a mighty struggle between the tide salt water coming in, and a vast current of fresh water pouring down from the land. The country at the mouth of this river, he found well inhabited on both sides, but not being able to persuade the inhabitants to traffick, he resolved, without further delay, to proceed towards Paria.

Yanez, on his arrival at Paria, took in Brazil wood, and then struck over to the islands that lay in the way to Hispaniola: But when the ships were lying at anchor, there arose such a dreadful storm, that two of the four sunk in sight of the others with all the men; a third was forced from her anchors with eighteen men, and carried out of sight, and the fourth, though she rode it out, beat so furiously, that the sailors, believing she would be dashed in pieces, went ashore in the long-boat, and had thoughts of murdering all the Indians they found, to prevent their calling in their neighbours to destroy them; but the ship that had been driven

to sea with the eighteen men returned, and the other which rode at anchor being saved, they failed to Hispaniola, where they refitted, and returned to Spain about the latter end of September; after having discovered 600 leagues of the coast of Paria.

James de Lepe, a native of Palos, having heard of the expedition undertaken by Pinzon, applied himself to the earl of Miranda his patron, and promising to perform wonders in case he would enable him to make the same voyage, his request was complied with, and he actually arrived at the mouth of the river Maranon, soon after Pinzon had left it; the people being provoked at his seizing thirty-six men, and carrying them on board, vigorously attacked the Spaniards, and killed several of them, which obliged him to prosecute his voyage to Paria, where he also quarrelled with the inhabitants, and returned without making the least advantage of this expedition, except taking a few Indian prisoners.

It is here proper to observe, that Emanuel king of Portugal, sending a considerable fleet to the East-Indies* under the command of Peter Alvarez Cabral in the year 1500, that admiral sailing to the S. W. to avoid the calms on the coast of Guinea, was so happy as to discover Brazil, one of the richest provinces in South-America, by mere accident. But it is now necessary to return to the discoveries made by the great Columbus.

* The coast of India had been discovered by Vasco de Gama, in 1498, while Columbus was engaged in his third voyage to the West-Indies. See de Gama's voyage.

THE
FOURTH VOYAGE

OF

Christopher Columbus to America.

CHAPTER V.

Columbus arrives at Hispaniola, and meets with the basest usage from Obando, the new governor, upon which he leaves that island, and prosecutes his discoveries along the coast of the continent: proceeds to the isthmus of Darien, where he expected to find a passage to the Indies: sails to the haven of Porto Bello: sends a detachment up the river Veragua to the Indian Mines; and after other excursions into the country, forms a settlement at the mouth of the river Belem, when being informed that a Cacique named Quibio intended to set fire to the houses, he causes him and his family to be seized, but they making their escape, attack the settlement, and kill several of the Spaniards, upon which the new settlers rejoin the admiral, who after suffering several hardships, run the ships on shore on the coast of Jamaica; whence they send two canoes to Hispaniola. The hardships suffered by the people in the voyage, and the troubles the admiral met with in Jamaica during his long stay in that island. The Spaniards sail thence to Hispaniola, and afterwards to Spain, where Columbus DIES. Some account of his Person and Character.

COLUMBUS, having received his instructions, sailed from Cadiz with four small ships, and 140 men, including boys; on the 9th of May 1502, he arrived at St. Catherine's, and departed from thence on the 11th for Arzilla, a port-town of Morocco, then subject to Portugal, and invested by

the Moors. He failed thither, in order to relieve the Portuguese, who were reported to be in great distress; but the Moors had raised the siege before his arrival, the admiral therefore failed for Grand Canaria, where he arrived on the 20th, and having taken in wood and water for the voyage, proceeded on the 25th in the evening for the West-Indies, with so favorable a wind, that on the 15th of June, he arrived at the island of Martinico. He there took in a fresh supply of wood and water, and then failed by the Carribbee-Islands to St. Domingo in Hispaniola, where he intended to exchange one of his ships, which was a bad sailer, in order to continue his voyage, with less hinderance, to the coast of Paria, in quest of a strait which he concluded was near the place since called Veragua and Nombre de Dios.

In order that the judge sent by their majesties to call Bovadilla to an account might not be surprized at his unexpected arrival, he, on his approaching the port, dispatched before him one of his captains, to signify the necessity of changing the ship, and to represent that as he apprehended a great storm was approaching, he proposed to secure himself in that port, and desired that the homeward bound fleet might not fail for eight days, by which means it would avoid the danger to which it would otherwise be exposed. But so little inclined was this new governor to assist the admiral with another vessel, that he would not even allow him to enter the port; and disregarding his advice, permitted the fleet, in which were Roldan, and all who had been in the rebellion, to put to sea, on their return to Spain.

But the fleet had no sooner weathered the east point of Hispaniola, than there arose so terrible a storm, that the admiral of the fleet, in which was Bovadilla, and most of the rebels, foundered, and

this hurricane was so fatal to the rest, that of the eighteen ships that were in that fleet, only four were saved. Mean while Columbus, who had foreseen the storm, and been refused admittance into an island which he had discovered, and added to the dominions of Spain, sheltered himself under the land; but the storm encreasing, three of Columbus's vessels were forced out to sea, when the Bermuda, the ship he wanted to exchange, would certainly have perished had she not been preserved by the admirable skill of his brother Bartholomew, who was allowed to be the most expert seaman of his time. The ships being thus separated, each concluded that the other was lost, until in a few days they met again in the port of Azua.—The admiral's satisfaction, however was considerably diminished by the mortification he felt, upon reflecting that he had been denied shelter in a port where he had a right to command, and refused a privilege in his own island, that is never denied to strangers. However, the consequence of this storm furnished his superstitious enemies with a pretence for saying, that he had raised it by magic, in order to destroy the fleet bound for Spain; and what seemed to add weight to this ridiculous supposition, was, that the only ship of the eighteen that arrived in Spain was the *Aguja*, on board of which were 4000 pesos of gold belonging to the admiral, while three others that resisted the fury of the waves were forced in a shattered condition back to St. Domingo.

Columbus, while in the port of Azua, gave his men some refreshment after the storm, and allowed them to divert themselves with fishing, in which they had good success: and amongst the rest of the fish they caught here, was one called the *Savina*, which is as big as an ordinary church bell, and lying asleep above water, was struck with an

harping iron by the crew in one of the boats.— One end of this iron being fastened to a long rope, and the other to the boat, the fish drew the boat after it as swift as the flight of an arrow, while those who were on board the ship, seeing the boat skim about, and not knowing the reason, were greatly astonished, until at last the fish sinking, it was drawn to the ship's side and hauled up by the tackle. They also caught in the same bay the Manatee, or sea-cow, an amphibious animal, whose flesh was compared by the people on board to that of veal.

Columbus, having here repaired the damage his ships had sustained by the storm, failed in order to make discoveries on the continent, and reached the islands of Guania, near the province now called Honduras, where Bartholomew Columbus going on shore with two boats, they saw a great number of pine trees and pieces of lapis calaminaris, which, being mixed with copper, some of the seamen mistook for gold.

While the admiral's brother was at this island, and was very desirous of knowing what it contained, he observed approaching the shore a canoe made of one tree, as long as a galley; it was eight feet wide, and had an awning of palm leaves in the middle, not unlike those of the Venetian gondolas; under this cover the women, children, and all the goods were sheltered from the weather, and though there were twenty-five men on board the canoe, they had not the courage to defend themselves against the boats, but being pursued, were taken without opposition. The admiral was rejoiced at his having obtained an opportunity of discovering the commodities of the continent, without exposing his men to danger; and having given orders for examining the cargo, there were found quilts, and a kind of shirts without sleeves,

made of cotton curiously wrought and dyed of several colours; some small cloths of the same sort, to be worn about the middle, with large sheets in which the women on board wrapt themselves; large wooden swords, edged on each side with sharp flints fixed in grooves with thread and a bituminous matter; and also hatchets made of copper; bells of the same metal, with plates and crucibles for melting it. As for the provisions, they consisted of the same kind of roots and grain as were eaten in Hispaniola, and a sort of liquor resembling English beer made of maize. They had also a considerable number of cocoa nuts, upon which they seemed to set a great value; for notwithstanding the consternation with which they were seized at finding themselves prisoners aboard the ship, they never failed, when one of these nuts chanced to fall upon the deck, to stoop and take it up with eagerness, as if it were something of consequence. They behaved with extraordinary modesty, and seemed to have some sense of decorum, with which the admiral was so pleased that he ordered them to be well used; gave them European commodities in exchange for such of their goods as he thought proper to retain, and then restoring their canoe, suffered them to depart. He however kept an old man, who seemed both the wisest and chief man of the company, in order to learn something of the country, and to draw others to converse with the christians, which he faithfully did, as long as they failed where his language was understood; and when he could be no longer serviceable, was dismissed with a present, and then sent home highly pleased.

Though the admiral was told by this Indian of the great wealth, politeness, and ingenuity of the people westward towards Mexico, yet knowing that as that country lay to the leeward, he could sail thither from Cuba whenever he thought

fit, he resolved at present to persist in his design of discovering a strait in the continent through which he expected to find the East Indies, and in particular the country that produced spices. He accordingly sailed towards Darien, where he was told that he should find this strait; but the Indians meant an isthmus or neck of land, which he mistook for a passage extending from sea to sea. In quest of this strait, he sailed towards a point on the continent, to which he gave the name of Casinas, from his finding there great plenty of trees bearing a fruit so called by the natives of Hispaniola: Near this cape saw people who wore painted tunics, or shirts made of cotton, so thick and strong as to defend them against the weapons used in that country, and even to bear off the stroke of some of ours. Farther to the eastward he found the natives of a fierce aspect, and of a savage disposition; they went entirely naked; eat flesh and fish raw as it was taken, and made holes in their ears, which they stretched by their pendants, so wide that a hen's egg might be passed through them, from which circumstance the admiral denominated that coast *de las Orejas*, or of the Ears.

On the 14th of August in the morning, Barthomew Columbus went ashore upon this coast, to hear mass, with the colours flying, and attended by the captains and many of the men; and a few days after he again landed to take possession of the country for their Catholic majesties, when about 100 Indians loaded with provisions ran towards shore, but on the approach of the boats suddenly retired without speaking a word. The lieutenant perceiving their timidity, desired the interpreter to allure them with bells, beads, and other toys, with which they were so well pleased, that they returned in greater numbers the next day, with several sorts of provisions, as hens, which

were better than those of Spain, geese, broiled fish, and red and white beans. The country was low, green, and beautiful, and produced abundance of pines, oaks, palm-trees and mirabolans, with all the fruits that were to be found on the island of Hispaniola; there were also deer, leopards, and other animals. The inhabitants were like those of the islands, only their foreheads were not so high; for the most part they went naked, except a cloth round their waists, but those of distinction wore red and white cotton cloths about their heads; and some had a short jacket without sleeves, that reached to the waist. Their arms and bodies were ornamented with different figures wrought into the skin by pricking it, and on festival days they painted their faces of various colours, which made them look extremely terrible. They seemed to have no religion, and every nation spoke a particular language of their own.

From cape Casinas, the admiral was seventy-three days in sailing sixty leagues to the eastward, the wind and current being contrary all the time. But as there was good riding along the coast, he tacked to and fro, and every night dropped anchor under the land; but at length he reached a cape to which he gave the name of Gracias a Dios, or Thanks to God; because from that place, the land turning off to the South, enabled him to prosecute his voyage with a trade wind. However, a little beyond this headland he passed some dangerous sands, which for a considerable way ran out to sea.

On the 16th of September, being in want of wood and water, Columbus sent the boats into a river, that seemed to have a deep and good entrance; but on their return, the wind blowing from the sea, and the waves running high against the current of the river, one of the boats, with all her men, was lost, when the admiral called this

Rio de la Disgracia, or the River of Disaster. Still running to the southward, they, on the 25th, anchored near a little island called Quiriviri, and a town on the continent named Coriari, which is situated near a great river, to the banks of which a multitude of people resorted; some with bows and arrows, others with staves, of a wood as black as jet, as hard as iron, and pointed with fish bones; while others came with clubs. They seemed to have assembled with the intention of defending their country from invasion; but observing the pacific disposition of the Spaniards, were very desirous of bartering their commodities with them, which consisted of arms, cotton jackets, and pieces of pale gold, which they wore about their necks. With these things they swam to the boats, for the Spaniards did not go ashore that day nor the next; nor would the admiral allow his people to take their goods in exchange, but presented them with several baubles. Yet the less the Spaniards seemed to regard the traffic, the more eagerness they discovered for it, and made signs for them to come ashore; but these proving ineffectual, they retired, leaving every thing they had received on the shore, where they were found by the Spaniards, at the place which they afterwards landed at. The Indians at length supposing that the Spaniards did not confide in their sincerity, sent an old man of an awful presence, carrying a flag upon a staff, attended by two young girls with pieces of gold about their necks. These, by the old man's desire, were conducted by the boats crew aboard the admiral, who ordered them to be clothed and fed, had them set on shore, where they were received with much satisfaction by the old man, and fifty of the natives.

Bartholomew Columbus going ashore the next day, in order to learn something of the country,

two of the chief men came to the boat, and taking him by the arms, made him sit down between them. In this situation he began to interrogate them by signs, and ordered his secretary to write down what were supposed to be their answers; but they no sooner saw the pen, ink, and paper, than they were in such consternation, that most of them ran away, imagining perhaps that these were implements of sorcery; for they had performed some ceremonies of exorcism before they approached the Spaniards, scattering a powder in the air, and burning some of the same powder, and endeavouring to make the smoke fly towards the Christians.

A few days after, the admiral desired his brother to go ashore with several men to view the town, and obtain some knowledge of the country. The most remarkable things he observed were several tombs in a great wooden structure covered with canes, in one of which was a dead body embalmed; in another, two bodies wrapt up in cotton sheets, but without any ill scent, and over each tomb was a board, upon which were carved the figures of beasts, and on some of them the effigies of the deceased, adorned with plates of gold about their necks, and other ornaments.

These being the most civilized Indians in those parts, the admiral ordered some of them to be taken, out of whom he chose two who seemed to be the most intelligent; the rest were sent away with some presents and great civility, and endeavours were used to make them sensible that their companions were detained for no other reason but to serve as guides upon that coast, and that in a little time they would be set at liberty; but the natives believing they were detained through avarice, a number of them came down to the shore the next day, and sent four persons on board to treat for their ransom, with a present of two wild

hogs, which were very small. Columbus caused these deputies to be entertained with great civility, and though he would not grant their request, he sent them away well satisfied, and amply paid for the hogs; one of which was hunted on the deck by a kind of wild cat of a greyish colour, that had been caught in the woods by one of the sailors, after he had cut off one of its fore legs; this animal leaps like a squirrel from tree to tree, and not only fastens upon the branches with its claws, but even with its tail, by which it frequently suspends itself either for sport or rest. These hogs, though naturally very fierce, no sooner saw this animal, than they ran terrified about the deck, when the admiral perceiving their fright, ordered one of them to be brought near the cat, which instantly twisted its tail round the hog's snout, and fastening the fore-leg that remained upon its head, would soon have dispatched it, had not the men interposed.

On the 5th of October the admiral sailed into the bay of Caravaro, which is six leagues in length, and about three in breadth. Here they found many small islands, with channels between them, through some of which the ships sailed as it were in lanes, the trees on each side brushing against the shrouds. As soon as they anchored in this bay, the boats were sent to one of the islands, where there were twenty canoes on the shore, the people lying near them quite naked, having only a gold plate about their necks. They expressed no signs of fear, but for three bells gave a gold plate which weighed ten ducats, and said there was great plenty of that metal on the continent, at a small distance from the shore.

The next day the boats were sent on shore upon the continent, and in their way met with two canoes full of people, who refusing to barter their

gold plates, two of the chief persons amongst them were taken, in order that the admiral might obtain some intelligence from them by means of the Cariari interpreters. The gold plate worn by one of those men weighed fourteen ducats, and the other's twenty-two, and these confirmed what the islanders said of the gold, which was to be found at the distance of two days journey up in the country. In this bay they took great numbers of fish, and on the shore they found a large quantity of fresh provisions, and also great plenty of roots and fruit. The men are painted all over of several colours, as red, black, and white, and had no other covering besides a narrow cotton cloth which hung round the waist.

From this bay the admiral sailed into another very near it, and on the 17th pursued his voyage twelve leagues farther to the river Guaiga; when, ordering out the boat to go ashore, the men were furiously assaulted by above 100 Indians, who ran up to their middles in the sea, brandishing their lances, blowing horns, and throwing sea-water towards the Spaniards, at whom they also spouted the juice of some shrubs they were chewing, with signs of detestation and defiance. The Spaniards, without either approaching or retreating, endeavoured to appease them, which at length they effected, and at last exchanged sixteen gold plates, worth 165 ducats, for a few bells, and other baubles. However, notwithstanding this friendly intercourse, the next day the natives lay in ambush for the boats; but perceiving that no body would venture to land without knowing what disposition they were in, they rushed into the water, as before, and even threatened to throw their javelins, provided the boats that lay upon their oars did not return to their ships. The Spaniards, at length, exasperated at this insolent behaviour, wounded

one of them with an arrow : and at the same time the admiral, firing one of his guns, so terrified them, that they fled with precipitation ; when four men landing invited them by signs to return, on which laying down their arms, they came back, and very peaceably exchanged their gold plates.

The admiral then proceeded on his voyage, and casting anchor in the mouth of a great river, the people of the country were seen to assemble, and soon after sent two men in a canoe to the ships, who having talked with the Cariari interpreters, came aboard without any apprehensions, and by the advice of those Indians gave their gold plates to the admiral, who in return presented them with some trifles. This canoe returning, another appeared with three men, who behaved in the same manner, and amity being thus established, the Spaniards went ashore, where they found a great number of Indians with their king, who only differed from the rest in being covered with a large leaf of a tree, because it then rained very hard. This prince, to set his subjects an example, exchanged his plate, and bid them barter for theirs ; which they instantly did, and the Spaniards received nineteen plates of pure gold. Here they saw an old wall, which seemed to be built with stone and lime ; and this being the first part of the Indies where Columbus had discovered signs of a solid and regular structure, he brought away a piece of it as a memorial.

The admiral now sailing with a fresh gale to the eastward, held on his course to five towns of great trade, among which was Veragua, where the Indians said the gold was gathered, and the plates made, which they wore about their necks, and continuing his voyage, he arrived at an harbour, to which he gave the name of Porto-Bello, or Beautiful Port, from its being very spacious, and encompassed by a fine and populous country. He

entered this harbour on the second of November, passing between two small islands, within which the ships lay close to the shore, where he was obliged by the rain and bad weather, to continue seven days; during which he was constantly visited by the people in canoes, who came from the adjacent country to barter fine spun cotton and provisions, for pins, points, and other trifles.

On the 9th he sailed eight leagues to the eastward, but the next day was forced four leagues back by stress of weather, and putting in among the islands near the continent where the town of Nombre de Dios now stands, called the place Puerto de Bastimentos, or the Port of Provisions; because all those small islands were covered with corn. Here a boat well manned being sent in pursuit of a canoe, the Indians were so frightened that they threw themselves into the sea, and swam away, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Spaniards to take some of them; for when a boat approached any of these Indians they dived like a duck, and came up at the distance of a bow shot.

Columbus staid here refitting the ships until the 23d of November, when he continued his course eastward, trading with the Indians on the coast for provisions, and such pieces of gold as hung at their ears and noses. On the 24th he entered a small port, which he named the Retreat, from its being able to contain no more than five or six ships, and its being only fifteen or twenty paces wide at the mouth. On both sides, the rocks appeared above water, but the channel between them was so deep as not to be fathomed, though if the ships inclined to either side the men might leap on shore. The admiral was induced to enter this confined harbour, by the misrepresentations of those who were sent to view it, whose avarice rendered them fond of dealing with the Indians, they were

glad of lying close to the shore, in order to have a constant opportunity of changing trifles for gold.

The Indians at first came very familiarly to trade with the ships, until being provoked by the insolence and dissolute behaviour of the seamen, they began to have recourse to arms, and some skirmishes passed between them. As their numbers increased, their courage rose in proportion, and they at length seemed resolved to board the ships, when the admiral having in vain attempted to appease them by patience and acts of civility, found that he was obliged to alter his behaviour, in order to convince them of his importance, and therefore commanded some of his guns to be fired; but this noise, which they found unattended with any consequence, gave them no apprehensions, and therefore they answered it with shouts, and beating the trees with staves, and by threatening signs shewed that they did not fear the noise. Upon which Columbus ordered one of the guns to be loaded with ball, and fired at a company of these Indians assembled upon a small eminence, when the ball falling in the midst of them made them sensible that he could make use of a thunderbolt as well as of thunder; for they fled with the utmost consternation, and for the future they durst not appear even on the mountains.

These were the best shaped Indians of any they had yet seen; they were tall and slender, without the prominent bellies frequent in these parts. The country afforded but few trees and little grass, and in the harbour there were very large alligators, which went upon the shore to sleep, whence they diffused so strong a scent that it seemed as if all the musk in the world was gathered together. If they found a man sleeping they would drag him to the water to devour him, but were fearful and timorous when attacked.

The ships had been nine days confined here by bad weather, when Columbus perceiving that violent winds from the east and north-east continued to blow without ceasing, and that it was impossible to trade any longer with the inhabitants of this coast, resolved to return, in order to obtain satisfaction about what he had heard of the mines of Veragua, and therefore on the 5th of December he sailed back to Porto Bello; but the next day, while he held on his course, the wind shifted to the west; however, not thinking this a settled gale, he bore up against it for some days, during which the weather was so extremely boisterous and unsettled, that the sailors could scarce stand upon the deck; they had heavy and incessant rains, the air was filled with lightening, and the thunder roared incessantly. The men, who were constantly wet to the skin, and exposed to all the violence of the storm, began to be terrified, and filled with despair, especially on their finding that when the weather seemed a little to favour their sailing to Veragua, the wind veered about, and drove them towards Porto-Bello, and when they were in hopes of entering that harbour, they were beat off again. In the midst of this danger and distraction, they were near being overwhelmed by a water spout; and, to complete their misfortunes, they lost sight of one of the ships, which they concluded was lost, until they saw her again at the end of three dark and dismal days, in which she had been obliged to cast anchor, and had afterwards been driven to sea with the loss of her anchor and boat.

The men were now not only quite spent with cold, hunger, and fatigue, but the ship almost shattered to pieces by the tempest, when they were relieved by a calm which lasted two days, during which they were surrounded by a prodigious number of sharks, that would bite at the hook, though

baited only with a red rag. These had a dreadful appearance to the superstitious sailors, who imagined that as the ravens are said to smell out dead bodies at a great distance, so these ravenous fish were an omen of their destruction, and were ready to devour them as soon as the ships should fall to pieces. Many of these fish were caught, and from the belly of one of them was taken an intire turtle, and from another the whole head of a shark, which the sailors had caught and thrown into the sea; so that the individuals of this species seem to prey upon each other. The sailors, however, notwithstanding their apprehensions, and this fish being allowed to make a very indifferent meal, eat them with great eagerness; for they had been now eight months at sea, and had consumed all their provisions except their biscuit, part of which was so full of maggots, that many delayed eating it until it was dark, to avoid seeing what they were obliged to swallow.

On the 17th of December the admiral entered into a large harbour, where he permitted his men to repose themselves for three days; during which, going ashore, they found that the inhabitants lived in huts built upon the tops of trees, sticks being laid from bough to bough, and the huts erected upon them: A custom which must have arisen from the fear of wild beasts, or of land-floods.

In the beginning of January 1503, they cast anchor near a river, which the admiral named Belem or Bethlem, from his arriving there on the feast of the Epiphany. To the westward of this river was that of Veragua, the water of which was shallow; however, the boat went up it to the town, where they were informed that they should find the gold mines of Veragua so often mentioned. The Indians at first stood upon their guard, in order to oppose the landing of the Spaniards; but an Indian

interpreter going ashore, and representing them in a favourable light, the natives were pacified, and exchanged with them twenty gold plates, some hollow pieces of the same metal like joints of reeds, and some grains of gold that had never been melted; but to enhance their value they pretended they were gathered upon certain mountains at a great distance.

On the 9th the admiral's ship, attended by one of the other, sailed up the river Belem, when the Indians soon came to barter with the Spaniards, bringing fish, which at some seasons of the year come up these rivers in incredible numbers; they exchanged some gold for pins, beads, and hawk's bells, and the next day the ship was joined by the two others which had staid behind for want of water.

On the third day after their arrival, Bartholomew Columbus went up the river with the boats to a town belonging to a Cacique named Quibio, who hearing of the lieutenant's design, came in his canoe to meet him, and having received each other in a friendly manner, discoursed by means of their interpreter for a long time together. The next day the same prince visited the admiral, made him some presents, and after a conversation which lasted an hour, during which his people exchanged some gold for bells, retired well pleased with his reception.

They had lived five days in this friendly manner, when the river suddenly swelled to such a surprising height, and rushed down with such impetuosity, that the admiral's ship parted her cable, and running foul of the ship Galega, brought the foremast by the board, and both the vessels were in danger of perishing. This sudden swell of the river was supposed to proceed from a violent shower that had fallen upon the mountains of Veragua,

which the admiral named St. Christopher's, from their tops reaching above the clouds. On the 6th of February, the ships being caulked and refitted, the admiral sent his brother with sixty-eight men in boats to the river Veragua, the mouth of which was at a league's distance from that of Belem; when rowing up, they arrived at the Cacique's town, where they staid a whole day, enquiring the way to the mines. In consequence of the intelligence they received, they, next day, travelled four leagues and a half, and came to a river which on account of its windings they passed forty-four times; the day following they arrived at the place to which they were directed, and in two hours time every man had gathered some gold about the roots of the trees, which were very thick and of a prodigious height. This sample was much valued, as none of those who went had any tools to dig, or had before ever gathered any. As the sole aim of this expedition was to obtain information relating to the mines, they returned well pleased to the ships, though, as they afterwards learned, the place called the mines from which they had picked it were not those of Veragua, which lay much nearer, but of Urira, a town belonging to a people at war with the Cacique Quibio, who had artfully directed the Spaniards to his enemies mines, instead of his own.

On the 14th of February the admiral's brother went into the country with forty men, followed by a boat with fourteen, and marched to the river of Urira, seven leagues west of Belem. The next day he was met by the Cacique, attended by twenty men, who made them a present of provisions and some gold plates. During this intercourse the Indians chewed a dry herb, and sometimes added to it a sort of powder. Having rested a while in this place, the Spaniards and Indians went toge-

ther to the town, whence abundance of people came out to meet them, and a house being provided for their lodging, they were hospitably entertained. Soon after came the Cacique of a neighbouring town named Durira, attended by a great number of Indians, who brought some gold plates to barter, and told the lieutenant that up in the country there were Caciques who had great quantities of gold, and that there were many men armed like the Spaniards.

The next day Don Bartholomew marched with thirty men towards Zobabra, after his having ordered the rest to return by land to the ships. He here saw the ground for about six leagues covered with maize, and cultivated like the corn fields of Europe. At Zobabra he was kindly entertained by the natives, as he was also at another town called Cateba, at both which places he purchased some gold plates; but having now advanced a considerable way from the ships, without discovering any harbour along the coast or river, larger than that of Belem, where he might conveniently settle a colony, he returned with a good quantity of gold to the place from which he had taken his departure, and where it was now agreed to make a settlement under his command.

Proper dispositions being made, the sailors began to build, about a cannon shot from the mouth of the river Belem, houses of timber, which they covered with the palm-trees leaves that grew along the shore, and a large building was also erected to serve as a storehouse and magazine, in which several pieces of cannon, with powder, provisions, and other necessaries, were lodged for the support of the planters; while a quantity of wine, oil, vinegar, cheese and grain, was deposited on board the ship Galega, which was to be left with the lieutenant, with cordage, nets, hooks, and other fishing

tackle, for the use of the colony. Indeed these could not fail of being of signal service in a country that abounds with such quantities of fish, which are caught by the natives with hooks made of tortoise-shell.

The houses being erected, and proper regulations made for the preservation of the new colony, the admiral resolved to return to Spain; but his voyage was effectually prevented by want of water to carry the ships out of the river, and by a terrible surf that beat upon the shore and threatened immediate destruction to any vessel that should approach it: To render these circumstances the more unfortunate, the rains, which alone could swell the river, were past; the bottoms of the ships were so worm-eaten that they resembled honey-combs, and to complete their vexation, one of their interpreters reported that Quibio intended to set fire to the houses of the Spaniards, who, contrary to his inclination, and to that of his people, had made a settlement in his dominions.

Upon this occasion the admiral concerted measures with his brother for seizing the Cacique with his principal men, in order to carry them to Spain, as hostages for the good behaviour of his subjects: An expedient, which, however politic, was not at all agreeable to the humanity of Christopher Columbus on other occasions, and equally inconsistent with all the laws of nature and nations. However, on the 30th of March, the lieutenant attended by above seventy men proceeded to Veragua, which consisted of straggling houses, and, at a small distance from that place, was desired by a messenger from the Cacique not to come up to his house, which stood upon a hill; but notwithstanding this request, the lieutenant resolved to proceed with only five men, ordering the rest to follow two by two at some distance, and when they should

hear a musket fired, to beset the houses, and let nobody escape. On his approaching Quibio's residence, he was met by another messenger, who entreated him not to enter the house, and told him that the Cacique himself would come out, though he was wounded by an arrow. Quibio, on his going to the door agreeably to his promise, was immediately seized by the lieutenant, and the musket being fired, the house was soon surrounded by the rest of the Spaniards, and about thirty persons made prisoners, without the least opposition, among whom were the wives and children of the Cacique, with some of his principal subjects, who offered to ransom themselves with a large quantity of gold that was concealed in an adjoining wood. But the lieutenant, disregarding the offers, ordered them all to be bound and carried on board, before the country should take the alarm; intending himself to stay with the greatest part of the men, to secure some of Quibio's kindred and subjects, whom he had not been able to take; he therefore delivered the prisoners to James Sanchez de Cadiz, an able pilot, who with great confidence and alacrity, undertook to carry them on board the admiral. The pilot embarked with them in the boat, when Quibio complaining that his hands were too hard bound, Sanchez, moved by compassion, loosed them, but kept the rope with which he was tied in his own hands. The Cacique now finding his hands at liberty, took an opportunity while the pilot was looking another way to plunge into the river, which he did with such violence, that Sanchez quitted the rope in order to save himself; and as it began to grow dark, and the boat was instantly filled with confusion, it was impossible to hear or see how he got on shore.

The lieutenant perceiving that it would be impossible to overtake the fugitive Indians, the next

day returned with the men to the ships, and presented the plunder of Quibio's house, which was worth 300 ducats in gold plates, to his brother, who, after deducting the fifth part for their Catholic Majesties, divided the remainder among those who were employed in this expedition.

Soon after this the rain fell, and the floods coming down, opened the mouth of the river, upon which the admiral sailed out with three ships, leaving one for the service of his brother. He however came to an anchor at a league's distance, in order to wait for fair weather, and in the mean time sent back the boat for water.

Quibio seeing that the three ships were gone, and being grieved and provoked at the loss of his wives and children, and also exasperated at the violence offered to himself, resolved openly to attack the settlement. The woods by which it was surrounded facilitated this enterprize, and enabled the Indians unperceived to reach a spot within ten paces of the houses, from whence they rushed upon the Christians with dreadful shouts, throwing their javelins, not only at those who appeared, but also through the slender roofs, so that four or five were dangerously wounded before the Spaniards were able to put themselves in a posture of defence. Don Bartholomew, however, being a man of great courage and resolution, sallied out upon the enemy with seven or eight of his men, and notwithstanding the Indians several times rallied, drove them into the wood; but though the Indians would not engage hand to hand, after they had felt the edge of the European swords, and the teeth of a dog, by which they were furiously attacked, they continued to throw their javelins at a distance till they were driven from their covert, and obliged to fly, after they had killed one Spa-

niard, and wounded seven others, amongst whom was the lieutenant.

Captain James Trifan, whom the admiral had sent ashore with the boat, and who appeared just as the Indians were obliged to retire into the wood, stood an idle spectator during the engagement, without suffering any of his men to land; and, the battle being over, rowed a full league up the river to take in fresh water, at a place quite covered with wood; when the Indians falling from the grove in their canoes, attacked him with a shower of javelins, and though the captain sustained their onset with great gallantry, both he and the whole boat's crew were soon slain, one person only happening to fall over-board in the midst of the fray, dived to the bottom, reached the shore, and passed through the wood to the colony, where he gave an account of the disaster.

The colony was so terrified at this news, that they would immediately have abandoned the settlement, and joined the admiral in the ship he had left them, had they not been prevented by the lowness of the water at the mouth of the river, which was not sufficient to float their vessel, and the sea beat with such violence over the bar, that no boat could be sent to the admiral with advice of their distress. He himself rode in a very dangerous open road without his long boat, and was ignorant of the unhappy fate of the captain and his crew, until he had the mortification to see their bodies driving down the river, covered with wounds and preyed upon by a number of carion crows. This melancholy spectacle spread great despondence amongst his people, who concluded that the whole colony had perished. Mean while the Indians, elated at the advantage they had gained, returned to the attack of the settlement, which they carried on day and night without inter-

mission, so that every Spaniard must have fallen a sacrifice to their resentment, had they not removed to an open strand, where they formed a baricado of casks and other lumber, and planted their cannon in such a manner as to make great havock among the enemy, who became terrified at those dreadful instruments of slaughter.

The admiral waited ten days for fair weather, in order to send the only boat that now remained for intelligence, and to add to these vexations several of the Indian prisoners who were confined in the hold burst open the hatches in the night, leapt into the sea and swam ashore, and those that remained, being disappointed in their hopes of escaping in the same manner, hanged themselves, by which means they had no hostages, by whom they might make a peace with Quibio.

As the weather still continued boisterous, and the Spaniards on board grew extremely impatient to learn the fate of their companions, one of the sailors offered to swim ashore, provided he might be carried in the boat to the place where the surf began to run high. This proposal, which was gladly embraced by the Admiral, was soon put in execution, and the sailor having obtained sufficient intelligence from the colony, swam off again, and gave a circumstantial account of all that had happened, and of the particulars of the divisions and dissensions which had now arisen amongst the men, who paid no regard to Don Bartholomew's authority, and were unanimous in nothing but their resolution to leave the place. They desired to be immediately taken on board, and resolved, if that was refused them, to put to sea in their own rotten vessels, since they had rather trust to the mercy of the waves, than continue exposed to the resentment of the savages. Upon this Columbus agreed to send for them, and the weather becoming fa-

vourable, they left the country, taking with them all their goods and effects in the boat and some canoes, which they lashed together, leaving nothing behind them but the hulk of the ship, which was unfit for service.

The company being thus to their mutual joy, re-assembled, the admiral sailed to the eastward as far as Porto-Bello, where he was obliged to leave one of his ships, which was so leaky and worm eaten that she could not proceed, and continued his course until the 10th of May, when he observed two small islands, which he named Tortugas, from the great number of turtle found there. Then continuing his course thirty leagues to the northward, he arrived at the islands called Jardin de la Reyna, or the Queen's Gardens, ten leagues to the south of Cuba, by which time the ships were so leaky, that the men were harrassed by working at the pumps, though, as they had scarcely any provisions left, they were but little able to support such fatigue. In this unhappy situation they were overtaken by a dreadful storm, in which the ship Bermuda ran foul of the admiral, and both were in the greatest danger of being foundered, and the same night they narrowly escaped being wrecked upon some sharp rocks.

The wind being at length abated, the admiral sailed to an Indian town on the coast of Cuba, where having purchased some refreshments, he stood over to Jamaica, pumping and bailing all the way, notwithstanding which the water rose up almost to the deck. In this situation he put into an harbour called Puerto Bueno, but finding no fresh water there, steered to the eastward into another called Santa Gloria, where finding it impossible to keep the ships afloat, he ran them ashore, along side of each other, causing them to be propped up on each side to keep them upright, and sheds to be made

on the poop and forecastle to secure the sailors from the inclemencies of the weather and the attempts of the Indians.

He here made it his study to oblige the natives, who resorted in great numbers to the ships with what they had to barter, and appointed two persons to superintend the market, and prevent frauds or abuses, as well as to divide what was purchased equally among the sailors. This regulation was both agreeable to his own men and to the Indians, who exchanged two small animals like rabbits for a bit of tin, and two of their cakes of bread for two green or yellow beads, and things of greater value for a hawk's bell; and sometimes a Cacique or other considerable person had a present of a pair of scissars, or a small looking glass.

The admiral having consulted with the officers on the best means of leaving that island, it was agreed to send an account of their situation to Nicholas de Obando, governor of Hispaniola, and to Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, the admiral's factor there, to desire that a ship might be freighted, and sent to their relief at the admiral's expence. Two canoes were chosen for this dangerous expedition, in one of which James Mendes de Segura, the admiral's chief secretary embarked, with six Spaniards and ten Indians to row it, and Bartholomew Fiesco, a Genoese gentleman, went with the same number of hands on board the other, with orders to return immediately with the news of their safe arrival. They then rowed to the easternmost point of Jamaica, under the conduct of the admiral's brother, who took care to supply them with every thing necessary for the voyage, which was a very extraordinary one to be performed by canoes, since the distance between the two islands amounted to thirty-three leagues, without any intervening land, except a small rock or island about eight

leagues from the coast of Hispaniola. Don Bartholomew made them wait for a calm, and then ordering them to prosecute their voyage, staid until they were out of sight.

They launched out at night, the Indians who rowed sometimes leaping into the water to cool themselves, and then returning to the oar again. The second day after their departure they all began to be much tired; but the two chiefs encouraged the men, advising them to eat in order to recover their strength. The Indians, being heated by the sun and by labouring at the oar, soon emptied their calabashes of water, and the heat increasing, their thirst increased with it, so that by noon they had no strength left. They were then relieved by the commanders frequently giving them something to drink out of their rundlets, which supported them until the cool of the evening. They were soon greatly distressed with the apprehension that they had lost their way, and had missed a little Island eight leagues from Hispaniola, where they expected to refresh themselves: and that afternoon they threw an Indian over-board, who died with thirst; others lay stretched out and quite disabled, while the rest expected death, who held salt-water in their mouths to cool them; but could receive no comfort from it.

They proceeded the second night without seeing the island, until the moon rising it was happily discovered, when they all joined in encouraging the Indians, shewed them the land, and gave them small sips of water, which so revived their spirits, that by break of day they arrived at the island. They however found it to be a solid rock about half a league in compass, without a single tree or spring of water; yet going about from one cliff to another, they collected in the hollows more than was necessary to quench their thirsts; for being

scorched with draught, they drank so much that some of the poor Indians died upon the spot, and others fell sick. There they staid until the afternoon, and having rested and refreshed themselves with the shell-fish they picked up along the shore, went on board in the evening, and steered to the nearest land of Hispahiola, where they arrived early in the morning. Fiesco, having rested two days, was desirous of returning to the admiral, according to his promise, but was obliged to desist, because neither the sailors nor Indians would accompany him in the voyage. Mendes, though he laboured under a quartan ague, occasioned by his sufferings at sea, immediately set out for Xaragua, where he informed the governor of the admiral's situation, and, after much importunity, obtained leave to purchase a ship at St. Domingo.

To return to the island of Jamaica: Soon after the departure of the canoes, the men who were left behind began to grow sickly, in consequence of a change of provisions, and the fatigue they had suffered, whence a spirit of discontent diffused itself among them. They now privately murmured and caballed against the admiral, whom they accused of being the cause of all their misfortunes. The chief promoters of these discontents were two brothers whose names were Porras, one of whom had been captain of the ship Bermuda, and the other purser of the fleet. And these having gained over forty-eight of the men, resolved to declare their intentions. Accordingly on the 2d of January, 1504, captain Francis de Porras, whom they had chosen for their leader, went upon the quarter-deck, and addressing himself to the admiral, asked, ' what is the reason, my lord, that you will not return to Spain, but keep us here to perish?' From this insolent question Columbus readily suspected that a mutiny was formed, and very calmly

replied, that he did not see how it was possible for them to return to Spain, until they were assisted by a vessel from Hispaniola, and that they well knew, he had already, by their unanimous advice, sent for a ship, and if they had any better method to offer, they might propose it. Francis de Porras replied, that there was no need of much advising, and that he might embark immediately or stay behind, and then turning his back, added, I will go to Spain with all that will follow me, and being immediately seconded by all the mutineers, after causing much confusion on board the ship, seized ten canoes which the admiral had bought of the Indians, and being joined by many who were sick, went to the eastern point of Jamaica, whence Mendes and Fiesco had departed for Hispaniola. In their way they committed all manner of outrages upon the poor Indians, whom they advised to apply for redress to the admiral, and to put him to death if he refused to give them satisfaction, adding that his design in staying was to involve them in such miseries as he had already entailed upon the inhabitants of the other islands.

Having reached the point, they attempted to pass over to Hispaniola with some Indians whom they had compelled to go on board every canoe to serve as rowers; but they had not got four leagues from land, when the wind which was contrary beginning to freshen, and the sea to rise, they thought fit to lighten the canoes, which were heavy laden, by throwing what they had over-board, except some provisions, water, and their arms, and at last the poor Indians that rowed. These unhappy people swam until they were weary, and then hung by their canoes to recover themselves, when the barbarous ruffians cut off their hands, and thus eighteen of these poor creatures perished, and none would have escaped, had not these inhuman mon-

sters for their own sakes kept a few to row them back to Jamaica.

On their returning ashore, some were for taking the advantage of the easterly wind and currents for passing over to Cuba, whence they would have a short cut to Hispaniola: others for returning and making peace with the admiral, or depriving him by force of all he had in his possession. But it was agreed by a majority of voices, that they should wait for a calm, and then make another attempt to pass directly to Hispaniola. They staid a month or six weeks waiting for this opportunity at an Indian town near that cape, during which they plundered the poor natives; but having made two unsuccessful efforts to perform the voyage, quitted their canoes, and rambled from place to place, sometimes bartering with the people for provisions, and sometimes taking them by force.

Christopher Columbus exerted all his address to remove the bad impressions made by the mutineers on the minds of the Indians, by which means he engaged them to supply him with provisions, and at the same time employed his humanity in the relief of the sick, all of whom recovered: but his being constantly supplied with provisions producing a scarcity amongst the Indians, who sowed little more than was just necessary for their subsistence, they began to grow remiss in their attendance, and he being no longer plentifully supplied, more of his men revolted, and the natives who were already stocked with the commodities brought by the Spaniards, no longer considered Columbus as in a situation that commanded respect or obedience.

In this dilemma the admiral fell upon a very extraordinary expedient for retrieving his character and affairs with these savages. As he knew that there would be an eclipse of the moon within three

days, he sent an Indian of Hispaniola, who was on board and spoke Spanish, to assemble the Cacique and principal men of that district, in order to confer with them on an affair on which they were nearly concerned, and they obeying the summons the day before the eclipse, he told them by his interpreter, that he and his people were christians, and believed in God who created Heaven and Earth, rewarded the righteous and punished the wicked, and therefore would not suffer the rebellious Spaniards to pass over to Hispaniola, though he had conducted Mendes and Fiesco to that island: that the same Almighty Being was displeased at the Indians for neglecting to supply his distressed servants with provisions in exchange for their commodities, and was therefore determined to punish them with pestilence and famine, as a proof of which God would give a token of his anger in the sky, and that very night they should see the moon rising with a bloody aspect to point out the punishment God would inflict upon them.

This prediction had different effects upon the Indians, some of whom went away in a fright, while others laughed at it as an idle story; but on their perceiving the moon actually eclipsed, and darkness encreasing as she rose, they were universally filled with consternation, and running from all quarters loaden with provisions, intreated the admiral to intercede with God, and prevail on him to be no more angry with them, and that for the future they would take care to supply all his wants.

The admiral replied, that he would offer up his prayers for them, and then shutting himself up till the eclipse was at the height and ready to decrease, told them that he had been offering up his petitions to Heaven for their preservation; and that God hath been so good as to forgive them, on their promise of being kind and hospitable to the

christians, and as a testimony of his forgiveness they should see the moon by degrees resume her former splendor. In short, the Indians perceiving the eclipse disappear, praised the God of the christians, returned the admiral many thanks, and continued to supply him plentifully with provisions ; for though some of them had formerly seen such eclipses, they all thought it impossible to foretel them, without an immediate correspondence with the Deity, and therefore considered Columbus as in a peculiar manner the favourite of Heaven.

Eight months having elapsed, since the departure of Mendes and Fiesco, without the admiral's obtaining the least intelligence of them, the people, supposing they had either perished at sea, or been killed by the Indians of Hispaniola in their way to St. Domingo, began to be extremely dejected, and their fears were confirmed by a canoe which they found overfet and driven by the current upon the coast. These apprehensions encreasing, at length produced a second conspiracy, headed by one Bernard, an apothecary of Valencia, and two of his companions, who, in imitation of the other mutineers, forming a scheme for deserting the admiral : but its execution was prevented by the arrival of a vessel sent by the governor, of Hispaniola. The captain, whose name was James de Escobar, having come to anchor near the wrecks, came in his boat to deliver a letter with compliments from the governor, and presented the admiral with a cask of wine and two fitches of bacon, and these being delivered, Escobar weighed anchor and sailed back the same evening.

Columbus was greatly mortified at his abrupt departure ; but however made use of this event, to put an end to this second conspiracy ; for he told the men, that as he had resolved not to go away

without them, and as that little caravel was not sufficient to carry them all, Escobar went away so suddenly that he might lose no time in bringing them relief. This declaration had such an effect upon the conspirators, that they immediately laid aside all thoughts of their designs ; but the true reason of the ship's arrival was, that Lares, governor of Hispaniola, was apprehensive that the admiral would, upon his return to Spain, be reinstated in his government, and had sent Escobar to observe his situation, and whether he might not easily be destroyed. However, from this caravel Columbus received certain intelligence of the safe arrival of Mendes and Fiesco at Hispaniola, and did not doubt but that in consequence of their remonstrances, he should be speedily relieved.

The admiral being desirous of reducing the mutineers who had behaved in so scandalous and base a manner, rather by fair means than by force, sent two persons to acquaint them with the advice he had received, to desire them to return and to let them know, that, in that case, no notice should be taken of what had happened : but Francis de Porras, dreading the consequences of a re-union, met these messengers at a distance, and answered, that they would not trust the admiral ; but would behave themselves peaceably in the island if he would promise to procure a ship to carry them off. Or if he had but one, assign one half of it to them for their own conveyance, and give them an half share of the cloaths and commodities that were still in his possession, since they had lost all their own effects, otherwise they would come and take the whole by force of arms. As for the caravel from Hispaniola, they asserted it was only a delusion, which the admiral, who was a great magician, had raised by enchantment.

The mutineers actually resolved to put their threats in execution, and marched to an Indian village within a quarter of a league of the wrecks, when the admiral being informed of their design, sent his brother with 50 men well armed to expostulate with them and persuade them to return to their duty; but to refrain from all acts of hostility till they should be first attacked. Don Bartholomew posted himself on a rising ground within bow-shot of the mutineers, and then sent the two messengers the admiral had employed before to offer terms of peace; but the mutineers treating this condescension as the effect of fear, they fell upon his men with great confidence of victory: six of the boldest men having solemnly sworn to fight their way to the lieutenant, whose death they imagined would disconcert his followers. However they were disappointed, for at the very first charge five of them were slain. Francis de Porras boldly singled out the lieutenant, and at one blow clove his target down to his hand, which he wounded: but not being able suddenly to recover his sword was made prisoner, after his having received several wounds. The lieutenant then rushed upon the enemy, and being seconded by his men, obliged them to fly with precipitation, and having obtained a compleat victory, returned to the wreck with a good number of prisoners.

The next day the fugitives sent a petition to the admiral, in which they confessed their fault, begged pardon, and promised to serve him faithfully for the future; and this they solemnly swore to perform. The Admiral instantly granted them a free pardon, and took them again into his protection; but to prevent future animosities, kept Francis de Porras a close prisoner, and appointed a proper person to command and lead them about the island, in order the better to procure subsistence

in exchange for the commodities with which he caused them to be supplied

In this posture were affairs in Jamaica, where the admiral had been a full year, when a ship arrived freighted by James Mendes, attended by a caravel, and Columbus embarking with his whole company on the 21st of June, 1504, set sail for Hispaniola, but the wind and current being contrary, they had a troublesome voyage, and did not reach St. Domingo till the 13th of August. The governor with all the city went out to meet him, paying him many compliments, and lodged him in his own house, but this outward shew of respect was mere affectation, for he caused Francis de Porras to be set at liberty, and threatened to punish those who had adhered to the admiral in his greatest dangers.

Columbus being sensible of the deceitful manner in which he was treated, and of the true motives of the governor's behaviour, chose to conceal his resentment, prepared for his departure, and on the 12th of September embarked on board a ship provided by his agents, and also took with him the vessel that had brought him and his people from Jamaica ; but they were no sooner out of port than the mainmast of the lesser vessel came by the board. Upon which he ordered her back to St. Domingo, and continued his voyage in the other. He had not however been long at sea before he met with a violent tempest, wherein all on board expected every moment to perish, and in which they lost their main mast ; but making a jury mast of the yard, they continued their voyage, and after being exposed to another storm that carried away their foremast, arrived at the port of St. Lucar.

Columbus upon his landing was greatly afflicted at the news of the death of his best friend and only patroness, queen Isabella ; for though king

Ferdinand always treated him with some degree of respect, he well knew, that he was far from having any real kindness for him, or ever any inclination to do him justice. That prince thought the advantages he had stipulated for himself were too considerable, and therefore, instead of fulfilling his engagement offered him a large estate in Spain in exchange for what was his due in the West-Indies. Columbus, who was confined to his bed was extremely displeas'd at this treatment: but while he was endeavouring to obtain his just demands, his solicitations were interrupted by king Ferdinand's taking a journey from Valladolid to Laredo to wait for his son-in-law king Philip, and queen Johannah his daughter, and before Ferdinand's return, Columbus's illness increasing, he died on the 20th of May, 1506, aged sixty four. His body was convey'd to the monastery of the Carthusians at Seville, where some authors say that he was magnificently interred in the cathedral of that city, and a monument erected to his memory, on which is the following inscription,

A CASTILIA, YA LEON,
 NUEVO MUNDO DIO COLON.
 In English.
 To Castile and Leon,
 Columbus gave a New World.

Others assert that his body was carried from the above monastery to the city of St. Domingo in Hispaniola, and that he lies interred in the chancel of the cathedral, which may probably be true, notwithstanding the above monument erected to his honour at Seville.

Thus died this truly great man, who was the son of a woolcomber, of Congureto a village in the territory of Genoa: by his abilities he not only rais'd himself and his family to nobility, but rendered himself by his discoveries the greatest man of

the age in which he lived. He was however in many respects treated with ingratitude both by the king and those who were under his own command, and it is no small blemish to king Ferdinand's character, that he did not do justice to his merit, but always meanly endeavoured to falsify his engagements with him. To Columbus justly belonged the honour of giving a name to the new World, which from him ought to have been called Columba, while the name of America was bestowed on what he discovered from that of Americus Vespucius, who had no just title to that honour. Columbus by discovering a new world, opened new sources of commerce ; he settled Hispaniola ; took a view of Cuba ; visited and resided for a considerable time in Jamaica ; bestowed the name of St. John on the island of Porto Rico ; and discovered almost all that could be properly called the West-Indies. He indeed but barely saw the continent, but then he saw both parts of it, and the isthmus that unites them : and left behind him schemes for extending these discoveries, and conjectures on the consequences that might attend them.

We shall conclude this account with a description of his person, and the character given of him by a Spanish historian justly esteemed for his fidelity. " Columbus was tall of stature, had a long
" visage and a majestic aspect, an aquiline nose,
" grey eyes, and a clear and ruddy complexion.
" When young his hair and beard were fair ; but
" the many hardships he suffered soon turned them
" grey. He was a man of wit and pleasantry, was
" eloquent in discourse, and yet moderately grave.
" His affability to strangers, and his discreet con-
" versation, gained him the affection of every in-
" genuous mind ; he had an air of authority and
" grandeur that attracted respect. He was very
" strict in religion according to the mode of his

“ country, and obliged such as were under his
“ command to shew at least a decent regard to it.
“ He had an earnest concern for the conversion
“ of the Indians, and endeavoured as much as was
“ in his power to allure them, by obliging the
“ Spaniards to lead a life in some measure agreeable
“ to the faith they professed. He was a man of
“ undaunted courage ; was fond of great enter-
“ prizes ; temperate in eating and drinking, and
“ modest in his dress ; he was patient, and ready
“ to forgive wrongs, and only desirous that offen-
“ ders should be sensible of their faults. He re-
“ mained unmoved amidst the many troubles and
“ adversities that attended him, ever relying on
“ the Divine Providence. In short, had he in
“ much earlier times performed so wonderful an
“ enterprize as the discovery of the new World, he
“ would probably have had not only statues and
“ temples erected to his honour, but some star
“ would have been dedicated to him, as was done
“ to Hercules and Bacchus. However, his name
“ will be remembered as long as the world endures.”

THE
Discoveries of the Spaniards
FROM
THE DEATH OF COLUMBUS,
TO
CORTES'S EXPEDITION.

CHAPTER I.

The State of Hispaniola under the Government of Nicholas de Obando. Porto Rico settled by Juan Ponce de Leon. Don Diego Columbus being made Governor of Hispaniola, forms a Pearl Fishery near the small Island of Cubagua.

AT the death of Christopher Columbus, Nicholas de Obando continued governor of Hispaniola, and distinguished himself by making draughts of the coasts from a survey which he had caused to be taken, and by dividing the Indians among the Spaniards, who considered them as their vassals. Gold was almost their only pursuit, and such quantities of that valuable metal were found, that there were annually melted in the island more than the value of 150,000*l.* sterling, and yet the treasure was far from enriching those that were employed in amassing it; for the value of the gold in Hispaniola decreasing there in proportion to its plenty, and as many lived luxuriously and upon credit, it was often seized at the

melting times for their debts, and was frequently insufficient to satisfy the demands of their creditors.

Mean while Juan Ponce de Leon, a Spanish gentleman, who had one of the provinces under his command, being informed by the Indians that St. John de Porto Rico was rich in gold, obtained a licence from Obando for planting a colony in it. In consequence of this he landed in the dominions of the greatest Cacique in the island, with some Spaniards and Indians, and was kindly entertained by him and his relations, who, as a peculiar mark of their friendship, changed names with him. This Cacique, at Ponce's desire, conducted him all over the island, and shewed him the rivers in which gold was usually found. Ponce afterwards left some Spaniards, whom he recommended to the Cacique and his mother, and sailing back to Hispaniola, carried samples of the gold to Obando; then returning with fresh supplies, he had the pleasure to find, that those he had left had been well entertained by a friendly Cacique during his absence.

While Ponce de Leon was thus employed in settling Porto Rico, Obando was recalled, and Don Diego Columbus came as his father's successor, to take upon himself the government of Hispaniola, bringing with him from Spain a new Governor for Porto Rico; but Ponce disputing his authority, the young admiral set them both aside, and appointed Michael Cerron Governor, and Michael Diaz his lieutenant; however, after this, Ponce, by the interest of his friend Obando, procured a commission from Spain, and returning to Porto Rico, easily found pretences for seizing Cerron and Diaz, whom he sent prisoners into Spain, and then prosecuted his design of conquering the island: but though he found this a more difficult task than he had imagined, the poor Indians, at last, in spite of the kindness with which they had treated

him, were subdued, and entirely enslaved. Soon after which Ponce de Leon was deprived of his post; for Cerron and Diaz, presenting a petition to the court of Spain, and being strongly supported by Columbus's interest, were sent back in order to possess their former employments. Ponce, being thus reduced to the state of a private man, fitted out two ships for making new discoveries, and on the 2d of April, 1512, fell in with land unknown to the Spaniards, in the latitude of 30. 8. and believing it to be an island, named it Florida, from its beautiful appearance and many pleasant groves, or from his discovering it on Easter Sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascha Florida, it being the finest season for flowers.

But to return to Porto Rico. The Indians of that island were at length extirpated by the cruelties of the Spaniards; but for what reason is very hard to say, since the gold which they had been employed in gathering was all exhausted.

The island of Porto Rico is 120 miles in length and sixty in breadth, and its northern coast is in the 18th degree of latitude, and its southern in the 17th degree. The country consists of a pleasing variety of hills and vallies, woods and meadows, abounding in all the tropical fruits, and well watered with springs and rivers; but like other countries within the tropics, it has periodical rains and storms, and hurricanes between midsummer and Michaelmas.

At length Diego Columbus made a settlement on the island of Cubagua, which he named The Island of Pearls, and established a pearl fishery on the coast, that soon became so considerable, that in some years the king's fifth of the pearls was valued at 15,000 ducats.

This island, which is 300 leagues from Hispaniola, and is situated in about 10d. north latitude,

is three leagues in compass, and has a dry and barren soil that produces no grais, and affords only a few guiacum trees and shrubs. It had no land animals, except a few quadrupeds like rabbits, and no birds but such as are proper to the sea, which is not at all extraordinary, as it has not a single spring of fresh water.

CHAPTER II.

Alonzo de Hojeda and Diego de Nicuesa, obtaining patents for making new discoveries, sail for the West-Indies. Hojeda, landing at Carthagena, and marching into the country, has many of his men cut off, and he himself narrowful escapes; but is assisted and revenged by Nicuesa. Hojeda afterwards forms the settlement of St. Sebastian, which being unable to support, he retires to Hispaniola, where he dies of want, while the colony is saved by the prudent advice of Nunez de Balboa. Mean while Diego de Nicuesa plants the colony of Nombre de Dios; but meets with many misfortunes and dies miserably.

ABOUT this time Alonzo de Hojeda, who had served under Christopher Columbus, petitioning for a patent for making new settlements, obtained a promise of a grant of all that had been discovered on the continent. But Diego Nicuesa, a man of greater wealth, interposing, stopped the grant, and obtained half of it for himself, the court allowing the former all the country between cape de la Vela and the gulph of Darien, under the name of New Andalusia; and the latter, the country from that gulph to cape Gracias a Dios, under the name of Castilla del Oro, or Golden Castile, without any mention being made in these grants of Diego Columbus, to whom those countries of right

belonged, on account of their being discovered by his father.

Each of these adventurers fitted out two vessels, with which they sailed to St. Domingo, in Hispaniola, where they quarrelled about their respective rights; but their disputes being at length adjusted, they left the island in the latter end of the year 1510. Hojeda took on board Francis Pizarro, who afterwards conquered Peru, and in a few days arrived at Caramari, since called Carthagena, where the Indians were prepared to oppose him, on account of the injuries they had received from several Spanish adventurers, who, under the pretence of trading with them, had basely seized, carried off, and enslaved several of the natives.

These people were of a large stature, the men wore their own hair down to their ears; that of the women was very long, and both sexes are very expert at shooting with the bow. Hojeda immediately sent them a few priests, with some of the Indians of Hispaniola, who spoke their language; these messengers had orders to persuade them to be peaceable, and submit to the Spanish yoke, and to leave off their idolatry, cruelty, and other vices; though Hojeda resolved, in case they proved obstinate, not only to make war upon them, but to make them slaves.

Hojeda began to barter with them for gold, with Spanish toys; but finding they were preparing to attack him, fell upon them, made a great slaughter, took some prisoners, and found a small quantity of gold in some of the towns of which he made himself master. He then marched to a town four leagues within land, whither those had retired who had escaped from the last battle. He found them upon their guard armed with bows, poisoned arrows, rods which they threw like darts, swords made of hard wood, and targets. He how-

ever attacked the place, killed great numbers, took sixty prisoners, whom he sent to the ships, and continued to pursue those who fled. The inhabitants of a town called Yarbaco, hearing of his approach, withdrew with their effects into the mountains: thither the Spaniards came, but finding no body to oppose them, put themselves off their guard, and dispersed about the country, which being observed by the Indians, they fell upon them when they least expected it, and the Spaniards being divided into small parties, were every where cut off with flights of poisoned arrows. Hojeda however, with several of his men, for some time maintained the fight, often kneeling the better to cover himself with his target; but at length seeing most of his people killed, he rushed through the thickest of the Indians, and running with great swiftness into the woods, proceeded towards the sea in search of his ships. John de la Casa, Hojeda's pilot and friend, got into a house where he defended himself at the door until the Spaniards who were with him were slain, and himself so wounded as to be unable to stand; when looking about him, he observed a Spaniard still maintaining his ground, whom he directed to save himself by flight, and to tell Hojeda all that happened. This advice the man immediately followed; but Hojeda and he were the only persons that escaped, all the rest, amounting to seventy Spaniards, being slain.

Happily for Hojeda, Nicuesa now appeared with his two vessels on the coast, and was no sooner informed of what had happened, than he sent for his rival, and generously told him, that in this case they ought to forget their disputes, and only to remember that they were Spaniards, and gentlemen, and that he would therefore revenge his loss. They accordingly united, and landing 400 men, marched against the Indians, burnt the town

of Yarbaco, seized a vast number of prisoners, and as much gold as amounted to 7000 pieces of eight to each of the commanders.

After this victory they parted in order to pursue their separate plans. Hojeda fixed a settlement on the eastern promontory of the gulph of Darien, and gave the town the name of St. Sebastian; because that saint being said to be martyred by the poisoned arrows of the infidels, he thought him a fit patron to defend him from the like weapons of the Indians: But finding that the natives were exasperated at his making a settlement on the coast, he sent captain Enciso in one of the ships to Hispaniola, with orders to bring him as large supply of men and provisions as possible, and in the mean time drew intrenchments about the town for his own security. However, as he soon wanted necessaries, he was obliged to make excursions into the country, by which means many of his people were killed by the poisoned arrows of the natives, and the colony was reduced to a most wretched condition; for they had the prospect of being soon famished if they remained within their works, and were sure of meeting with death if they ventured out of them.

Just as the Spaniards were reduced to despair, they with equal joy and amazement beheld a ship enter the port. It belonged to a pirate, named Bernard de Talavera, and Hojeda immediately buying the ship's cargo, treated the captain with such civility, that he readily entered into his service: but notwithstanding the greatness of this unexpected relief, their provisions were soon consumed; the Indians became more troublesome than before, and no succours arriving from Hispaniola, they were again reduced to despair.

In this extremity, it was at length resolved that Hojeda himself should sail to St. Domingo, in order

to procure supplies ; therefore leaving the colony under the command of Francis Pizarro, he embarked on board the pirate vessel, and put to sea, but now behaving haughtily to captain Talavera, the latter not only deprived him of all command, but clapped him in irons. A dreadful storm however arising, the crew, depending on his skill, set him at liberty, and by his direction saved their lives, by running the ship ashore on the coast of Cuba, from whence there is a short passage to Hispaniola : but Talavera not daring to go thither, prevailed on Hojeda to venture a voyage with him to Jamaica in a canoe, which they were so happy as to perform.

After a short stay at Jamaica, the governor, at Hojeda's desire, sent him to St. Domingo, where he found that captain Enciso had set sail for St. Sebastian's ; but his own credit was there so low, that notwithstanding his being one of the bravest men that ever sailed from Spain to America, he soon died for want, and Talavera staying too long at Jamaica, Columbus caused him to be apprehended, tried, and hanged for piracy.

In this interval, Pizarro with the men under his command quitted St. Sebastian's and steered to Carthagena, where they had the happiness to find captain Enciso, who had just arrived there with two ships, and a considerable reinforcement, and immediately returned with them to St. Sebastian's ; but there they had the misfortune of being shipwrecked, and of finding the town reduced to ashes. They however rebuilt it as well as they were able ; but though they saved out of the stranded vessels, as much of the provisions and other necessaries as possible, they were soon again reduced to the utmost distress by war and famine, and, as before, hunger frequently forced them out, while the natives constantly drove them back with the loss

of some of their men: but from this terrible distress they were relieved by the dexterity and presence of mind of a very extraordinary man brought by Enciso.

Nunez or Nugnez de Balboa, a person of a good family, great abilities, and a liberal education, had formerly sailed along that coast with Bastidas, and had afterwards obtained a good settlement in Hispaniola, where having committed some irregularities, he was in danger of being put to death. In these unfortunate circumstances he caused himself to be put on board Enciso's ship in a bread cask, and after having remained there four days, ventured at last to make his appearance, when the ship was an hundred leagues at sea. The captain, who had been ordered not to carry any offenders out of the island, was extremely vexed at seeing him, and threatened to set him on shore in the first desert place he came at; but the principal persons on board interceding with him, Enciso was at last pacified, and granted him his protection, which however did not efface, from Nunez's memory, the usage he had received.

This person observing that the company were in despair and knew not how to act, endeavoured to encourage them, by maintaining that they were not in so desperate a condition as they imagined; observing that when he was upon this coast before, with Bastidas, they sailed to the bottom of the gulph, where they saw a very large town, situated in a fruitful soil, and in a fine climate; that it was indeed inhabited by warlike Indians; but as they did not make use of poisoned arrows, he advised them to get off their stranded brigantines, and endeavour to sail thither.

This advice being approved was immediately followed; and they sailed to the river called by the Indians Darien, where having viewed the place,

they found every thing according to his description. The inhabitants and their Cacique, being informed that the Spaniards were coming, secured their wives and children, and with 500 men waited for the invaders on a little hill; but the Spaniards fell upon them, soon put them to flight, and then proceeded to the town, which to their great joy was full of provisions. The next day they marched up the country and the neighbouring mountains, and found many houses, but no inhabitants, they being all fled. They however seized vessels, household goods, short petticoats of cotton, both spun and unspun, and about 10,000 pieces of fine gold.

The success of this enterprize gained Nunez much reputation, and he began to be in very high esteem. It was now unanimously agreed to settle a colony there, and to call it Santa Mariael Antiqua del Darien, or St. Mary the Ancient of Darien. The first being a name of a church at Seville, and the latter the Indian name of the river.

Nunez now secretly contrived, in concert with his friends, to depose Enciso; who himself soon forwarded his scheme, by giving orders that no man should trade with the Indians for gold, upon pain of death; which raising a suspicion that he intended to monopolize the trade of that valuable metal, they threw off all subjection to him, alleging that his authority was expired. They now chose magistrates like those in Spain; Nunez de Balboa and Zamadis were elected alcaldes, and Valdivia was appointed Regidor; but soon disliking this form of government, new debates arose, which were terminated by the arrival of Roderic Henriquez de Colmenares with two ships, with provisions, military stores, and 70 men on board.

This officer, who was carrying supplies to Nicuesa, had put into a port at 50 or 60 leagues distance from this place, and sending his men on

shore to take in water, they were suddenly attacked by 70 Indians, who wounded 45 of his people with poisoned arrows, and staved the boat. The Spaniards however swam to the ships, though all of them died of their wounds except one. Seven of the Spaniards however hid themselves in a great hollow tree, in order to swim to the ship at night; but those on board supposing they had been slain, set sail for the bay of Uraba, or Darien, in search of Nicuesa. Colmenares meeting nobody on the east side of the bay, where he expected to have found either Hojeda's or Nicuesa's men, he was much surprized, and suspected they were all dead; he however caused some pieces of cannon to be fired, and fires to be lighted on the tops of the rocks, which being observed by the settlement at Santa Maria, they made signals, upon which he went to them, as we have already related, and generously distributing his provisions among them without distinction, brought them to agree to send for Nicuesa, in order to make him their governor.

We shall now return to Diego Nicuesa, who after his leaving Alonzo de Hojeda, whom he had so generously assisted, met with a violent tempest, when Lopez de Olano, his lieutenant perceiving the ships separated, formed the design of setting up for himself, and leaving his patron to shift as he could; but this failing, he sailed to Veragua, the place of rendezvous, where he endeavoured to persuade the people to abandon their original design, and to return to Hispaniola, alleging that Nicuesa, and the men on board with him, had doubtless perished. Mean while a shallop entered the port with four men on board, who brought advice that Nicuesa had been stranded upon a unknown coast; and having marched a great way with incredible fatigue, was now on shore with his followers in a most miserable condition. At hearing this news

Olanó's heart relented, and he immediately dispatched the shallop with provisions and refreshments, which saved Nicuesa and his men from perishing with hunger; but this seasonable relief did not in the least soften that governor's resentment against his lieutenant, whom he put in irons, and threatened to send him in that condition to Spain.

Nicuesa now settled a colony on the banks of the river Belem or Bethlehem; but soon became in such want of provisions, that leaving only a part of his men there, he sailed with the rest to Porto-Bello; when the Indians not suffering his people to land, he was obliged to steer two or three leagues farther to the port called by Columbus the *Bastimentos*, and as soon as he entered it cried out *Paremos aqui en il Nombre de Dios*; that is, let us stay here in the name of God; whence the place was called *Nombre de Dios*. Then immediately landing, he began to erect a fortress.

Nicuesa, being soon reduced to the same situation as in the former colony, was obliged to send one of his vessels to Hispaniola, to intreat Columbus to grant him some assistance; but scarce was the vessel sailed, when that with Colmenares arrived with the above message. This captain was so amazed at seeing Nicuesa and his people lean, ragged and bare-footed, that he could not forbear shedding tears, especially at hearing how many had died, and the great disaster they had sustained, and therefore immediately endeavoured to comfort Nicuesa, by telling him that the people of Santa Maria desired he would come and govern them, that they possessed a pleasant and fertile country, had plenty of provisions, and were in no want of gold

Nicuesa, now recovering his spirits, returned thanks to heaven for this unexpected news; but

soon forgetting his own miserable condition, and that these people had voluntarily made him an offer of becoming their governor and protector, he was so imprudent as publicly to declare, that he would take all their gold from them, and punish them for landing within the limits of his grant. Nor was this his only error; for being desirous of viewing some islands that lay in the way, he suffered a caraval to sail before him, in which were persons who acquainted the colony with these ungenerous expressions; upon which they changed their resolutions, and resolved not to suffer him to come among them.

Nicuesa, having spent eight days among the islands was greatly surprized on his anchoring at the landing place at Santa Maria, to find many of the Spaniards on shore, and at his being ordered by one of them, in the name of all the rest, to return to Nombre de Dios. He desired they would hear him, and for that purpose the next day came on shore, when the people attempted to seize him, he escaped by flight. Nicuesa now entreated that in case they would not ~~accept~~ accept him for their governor, he might be at least admitted as a companion; which they refusing, he begged they would keep him as a prisoner, since he had rather die than to go back to starve at Nombre de Dios. But notwithstanding this, they cruelly forced him and about seventeen of his men into an old rotten bark, with orders to return to the place from whence they came, on pain of being sunk where they were. There is no doubt of their having complied with this inhuman order, but with what success is uncertain; for they were never seen afterwards. A story was however current in the West Indies, that the Spaniards, on their coming to settle themselves in Cuba, found the following inscription cut on the bark of a large

tree. “ Here the unfortunate Nicueffa finished his “ miseries and his life together.”

After the departure of this unhappy man, Nunez de Balboa distinguished himself as a prudent governor ; he made great discoveries ; was the first European that saw the fourth sea, and prepared the way for the conquest of Peru. As his history has therefore a close connection with that conquest, we shall place it immediately before our account of that great event.

CHAPTER III.

Diego Columbus sends Diego Velasquez to plant a colony in Cuba. A description of that island.

THOUGH the governments bestowed upon the above adventurers, were so many violations of the just rights of the admiral Don Diego Columbus, he was very much blamed for not endeavouring to assist them to the utmost of his power, and his enemies made use of this complaint at the court of Spain, which always looked upon him with jealousy, and therefore readily listened to any accusation brought against him. Of this the admiral was so sensible, that he left no stone unturned to secure to himself those countries to which he had just pretensions, from the contract made with his father.

Being informed at the beginning of the year 1511, that the court was very desirous of having a colony planted in the great island of Cuba, he resolved to be before hand with them, and to send a body of men thither under the command of a person whom he could trust ; that having a lieute-

nant there of his own, the court might have no pretence for making a grant of it to any more adventurers, as they had done of that part of the continent discovered by his father, and even of the island of Jamaica ; which however he had recovered. For this purpose he made choice of James Velasquez, the wealthiest and most esteemed of all the first Spanish inhabitants of Hispaniola.

Before we proceed it may not be improper to observe, that the province of Guatiaba lying next to Cuba, and the distance between the two points being only 18 leagues, many of the Indians of Hispaniola had passed over in their canoes, and among them a Cacique of the province of Guatiaba, called Hatuey, a man of bravery and prudence, who took as many of his men as possible, and settled on the nearest country called Mayci, where he treated the people as subjects, and not as slaves. This Cacique, fearing that the Spaniards would one time or other pass into Cuba, kept spies in order to know what was done in Hispaniola. Being at length informed of the admiral's design, he assembled the most warlike of his people, and putting them in mind of the many sufferings they had endured under the Spaniards, told them that they committed these outrages for the sake of a great Lord of whom they were very fond, and whom he would shew them ; then taking some gold out of a little palm tree basket, added, " This is the Lord whom
" they adore, him they follow, and as you have
" already heard they are coming hither in search
" of him : let us therefore make a festival and
" dance to him that when they come he may
" order them not to hurt us." They accordingly began to sing and dance ; for their dances, like those of Hispaniola, were performed to the musick of their songs. At length Hatuey reminded them, that though they should conceal this Lord of the

christians in their very bowels, the Spaniards would find him out, and that they should therefore cast him into the midst of the river, which was accordingly done.

The Spanish inhabitants of Hispaniola were no sooner informed that Diego Velasquez was going to plant a colony in Cuba, than many of them resolved to accompany him, and about 300 men assembled in the town of Salvatierra de la Zavana, at the extremity of Hispaniola, in order to embark on board four ships. From thence they sailed in November 1511, and landed at a port called Palina, in the territories of the Cacique Hatuey, who stood on his defence, taking advantage of the woods where the Spaniards could make no use of their horses. After two months spent in this manner, the Indians concealed themselves in the thickest parts of the forests; but whenever they appeared they were hunted like wild beasts by the Spaniards, who carried all they took to Velasquez, when that commander distributed them among his men, not as slaves but as servants. Hatuey withdrew into the most inaccessible places; but at length had the misfortune to be taken and carried to Velasquez, who had the cruelty to cause that unhappy Cacique to be burnt alive: upon which all the province of Mayci submitted; for after this inhuman example of severity, none of the Indians dared to oppose him. Velasquez now began to think of dividing the native Indians among the Spaniard, as Obando had done by those in Hispaniola, and for that purpose he founded a town at an harbour in the north side of the island, at a place called by the natives Barracoa, and here the first colony in the island was settled.

On its being known in Jamaica that Velasquez was in Cuba, many of those who were with Juan de Esquivel, Columbus's lieutenant, asked leave

to go over and serve under him, among whom was Pamphilio de Narvaez, a gentleman well born, who brought thirty archers under his command, and having a graceful person and an easy address, was well received by Velasquez, who sent him with his thirty men to the province of Bayamo, a fine open country at fifty leagues distance. On the road he and his small party were attacked in the night at an Indian town, by a considerable body of the natives; but mounting a mare which he had brought with him, they were so frightened at the sight of that noble animal, and at hearing the bells which at that time were part of the trappings of the Spanish horses, that they fled far into the country, and Velasquez sending a detachment to join Narvaez, he with the greatest ease became absolute master of that province.

The fine and extensive island of Cuba, which is situated between 20 d. and 23 d. north latitude, is upwards of 800 miles in length from east to west, and generally about seventy broad. It lies about fifty miles west of Hispaniola, and seventy-five north of Jamaica. To the south are a great number of small islands, to which Christopher Columbus gave the name of the Queen's Garden, and to the north are a smaller number, which Velasquez named the King's Garden. The whole island of Cuba is very pleasant, and more temperate than Hispaniola. On the easternmost point there are mountains of a very great height, which extend ninety miles, and through the middle runs a ridge of hills from east to west, from whence very fine rivers and brooks flow down both to the north and the south, through the plain champaign countries which lie on the coast, until after a short course they discharge themselves on each side into the sea. It has many fine harbours, particularly on the

southern coast, where there are that of St. Jago in the form of a cross; that of Xaquas, to which the ships pass through a narrow mouth not above a cross-bow shot over, and then turn into the open part, which is about ten leagues in compass, and where there are three small islands, so situated that ships may be fastened to stakes fixed in the ground, under shelter of the mountains, and lie safe from the winds blowing from any part of the compass. On the north side are also several good harbours, the best of which is that now called the Havannah.

When this island was first planted, it was so covered with woods that a person might travel near 690 miles under trees of various sorts, and particularly red cedars, out of the trunks of which the natives made canoes able to contain fifty or sixty persons. They had also storax trees, and wild vines, the stems of which were as thick as a man's body, and a variety of fruit trees; yet there were greater quantities of Indian corn here, than in any other part of the West-Indies. At the arrival of the Spaniards it was stocked with abundance of birds, particularly a sort of pigeons, partridges, flamingoes, and parroquets; of these last there were infinite multitudes, which when young were esteemed excellent food: there were few land animals, except a kind of rabbits, like those of Hispaniola; but on the other hand there were abundance of excellent tortoise or sea-turtle, and both the sea and rivers abounded with plenty of fish.

After the Spaniards had been settled there some time, they found considerable quantities of gold in the rivers, some of which was very pure, but the greatest part was of less value than that of Hispaniola, or Porto Rico. Though the original inhabitants were very numerous, they have been long since destroyed by the cruelty of the Spa-

niards. St. Jago in the south part of the island is esteemed the capital; but the Havannah on the north-west is by far the most considerable place, on account of its trade, and its being the annual rendezvous of the galleons on their return to Spain.

CHAPTER IV.

The discoveries made on the continent, under the command of Diego de Velasquez, by Francis Hernandez de Cordova his lieutenant. The misfortunes Cordova meets with, and the hardships he suffers until his return to Cuba, where he dies.

DON Diego or James de Velasquez, having reduced the best part of Cuba, and planted several Spanish colonies upon that island, began to be very desirous of shaking off the authority of admiral Diego Columbus, under whom he had hitherto acted. The admiral being now recalled to Spain opposed this project to the utmost of his power; but he had so little influence at that ungrateful court, that he was unable to carry his point; for though Velasquez was still left accountable to him for the exercise of his authority, yet he was not allowed to recall him without the consent of the crown, which so well answered Velasquez's purpose, that he resolved immediately to execute a project he had long meditated, of fitting out ships for making discoveries; and no sooner were his intentions known, than numbers of the Spanish planters, who were grown rich, offered to contribute large sums towards carrying it into execution, among whom was Francis Hernandez de Cordova, a person

of great wealth and bravery, who offered to go as captain, which was granted.

Cordova, having fitted up two ships and a brigantine, took 110 soldiers on board, and sailed from the Havannah on the 8th of February 1517. After being twenty-two days at sea, during which they lay by in the night, they saw land, and from their ships observed a large town at about two leagues from the coast. As they drew near, two canoes full of men appeared; the Spaniards hailed them; and thirty Indians went on board the commodore dressed in jackets without sleeves, and with pieces of cloth wrapped about their waists. The Spaniards gave them meat, wine, and strings of beads, after which the Indians retiring, made signs that they would return the next day with more canoes to carry the Spaniards on shore, seeming much to admire the ships, the men, their beads, clothes arms, and every thing they had never seen before.

The next day the Indians returned with twelve canoes, on board of which was the cacique, who cried out *Conex catoche, or come to my house*, from whence that place received the name of Cape Catoche. The Spaniards then entering their boats and the canoes, took their arms and went ashore, where an infinite number of the natives waited to see them: Cordova even resolved to attend the cacique to his house, in order to take a view of the country; but entering a wood, the cacique gave a signal, and instantly a multitude of men started from an ambuscade in which they had been concealed. They were dressed in jackets of quilted cotton to secure them from being wounded by arrows, and had wooden swords edged with flint, spears, bows and arrows, slings and targets: their faces were painted of several colours, and on their heads they wore plumes of feathers; these giving a loud

snout, discharged a shower of stones and arrows, and then rushing on the Spaniards, fought with much resolution, untill being disordered by the discharge of the muskets and cross-bows, as well as by the sharpness of the Spanish swords, they fled, after having 17 men killed, and many wounded. In this action were taken two youths, who afterwards became christians, and were called Julian and Melchior.

The Spaniards now returned to their ships, and were pleased at their having found people in many respects different from those they had hitherto seen, and particularly at their having observed houses built with stone and lime, which were the first that had been observed in that part of the world. They now continued their course along the coast fifteen days, and then entering a bay, landed in order to take in fresh water, of which they were in want. This place being by the Indians called Quimpeche, it from thence obtained the name of Campeche. They here filled their casks with fresh water, and were going to return to their ships, when they were met by 50 Indians, dressed like those they had seen before, who asked them whether they came from the place where the sun rises, and conducted them to some temples built with stone, where the Spaniards observed several deformed idols, with blood fresh spilt, and from one of these temples came two men in white mantles, with long black hair twisted up in rolls behind, and holding in their hands little earthen fire-pans, into which they cast a certain gum, and then perfuming the Spaniards ordered them to depart the country on pain of death; at which they retired in good order to the shore, and returned to their ships.

They now steered six days along the coast, and then landed at about a league's distance from a

town called Potanchan, where they filled their casks with water; and observed a body of armed men advancing towards them; but it growing dark, they returned back towards the town. The Spaniards now rashly resolved to stay on shore; but in the night were greatly alarmed by the noise made by the Indians, and at break of day perceived that the first party had been joined by several others, and that they were entirely surrounded by a great army. They however resolved to make the best defence in their power, and were quickly under the necessity of exerting all their courage; for it no sooner grew light than the Indians discharged a shower of arrows, darts and stones, by which about 80 Spaniards were wounded, among whom was Cordova; but at length after a vigorous defence, the Spaniards finding it impossible to vanquish such numbers, made a furious onset, and breaking through the Indians, ran towards their boats, whilst the Indians pursued them with hideous cries. The boats narrowly escaped being overset by their crowding into them, and the natives were so eager to attack them, that they ran into the water to wound them with their spears. In this action 47 Spaniards were killed, five died on board the ship, and all the rest, except one, were wounded. It was therefore resolved to burn one of the ships for want of hands, and to return to Cuba.

One of their greatest misfortunes was, their having been obliged to leave their casks on shore, which occasioned their being soon in great distress for want of water, and though some of the soundest of the men landed with jars to search for a fresh supply, they could find none but what was brackish; this obliged them to steer for Florida, where one of the pilots had been with Ponce de Leon. They here landed near a creek, and having posted

centinels dug pits, and finding good water, drank some, and washed linen for the wounded men; but when they were about to return, one of the centinels having stepped aside with a hatchet to cut down a palmetto tree near the creek, the other heard him cry out, and instantly ran to give the alarm, crying, to sea! to sea! the Indians are coming. Many canoes were instantly seen rowing down the creek, filled with Indians cloathed in deer skins, and armed with bows and arrows, swords and spears: who landing, let fly their arrows, and wounded six of the soldiers; but soon perceiving the dreadful effects produced by the muskets and cross bows, ran back to their canoes, on which the Spaniards returned with safety to their ships, where the men were in such distress for want of water, that a soldier leaping into the boat, seized a jar, and drank so much that he swelled and died two days after. In short, after enduring many other hardships, they arrived at the Havannah, from whence Cordova sent a particular account of his unfortunate voyage to the governor Diego Velasquez, and died of his wounds ten days after.

CHAPTER V.

The Discoveries made on the Continent by the Command of James Velasquez, under John Grijalva. They Land in the Island of Cozumel, proceed to New Spain, and defeat the Indians of Potonchan. They then land on the banks of Rio de Grijalva, where they receive Presents from the Indians. Steering from thence they are invited on Shore by the Mexicans, with whom they trade for Gold. They afterwards visit several Islands; discover Temples with Idols and human Sacrifices; purchase many bright Copper Axes which they mistake for Gold, and return to the Island of Cuba, where Grijalva is disgraced by Velasquez, for not disobeying the Orders he himself had given him.

NOTWITHSTANDING Cordova's ill success, his account of this voyage gave great pleasure to Velasquez, who frequently declared that he was resolved to pursue these discoveries as soon as an opportunity offered, since as these seemed more civilized than any other Indians, they were probably richer; and this resolution was no sooner known, than several of the principal inhabitants offered him their assistance, which soon enabled him to send out three ships and a brigantine.

This small squadron was commanded by John Grijalva and the captains Alverado, Montejo, and d'Avila, who had strict orders to make what discoveries they could, but to attempt no settlements. They sailed from Cuba on the 8th of May, 1511, and having visited Florida, and discovered the island of Cozumel, proceeded along the coast of the continent. Eight days after they reached Potonchan's town, and came to an anchor, upon which the natives being elated with their success in driving Cordova's men out of the country, took up arms, and ran to the shore, where they stood to

hinder the Spaniards from landing, shouting and making a great noise with their trumpets and kettle drums. The Spaniards no sooner approached the shore, than they discharged a shower of arrows, darts, and stones, and with great intrepidity ran into the water to wound the invaders with their spears; but the latter were no sooner landed, then rushing upon them sword in hand, they made them give way; for the Spaniards being now taught by experience, began to use loose cotton jackets like those of these Indians, as a defensive armour against their arrows: however three of them were killed and sixty wounded, among whom was Grijalva. But the boats coming to their assistance with the remainder of the soldiers who had been left on board, the Indians quitted the field, and the Spaniards marched to the town, where they found only three of the natives; these they used well, and sent them with some toys to allure the inhabitants back; but these messengers never returned, upon which they embarked and again set sail.

Grijalva now continuing his course by day, and lying by in the night, for fear of falling among flats and rocks, discovered the mouth of a large river, but so shallow that it would only admit small vessels, and therefore they could only send up two of their boats well manned; who were obliged to proceed with great circumspection, on account of there being many armed Indians in canoes along the shore.

This river, which the natives called Tabasco, the Spaniards named Rio de Grijalva, from their commander in chief, and landed at a grove of palm-trees about half a league from a town. The Indians seeing them leave their boats, about fifty canoes, full of armed men, moved forward, and stopped again at a small distance from the Spaniards; upon which the latter sent Melchior and

Julian, the two Indians taken by Cordova, to inform them that they were come with no other view but to treat with them about some affairs that would give them pleasure. Upon this the Indians in four canoes drew near, and Grijalva ordered the above interpreters to tell them, that he and his men were the subjects of a great king to whom mighty princes paid obedience ; that it was reasonable they also should submit to him because it would be much to their advantage ; and that until the Spaniards could explain these affairs, they must furnish them with provisions. To this the Indians prudently replied, that they would give them provisions ; but they had a lord of their own, and knew no reason why they, who were but strangers, should offer to impose a new lord upon them. However, that they ought to take heed how they made war on them, as they had done on the people of Potonchan ; for they had provided an army which according to their manner of computation must amount to 24,000 men. That they knew they had killed and wounded above 200 at Potonchan ; but that they were not so weak as those people. They concluded with observing, that they were come thither to know their will, and would make a very just report of what was said to a number of very great men, who were assembled either to treat of peace or to renew the war. Grijalva then gave them strings of beads, looking glasses, and other things, charging them to bring back an answer, because if they did not, he must go to the town, though he should not do it any harm. Having thus concluded the conference he returned to the ships.

These persons having delivered the message, all the chiefs, who were usually consulted in martial affairs, thought peace preferable to war, and immediately sent a number of Indians loaded with roasted fish, poultry, bread, and several sorts of

fruit. These being delivered, they laid some mats on the ground, and placed upon them several sorts of very beautiful feather works. After which they let the Spaniards know, that their lord would come the next day to pay them a visit.

According at the time appointed the Cacique appeared, attended by many unarmed men, and, without shewing the least jealousy, went on board Grijalva's ship. That commander was a genteel man, about 28 years of age, and had on a loose coat of crimson velvet, a cap of the same, with some rich ornaments. He received the Cacique with respect, and sitting down, they began their discourse, of which both parties understood very little, except by words interpreted by Julian and Melchior. After some time, the Cacique ordered an Indian to take out of the trunk he carried, some plates of gold, and thin boards covered with the same metal for armour. These the Cacique himself tried upon Grijalva, taking off those that did not fit, and applying others, until he had put him on a complete suit of gold armour that fitted him as well as if it had been made for him. He also presented him various works in fine gold and feathers. In return Grijalva called for a very fine shirt, and with his own hands put it upon the Cacique, as he did also his great coat of crimson velvet. He then put on his feet a pair of new shoes; and gave him some of the best strings of beads and looking glasses, with scissars, knives, and several toys made of tin, some of which he also gave to all the Cacique's attendants. The Cacique's present to Grijalva was worth about 3000 pieces of eight, and among the rest were a wooden head piece, covered with thin plates of gold, and three or four masks, some of which were covered with a sort of stones like emeralds. The sight of these things made the Spani-

ards very eager to settle in a country that produced such vast wealth.

Grijalva having received this considerable present, and being sensible that the Indians were not willing that their guests should stay long, proceeded farther, and in two days came to a town called Agualunco, which the Spaniards named *Le Rambla*, where the inhabitants appeared at a distance, with targets of tortoise-shell, which glittering in the sun made some of the Spaniards fancy they were made of gold.

Sailing from thence, the Spaniards saw several other rivers, in one of which they observed the Indians waving large pieces of white cloth fastened to poles, as if inviting them to land; whereupon Grijalva ordered captain de Montejo to go to shore with all the musqueteers, and twenty other soldiers, and that in case the Indians appeared in a warlike posture, he should give notice, in order that succours might be sent him.

It is necessary to observe, that this coast was part of the great empire of Mexico, and that Montezuma, who was then seated on the throne, having heard of the exploits of the Spaniards, and the pains they took to become acquainted with the maritime parts of his empire, began to grow uneasy, and longed to know why they took such pains to learn the state of countries that did not belong to them. To obtain this intelligence, he had given directions to the governors of some of these provinces to entertain these strangers civilly, to seize every opportunity of trading with them, and to send him from time to time such an account of their motions as might enable him clearly to discern what opinion he ought to entertain of them and in consequence of these instructions the Indians made signals to invite them on shore.

As soon, therefore, as Montejo and his men were landed, the Mexicans offered them fowls, bread and fruit, and perfumed the Spaniards by burning gum copal in little fire pans. Montejo instantly sent advice to Grijalva of the friendly manner in which he was received, upon which that commander came up with the ships, landed, and gave the people some glass beads and necklaces. He was treated with great respect by the emperor of Mexico's governor, and his principal officers, who ordering the Indians to bring gold to barter; the Spaniards, during the six days they stayed there, purchased gold toys of several shapes, to the value of 15,000 pieces of eight.

At length Grijalva having made presents to the principal persons, and taken possession of the country for the king of Spain, in the name of Diego Velasquez, embarked and touched at several islands, and having landed in one of them, with 50 soldiers, found a temple in which were several idols, and four men dressed in long black mantles with hoods, who were the priests of the temple, and had that very day sacrificed two boys, who were found ripped open and their hearts taken out; a piece of cruelty which filled the Spaniards with horror and compassion. To this island which was called Ulua, Grijalva gave the name of St. John Baptist, but it has ever since been called St. John de Ulua, to distinguish it from St. John de Porto Rico.

Grijalva having staid seven days at this island, during which he bartered for a small quantity of gold, he sent Velasquez an account of his discoveries by Alverado, with all the gold and other things they had obtained from the Indians. Velasquez was greatly pleased with the account he received; but Alverado having been very desirous of settling

a colony, gave him very ill impressions of Grijalva, who had served him faithfully, and paid the most strict regard to his orders.

In the mean time Grijalva, by the advice of the other captains and pilots, coasted along in sight of the mountains of Tufpa, and afterwards sailed to the mouth of the river Tarala, to which he gave the name of St. Anthony, and there careened one of the ships that was leaky. While they were here many Indians came from the town at a league's distance, with bread, poultry, and other provisions, which they sold for Spanish toys: and the news of this traffic being soon spread abroad, others came from Guazacoallo, and the rest of the neighbouring towns, bringing provisions, and very bright copper axes with painted handles; the Spaniards thinking these axes were gold, purchased 600 of them, and the Indians would willingly have parted with more.

While the Spaniards were here, a soldier entered a temple that stood in the fields, whence he took the incense called by the Indians Copal, the sacrificing knives, and some idols, which he delivered to the commander in chief, after his having first taken off their carvings, pendants, plates, and crowns of gold, worth about ninety pieces of eight: but not being able to conceal his joy at obtaining his booty, Grijalva was informed of what he had done, and ordered every thing to be taken from him; but afterwards restored them to him again, upon his paying the fifth to the king.

From this place Grijalva set sail for Cuba, and in 45 days arrived at the port of Mantancas in that island, with the value of 4000 pieces of eight in gold, besides what had been brought by Alverado; but on their going to pay the duty of the king's fifth of the copper axes, the purchasers had the mortification of finding them rusty. In this port

Grijalva received a letter from the governor, ordering him to hasten to the port of St. Jago, and to inform the men that another fleet was fitting out in order to make a settlement. Grijalva obeyed this summons; but, on his arrival at St. Jago, met with a very cool reception from Velasquez, who had even the folly to abuse him for having so strictly obeyed his orders in not making a settlement. This, indeed, ought certainly to have preserved him from that fate, since nothing but a scrupulous regard to his instructions could confine a man who had made great discoveries, from taking such measures as were most likely to establish at once his fortune and independency. Grijalva contented himself with shewing the instructions he had received, which Velasquez looked upon as a tacit censure on himself, and gave the command of the fleet to Hernando Cortes, which brings us to his celebrated expedition.

THE
Conquest of Mexico.

BY HERNANDO CORTES.

CHAPTER I.

Diego de Velasquez, Governor of Cuba, appoints Hernando Cortes Commander in chief of a Fleet for making new Discoveries. He sails from Cuba, and lands in the Island of Cozumel, where he demolishes the Indian Idols, and meets with a Captive Spaniard.

HERNANDO CORTES was a native of Medelin, a town of Estremadura, in Spain, and being educated for a military life, resolved to push his fortune in the West-Indies, whither he sailed in the year 1504, with letters of recommendation to Don Nicholas de Obando, his kinsman, who was at that time governor of Hispaniola. This gentleman gave him a very kind reception, and admitted him into the number of his friends; but these favours could not divert his inclination to arms, and therefore that island, being possessed by the Spaniards, without any opposition from the natives, he desired leave to serve in the island of Cuba, where the war was still carried on, and having arrived there, so far distinguished himself, as to

obtain the reputation of a valiant foldier and able commander; on which account he was made Alcade, or chief magiftrate of the town of St. Jago, a poft generally conferred on thofe who diftinguifhed themfelves in the conqueft of thofe countries. Cortes was in this fituation when he was recommended to Diego de Velafquez, governor of Cuba, as a proper perfon for making conquefts on the continent; and the governor giving his approbation, a commiffion was inflantly figned, by which Cortes was appointed Captain general of the fleet, and of the countries he fhould difcover and fubdue.

His nomination to this poft was greatly refented by all who had flattered themfelves with the hopes of obtaining it. Mean while Cortes employed his own fortune, and all the money he could borrow in the purchafe of provifions, arms, and ammunition, and inflited foldiers with fuch expedition and fuccefs, that within a few days he had above 300 men in his fervice; and having equipped ten fmall veffels from 80 to 100 tons each, they failed from the port of St. Jago, by Cuba, on the 18th of November 1518, and coafting along the ifland arrived at the port of La Trinidad, where he was joined by feveral perfons of diftinction who refolved to follow his fortunes. But he had no fooner left St. Jago than his enemies prevailed on Velafquez to revoke his commiffion; of which Cortes being informed, he confulted his friends and adherents, who declared with great warmth, that they would ftand by him to the laft extremity. He then took fuch meafures as appeared moft proper for removing the jealoufy of Velafquez, and promoting his own fecurity, and having fent Pedro de Alverado with a party of foldiers by land to take care of the horfes, and raife recruits in the fettlements, he failed with the fleet for the Havannah. But in the night,

the Capitana, in which Cortes embarked, separated from the rest, while the other vessels continued their course to the port of Havannah, where the people were kindly received by Pedro de Barba, the governor under Velasquez. However, having staid several days without hearing any news of Cortes, they concluded he was lost, and began to deliberate on choosing another commander, but were prevented by his arrival, when he was received with the loud acclamations of his men, and treated with great respect by the governor.

While he staid in this place, he caused a number of cotton quilts to be made, to defend his people from the darts and arrows of the Indians; it being found that these were more useful than coats of mail. He proved his artillery, exercised his soldiers, in the use of their fire arms and cross bows, as well as in the management of their pikes, and taught them to form and file off, in order to make an attack and retreat. But while he was thus employed, a messenger arrived with dispatches to the governor of Havannah, containing express orders to divest Cortes of his command, and to send him prisoner with a strong guard to St. Jago. Cortes was highly incensed at Velasquez's behaviour, and his endeavouring to ruin an enterprize in which he and his friends had embarked their whole fortunes; he therefore resolved to provide for himself, and to make use of force if it was necessary; he even explained his situation to his soldiers, and they raised such a tumult, that the governor of Havannah, dreading the consequence of their resentment, publicly declared, that he did not intend to execute the orders he had received from Velasquez, which he considered as a flagrant act of injustice. This commotion being thus appeased, and a brigantine added to the fleet, Cortes divided his men into eleven companies, delivered instructions to his

officers, and after a solemn mass, at which all the soldiers assisted, weighed, and set sail from Havana on the 10th of February 1519.

They had this day a favourable gale, but the sun was no sooner set than a furious storm arose, which damaged the fleet. Cortes had before sent Diego de Ordaz, whose fidelity he had suspected, to Guanicanico, a settlement on the other side of cape St. Antonio; and a little before the storm, he sent Pedro de Alverado in quest of him, with orders to wait for the fleet at cape St. Antonio; but Pedro perceiving that the tempest had driven him so far into the gulph as to render it difficult for him to weather cape St. Antonio, steered away for the island of Cozumel, where upon his landing he found a small town near the coast, which was abandoned by the Indians, who had fled at his approach. Alverado was a young man of an enterprising genius, but of little experience, and imagined that, while he waited for the fleet which was to cast anchor at that island, nothing could so ill become a soldier as inaction, and therefore ordered his men to march, and take a view of the inner part of the island. At a league's distance they came up to another town, which was abandoned like the first. Here the soldiers seized some provisions, and in a temple of one of their idols they found many jewels and some instruments for sacrificing made of gold mixed with copper, which, though of small value, they carried away. However, this expedition was so far from promoting the service in which they were engaged, that it only served to frighten the Indians, and to render it more difficult to obtain their friendship and assistance.

The next day Cortes arrived with the fleet, having sent another vessel with directions to Ordaz, on a supposition that Alverado had been prevented by

the storm; and though he was glad to find that young captain safe at Cozumel, he publicly reprimanded him for his rashness in marching up and down the island, and dismissed three Indian prisoners whom he had taken, after having ordered their effects to be restored, and given them many presents for their Cacique, in token of peace and amity. To prevent new disputes, he drew down his forces to the sea side, and having encamped them there for three days, he thought fit to make a general review; when it appeared that his whole army amounted to 508 soldiers including their officers, 16 horse, 2 chaplains, and 109 mariners and mechanics. On this occasion, Cortes made them a speech, in which he endeavored to inspire them with courage, by the promise of wealth and honour; explained the dangers they must expect to encounter, and in the strongest terms, represented the necessity of a strict obedience, and the most perfect unanimity.

He had scarce concluded this speech, when intelligence was brought him, that a considerable number of unarmed Indians were approaching in several detached parties, upon which he drew up his men, and commanded them to remain under arms until it was known what was their intention. The Indians no sooner came in sight, than they continued for some time without motion; but perceiving that no hostilities were offered, they at length boldly advanced, and mingling with the soldiers, presented them with some refreshments, and continued to behave with great confidence and familiarity.

The next day the principal cacique of the island came with a numerous retinue to pay a visit to Cortes, who received him with great courtesy; and while the conversation was carried on by means of an interpreter, one of the Indians was heard to

pronounce the word *Castilla*, the meaning of which being demanded by Cortes, he was told that the Indian said, the Spaniards resembled some persons in Yucatan, who came from a country called *Castilla*. Cortes immediately concluded that these were his countrymen, and resolved to set them at liberty. Upon a more particular inquiry he found that they were in the power of some Indians of the highest rank, who resided at Yucatan, and that the most certain method of procuring their liberty would be to offer a ransom; for the Cacique informed him that should he have recourse to arms, it would expose them to the hazard of being massacred by their masters. Cortes approved of this advice, and ordered Diego de Ordaz to sail to the coast of Yucatan, with a letter to the prisoners, and some trifles for their ransom, and to stay eight days, in which time some Indians appointed by the Cacique for that purpose undertook to return with an answer. In the mean time Cortes marched with the troops in a body about the island, in order to view the country, and keep his men in action, and in this tour he was accompanied by the cacique, and a great number of Indians, who furnished him with provisions and exchanged gold for glass beads, which they fancied they could never purchase too dear.

At a small distance from the coast stood the temple of an idol that was much revered by the Indians. It was a square stone building, and no contemptible structure. The idol which was called *Cozumel*, whence the island received the same name, was in the figure of a man, and had a most horrible aspect. Here a great concourse of people were found listening to a priest who was distinguished by a certain ornament or covering which scarcely concealed his nakedness, and who seemed to preach with great emphasis. Cortes, shocked

at the absurdity of such worship, told the cacique, that it was impossible for them to continue friends, if he did not renounce his idolatry, and that it was unworthy of a man of sense to pay divine honours to a deformed image fitter to frighten children than to be revered by men of understanding. The cacique replied, that as to religion he left it wholly to the priests, who should, if he pleased, discourse with him upon that subject. This was readily accepted, and one of the priests being sent for, no sooner was informed of the affair in question, than he began with the most hideous outcries to protest against those who should be so audacious as to disturb the worship of their gods, denouncing the immediate vengeance of heaven against all who should presume to dishonour this deity or his habitation. But Cortes, without paying any regard to his menaces, immediately ordered all the idols to be broke to pieces, and most of their temples to be demolished. The largest of them, however, he preserved entire, and having caused a neat altar to be erected, had mass said in it by the chaplains and priests, and at his departure charged the cacique to take the strictest care that every thing was kept in good order, and that no insult was offered to the image of the blessed virgin, or to two crosses which he erected in that chapel; and this the Indian Chief very readily promised.

When the eight days were expired, Diego de Ordaz returned from Yucatan, without seeing any thing of the Castilians for whom he was sent. Cortes therefore set sail with a fair wind; but was obliged to return the same day, on account of one of the ships having sprung a leak.

While this ship was refitting, Cortes was told that a canoe was standing directly towards the island, when perceiving that she was full of armed In-

pians, he ordered Andrea de Tapia to get as much as possible under the shelter of the land, and to endeavour to take the canoe. Soon after four men came from it with a slight covering about their waists, and with bows and arrows in their hands. Andrea de Tapia, as soon as the Indians were landed, advanced towards them sword in hand, when three of them seeming afraid, the fourth bid them not fear, and addressing himself to the Spaniards, cried aloud in the Castilian tongue, gentlemen, I am a christian. Tapia immediately embraced him with equal joy and surprize, and conducted him to Cortes, who received him with much affection, while his Indian companions crouched down on their hams, and laying their bows and arrows on the ground, moistened their right hand with spittle, touched the earth, and then stroaked their breasts near the heart; this being the most respectful ceremony they paid to their princes. Cortes having asked the name of the stranger, he replied that he was called Jerome de Aguilar, and was a native of Eija. Meat and drink were then set before him, and he was ordered to be clothed.

The next day Cortes inquired how he fell into the hands of the Indians, when he replied, that being at Darien he was sent to Hispaniola for men and ammunition, but was cast away near Jamaica, when he and 20 other persons taking to the boat, after suffering great distresses, reached the shore of Yucatan, where they fell into the hands of a cacique, who immediately sacrificed six of them to his idols, and then eat them. That he and some others were shut up in a wooden cage, in order to serve for another festival; but breaking out, they, without being discovered, fled over the mountains, until they came into the dominions of another prince, who was an enemy to him from whom they had fled. That soon after most of his companions

died, and he fell into the hands of a master whom he served for several years, and at length acquired such a degree of favour, that he conferred upon him an employment near his person, and honoured him with his confidence. The cacique his master dying recommended him to his son, under whom he possessed the same office, and afterwards being employed in the wars with the neighbouring caciques, obtained such reputation that he became the favourite both of the prince and people, and therefore on his receiving Cortes's letter, he easily obtained his liberty as a reward for his services.

CHAPTER II.

Cortes sails from Cozumel, arrives at the River Grijalva, lands in spite of the Indians, takes the Town of Tabasco, and obtains a great Victory. He then concludes a Peace with the Indians, and embarks in order to continue his voyage to Mexico.

THE fleet set sail from Cozumel on the 4th of March 1519, and reached the river of Grijalva, where the civil treatment which the Spaniards had formerly received from the Indians of Tabasco, and the gold brought from thence, were such motives for their landing, as were not to be resisted.

Therefore leaving the larger vessels at anchor, Cortes embarked all his soldiers on board the smaller, and in the boats, and was beginning to make the best of his way against the current, when he perceived both sides of the river covered with canoes filled with Indians in arms, supported by a considerable force on shore. When guessing from the horrible outcries and gesticulations of the Indians, that they intended to oppose him, he sent Aguilar to them in a canoe with offers of peace,



Scot & Mardie Sc.

*The Engagement between the Spaniards
and People of Tabasco & their manner of
fortifying themselves.*



which being rejected, he resolved to punish them for what he called their presumption, in daring to defend their country. But night approaching, he thought proper to wait until the next day, and in the mean time commanded all the artillery to be brought into the smaller vessels, and his soldiers to put on their quilted coats to secure them from being wounded by the arrows of the enemy.

At day-break, he drew up the vessels, in the figure of a half-moon, and advancing slowly to the Indians, sent Aguilar a second time, with proposals of peace, to which they made no answer, but giving the signal for the attack, advanced with great swiftness by the favour of the current, until being near enough to use their arrows, they discharged such a shower of them, both from the canoes and barks on the river, that the Spaniards were much embarrassed in their endeavours to cover themselves. However, having received the first charge, they assaulted the Indians with such vigour, that the canoes soon left the passage free. The vessels then proceeded up the river without further opposition, and approaching the shore endeavoured to land, but the place being marshy, and covered with brambles, the Spaniards were assaulted by a number of Indians who lay in ambush. However, Cortes drew up his men, and, notwithstanding the prodigious fury of this attack, ranged his soldiers in order of battle in fight of the enemy, whose numbers continually increased. He ordered Alonzo Davilla to advance with 100 soldiers through the woods, and take possession of the town of Tabasco, which was not far from the place of action. Cortes then attacked that vast multitude, and notwithstanding his being obliged to fight up to his knees in mud, he put the Indians to flight, when instantly discovering the march of Davila, they ran to defend the town.

Cortes followed them to Tabasco, which he reached before the detachment he had sent thither, and found it fortified with a wall formed of large trunks of trees fixed in the ground like palisadoes, with spaces between for the convenience of shooting arrows. It was of a circular compass, and at the closing of the circle the extremity of one line covered the other, forming a narrow winding street, in which were two or three wooden castles which filled up the passage, and were built for placing centinels. This was then a sufficient fortification for the inhabitants of the new world, who were happily ignorant of the arts of war, and the methods of destruction practised by polite nations.

Cortes being joined by Davila, whose march had been obstructed by lakes and marshes, gave proper instructions for breaking down the palisadoes, and instantly gave the signal to begin the attack, crying, my friends, here we must lodge to-night. The soldiers proceeded with great resolution, and turning aside a shower of arrows with their shields, advanced to the fortification, and discharging their fire-arms and cross-bows through the openings, soon drove the enemy from their posts, and then breaking down a part of the palisadoes entered without difficulty. The Indians however, made head against the Spaniards in the streets, but were embarrassed by their own numbers, and being driven from thence, made a vigorous effort in a wide space in the centre of the town; but being again repulsed, fled in great disorder to the woods, whether Cortes would not allow his men to pursue them.

The Indians had removed their families and effects, and provided for their support by laying in a great stock of provisions. Fourteen or fifteen of the Spaniards were wounded, but the loss of the Indians was very considerable. The troops lodged

that night in the town, in which centinels were posted with as much care and exactness as if an army had been in view; but the next day the country appeared deserted, and there was not an enemy to be seen. Cortes however suspected this stillness, and his apprehensions increased, by his being informed that Melchio his interpreter, one of the Indians taken by Cordova, had deserted that very night, leaving his clothes hanging on a tree.

Cortes now sent Pedro de Alverado, and likewise Francisco de Lugo, with one hundred men each by different ways, to view the country, but with orders to retire in case they found an army in the field; but the latter, after a little more than an hour's march, fell into an ambuscade, and was so furiously attacked on all sides, that he was obliged to draw up his little battalion into a square, and the number of the enemy increasing his detachment would certainly have been overpowered, had not Alverado who had been obliged to turn out of his way by meeting a marsh, heard the report of the fire-arms, and hastened to his relief, after his first having detached an Indian of Cuba, to Cortes, to inform him of this event. Alverado attacked the Indians when Lugo was in the greatest distress, his men being quite spent with fatigue, and made his attack with such resolution, that the Indians fled with the utmost consternation; but soon after recovering from their surprize, they endeavoured to prevent the retreat of the two captains, who being joined, and having time to take breath, cut their way through a vast multitude of the inhabitants, which resembled the rolling of the sea, when the waves are driven back by the wind. At length Cortes appeared at a distance, and being observed by the Indians, they dispersed, leaving the Spaniards in possession of the field, eleven of whom were wounded, of which number only two died.

Some prisoners being taken on this occasion, Cortes caused them to be examined separately, by Jerom de Aguilar, when they agreed in declaring that all the Caciques in the neighbouring countries were marching to the assistance of the inhabitants of Tabasco, and that the next day a powerful army was to be assembled in order to destroy the Spaniards at once. Upon this intelligence Cortes called a council, communicated to his captains what they had learned, and desired their advice; representing the weakness of their naked enemies, the ill consequences that would attend their turning their backs upon them, and that this would be such a disgrace, as would prevent all their future conquests. Upon which the officers unanimously agreed, that it was absolutely necessary not to leave the country, until they had reduced the inhabitants.

Cortes now proceeded to make the necessary dispositions for a decisive battle: he ordered the wounded to be carried on board; the horses to be landed; the artillery to be in readiness, and every thing in order by the next morning. At day-break, he gave the command of the infantry to Diego de Ordaz, when he and the other commanders mounted on horseback, and kept pace with the artillery, which moved very slowly, from the grounds being boggy, until arriving at a place called Cinthla, about the distance of a league from their quarters, they observed the Indian army appear at a distance, and in such numbers as to cover the country, as far as the eye could reach.

It is here proper to describe the Indian manner of marching and coming to an engagement, since as the art of war is nearly the same in all the nations of New Spain, this will be sufficient to give the reader some idea of their appearance, through the whole of this conquest. Their principal weapons, were bows and arrows, the strings of the

bows being made of the sinews of beasts, or thongs of deer skins twisted, and their arrows were pointed with fish bones. They had a kind of javelins, which they sometimes threw, and sometimes managed like a pike. They had also long two-handed wooden swords, edged with sharp flints; some of the strongest had clubs pointed with flints, and there were slingers who threw stones with great force and dexterity. Their defensive arms, which were worn by none but commanders and persons of distinction, consisted of coats of quilted cotton, breast plates, and shields of wood and tortoise-shell adorned with plates and metal. The rest of the people were naked, only their heads were encircled with plumes of feathers to make them appear taller than they really were, and all of them had their faces and bodies painted of various colours in order to strike terror into their enemies. Their warlike instruments were pipes made of large canes, sea shells, and drums made of the bark of a tree hollowed, which being beaten with a stick afforded a very disagreeable sound. They made their attacks with terrible outcries, with which they thought to intimidate their enemies. Their battalions were formed without order; but they had bodies of reserve to relieve the others when there was occasion, and though they were divided into companies commanded by their respective officers, those officers could scarcely govern their men; for when they came to engage, they were animated either by rage or fear, and consequently were equally eager to charge and to run away.

Such was the army, or rather inundation of Indians, which now poured down upon the Spaniards. Cortes posted his men under the shelter of a rising ground that covered the rear, and having placed his artillery to the greatest advantage,

advanced with his fifteen horse to a wood, from whence he intended to sally, and flank the enemy.

When the Indians had marched within a proper distance, they discharged a shower of arrows, and then fell upon the Spaniards with such fury and precipitation, that their fire arms and cross bows being unable to stop them, they were obliged to have recourse to their swords and as the enemy pressed on, the artillery destroyed them by whole companies. But the Indians fought with such bravery, that the ball was no sooner past than they closed again, drowning the groans of the wounded by their outcries. Diego de Ordaz acted with great courage: but his troops could scarcely stand their ground, when Cortes with his fifteen horse rushed suddenly from the wood, broke through the thickest of the enemy, whom he trampled under his horses feet, while they being amazed and terrified at the sight of those unknown animals, threw down their arms and fled with precipitation. Diego de Ordaz being soon sensible that the relief he expected was arrived, from the weak resistance of the enemy's van, which now began to turn their backs, advanced with his infantry, and charged those who had been just ready to overwhelm him with such resolution, that he obliged them to give way, till he came to the place where Cortes and his captains had dispersed the enemy, who retreated, making a running fight, till the Spaniards pursuing them, they fled in the utmost confusion, leaving above 800 dead upon the spot; the Spaniards had two men killed, and threescore and ten wounded.

The next day Cortes ordered two or three of the Indian officers, who were prisoners, to be brought before him, and perceiving that their countenances had all the marks of terror, gave them a courteous reception, and then set them at liberty, giving

them some trifling presents, and telling them that he knew how to conquer and to forgive. This instance of his moderation had such an effect, that in a few hours several of the natives came loaded with Indian corn, fowls and other provisions, as a present from the principal Cacique of Tabasco, who by these persons made proposals of peace; but Jerom de Aguilar observing that these were mean people, Cortes, though very desirous of peace, refused to admit their proposals, and sent them back without seeing them, ordering them by his interpreter, to acquaint their Cacique, that if he desired his friendship, he must send persons of greater distinction to solicit it. The Cacique being immediately sensible of his error, the next day sent 30 of his principal men adorned with plumes and jewels, and followed by a train of Indians, who carried another present of the same kind to the Spanish general.

Cortes being attended by his officers, with a very severe and stern look, gave audience to these Ambassadors, who approaching him with great submission, perfumed him with incense, composed of sweet scented gums, made an apology for the war, and concluded with earnest entreaties for a peace. The general replied by observing that he had just cause to be displeas'd with them: but granting their request, made them a present of a few baubles. At which they departed highly satisfi'd with the success of their negociation.

Cortes was afterwards visited by the Cacique in person, attended by all his officers, who brought with them a present of cotton cloths, plumes of various colours, and some pieces of gold of admirable workmanship. The general loaded him with caresses and the visit pass'd in protestations of a reciprocal and sincere friendship. The Indians of distinction who were in his retinue, were treated by the

Spanish captains, and nothing appeared but signs of joy and peace. At taking leave, the Cacique appointed another day for an interview, and to shew his confidence in the general, ordered his subjects to return with their families to Tabasco, and to assist the Spaniards to the utmost of their power. The next day the Cacique returned with a present of 20 Indian women, who were skilled in making bread of Indian corn, and dressing other provisions. The bread was made by grinding corn between two stones, till it was reduced to flour, when it was made into a paste without leaven, and being moulded, was spread upon a sort of earthen plates, on which it was baked over the fire. Among these women was one of uncommon beauty, who was afterwards baptized by the name of Mariana, and became Cortes's mistress.

The pilots now hastened the departure of the fleet, and Palm Sunday drawing nigh, Cortes appointed that day for embarking. The Spaniards accordingly set sail for Mexico, coasting along to the westward, till they arrived at the port now called St. Juan de Ulua, where they had no sooner come to an anchor, between the island and the main land, than two large canoes, called piraguas, came with Indians from the neighbouring coast, and on their drawing near began to speak in a language which Aguilar did not understand ; a circumstance that very much chagrined Cortes, from his apprehending that the want of an interpreter would be a great obstacle to the success of his enterprize ; but Mariana guessing his concern by his looks, told Aguilar in the Yucatan tongue, that the people spoke the Mexican language, and desired audience of the general on the part of the governor of that province. Cortes, being rejoiced at finding that she understood their meaning, desired them to come on board, and deliver their message. This

woman was a daughter of a Cacique of one of the provinces subject to the Emperor of Mexico, but in her youth had been carried to a Mexican garriſon, on the confines of Yucatan; after which, by ſome miſfortune became a ſlave to the Cacique of Tabasco, who made a preſent of her to Cortes. As this woman was not yet acquainted with the language of Spain, ſhe interpreted to Aguilar in the Yucatan tongue, what the Mexican ſaid, and he imparted it to Cortes in the Caſtillian. By this double interpretation the general learned that Pilpatoe, governor, and Teutile, captain-general of that province, had ſent to know with what intention they came on their coaſt: when Cortes preſenting them with a few baubles, and treating them with ſome Spaniſh wine, told them, that he came as a friend to treat of matters of great importance to their Prince, and the whole empire, for which purpoſe he would meet the two governors.

CHAPTER III.

Cortes gives Audience to two Mexican Officers. Sends a preſent to Montezuma, and receives one from that Prince. The State of the Mexican Empire, and the Apprehenſions of Montezuma, who ſends a ſecond preſent to Cortes, with expreſs orders to leave the coaſt. Cortes artfully puts a ſtop to the murmurs of the people.

ON Good Friday the Spaniards landed, and having got their horſes and artillery on ſhore, Cortes directed the ſoldiers to cut fascines, in order to entrench themſelves, and to build a ſufficient number of huts to ſhelter them from the exceſſive

heat of the sun, when Teutile sending a great number of the natives, Cortes kept himself upon his guard, and planted his artillery in such a manner as to command the country. On Easter day he was visited by Teutile and Pilpatoe, attended by a very great retinue; he received them with extraordinary state, surrounded by his officers and soldiers. The first compliments being passed, and it being the hour of divine service, he conducted them to a large hut, and ordered Aguilar and Mariana to tell them, that before he acquainted them with the design of his voyage he ought to comply with the duty of his religion, and to recommend to the God of all other gods the success of his proposal. After service was over, Cortes returned to his quarters, where the two generals were entertained at dinner, in as splendid a manner as possible, and that being ended, he called his interpreters, and then with a determined air told them, that he came to treat with the Emperor Montezuma, on the part of Don Carlos of Austria, monarch of the east, on affairs of great importance, both with respect to himself and all his subjects; for this reason it was necessary for him to appear before his royal presence, to which he hoped to be admitted, with all the respect due to the greatness of the king his master.

Cortes's guests appeared alarmed at this declaration, and before they returned an answer ordered their attendants to bring in the present they had brought with them. Upon which 20 or 30 persons entered loaded with provisions, fine cloth, feathers of various colours, and a large box, in which were several pieces of gold, curiously wrought. Then turning to Cortes, Teutile desired him to accept that small present from two of Montezuma's slaves, who had orders to entertain such strangers as landed upon his coast; but begged he would not think

of prosecuting his design, it being no easy matter to speak with their prince. To this Cortes replied with some warmth, that kings never refused to hear the ambassadors of other princes, and that their business was to acquaint Montezuma with his arrival, and that he was resolved to see him before he left the country.

The Indian generals, confounded at this boldness, earnestly intreated Cortes not to move from his quarters, till they had received Motezuma's answer; assuring him that in the mean time, they would supply him with every thing necessary for the support of his soldiers.

During this conference, some Mexican painters, who came in the general's train, were busily employed in drawing upon cotton cloths, the ships, soldiers, arms, artillery, horses, and every thing else that appeared remarkable, which they introduced into different landscapes that were no way contemptible, either for the drawing or colouring. These pictures were designed by Teutile to give Montezuma some idea of what appeared too extraordinary to be fully described by words: but here and there were placed some characters, which seemed to explain the picture.

Cortes being informed of what these painters were doing, went out to see them, when observing that these figures wanted action to express the valour of his troops, he ordered them to arms, drew them up in a body, and commanded the artillery to be made ready; then telling *Teutile* and *Pilpatoc*, that he would entertain them after the manner of his country; he mounted his horse, with his captains who marched two and two, to the amazement of the Indians, who seeing such stately animals so obedient to their riders, imagined that there was something supernatural in those who could manage them with such ease and dex-

terity. Cortes then divided his troops into two bodies, gave a mock fight, and at a signal given they discharged their muskets, and soon after the artillery; when the confusion and astonishment of these people were so great, that some fell down upon the ground, others began to fly, and those who had most presence of mind were fixed to the spot, with terror and admiration. Cortes now endeavoured to dissipate their apprehensions by assuring them, that these were only military divisions. The painters immediately began to represent the Spaniards armed and drawn up in ranks; the horses in the attitude of their exercises, and the artillery with fire and smok. Mean while Cortes returned to his house with the two generals, and after having made them a present, prepared one for Montezuma, consisting of several polished looking glasses, a holland shirt, a cap of crimson velvet, adorned with a gold medal, and a tapestry chair.

Teutile and Pilpatoe, at length seemed much pleased with their entertainment, took their leave; but retiring only to a small distance, held a consultation, in which it was agreed, that the latter should remain on that spot to observe the motions of the Spaniards. Pilpatoe's attendants immediately began to build houses, and a considerable village was formed in a few hours; but lest Cortes should be offended at this step, he sent to inform him that he staid there in order to be at hand to provide for his entertainment, and to supply his troops with provisions. Though Cortes guessed his real intention, he took no notice of his suspicions, and Pilpatoe continued to supply him with provisions in great plenty. Mean while, Teutile dispatched messengers to Montezuma, with an account of what had happened, with the pictures drawn by his order, and Cortes's present.

Montezuma was provided with a great number of couriers chosen from the swiftest of the Indians, who were distributed along all the principal roads of the kingdom, and rewards were paid out of the public treasury to those who first arrived at the appointed place. These couriers were relieved at every town, which occasioned all dispatches to be carried with surprising expedition, and an answer was returned from Mexico within seven days, though the distance from that city to Juan de Ulua amounts to sixty leagues. Montezuma's message to Cortes was brought by Teutile with that prince's present, which was carried by one hundred Indians, and consisted of very fine cotton robes and many curiosities formed of feathers, where the beautiful variety of the colours were so mixed and disposed, by the skill of the artist, that without making use of artificial colours, or of the pencil, they formed curious pictures, and a very fine imitation of natural objects. They also brought a great number of bows, arrows, and targets made of the finest wood; two large circular plates, the one of gold representing the sun: and the other of silver with the figure of the moon; and a considerable quantity of precious stones, pieces of gold, gold collars, rings, pendants and other ornaments of the same metal, in the shape of birds and beasts, so curiously wrought that the workmanship seemed to exceed the value of the metal. These several articles being placed in order, upon mats made of palm-tree leaves, Teutile turned to Cortes and told him, by the interpreters, that the great emperor Montezuma had sent him these things in return for his present, and to shew him how much he valued the friendship of the king his sovereign; but it was neither convenient nor possible at that time to admit him to his court. Cortes returned thanks for the pre-

sent, and answered, that it was far from his design to be wanting in obedience to Montezuma, but that he could not dishonour a king that was respected among the greatest princes in the world, by returning without fulfilling his orders.

Cortes now directed Francisco de Montejo, one of his captains, to cruise with two vessels along the coast, to take a view of the towns without landing, and to search for some harbour where the ships might be better sheltered from the winds.

Montezuma was at first incensed at Cortes's perseverance in his demand, and, in the first transports of his resentment, proposed instantly to destroy those insolent strangers who presumed to dispute his will; but rage no sooner subsided, than it was succeeded by sorrow and consternation. He held private councils with his ministers, public sacrifices were offered in the temples, and such marks of disturbance and confusion were visible in his whole behavior, that the people began to talk without reserve, of some signs and presages that were supposed to be indications of the approaching ruin of the empire.

The Empire of Mexico was then in its greatest glory, having under its dominion a prodigious extent of country, governed either by Montezuma in person, or by many other petty kings or Caciques, who were his tributaries. It extended in length about 1500 miles, in some places it was 600 broad, and it was in general a populous, plentiful and rich country. This empire from a very small beginning had risen to such an height of power and greatness in little more than 130 years, during which time the Mexicans subdued all the neighbouring states. They were at first governed by a military chief; but in the progress of their conquests they chose a king, and gave the supreme dominion to him who had the greatest reputation for valour,

without paying any other regard to hereditary succession than that of preferring those of the royal family, when they were not excelled by the merit of any other competitor.

The emperor Montezuma, the second of the name, and the eleventh sovereign of Mexico, was of the royal blood. In his youth he had distinguished himself in war, and obtained the reputation of a brave general, which, together with his exerting the arts of popularity, had raised him to the throne by the unanimous voice of the people. He had reigned fourteen years when Cortes arrived on his coast, and is represented by the Spanish writers, perhaps to palliate the cruelty of his conquerors, as one of the greatest tyrants recorded in history. Juan Grijalva had landed in his dominions the year before, and it is said that about that time there happened many prodigies which were supposed to presage the ruin of his empire; such as a dreadful comet appearing in the night, the lake of Mexico overflowed its banks with great impetuosity, though the weather was calm and dry, and the people even imagined, that they heard lamentable voices in the air, foretelling the dissolution of that empire. These signs and portents, some of which were, perhaps, invented by the disaffected, made a very deep impression on the mind of Montezuma, and disturbed his counsellors to such a degree that, when they received a second message from Cortes, they concluded that they were utterly ruined. Some however imagined that the portents were sent as warnings to prevent their destruction, by putting them upon their guard: while others thought the Spaniards ought to be received with the respect due to creatures of an higher rank, who had given the most dreadful proofs of an amazing courage and an invincible power, supported by the thunder and lightning of Heaven. Mon-

tezuma attended to their debates, and at length resolved to send another present to Cortes, with orders to leave the coast, and in case of his refusal, to levy a powerful army, and to act against him with all his forces.

While Montezuma's court was employed in these deliberations, Francisco de Montejo, whom Cortes had sent to examine the coast, returned from his cruise, having found at the distance of some leagues to the northward a town called Quibislan, situated in a fertile and well cultivated soil, near a bay, where the ships might ride at anchor in safety, under the shelter of some high rocks. This place was about twelve leagues distant from St. Juan de Ulua, and Cortes was beginning to think of removing thither, when his resolution was suspended by the arrival of Teutile with the principal captains of his troops, who came to him burning incense in little perfuming pans, and, after the ceremony of fumigation, produced Montezuma's second present, which consisted of the same particulars as those of which the first had been composed, though in a smaller quantity, together with three green stones resembling emeralds to be presented to the king of Spain, as jewels of inestimable value. These were delivered with express orders to Cortes and his followers to leave the country without delay; but the Spaniards still insisting that they would see the monarch in person, Teutile started up with marks of anger and confusion, and told Cortes that hitherto Montezuma had treated him as a guest, and it would be his own fault if he was used as an enemy. He then, without waiting for an answer, abruptly departed, and was followed by Pilpatoc and the rest of his attendants.

Cortes immediately ordered the guards to be doubled, and the next day the Spaniards had the

mortification to find that the Indians who inhabited Pilpatoe's cabins were retired; that those who used to bring them provisions were gone, and that there was not an Indian to be seen. The apprehension of their wanting necessaries now raised a spirit of discontent among the soldiers, which was fomented by some of them who were the friends to Velasquez, who began to exclaim, that Cortes from mere ambition pursued a rash design, without a force proportioned to the undertaking, which would infallibly end in his destruction, as well as in that of his followers, unless they returned to Cuba to refit the fleet and to reinforce the army.

Cortes was well acquainted with these murmurs, but learning from his friends that the majority were on his side, he appeared before the malcontents, when Diego de Ordaz, in the name of the rest, remonstrated with some warmth, that as his forces were very unequal to the design of subduing a mighty empire, it was high time to return to Cuba, where they might be reinforced in such a manner as would enable them to pursue this great design with some probability of success.

Cortes, though highly provoked at this advice, which opposed all his ambitious views, replied with great composure, that those who complained must be weary of that uninterrupted success, which had exceeded their highest hopes; their success at Cozumel, and their victory at Tabasco; but that he had no inclination to lay the least restraint upon his soldiers, and since they were unwilling to proceed, he would immediately prepare for their return to Cuba. He soon after gave directions for returning to that island, and ordered the captains to embark with their respective companies, that they might be ready to sail the next morning: but this declaration was no sooner made public than his emissaries according to the directions they had

received, began to exclaim with great warmth that Cortes had deceived them, by professing that he was resolved to make a settlement in that country, which notwithstanding their unexpected success he was on the point of deserting, and that if he had a mind to abandon the enterprize, he might with such as were willing to follow him; for they would soon find another gentleman who would assume the command. This clamour was so artfully managed, that it brought over many of those who had espoused the contrary party, and they increased to such a degree, that some of Cortes's friends were obliged to interpose, in order to put a stop to the disturbance they themselves had raised. They commended the resolution of these men, and offered to desire Cortes to suspend the execution of his order, and, without giving them time to cool, went directly to their general, attended by many of the soldiers, in whose presence they told him in a high strain, that the troops were upon the point of mutinying on account of the order he had given for their reembarkation, which they supposed was contrary to the advice of their captains, and unworthy of the courage of Spaniards, who ought to be overcome by no difficulties or dangers. Cortes concealed the joy he felt at the success of his expedient and coolly replied that he had been misinformed, that he would proceed with such as were willing; but would constrain nobody, and therefore would cause a ship to be provided for carrying back to Cuba those who wanted the courage to follow him and his friends. This reply was received with acclamations of joy, and had such an effect, that those who were dissatisfied carefully concealed their discontent.

CHAPTER IV.

Cortes makes a Settlement to which he gives the Name of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz: marches to Quiabiflan, and in his way concludes an Alliance with the Cacique of Zempoalla: He feizes Montezuma's Commiffaries; forms a ftrong Confederacy of the Indian Caciques; builds the Town of Vera Cruz, and receives another Embaffy from Montezuma.

CORTES had no fooner put a ftop to the diffention which had arifen among his people, than he was vifited by five deputies from the Cacique of Zempoalla, a neighbouring province in the road to the place where he intended to remove his quarters, who came to offer him the friendship and alliance of their mafter. They differed in their habit from the Mexican chiefs, though like them they had rings in their ears and lips, to which hung jewels. Cortes gave them a very civil reception, ordered them to be well treated, and was greatly pleafed at hearing that the Zempoallans, though tributary to Montezuma, were diffatisfied with his yoke, and represented him as a proud and cruel prince: whence he forefaw that he fhould be able to engage thefe people to facilitate his future fuccels. He therefore difmiffed the deputies with prefents, and with orders to affure the Cacique of his friendship, and of his paying him a vifit in his way to Quiabiflan.

Cortes, in order to divest himfelf of his uneasy dependance upon Velafquez, and to remove his want of legal authority, laid, in concert with his friends, the plan of a corporation to be eftablifhed in fome place on the continent, and feveral perfons were chofen to fill the offices of government.

These immediately appointed a clerk of the council, with other inferior officers, and, having taken the accustomed oaths to act according to the rules of justice, and their duty to God and the king, began to exercise their functions. The next morning the council being assembled, under the pretence of consulting the augmentation and preservation of the settlement to be made, which was to have the name of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, Cortes desired admittance, to propose an affair relating to the public welfare. The council rose up to receive him, and he paying his respects to the magistracy, went and took his seat next to the first Regidore, and then laid open the reasons which had induced him to disapprove the commission under which he had acted. He then threw upon the table what he had received from Diego Velasquez; kissed the truncheon; delivered it into the hand of the Alcade, and then retired to his house, in the capacity of a private man. The council according to a preconcerted agreement unanimously admitted of his resignation, and with the same unanimity voted that he should be appointed general of the army, and that they would make out a new commission in the king's name, to be in force till they could know his majesty's pleasure. Then the people being assembled by a public crier, were acquainted with Cortes's resignation, and the resolution of the council; at which they expressed uncommon joy, and immediately proceeded to Cortes's house, with the Alcades and Regidores, who informed him that the town of Villa Rica had in the name of Don Carlos king of Spain, and with the consent and approbation of the inhabitants in full council, chosen and appointed him general of the army in New Spain; and in case it were necessary, required and commanded him to take upon him that office for the public good, and his majesty's service.

Cortes accepted of this post with great respect, and began to govern the troops with a kind of authority that secured the obedience of the soldiers. The friends of Valasquez, however, could not disguise their vexation; but resented this alteration in a very indiscreet manner; they endeavoured to invalidate the authority of the council; loudly inveighed against the ambition of Cortes; and began to raise a dissention that seemed to threaten the ruin of the expedition. Upon this Cortes ordered Diego de Ordaz, Pedro Escudero, and Juan Velasquez de Leon to be seized, carried on board the fleet, and put in irons. This action struck terror into the troops, and in order to improve it, he positively declared, that he would proceed against them as seditious persons and disturbers of the peace, and make them pay for their obstinacy with the loss of their heads. In this disposition he continued several days, during which nobody was allowed to visit them; but afterwards their friends were admitted, and among the rest some of his confidants, who found means to reduce them to reason. He then suffered himself to be pacified, and so effectually conciliated their affections, that they afterwards stood by him with unshaken fidelity.

Cortes now prepared for his leaving this part of the country, and having ordered the ships to sail for the bay of Quiabitan, resolved to march thither by land. In a few hours he reached the river of Zempoalla, which being very deep the troops crossed in canoes, and other vessels belonging to some fishermen, which they found on the shore, the horses being obliged to swim. The army soon after arrived at some houses in the district of Zempoalla, which they found entirely abandoned, and without either furniture or provisions; though the natives left in their temples

several idols, with knives made of flint, and some miserable remains of human victims. Here they first saw Mexican books, three or four of which were in the temples, and were supposed to contain the rites of their religion. Each was made of thin varnished cloth, folded in leaves and made up into volumes resembling ours.

The Spaniards having placed proper guards, took up their quarters in the best houses, and the next day continued their march; but saw not one person during the whole morning, until entering some very agreeable meadows they discovered twelve Indians, who were coming in search of Cortes, with a present of fowls and bread from the Cacique of Zempoalla, who invited him to his town, where he had provided quarters for his troops. Cortes dismissed six of the Indians, with thanks for the hospitality of their prince, and detained the rest as guides to the town, which they told him was at the distance of a day's journey. At night they staid in a small village, where they were kindly entertained by the inhabitants.

In the morning the troops marched towards Zempoalla, following their guides, though with all imaginable precaution, as Cortes still doubted the sincerity of the Indians. Towards the evening, they were met by twenty Indians, who came from the town to receive Cortes, with an apology from the Cacique, who was kept at home by a natural impediment. Zempoalla was a large city that afforded a beautiful prospect; it was situated between two rivers; the buildings were of stone whitened on the outside with a sort of shining lime, which at a distance had such a noble effect, that one of the scouts returned in haste to Cortes, crying aloud that the walls were of silver. At their entering it, the squares and streets were filled with a multitude of people drawn together by curiosity, and the

Cacique himself appeared at the gate of his palace, supported by some of his nobles, for he was so extremely fat, that he could not move without much difficulty. A mantle of fine cotton, enriched with jewels, was thrown over his naked body, and he wore pendants in his ears and lips. On his approaching to salute Cortes, his unwieldy appearance made it necessary for that general to put a stop to the laughter of his soldiers: he received Cortes in his arms, and welcomed both him and the rest of the captains in such sensible expressions as created respect, and having desired Cortes to repose himself after his journey, told him that he would visit him at his lodgings, where they would converse more at leisure about their mutual interests. The troops then retired to the quarters provided for them in square courts, furnished with a number of apartments, where they were plentifully accommodated with provisions and other necessaries.

The Cacique soon after sent a present to Cortes of jewels, gold and other curiosities, to the value of about 2000 pezoës, and followed this present in person, carried in a chair on the shoulders of the chief of his family, and attended by a splendid retinue. Cortes went out to receive him, and retiring to a private apartment with him and the interpreters, expatiated upon the grandeur of the king of Spain, and the errors of idolatry; telling him that the design of his coming with his valiant troops, was to redress wrongs, to punish violence, and to vindicate the cause of reason and justice. He artfully touched on this subject, in order to draw him to complain of Montezuma, that he might discover what advantage he might expect to reap from his resentment against that prince; and indeed the words were no sooner pronounced than he began to utter his complaints, and to observe

that the neighbouring Caciques groaned under the tyranny of Montezuma, who oppressed his tributaries, and caused himself to be adored by his subjects, as if he had been one of their Gods; and concluded with observing, that he did not wish to engage Cortes in a quarrel with such a potent emperor, whose power was irresistible. Cortes immediately replied, that while he had justice on his side he should pay but little regard to Montezuma's power: but that he was on his march to Quiabitslan, where the injured and oppressed should find him ready to redress their wrongs, and that in the mean time he might assure his friends and confederates, that he would willingly undertake their defence. In short, having continued the conversation for some time, the Cacique took his leave highly satisfied, while Cortes was equally pleased at the prospect of strengthening his interest by such a powerful alliance.

When the troops were ready to march, they found 400 Indians provided to carry their baggage and provisions, and to help to conduct the artillery. These carriers were called Tamens, and were able to travel five or six leagues in a day, with three-quarters of a hundred weight on their backs. The country they now entered was fertile and pleasant, a part of it was laid out in corn fields, and the rest covered with trees. They staid all night at a little village they found deserted, and the next morning arrived at Quiabitslan, a town strongly situated upon a rock with the avenues to it narrow and steep. But though this place was naturally strong they entered it without opposition, nor did they perceive any person till, coming to a square in which the Indian temples were placed, fourteen or fifteen of the natives handsomely adorned with feathers came out to meet them. Cortes encouraged them by his affability, and gave

them some glafs beads, when recovering their fpirits, they informed him that their Cacique had retired in order to avoid a war, as he neither chofe to deny them admittance, nor to truft his perfon among armed troops that were entirely unknown to him, and that the inhabitants could not be prevented from following his example ; but that as foon as they fhould be fenfible of the goodnefs of fuch guefts, they would return to their houfes, and efteem it their happinefs to ferve and obey them. Cortes gave them the ftrongeft affurances of his friendship, and while they were gone with the news, gave ftrict orders to the foldiers, to behave with great civility to thefe Indians, who foon fhewed the confidence they placed in the Spaniards ; for fome families returned that very night, and in a little time the town was filled with its inhabitants.

Some time after the Cacique himfelf returned, and was introduced by the Cacique of Zempoalla, both of whom were carried on men's foulders and the latter made an handsome excufe for his friend. The converfation turned upon the tyranny of Montezuma, whom they represented as a monfter, who not only impoverifhed them by the tribute he demanded, but robbed them of their wives and daughters, with whofe blood he ftained the altars of his Gods, after having facrificed their honour to more shameful purpofes.

In the midft of their difcourfe they were interrupted by the entrance of two or three Indians, who feemed in a great fright, and whifpering the Caciques, put them in fuch confufion, that they changed colour, and haftily retired. The caufe of this diforder was instantly known, for fix commiffaries from Montzuma were feen paffing before the quarters of the Spaniards, richly adorned with feathers and pendants of gold, and attended by a

number of inferior officers and servants, who cooled them with fans made of feathers. Cortes went to the gate to see them, when they passed by without paying him the least respect, and with such a contemptuous look, that the soldiers would have immediately chastised them, had they not been restrained by their general, who contented himself with sending Marina with a sufficient guard to know the cause of their coming. By this means he understood, that the commissaries, after having seated themselves in the Town-house, summoned the Caciques to appear before them, and having sharply reprimanded them for presuming to entertain the emperor's enemies, demanded over and above the ordinary tribute, twenty Indians to be sacrificed to their gods, as an atonement for their crime. Cortes no sooner received this intelligence, than he ordered some soldiers to bring the Caciques without noise, and telling them that he knew the inhuman purpose of the commissaries, which he would not suffer them to obey, he desired them to assemble their people, to seize the Mexicans, and to leave the rest to his conduct.

The Caciques at first refused to comply with this bold command, until Cortes repeating his order in a peremptory manner, they went and executed it; and having seized Montezuma's ministers, put them in a kind of pillory in their prisons, to the great satisfaction of the people, who demanded that they should either die the death of traitors, or be instantly sacrificed to their gods. Cortes however refused to grant this request, and having secured them by a guard of Spanish soldiers, retired to his quarters, in order to contrive some method of extricating himself from the difficulty in which he was involved. He was unwilling to come to an open rupture with Montezuma, and yet thought it necessary to support the party he

had already formed against that prince, in order to have their assistance, in case he should happen to want it. In consequence of these reflections, he, at midnight, sent privately for two of the prisoners, whom he treated in a very obliging manner, told them they were at liberty, and as he had restored their freedom, they might assure their prince that he would speedily endeavour to release the rest of their companions, and to make the Caciques sensible of their fault. The Mexicans heard this declaration with equal joy and astonishment, but durst not set out on their journey, for fear of being killed or taken by the way; the Spanish soldiers were therefore ordered to conduct them to the bay, and one of the ships boats carried them beyond the district of Zempoalla.

The next morning the Caciques came to Cortes, and expressing great concern at the escape of the prisoners, he received the news with the appearance of much surprize and vexation; but proposed, in order to prevent any accident of the like kind for the future, to take care of the rest himself, and immediately ordered them to be carried on board the fleet, giving private directions for their being civilly entertained. Thus without losing the confidence of the Caciques, he conferred an obligation upon Montezuma, the greatness of whose power made him unwilling to provoke his resentment.

The moderation with which the Spaniards behaved towards their allies, was quickly made known to the neighbouring districts, and in a few days, Cortes was visited by above thirty Caciques of the mountains within sight of Quiabiskan, where were numerous settlements of a rude people called Tonaques, who were remarkable for their strength, activity, and courage; these swore to be faithful to the king of Spain, and offered to assist

Cortes against Montezuma, with an incredible number of armed Indians.

Cortes now resolved to settle the corporation of Villa Rica de la Cruz, which had hitherto moved with the army ; for which purpose he pitched upon a plain between Quiabillan and the sea, where the soil was extremely fertile, well watered with rivers, and abounded with trees that were commodiously situated for the cutting of timber for building. They began with laying the foundation of a church, and the Spaniards, being assisted by their Indian friends, both that and the houses were soon erected ; for the officers, and even Cortes himself set an example to the rest, by performing the most difficult work ; by which means the town was soon completed, and encompassed with a mud wall sufficient to defend it against all the methods of attack used by the Indians.

In the mean time Montezuma being informed, that the Cacique of Zempoalla, whose fidelity was suspected, had admitted the strangers into his town, resolved not only to chastise this rebellious tributary, but to march in person against the Spaniards, whom, we are told, he destined as a sacrifice to his gods. But his preparations for this enterprize were suspended by the arrival of the two Indians who had been released by Cortes. These gave an account of their imprisonment ; of their owing their liberty to the captain of the strangers ; of his courteous treatment, and the message he had ordered them to deliver ; upon which Montezuma's anger was mitigated, and he resolved again to have recourse to a negotiation, in order to endeavour to divert Cortes from his design.

The Mexican ambassadors arrived just as the new settlement and fortress of Vera Cruz, was completed. These were two young men who

were the emperor's nephews, attended by four ancient Caciques, who were to serve as counsellors. They had a splendid retinue, and the present, which consisted of gold, feathers and cotton, was valued by the Spaniards at 2000 pieces of eight.

They told Cortes that the emperor had determined to chastise the Cacique, till the account he had received of his behaviour had induced him to suspend his vengeance ; that he however hoped he would soon quit that country, since the obstacles which opposed his coming to court, were in their own nature insurmountable.

Cortes according to his usual custom, received the presents made him by the emperor, with great respect, and ordering the four imprisoned officers to be brought ashore, delivered them to the ambassadors ; observing that he was highly pleased at having such an opportunity of shewing his regard to the emperor. That he thought the insolence of the Caciques in some measure excusable, from the extravagant behaviour of the officers themselves, who, not satisfied with the usual tribute, had the inhumanity to demand twenty Indians for their sacrifices. That he thought himself obliged to the Caciques for admitting and entertaining him in their territories, and therefore could not help interceding with Montezuma in their behalf ; especially as they, together with the Caciques of the mountains, were now in a peculiar manner under his protection ; that he would communicate the particulars of his embassy when he should appear in the emperor's presence, and that no impediments or danger should prevent his receiving that favour. With this resolute answer, and some presents to the ambassadors, and others for Montezuma, he dismissed them, greatly dissatisfied at his obstinacy : while this circumstance heightened the ad-

admiration of the Indians, who were astonifhed at feeing the haughty Montezuma folicit his friendfhip with fuch presents.

CHAPTER V.

Cortés is prevailed upon by falfe pretences to engage in an expedition againft the inhabitants of Zimpazingo. He demolifhes the idols of Zempoalla, and returns to Vera Cruz; where a confpiracy being formed againft him, he orders the fhips to be funk.

A SHORT time after this event, the Cacique of Zempoalla came to Vera Cruz, and told Cortes, that the time was now come for him to protect his country againft the Mexicans, who had arrived at Zimpazingo, whence they made excursions into his diftrict, deftroying the corn fields, and committing other acts of hofility. Cortes thought himfelf obliged to fupport his new allies, and that it would not become him to fuffer the infolence of the Mexicans, in a manner within his fight. He therefore defired the Cacique to provide Indians to carry his baggage, and draw his artillery; which being done, he fet out at the head of 400 Spaniards, leaving the reft in the fortrefs of Vera Cruz. On his paffing by Zempoalla, he was joined by 2000 armed Indians, affembled by the Cacique, to ferve under him in this expedition. The fame night he quartered his troops three leagues from Zimpazingo, and the next day in the afternoon difcovered the town fituated on the top

of a small hill among great rocks, which concealed part of the buildings, and rendered it difficult of access.

The Spaniards with much fatigue passed over the rocks, without meeting with the least resistance; but just as they were preparing to attack the town in several places at once, eight ancient priests appeared, clothed in black mantles that reached to the ground, the upper part was gathered about the neck, and a piece hung loose in the form of a hood; they had long hair which was clotted, and their hands and faces stained, with the blood of human sacrifices. These men approached the general with marks of most humble submission, and soon convinced him that he had been imposed upon; since Montezuma's troops had retired some time before, and that this was only an artifice of his allies, who were their inveterate enemies, in order to make him the instrument of their destruction. Cortes being provoked at the deceit, ordered the captains Olido and Alvarado to march with their companies, and assemble the Indians, who had advanced before to get into the town. They were now busy in plundering it, and making prisoners, and being brought into his presence, loaded with booty, and followed by the miserable inhabitants crying aloud for justice, he commanded them to deliver up the goods to the priests, that they might restore them to the proper owners. Then called for the Zempoallan captains, told them with a threatening voice, that they had forfeited their lives by their presumption, in engaging him, by deceit, to compass their revenge. However he suffered himself to be appeased by the intercession of his own officers, whom he had before instructed for that purpose, though, indeed, he did not dare to punish them, for fear of losing the friendship of his new allies. Having thus reprimanded

manded the Zempoallans, he ordered them to lodge without the town, while he himself entering it with the Spaniards, was received with the applauses due to a deliverer, and visited by the Cacique, with others in that neighbourhood, who voluntarily acknowledged themselves subject to the king of Spain. He now formed a scheme for reconciling these Indians and the Zempoallans, which he had the happiness to effect; and having made them friends, he returned to Vera Cruz, leaving his reputation and interest highly advanced by the issue of this expedition, which he had too credulously undertaken; and thus, like a consummate politician, he made even his very errors contribute to his grand design.

In his march back to Zempoalla, he passed by two towns, belonging to those who were newly entered into the confederacy, when he observed a soldier steal a couple of hens, at which he was so provoked that he ordered him to be instantly hanged; but permitted Peter Alvarado to cut him down with his sword before he was dead.

On his return, he found the Cacique of Zempoalla waiting for him at some distance from the town, with a large quantity of provisions for the refreshment of the army: when observing that chief appear ashamed of his conduct, he assured him that he had laid aside his displeasure, and they having entered the town together, the Cacique made him a present of eight of the most beautiful virgins, who were of good families; they were adorned with gold necklaces and pendants, and attended by several women servants. Seven of these the Cacique allotted for the captains, and the other being his own niece, he recommended as a wife to Cortes, in order that their friendship might be strengthened by the ties of blood. The general returned him thanks, and let him know that it

was not lawful for a Spaniard to marry any woman that was an idolater, and took this opportunity of declaring against their idolatry and superstition.

Soon after the Zempoallans assembled on one of their most solemn festivals, in order to offer human sacrifices, which were performed with horrible ceremonies; when the wretched victims being cut to pieces were sold to the people as sacred food. Cortes being soon informed of this affair, was filled with indignation, and forgetting every other motive, ordered the Cacique and the principal Indians who attended him to be brought before him, and with them proceeded to the temple, followed by his troops. The priests being informed of his approach, immediately ran to the gate, and with loud and hedious outcries called the people to the defence of their gods. At which time some armed Indians posted themselves in the avenue of the temple; when Cortes, seeing the inhabitants assembled in great numbers, ordered Marina to tell him aloud, that the first arrow they should let fly, he would order the throat of the Cacique and all the principal Indians in his power to be cut, and then punish their presumption with fire and sword. The Cacique trembled at this dreadful menace, and commanding them to lay down their arms and retire, they obeyed with the utmost expedition. Cortes then began to declaim against the barbarity and absurdity of their religion, and at length proposed to the Indians, that they themselves should ascend the steps, and overthrow the idols with their own hands, but prostrating themselves upon the ground, they declared with tears and the most dreadful lamentations, that they would suffer all the extremest tortures he could invent, rather than be guilty of committing such impious sacrilege. But giving the same command to his soldiers, the idols were in an instant thrown

down and broken to pieces ; while the Indians stood motionless with horror, every moment expecting to see the immediate vengeance of heaven fall on these impious men ; but at length perceiving that they remained unhurt, and that the gods were unable to defend themselves, joined with the Spaniards in burning the fragments of their idols ; and the next day mass was celebrated in that very temple.

The Spaniards now returned to Vera Cruz ; and on the day they reached that new colony, a vessel arrived from Cuba, commanded by Francisco de Salcedo, which brought captain Luis Martin, ten soldiers and two horses. By these gentlemen the general was informed, that Valafquez had obtained the title of king's lieutenant of the island of Cuba, with a commission to trade and make settlements in the new discovered countries, and that he resolved to put a stop to Cortes's proceedings. Upon this information, the latter was determined to lay the affair before the king ; at his desire the council of Vera Cruz wrote a particular account of the expedition and of Valafquez's injurious behaviour towards him ; beseeching his majesty, in consideration of his great merit, to grant him the commission of captain-general, that he might exert himself in the service of his country, without having any dependance on the governor of Cuba. While Cortes himself, in another letter, explained his reasons for hoping that he should be able to reduce the whole empire of Mexico to his majesty's obedience. These dispatches were committed to Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero and Francisco Montejo : but Cortes thinking that the fifth part of the gold they had collected would be but a trifling present for the king, prevailed with the officers and soldiers to resign their shares, and accordingly the above

officers embarked for Spain on the 16th of July 1519, with the gold, jewels, curiosities, together with some Indians who voluntarily consented to perform the voyage; and with a particular present from Hernando to his father Martin Cortes.

These deputies had been but just sent to Spain, when some of the friends of Velasquez privately concerted the means of escaping to Cuba, in order to give intelligence to Velasquez of these proceedings; for which purpose they had secured one of the vessels, and laid in provisions for the voyage; but in the very night when they were going to embark, one of the accomplices went to Cortes and informed him of the whole scheme; when the latter took his measures with such success, that he seized all the persons concerned; who being brought to their trial, two of the ringleaders were condemned to be hanged, two others were ordered to be whipt as old offenders, the principal mariner of the ship was sentenced to loose one of his feet, and the rest were pardoned. Cortes had no sooner signed the warrant for their execution, then he set out for Zempoalla, to prevent his being solicited to pardon the principal offenders.

Cortes being very much disturbed at this conspiracy, which might again break out so as to disconcert his whole scheme, formed a resolution, that at once evinced the greatness and intrepidity of his mind: this was to destroy the ships, that the soldiers being deprived of all means of escape, might act with greater ardour and unanimity, from their having no other choice but to conquer or die. Having communicated this important scheme to his confidants, they exerted themselves among the soldiers in such a manner, that themselves went to persuade him to agree to it, and among other arguments argued, that there being one hundred mariners on board, they would greatly add to

their strength, and bear a part of all their fatigues. Cortes seemed convinced by their reasons, and a public instrument was drawn up by a notary, by which piece of subtilty he was saved from being under the obligation of paying for the ships, the whole army being equally bound for the payment of them. This being done, orders were given for bringing on shore the iron work, anchors, sails, and every thing that might be of use, and then to sink them all, except the boats, which were reserved for fishing.

But no sooner had Cortes taken this extraordinary step, than all the advantage of it seemed to be destroyed by an accident that could not possibly be foreseen, and which it was therefore impossible for him to avoid. This was the arrival of a small squadron upon the coast, of which he received advice by an express from Juan de Escalant. He immediately went to Vera Cruz, and at his arrival perceived one of the vessels at anchor at a considerable distance from the shore, where were landed three Spaniards, one of whom was a public notary. Cortes went to them with a small party, when the notary delivered to him a writing, which contained in substance, that the governor of Jamaica laid claim to a part of that country, and therefore sent to inform Cortes, that he was not to make a settlement there. Cortes declined taking the paper, and very mildly told him, that it would be better if captain Pineda, who he understood was the commander of the squadron, would come on shore, in order that they might adjust the affair in an amicable manner; but the notary refusing to carry this message, and insisting in a disrespectful manner, upon having a direct answer to his notification, Cortes ordered them to be seized, and then waited all night behind a sandhill near the shore, in hopes that others would

land from the ship. But finding that nobody came, he directed three of his men to put on the prisoners clothes, and to go down to the sea side, where they were to make signals with their cloaks. In consequence of this stratagem a boat came off from the ship with twelve men well armed, which being perceived by Cortes's soldiers, they retired under a tree, and four men landing from the boat with an Indian advanced towards them, without having the least doubt of their being their own people. By which stratagem he also got these into his hands; when the boat's crew seeing what had happened, rowed back to the vessel which soon after weighed anchor and stood to sea. These men readily enlisted in the service, and Cortes returned to Zempoalla with a small recruit of seven Spaniards, which was then esteemed a very considerable reinforcement.

CHAPTER VI.

Cortes begins his march for Mexico, stays several days at Zocothlan and Xacazingo; sends ambassadors to Tlascalā; but his proposals of peace being rejected, fights an obstinate battle with the Tlascalans. Xicotencal, General of the Tlascalans, attacks the Spanish quarters by night; but is divested of his command, and the Tlascalans sue for peace.

IN a few days after Cortes's return to Zempoalla, he drew up the army, forming a body of Spaniards for the van-guard, and another of Indians for the rear, commanded by three Caciques of the mountains; the strongest of the carriers were reserved for drawing the artillery, the rest were loaded with the baggage, and having appointed an advanced party to reconnoitre, they

began their march toward Mexico, on the 16th of August, 1519, and in their way were kindly entertained at Jalapa, Secochima, and Texucla, towns belonging to the confederates, in each of which places he erected a cross, while Cortes exhorted the people to forbear offering human sacrifices. They now entered upon the rough part of the mountains, where they were obliged to march for three days over rocks and precipices, in very cold and rainy weather, without any thing to shelter themselves from the inclemency of the air. Just as they reached the summit, their provisions began to fail; they there found a temple, and a large quantity of wood, but made no stay, as they observed some villages on the other side of the mountain, to which they hastened with as much expedition as possible.

They now entered into the large and populous province of Zocathlan, where in a valley at the foot of a mountain, was a city of the same name, in which the Cacique resided. Cortes sent two Zempoallans to inform the prince of his arrival, who soon returned with a favourable answer. The Cacique came out of the city with a great retinue, and received the general with a kind of forced civility. The Spaniards here found very incommodious quarters, and only a small quantity of provisions. Cortes however concealed his resentment, in order to give that prince no opportunity of engaging him in hostilities that would inevitably obstruct his march.

The next day the Cacique visited Cortes at his quarters, when the latter received him with great civility, and among other questions asked whether he was subject to the emperor of Mexico; when the other replied, is there any man upon earth, who is not a slave to Montezuma! To which Cortes scornfully replied, That he himself, and those who

accompanied him, obeyed another king, who had many subjects more powerful than Montezuma. But the Cacique, without attending to these words proceeded to display the grandeur of his emperor, the provinces under his dominion, he said, were innumerable, and observed that he had many lords who served barefooted in his palace, with their eyes fixed on the ground; adding, that he resided in the largest, most beautiful, and strongest city in the universe, founded in the midst of lakes. He then expatiated upon the immensity of his riches, the strength of his armies, and the misery of his enemies, above 20,000 of whom were annually sacrificed on the altars of his gods.

Cortes easily discovered the intent of his discourse, which had been dictated by the court of Mexico, to deter him from proceeding; but seeming not to penetrate into his design, he replied, that he was already informed of Montezuma's grandeur, and that his embassy being peaceable, his men were appointed rather to shew his authority, than as a martial guard; but yet the most inconsiderable Spaniard was able to overthrow a whole army of Indians. That he sought for peace: but if he was compelled to engage in war, he would destroy his enemies with fire and sword; for nature would assist him with her prodigies, and heaven with its lightening. This rodomontade had a surprising effect, and the Cacique was so over-awed by it, that he entirely altered his conduct, and supplied the Spaniards with provisions in great plenty, during the five days Cortes staid there, he even treated him with a prodigious respect, made him a present of four female slaves, and offered to give him 20 noble Indians for guides to his army.

Cortes now proceeded on his march to the province of Tlascala, that bordered upon Zocathlan, and for several days nothing considerable hap-

pened; but afterwards hearing that the whole country was in arms, he resolved to halt at a small town called Zacazingo, until he should be better informed of their designs.

The province of Tlascala was about 50 leagues in circumference, and although the land was mountainous and uneven, it abounded with inhabitants. The capital was built upon different eminences. The people at first were governed by kings, until growing weary of their tyranny, they shook of the yoke, and formed themselves into a commonwealth. The towns were divided into a certain number of districts, each of which sent a representative to Tlascala, where they formed a senate, whose resolutions were obeyed by the whole province. Under this form of government they had long supported themselves against the emperors of Mexico, and were then at their highest pitch of power; for Montezuma's cruelty had increased the number of their confederates, among whom was a warlike nation called the Otomies, equally famed for their barbarity and their valour.

To this republic Cortes sent four of the principal Zempoallans, who were fully instructed by Aguilar and Marina, how to address the senate, in demanding a passage for the Spaniards through their territories. They instantly put on the appearance of ambassadors, each wearing on his shoulder a wreathed cotton tippet knotted at the ends; in the right hand a large arrow, and on the left arm a target formed of tortoise-shell. Upon these occasions when the purport of the embassy was war, the feathers of the arrow were red, but when the errand was peace, they were known and respected on the high roads; but if they turned aside they forfeited their privileges.

Cortes's four envoys on their entering Tlascala, were conducted to a house set apart for the reception of ambassadors, and the next day brought in-

to the senate, the members of which rose from their little chairs to bid them welcome. As the ambassadors entered, they held up their arrows on high, and wore their tippets on their heads as a mark of extraordinary veneration: then paying their respects to the senate, they proceeded slowly to the middle of the hall, where they kneeled with their eyes fixed upon the ground, continuing silent until the eldest senator desired them to declare their business. They then seated themselves upon their hams, and he who was chosen the orator, expressed himself to the following purpose; “ Noble republic, valiant Tlascalans; your friends and allies the Lord of Zempoalla, and the mountain Caciques, wishing you health, abundance, and the destruction of your enemies, send us to inform you, that an invincible race of men are come from the east, who seem to be more than human; for they sail upon palaces, and wield the thunder and lightening. Yet they worship an Almighty Being, who is offended at human sacrifices. The general is ambassador from a mighty prince, who desires to reform the abuses of our country, and repress the tyranny of Montezuma. He has already rescued our provinces from oppression; and as he means to pass through your territories in his way to Mexico, he desires to be informed of your grievances, that he may redress your wrongs. We have experienced his valour, and in the name of our Caciques and confederates, desire you to entertain these strangers.” The speech being concluded, the four Indians raised themselves upon their knees, and making a profound reverence to the senate, seated themselves again, expecting an answer.

After a short conference, the senators told the ambassadors that they gratefully received the salutation of the confederates; but must deliberate

upon the answer to be returned to the strangers. The Indians then retired to their lodgings, when Cortes's demand produced very obstinate debates, some insisting upon repelling him by force of arms, and others proposing a compliance with his request. The chief of those who espoused pacific sentiments, was an old senator named Magiscatzen, a person of great authority in the republic, who reminded them of a prophecy, that an invincible race of men would come from the east with such dominion over the elements that they should form floating cities upon the seas, and use fire and air to subdue the earth. These strangers he alleged were certainly the people foretold. They came from the east; their arms were fire; they dwelt in floating houses, and by their actions in Tabasco proved themselves invincible. He alleged that their arrival was predicted by signals from heaven, which it were impious to disregard. That they had assisted their allies, and only desired a passage through their country, which they could not refuse without being guilty of incivility to those who had never injured them, and without disrespect to their allies, by whom they were so warmly recommended.

Magiscatzen's speech was received with applause; but the favourable dispositions he inspired were entirely changed by the interposition of Xicotencal, their general, a young man, animated by ambition, who, with equal eloquence, ridiculed the prophecy, and represented the Spaniards as common men, whose vessels and arms were produced by human art, whose valour was not uncommon, and whose pride, cruelty, and avarice were intolerable, since they contemned the laws and customs of the Indians, thirsted after their gold, destroyed their temples, and blasphemed their gods; and that with respect to the signals of heaven,

they ought to be interpreted as warnings to oppose and extirpate those presumptuous strangers. He therefore earnestly intreated that they would allow him to assemble the forces, and exterminate them at once, as oppressors of their country and the enemies of their religion.

These arguments had great weight with a people ambitious of military glory: they therefore ordered their general to try his strength with the christians, but detained the ambassadors.

Cortes having waited eight days for the return of his ambassadors, determined to continue his march towards the city of Tlascala, that in case they were resolved on hostilities, he might attack them before they were joined by their allies; by which prudent resolution he prevented their obtaining time to guard a strong wall, which was twenty feet thick, and nine feet high, with a parapet upon the top; it reached across the valley, extending from one mountain to another, and had no other entrance but in the middle, where the two ends circularly crossed each other for the space of ten paces, and might have easily been defended against all invaders. The Spaniards having passed this wall without opposition, marched in good order with their artillery ready, and with advanced parties to prevent surprize. These parties at length discovered twenty or thirty Indians at a considerable distance, who, by their plumes, appeared to be soldiers. Cortes instantly sent his scouts with signs of peace, while he himself prepared to follow with eight horse, giving orders for the infantry to advance at leisure; but the Indians took to their heels, until having joined the main body, which was at some distance, they faced about, and stood in a posture of defence. The eight horse were now joined by six others, notwithstanding which the Indians kept their ground

until they were reinforced by a body of 5000 men, who had lain in ambush. At this instant the Spanish infantry came up, and formed themselves into a battalion, to sustain the fury with which the enemy advanced; but the first volley of the fire-arms, doing great execution, threw the Indians into disorder. Of this the Spaniards taking advantage, fell upon them with such resolution, that in a short time they quitted the field, leaving sixty men killed, and some prisoners taken by the Spaniards. Cortes was not willing to have his men engage in the pursuit, but took possession of some houses that were in sight, in which they found a considerable quantity of provisions, and passed the night there.

The Spaniards proceeding on their march the next day, were opposed by a larger body of the enemy which advanced with great noise, and having discharged a flight of arrows and a large quantity of stones from their slings, retreated, making a kind of running fight; but Cortes imagining that this retreat was only a stratagem, followed in close order, till having reached the top of a hill, he discovered a plain, where was an army of about 40,000 men, composed of various nations, distinguished by the colours of their ensigns and their plumes. The Spaniards boldly marched down the hill, formed on the even ground, and moved on to the attack, while the Indians still retired, until finding them at a distance from the hill, they opened to the right and left, and ran furiously to occupy the ground on both sides, and then closing in a circle, surrounded the Spaniards, who found it necessary to throw themselves into the form of an hollow square, in order to sustain the fury of the assailants. The air was soon darkened with the arrows, darts and stones, which fell upon the Spaniards, till the Indians observing the

little effect of these missive weapons, boldly attacked them with their pikes and swords. But the artillery swept down whole companies; the small arms killed them in heaps, and Cortes breaking in among them with his horse, slew and trampled under foot all that came in his way.

At length Cortes seeing the enemy fall back, placed his horse on the wings, and being accompanied by the foot, charged them with redoubled vigour. They at first made a show of resistance; but the men on horseback seeming supernatural, put them into disorder, and they soon gave way on all sides; while in this confusion they wounded and trod one another under foot. During the battle, Pedro de Moron, who was mounted on horseback, was surrounded and taken by the Indians, after having received several wounds; and though he was soon released by the rest of the cavalry, his horse was killed.

By this time the Spaniards were greatly fatigued, and began to be dubious of success, when the cries of the enemy suddenly ceased, and this silence was followed by the noise of horns and drums sounding a retreat. The enemy then moving slowly off, left the field to the christians: but notwithstanding the loss of most of their officers, they entered their quarters in triumph, with the horse's head carried as a trophy before their general, who sent it to Tlascala, where it was sacrificed with extraordinary solemnity in one of the temples. Nine or ten of the Spanish soldiers, and many of the Zempoallans, who were fired by the example of the Spaniards, were wounded in this battle, which was no sooner over, than Cortes observing a small town on an eminence that commanded the country, marched thither, and had the satisfaction of finding it well supplied with

provisions: but there not being sufficient room to accommodate the whole army, the Zempoallans erected huts for themselves, and raised some works of earth to secure the place, notwithstanding its being strong and of difficult access.

The sentiments of the Tlascalans were still divided; for while some cried out for peace, others were equally eager for continuing the war; Xicotencal demanded supplies to revenge the loss they had suffered, and one of the confederates arriving at the same time with 10,000 men, this succour encouraged them to prosecute the war with fresh vigour. In the mean time, the four Zempoallan ambassadors returned by different ways to the Spaniards, and informed Cortes, that as soon as Xicotencal took the field, they were put in prison, and destined by the Tlascalans as sacrifices to the god of war, but they had happily found means to make their escape.

Though a profound stillness reigned throughout the country, Cortes was far from imagining that he was out of danger of being attacked by the Tlascalans, he therefore resolved to maintain his post; but foreseeing the Indians would interpret his inaction as proceeding from fear, he resolved the next morning to reconnoitre the country, in order to gain intelligence; and therefore marched out with all his horse, and 200 foot, which equally consisted of Spaniards and Zempoallans. He advanced as far as some villages on the road to Tlascala, where he found great store of provisions, and made several prisoners, by whom he was told that Xicotencal was encamped about two leagues from thence, and employed in recruiting and augmenting his army.

The Zempoallans being now highly incensed against the Tlascalans, Cortes permitted them to destroy the country with fire and sword, and then

returned to the camp, where he set at liberty all his prisoners, and among those who had been taken the day before, he chose two or three to carry a message to Xicotencal, in which he expressed his concern for the loss he had sustained in the battle, which his nation had brought upon themselves by rejecting the peaceable terms he had offered them; and desired that he would now consent to an accommodation, otherwise he should make the name of Tlascala a terror to its neighbours. The prisoners at their departure promised to bring him an answer; and a few hours after they kept their word; but returned bloody and mangled by Xicotencal's order, for presuming to deliver such a message; with an answer that Xicotencal would meet the Christians as soon as the sun arose, when he did not doubt but that he should carry them alive to the altars of his gods, and that to shew how little he feared him, he gave him notice of his resolution, that he might have time to prepare himself.

Cortes, though picqued at Xicotencal's insolence, would not neglect his advice: but at day-break drew his troops into the field, leaving such a force in the town, as he thought necessary for its defence, and having advanced about half a league, took possession of a spot where he could receive the enemy to advantage. He there formed his men, secured his flanks with the artillery, and put himself at the head of the horse, in order to bring succour wherever it should be wanted. In a short time, the scouts returned with intelligence that the enemy were upon their march, and soon after they appeared, when their number amounted to above 50,000 men, consisting of the whole strength of the republic and its allies. They displayed a large golden eagle, which was the ensign of Tlascala, and was never brought into the

field but upon the greatest undertakings, and at first seemed to advance with equal expedition and intrepidity. On their coming within cannon shot, the artillery filled them with such terror, that they halted for some time; but at length rushed forward in a throng till they were near enough to use their slings and arrows, when they were a second time stopt by a discharge of the fire arms and cross-bows. But at length perceiving the slaughter that was made among them by the Spaniards and Zempoallans, they burst upon them like a torrent, and broke their ranks by mere dint of weight and multitude; they, however, formed again, by bearing down all that did not give way to their efforts. At this instant, a great disturbance appeared among the enemy, whose troops appeared to and fro, and turned their arms against each other, till at length they retired in a tumultuous manner.

The cause of this disturbance and retreat was afterwards found to be owing to the insolence of Xicotencal in upbraiding one of the confederate Caciques with cowardice, for not advancing when the rest were engaged. The Indian chief, who had 10,000 men under his command, returned an angry answer, which being followed by a challenge, the other Caciques espoused their friend's quarrel, and immediately retired. Upon which, Xicotencal, finding himself abandoned by his allies, and having seen a great number of his men slain upon the spot, left the field.

It is said that Cortes lost only a single soldier on this occasion; however several of the men were very much discouraged at their being put into disorder, and loudly declared that they would not sacrifice their lives to Cortes's obstinacy, but return by themselves to Vera Cruz, and leave him alone to follow the dictates of his ambition. The

spirit of mutiny made it necessary for Cortes to assemble the soldiers, when he put them in mind that they had already vanquished the Tlascalans, who would certainly sue for peace, so that they should proceed to Mexico, with the additional reputation of conquering so warlike a people: but their retreat would bring them into disgrace, and endanger their total destruction. In short, he exerted his eloquence with such success, that one of the mutineers cried aloud, "Fellow soldiers! our general is in the right, we cannot now retreat without being inevitably lost;" and this opinion was immediately assented to by the whole army.

Mean while the Tlascalans were so intimidated by the ill success of the second battle, that they cried aloud for peace with the strangers, whom they deemed invincible. But the senate concluding they were magicians, resolved to oppose enchantment to enchantment, and therefore consulted their wizards, who pretended to have discovered the cause of their defeat, asserting that the Spaniards were the offspring of the sun, and derived a superior power from the warmth of his beams; but that when he disappeared, they were weak and dispirited. Hence they proposed that they should be attacked by night, and utterly destroyed before they could be re-animated by the beams of their father. This absurd piece of intelligence the senate communicated to Xicotencal, with orders to execute it, and he immediately began to prepare for taking his measures accordingly.

Mean while Cortes took particular care to preserve the strictest discipline: centinels were constantly posted at a distance from the town, the guards were regularly mounted and relieved, and the soldiers rested upon their arms. These pre-

cautions were of the utmost consequence: for on the night destined for the attack, the out-centinels discovered a body of the enemy marching towards the town with unusual slowness and silence, when notice being given of their approach, the soldiers manned the works without noise or confusion, and cheerfully waited to give them a warm reception.

Xicotencal had 10,000 men under his command, whom he ordered to attack the quarters on three sides at once, which they did with equal speed and resolution; but they met with such a powerful and unexpected resistance, that many were slain, and the rest were the more terrified from their being confident they should find the Spaniards weak and unprepared. Xicotencal was now sensible of the delusion of the forcerers; but animated by rage, he returned with double fury to the assault. His Indians assisted each other to climb over the wall, and for a considerable time one party succeeded, as another was slain, until at length the general seeing it impracticable to carry his point, order the signal for founding a retreat. Cortes no sooner perceived them retiring from the wall, than he sent out part of his infantry, and all his horse, furnished with breast-plates full of bells, to charge the Indians, who were so terrified at the unusual noise, that they fled in confusion, leaving a considerable number of dead, and some wounded, whom they were in too great a hurry to carry off. This victory was obtained by the loss of one man, who was a Zempoallan.

The news of this disappointment soon reached Tlascala when the inhabitants unanimously demanded peace, and justice against the magicians for having deceived them. The senate assembling, agreed to punish the impostors, two of whom were immediately sacrificed to their gods, and to apply to the strangers for forgiveness, now firmly

believing that they were the celestial people mentioned in the prophecy. Mean while a messenger was sent to inform Xicotencal of the senate's resolution; but that general being exasperated against the Spaniards, from whom he longed to retrieve his honour, absolutely refused to comply, and resolved to make a second assault by night; but in order to know the nature and strength of their fortifications, he employed forty soldiers to enter the Spanish quarters among the neighbouring peasants, who resorted thither to exchange provisions for baubles. These spies had spent a great part of the morning among the Spaniards unsuspected, until a Zempoallan who had observed one of them narrowly examining the fortifications, communicated his suspicion to Cortes, who instantly ordered him to be put to the torture, when he made a full confession, in consequence of which his comrades were apprehended, and the whole scheme discovered. The general then caused 15 of the most obstinate of these spies to be punished, some by losing a hand, and others their thumbs, and then dismissed them to tell Xicotencal that he was prepared for his coming, and had sent his spies alive that they might acquaint him with the situation of his works.

At this bloody spectacle the Indian army was struck with horror and astonishment, and their message made a deep impression on the general's mind. He now began to think that the Spaniards could not have discovered his design without a supernatural information: but while he was reflecting on this subject, he was accosted by several persons, sent by the senate to divest him of his command.

The Spaniards expected an attack all that night and the next day; but on the succeeding morning the advanced centinels perceived four persons of

rank adorned with white feathers in token of peace, and followed by thirty Indians loaded with provisions. As they approached, they frequently halted, as if afraid to advance, and then bowing their bodies, touched the earth with their hands, and applied them to their lips, as a testimony of humility and veneration. Marina appearing upon the wall, asked for what purpose they were coming, and they answering that they came from the senate and republic of Tlascala, to treat of peace, they were allowed to enter, and being introduced to Cortes, apologized for what was past, sued for peace, and earnestly intreated him to march to their city, where the Spaniards should be served and respected as the children of the sun, and the brothers of the gods. Cortes however treated them with an affected severity, and told them, that considering the methods they had taken to incur his displeasure, they ought to look upon their admission to his presence as a mark of his condescension: that however peace was agreeable to his inclinations, and he would endeavour to appease the anger of his captains.

CHAPTER VII.

Cortes receives an embassy from Montezuma; he makes his entrance into Tlascalca; after which Diego de Ordaz visits the volcano of Popocatepec. Cortes at length receives an embassy from Mexico, and marches to Cholula, where a scheme is laid for his destruction, which is discovered by the address of Marina. He leaves Cholula; baffles the treacherous designs of the Mexicans; is visited by the Cacique of Tezeaco, and arrives at that city, whence he marches to Itztapalapa.

AS Montezuma had intelligence of every thing that passed, he was greatly alarmed at Cortes's success against the Tlascalans, apprehending that should they unite their forces, they might be able to overturn his whole empire. Yet instead of assembling an army in his own defence, he sent another present to Cortes, by ambassadors, who were ordered to divert him from his intended journey, to watch over his actions, and if possible to prevent a reconciliation between him and the Tlascalans. Five Mexicans of the first rank, who were charged with this embassy, arrived in the Spanish quarters, soon after the ministers of the republic had departed, and were favourably received by Cortes, who accepted of the present; but would not dispatch them immediately, as he was desirous of having them see the Tlascalans humbled: and indeed they had no inclination to depart, until they had accomplished the real design of their embassy.

In the mean time the republic caused the neighbouring villages to furnish the Spanish army with provisions gratis, and in two days Cortes was visited by Xicotencal at the head of 50 noblemen of

his party, who attended him with the ensigns of peace. He was well made, above the middle stature, and had a countenance that commanded respect. He wore a white mantle adorned with jewels, and behaved before Cortes with the free air of a soldier. He began his speech by frankly owning that he was the cause of the war, from his believing that the Spaniards were friends to Montezuma, whom he hated, but was now come to put himself into the hands of his conqueror, hoping by this submission to obtain pardon for his country, and the return of peace; he also intreated him to enter the city, where quarters should be provided for his men, and desired that the inhabitants might be well used, and their gods and wives protected from violence. Cortes complained, in the hearing of the Mexican ambassadors, with some vehemence, of the unjust war they had carried on, granted the peace, and promised that no violence should be committed by the soldiers. At Xicotencal's departure he gave him his hand, and told him he would return the visit after he had dispatched Montezuma's ambassadors.

The Mexicans made a jest of the peace, and pretended that the Tlascalans only fought to lull him into security, in order with the greater ease to destroy him and his soldiers. But finding that he was fixed in his resolution to grant them a peace, they desired him to delay his march to Tlascala for six days, promising to send two of their number to Mexico, to inform their prince of that transaction; and as Cortes did not think proper to break with Montezuma, he consented to this request.

Within the appointed time the ambassadors returned, accompanied by six persons of high rank, with a splendid retinue, bearing another present of greater value than the former, declaring that

Montezuma desired to be the friend and confederate of the great sovereign of the Spaniards, and would pay him an annual tribute, provided they would enter into no league with the Tlascalans, and lay aside their design of coming to Mexico.

But Cortes being resolved that these ambassadors should be witnesses of the peace with Tlascala, postponed his answer, resolving to detain them as long as he could, to give Montezuma the less time to prepare for hostilities. These embassies so greatly alarmed the Tlascalans, that the government came to a resolution to visit Cortes in the form of a senate, in order to convince him of their sincerity, and break off his negotiation with the Mexicans. They accordingly arrived in solemn procession, carried upon the shoulders of inferior officers, and followed by numerous attendants. Cortes received them with his usual state and civility, and after they were seated, was addressed by the father of Xicotencal, a blind old man of a venerable aspect, who told him, that the senate of Tlascala were come to sue for peace on his own terms; to dissuade him from entering into a league with the tyrant Montezuma, and intreated him to honour their city with his presence. Cortes assured him that he would march to Tlascala, whenever the people of the neighbouring villages were ready to conduct his baggage and artillery. The next morning 500 tamines, or carriers, appeared at his quarters, and having made the proper dispositions, he immediately began his march. The fields were filled with vast multitudes of people, who came to behold the sight, and made such cries and gesticulations, as were mistaken by the Spaniards for threats of war, until they were informed by Marina, that in this manner the Indians expressed their joy at their festivals.

The Spaniards were received by the senators and nobles, at a considerable distance from the

town, who having paid their respects to the general, turned about and marched before. The city at their entrance resounded with shouts, acclamations, and the disagreeable noise of their horns, pipes, and drums. The crowd was so great, that the magistrates could scarcely keep the passage free. Some of the women threw flowers on the Spaniards, while others who were more bold, put nosegays in their hands. The priests, clothed in long garments, came with their copper censers, offering incense to them as they passed, and all the spectators seemed to be filled with awe, admiration, and joy. Quarters were provided for them in a large edifice, which had three or four spacious courts, and a great number of rooms; in the building the whole army was conveniently lodged, and there Montezuma's ambassadors were secure under the protection of the Spaniards.

As Cortes knew the warlike character of the people among whom he lived, he observed the utmost circumspection; a guard was regularly kept in his quarters; he never appeared abroad without a number of attendants well armed; and the soldiers never appeared but in companies, with their fire-arms on their shoulders. These marks of distrust greatly mortified the Tlascalans, and Magiscatzin being sent by the senate to complain of it to Cortes, observed that his soldiers by appearing in the city with lightening on their shoulders, gave more offence by such a mark of suspicion, than they would do by committing real acts of violence. Cortes assured him, that he was well convinced of the sincerity and good-will of the republic, and that his soldiers appearing in arms was one of the effects of that discipline which had rendered the Spaniards invincible. With this reply the senate were satisfied, and the Spaniards received daily proofs of the fidelity and friendship of their new allies. They were enter-

tained with plenty of provisions, and presents were poured in upon them from all quarters. Notwithstanding which, Cortes's zeal made him resolve to destroy all their idols; but it was soon moderated by the charity of father de Olmedo, who told him, that persecution but ill agreed with the doctrines of the gospel, and that their conversion required time and gentle usage. However he prevailed with the Tlascalans to desist from human sacrifices, as being in the highest degree shocking to nature, and to set at liberty those miserable wretches who were fed in cages, in order to be the victims of their inhuman worship.

The peace being established, and the senate of Tlascala having sworn allegiance to the king of Spain, Cortes dismissed the Mexican ambassadors, whom he desired to inform Montezuma of what had passed in their presence, of the solicitation and fidelity of the Tlascalans, over whom he had now such influence that he hoped in time to bring them under the obedience of the Emperor of Mexico, and of his resolution to continue his march, in order to confer with their prince on that, as well as on other important subjects.

While Cortes still continued at Tlascala, receiving homage in the name of Charles V. from the different towns and confederates of the republic, the inhabitants were alarmed by a surprizing irruption of fire from the volcano of Popocatepec, a high mountain at eight leagues distance from the city, which filled the people with terror and consternation; for they ridiculously imagined it to be a presage of future misfortune, and supposed that the sparks of fire were the souls of tyrants sent abroad by the offended deities to chastise the earth.

While Magiscatzin and some of the principal noblemen were rehearsing some of these idle fan-

cies to Cortes, Diego de Ordaz came to ask leave to ascend the mountain, in order to gratify his curiosity. The Indians, astonished at his proposal, endeavoured to dissuade him from engaging in such a dangerous enterprize, and observed, that the boldest men of their nation had never ventured beyond some hermitages of their gods, about the middle of the eminence, and that dreadful roarings and tremblings forbade approach to its summit. This account increased the eagerness of Diego de Ordaz, and Cortes granted his request, in order to afford the Tlascalans a fresh proof of the superior courage of the Spaniards.

Ordaz therefore set out on this expedition attended by two soldiers, and some of the principal Indians, who offered to attend him as far as the hermitages. He found the bottom of the mountain beautified on all sides with green trees, which extended a considerable way up the ascent. The earth then grew barren by degrees. The Indians stopped at the hermitage, to which they never expected to see the Spaniards return, and Diego de Ordaz, with his companions, proceeded climbing among the rocks, which were whitened by snow, and the ashes discharged from the volcano, and at length reached a place at a small distance from the summit, where they felt the earth move violently under them, and heard a dreadful roaring issue from the mouth of the volcano, which with redoubled noise, discharged a vast quantity of fire and smoke, that darted upwards to a great height. The Spaniards were instantly covered with a shower of hot ashes, which obliged them to seek for shelter in the hollow of a rock, where they were almost stifled. Diego de Ordaz, however, perceiving that the earthquake was passed, encouraged the soldiers, by his example, to prosecute this discovery, until they came within sight of

the mouth of the volcano, which was about a quarter of a league in circumference; they observed at the bottom a large quantity of inflammable matter, which boiled up like some shining metal infusion. With this account they returned safe, to the astonishment of the Indians, whose esteem for the Spaniards was increased by this adventure, which afterwards proved of signal service; for Ordaz found a large quantity of sulphur in the mountain, of which Cortes made gunpowder, when it was much wanted by the army.

Cortes having continued twenty days at Tlascalala, during which he was entertained with all possible marks of respect, declared his resolution of proceeding for Cholula, in which he was opposed by the Tlascalans, who endeavoured much to strengthen some arguments that had been before used by the Zempoallans, by declaring that Cholula was a sacred place, in which were 400 temples, and such malevolent gods, that terrified the world with prodigies; that he ought not, therefore, to enter their territories, without an assurance of their being propitious. Just about this time new ambassadors arrived from Montezuma, bringing another present, and that prince's permission for the Spaniards to proceed by the way of Cholula, where he had provided quarters for the reception of the army. The Tlascalans immediately concluded, that there was treachery in the case, and Magiscatzin repeated his remonstrances with such marks of concern, that the general called a council in his presence, in which it was agreed, that it was impossible to avoid the road proposed by the Emperor of Mexico, without discovering a suspicion of his sincerity, that whether this suspicion was well or ill founded, it would not be proper to disclose it, and that it would be equally dangerous to leave enemies be-

hind him. Whence it was necessary for them to go to Cholula to discover Montezuma's intentions, and to obtain new reputation by chastising his subjects for their perfidy.

Indeed Montezuma being terrified at the victories of the Spaniards, and ashamed of employing his armies against such a handful of men, actually resolved to destroy them by artifice, and had chosen Cholula for that purpose. Yet the inhabitants of that city were such novices in dissimulation, that they had neglected sending deputies to Cortes, who therefore complained to the Mexican ambassadors of this mark of disrespect, and even when they were informed of his displeasure, they sent four persons with such mean equipage, that he refused to admit them into his presence. Cortes on the day of his departure, drew up the Spaniards and Zempoallan auxiliaries, and was much surprized to find the whole force of the republic and her allies ready in the field, distinguished by the colour of their feathers, and their different ensembles; but Cortes insisted upon taking only 6000 of the republic's troops, with which he began his march to Cholula. That city was about five leagues from Tlascala, and the same evening he halted near a river, within three miles of the place, which he was unwilling to enter by night. He was there visited by deputies from the city of distinguished rank, who brought a present of provisions, and excusing themselves for not waiting upon him at Tlascala, on account of his being there in the midst of their enemies, welcomed him and his people to their city. Though Cortes was far from being convinced of their sincerity, he admitted of their excuse, and the next morning proceeded to towards Cholula, where he was met by the Caciques and priests, attended by a multitude of unarmed people, who had the ap-

pearance of being filled with reverence and joy; but they no sooner perceived the body of Tlascalans that marched in the rear, than a disagreeable murmur was heard among the chiefs, upon which Marina was ordered to ask the reason of it, when she returned with an answer, that the Tlascalans being their enemies, could not enter the city in arms, wherefore they earnestly entreated, that he would order them to return. Cortes was disconcerted at this demand; he however desired the Tlascalans to lie without the city, to which they agreed, and they took up their lodgings in a place from which they might easily come to the assistance of the Spaniards, in case of necessity. In short, Cortes entered Cholula amidst the acclamations of the people, and with all the marks of respect shewn to the Spaniards at their entrance into Tlascala.

The city of Cholula stood in an open and delightful plain, and it was much frequented by strangers, on account of its being a sanctuary of the gods, and its carrying on a considerable trade. The streets were spacious, the buildings larger and more beautiful than those of Tlascala, and a greater number of the sumptuous towers, which adorned the city, shewed the multitude of their temples. It contained 20,000 inhabitants within the walls, and an equal number in the suburbs; but as they chiefly consisted of mechanics and merchants, they were esteemed more cunning than warlike. The quarters appointed for the Spaniards, were three or four large edifices contiguous to each other, and sufficient to contain both the Spaniards and Zempoallans. The Tlascalans chose a place at a small distance from the town, which they secured with some works, formed guards, and placed centinels, in imitation of

their European friends, from whom they had obtained some knowledge in the art of war.

In the first three or four days, there was the greatest appearance of tranquility and friendship, but after that time provisions grew gradually scarce, and an entire stop was put to the entertainments of the Caciques. The priests and Montezuma's ambassadors held private conferences, and the people began to look upon the Spaniards with an air of scorn and distaste. This naturally awakened the jealousy of the latter, and Cortes was endeavouring to penetrate into the intentions of the Cholulans, when the whole design was accidentally discovered. Marina had contracted a friendship with an old Indian woman of distinction, who coming one morning to her apartment, begged, with great earnestness, that she would immediately forsake those abominable strangers and live with her. Marina perceiving that there was something extraordinary in this request, bemoaned her captivity, and acted her part so well, that the Cholulan, believing her sincere, told her that there was no time to be lost, for the Spaniards were devoted to destruction; that Montezuma had sent 20,000 Mexicans to secure the success of the design, of which 6000 chosen men had already entered the city in small parties: that a great quantity of arms was distributed among the inhabitants, who had carried stones up to the tops of their houses, and cut deep trenches across the streets, in which were fixed sharp stakes, which were slightly covered with earth, for the destruction of the horses: that the Emperor of Mexico had resolved to exterminate all the Christians; but had given orders that some of them should be taken alive, to satisfy his curiosity, and zeal for religion, and that he had made the city of Cholula a present of a gold drum, to excite their courage.

Marina, on obtaining this intelligence, pretended that she was ready to attend her deliverer, and would only go and fetch her jewels; but immediately hastened to Cortes, and told him the whole affair, upon which the Indian woman was seized, and by threats, engaged to make a particular confession of the whole. He was at the same time informed by some Tlascalan soldiers, who entered the city in the disguise of peasants, that they had seen the Cholulans carrying their women and effects to the neighbouring villages; and, in short, obtained intelligence from several other persons, which put the affair beyond all doubt.

Cortes now thought it necessary to justify his conduct by the testimony of some unexceptionable witnesses among the citizens themselves, and therefore sent for three of the chief priests, and discoursing with them separately, complained of their treachery, and mentioned all the particulars of their design. When believing that he was endowed with the power of penetrating into the thoughts of men, they acknowledged the truth, and charged Montezuma with being the author of the whole contrivance. These priests were then secretly imprisoned, and Montezuma's ambassadors excluded from all communication with the people. Cortes ordering his captains to assemble, laid before them the whole conspiracy, and proposed a scheme for punishing the Cholulans, to which they unanimously consented.

Agreeably to this plan, he let the magistrates know that he should depart the next day; demanded provisions for his march, Indians to carry his burdens, and with a view of disuniting their forces, required a reinforcement of 2000 armed men to join the Tlascalans and Zempoallans; which they readily granted, in order to introduce concealed enemies among his troops, whom they

should use as occasion should offer. The Tlascallans were then ordered to draw near the city at day-break, and to enter the town and join the Spaniards and Zempoallans at the first discharge of the fire-arms. At night having first secured the quarters with guards and centinels, he sent for Montezuma's ambassadors, and told them he had discovered a conspiracy formed against him by the Caciques and citizens of Cholulan, whom he was resolved to punish, not only for their perfidious breach of hospitality, but for pretending that they had received orders and assistance from Montezuma, and that he was not so much provoked at their treacherous intentions towards him, as at their presuming to lay their crime to the charge of the Emperor. The ambassadors appeared overwhelmed with terror and confusion, pretended to be ignorant of the conspiracy, and endeavoured to save Montezuma's credit, while Cortes rejoiced at this opportunity of defeating the arts of the Mexican prince, and at the same time raising the reputation of his arms.

Early in the morning came the carriers with some provisions, though in a small quantity, and afterwards a greater number of armed Indians than Cortes had demanded. These he secured in several parts of his quarters, on pretence of forming his battalions in the usual manner. Then putting his men in order, and mounting his horse, he sent for the Caciques, and when they appeared, told them in a loud and angry voice, That as he had discovered their conspiracy, he would so severely punish them, that they should repent of their treachery. Scarce had he began to speak, when they hastened away with great expedition to join their own forces, insulting him with threats and abuse, which they uttered as they fled. He then commanded his infantry to fall upon the

foldiers, whom he had kept divided in the fquares of his quarters, all of whom were foon deftroied, except a few who threw themfelves from the walls and efaped. This bloody flaugter being ended, he gave the fignal for the Tlafcalans to advance, and then marched flowly into the principal freet, having firft left a guard in the quarters, and detached fome Zempoallans to difcover the trenches, in order that the horfe might efcape the danger. In the mean time, the Cholulans called in the Mexicans, and entering a large fquare, in which were three temples, pofted a number of men in the porches, and tops of the towers, while the reft were divided into feveral bodies to engage the Spaniards. Juft as Cortes's troops entered this fquare, and the charge was given, the Tlafcalans clofed with the enemy's rear, and threw them into fuch diforder, that they neither knew how to fly, nor how to defend themfelves, fo that they fell in heaps without refiftance. The terraces and fteps of the temples were fo crouded with armed men, that they could fcarce turn themfelves, or find room to fix their arrows; when Cortes marching to the largeft temple, commanded his interpreters to proclaim a pardon and free paffage to all who would come down and furrender themfelves; but this proffer, though twice repeated, being rejected by all but one Indian, he caufed the artillery to play upon the temples, fo that great numbers perifted in their ruins. And all the other temples being deftroied in the fame manner, there were above fix thoufand of the natives and Mexicans flain. The Tlafcalans having pillaged the town, Cortes affigned them lodgings without the city, and then retired to his own quarters, where ordering the principal perfons of the town, who had been taken prifoners, together with the priefts and Indian woman, whom he had kept confined, to

be brought before him, he expressed his concern at their having obliged him to inflict so severe a punishment upon the city, published a general pardon, and desired the Caciques to call back the fugitives. The ambassadors congratulated Cortes on his success, and the citizens being encouraged by his offers of peace, returned to their houses, and opened their shops, so that the tumult immediately subsided.

The day after the action, Xicotencal arrived at the head of 20,000 men, which the Tlascalans had sent to the assistance of the Spaniards; but Cortes having returned them his acknowledgments, informed their general, that he would soon begin his march to Mexico, and that it would be improper to exasperate Montezuma by bringing such a number of his declared enemies into his dominions, when Xicotencal acknowledging the justice of this observation, promised to retire, and keep the troops in readiness in case he should have occasion for them. But before their departure, Cortes brought about a peace between the republic and Cholula, by which means he opened a way for the Tlascalans to supply him with succours, and removed all impediments to his retreat.

Some of the Zempoallans now desiring leave to return home, Cortes granted their request, and took this opportunity of sending some presents to their Cacique, and at the same time sent Juan de Escalante a short account of his success, desiring him to strengthen Vera Cruz with additional fortifications, in order to secure it from the restless ambition of Velasquez.

About this time new ambassadors arrived from the emperor of Mexico, who had been informed of all that had passed at Cholula, and being willing to escape the suspicion of having any concern in the affair, not only thanked Cortes for chastising

those traitors; but sent him a present of great value, by which means he thought to lead the Spaniards into a blind security, that they might the easier fall into a snare he had prepared for them.

Cortes having staid fourteen days at Cholula, proceeded towards Mexico, and the first night lodged in a village, to which the chiefs of the neighbouring towns repaired with presents. From them Cortes heard the same complaints of Montezuma as in the more distant provinces, and was informed that the Mexicans had placed a considerable ambuscade on the other side of a mountain he was to pass the next day; that they had stopped up the high road, and opened another which ended in precipices, and that the Spanish army when perplexed with difficulties, was to be suddenly charged, where their horses could be of no service, and the foot have no room to form. Cortes, though highly incensed at this piece of treachery, stifled his resentment, and the next day prosecuted his march over a very craggy mountain, adjoining to the volcano, proceeding with great caution. When he had reached the top, he perceived the two roads which had been described to him, and turning with great composure to the Mexican ambassadors, he asked the reason why one of them was blocked up with trees and stones, and the other but newly made. To which they answered, that the new road was levelled for his convenience, and the other stopped up, on account of its being more steep and difficult. Cortes replied, "You are but little acquainted with the genius of our nation, for we will march in this road for no other reason than its difficulty." He then desired his Indian friends to march before, and remove the obstacles to his passage, which to the amazement of the ambassadors was soon done, for they never dreamt that he suspected their design.

When the Indians in ambuscade observed that the Spaniards marched in the royal road, they concluded that they were discovered, and began to retire in great disorder; while Cortes descended, without opposition into the plain, and passed the night in some houses built for the reception of the Mexican merchants who resorted to the fairs of Cholula.

In the mean time Montezuma being dispirited by these disappointments, grew daily more and more devout; resorted to the temples; increased the number of human sacrifices, and at length assembling his magicians, ordered them upon pain of death to set out to meet the Spaniards, and either to stupify or overcome them by the force of their enchantments. In compliance with this command, a considerable number of necromancers set out, but having performed their incantations without success, returned to Montezuma, and told him, that the god Telcatlepuca, from whom famine and plagues proceeded, had appeared to them in a garment girt with a robe of wicker, declaring that Montezuma's ruin was decreed, and the dissolution of the empire at hand. The superstitious king was struck dumb at this report, till at length recovering his speech, he cried, "If our gods for-
" sake us, let the strangers come. It would be
" dishonourable to turn our backs upon misfor-
" tunes," and then, after a short pause, added,
" I lament the old men, women and children,
" who cannot defend themselves." From this moment he began to prepare for the entertainment of the Spaniards. All the discourse of Mexico turned upon their astonishing actions, and the prodigies by which their coming had been foretold, and these topics of conversation produced a prepossession that was absolutely necessary to enable such a handful of men to penetrate to the very court of such a powerful prince.

Cortes having passed the mountain, advanced the following day to a village in the jurisdiction of Chalco, where he was visited by the principal Cacique of the province, and others in that neighbourhood, who brought him provisions and other presents, and when unobserved by the Mexican ambassadors, complained of Montezuma's tyranny, the weight of their taxes, and, his taking their women to gratify his lust, and that of his ministers, by which means the wife found no protection in the bed of her husband, nor the daughter in the arms of her mother.

The next day Cortes pursued his march four leagues through a delightful country, adorned with groves and beautiful gardens, until he arrived at a village built on a creek of the great lake, where he chose to take up his lodgings. Thither the Mexicans resorted with their arms and military ornaments, in such numbers as raised Cortes's suspicions; when, in order to keep them at a proper distance, he caused some fire-arms and pieces of artillery to be fired in the air, at which they were so terrified, that they hastily retired. However he was visited in the morning by one of Montezuma's nephews, who was lord of Tezeuco; he was a young man, had an agreeable person, and was carried on the shoulders of some of his servants, in a chair adorned with a variety of feathers curiously diversified. He no sooner alighted than his servants went before to sweep the ground, and keep back the people on each side. Cortes going to the door of his apartment received him with a low bow, which the prince returned by touching the earth, and then his lips with his right hand, which salutation being passed, he sat down, and with an easy air, welcomed him and all his captains; spoke of Montezuma's amicable disposition, and mentioned the difficulties that opposed his

going to Mexico, on account of that year's barrenness, by which the people were much distressed, so that strangers could be but ill accommodated where the natives wanted necessaries. To which Cortes replied, that the king his master having some important reasons for offering his friendship to Montezuma, he, his servant, with great respect accepted the liberty he had received to deliver his embassy, without being in pain for the present scarcity, since the Spaniards required but little nourishment, and even despised the inconveniences which afflicted men of an inferior species. The emperor's nephew then received a present of some false jewels made of glass, at which he shewed great signs of joy, and having accompanied the army as far as Tezeuco, the capital of his dominions, proceeded to Mexico, to give an account of his embassy.

The city of Tezeuco was one of the largest in the empire, and in grandeur was but little inferior to Mexico itself. It extended along the banks of a spacious lake, at the beginning of the Mexican causeway. The houses were very beautiful and the streets regular, and what was still more extraordinary, fresh water was brought in pipes to every house. Cortes pursued his march over the causeway which was twenty feet broad, and composed of stone, and in the midway came to another town of about 2000 houses, called Quitlavaca, which was founded in the water, whence it afterwards obtained the name of Venezuela, or little Venice. Here the Cacique attended by a splendid retinue, came out to meet him, and pressed him to honour his city with spending the night there. To which he thought proper to consent; for he began to suspect that the Mexicans might break the causeway, or obstruct his march by taking away the bridges. From this place the Spaniards had a view of the greatest part of the lake, which was beautified

with towns, adorned with towers and pinnacles, gardens and causeways that seemed to float upon the water. The battlements of the houses were filled with people; multitudes of Indians approached in their canoes to behold the Spaniards, and the whole formed a prospect that was at once new and extremely noble. In this city, they were entertained with a politeness that shewed its neighbourhood to the court.

About break of day the next morning, the Spaniards formed themselves upon the causeway, which was there wide enough to allow eight horses to march in front, and the whole army, which consisted of 450 Spaniards, and 6000 Indian allies, proceeded on their march to Iztapalapa, a city built in a most delightful and commodious situation, part of it upon the lake, and the other part on the shore. It consisted of 10,000 houses, of two or three stories high. The lord of this city, accompanied by the princes of two other towns bordering upon the lake, came out to meet Cortes with three separate presents of gold, fowls, fruit, and other provisions. The Spaniards entered the city amidst the loud acclamations of the people; lodgings were prepared for them in the prince's own palace, which was a large and well-built edifice, with many apartments both above and below stairs, among which were several chambers with flat roofs of cedar, furnished with cotton hangings, curiously painted: Here were many conduits of excellent water, conveyed by aqueducts from the neighbouring mountains, and a considerable number of large and well cultivated gardens, particularly one that was far more beautiful and spacious than the rest, and belonged to the Cacique. It consisted of squares adorned with a variety of flowers, a parterre with divisions made of canes interwoven with odoriferous shrubs, and fruit-trees

disposed into walks. In the middle was a quadrangular pond of fresh water, encompassed with steps to the bottom, each side extended 400 paces. Here were kept the most delicate fish; and it at the same time served as a retreat to a great number of herons, wild-ducks, and other sorts of water fowl.

CHAPTER VIII.

Cortes enters Mexico, where he is met by Montezuma, who comes in great state to welcome him to the city; afterwards confers with him at his quarters, and grants him an audience in the royal palace. A description of the city of Mexico, with an account of the grandeur, wealth, and power of the emperor, and the religion and policy of the Mexican government.

EARLY in the morning the Spaniards left the city of Iztapalapa, and beginning their march in their accustomed order, soon discovered the great city of Mexico, distinguished above the rest by the height of its towers, and the grandeur and multiplicity of its buildings. On their having marched about half way, they were met by a body of about 4000 nobles and officers of the city, who came out to meet them, and having paid their obedience, turned about and advanced before the troops. At a small distance from Mexico, the causeway was crossed by a bulwark of stone, where the entrance into the city was secured by gates, a draw-bridge, and a second fortification. The nobles had no sooner passed on the other side of the bridge, than they fell back on each side, and

made a lane for the army to pass through, when there appeared a spacious street, the houses of which were uniformly built, and the windows and battlements filled with spectators; though no body was seen passing through the streets; for Montezuma had given orders for their being cleared, as he had himself resolved to shew Cortes an extraordinary mark of favour by his coming out to meet him.

Scarce had the Spaniards entered the city when they perceived the first troop of the royal retinue, which consisted of 200 noblemen of Montezuma's household uniformly adorned with feathers, who approached in two files with their eyes fixed on the ground, observing the strictest silence; but on their approaching the Spaniards, fell back on each side. Then appeared at a considerable distance a larger company more richly adorned, in the midst of whom was Montezuma in a chariot of burnished gold, surrounded with beautiful feathers, and carried on the shoulders of his favourites, while four persons of distinction held over his head a canopy of green feathers interwoven with ornaments of silver. He was preceded by three officers with golden rods, which they from time to time lifted up as a signal of the emperor's approach, that all might prostrate themselves, and hide their heads. Cortes dismounted at a small distance, and Montezuma at the same time alighted from his chariot, when some of the Indians advanced before and spread carpets, that his feet might not touch the ground. He came forwards with a slow and solemn pace, leaning upon his cousins, the princes of Tezeuco and Iztapalapa. He was about forty years of age, of a middle stature, and had a good presence; but his constitution seemed rather delicate than robust. He had an aquiline nose, and a fairer complexion than the rest of the Mexicans: his eyes were lively,

and his hair reached a little below his ears; his look, though thoughtful, was majestic: he wore on his head, a kind of golden mitre; a mantle of fine cotton, covered with gold, pearls, and precious stones, was carelessly tied on his shoulders; and his shoes, which resembled the sandals of the Romans, consisting of a golden sole bound to the foot, with studded straps that came round a part of his leg.

Cortes, on seeing him, alighted, hastily advanced, and made a profound reverence, which Montezuma returned in the manner of his country, by touching the ground with his hand, and kissing it, at which the Mexicans were greatly astonished, since they had never seen any of their emperors give such an instance of condescension. Cortes wore about his neck a chain of glass, curiously set in imitation of diamonds and emeralds, which he had reserved as a present for his first audience, and coming up close to the emperor, he threw it about his neck. The princes who supported him shewed some emotion, and interposed to prevent Cortes, signifying that it was unlawful to approach so near: but they were reprimanded by Montezuma, who bowed his head, to shew that he accepted the present, and which he returned by putting upon Cortes's neck, a rich ornament of crimson shells, joined together with great art, at each of which hung four crabs of gold of excellent workmanship. Cortes then made a short speech, which being answered by Montezuma, he ordered one of his supporters to conduct the stranger to his lodging, and then leaning on the other, went to his chair, and returned to his palace.

In this manner Cortes entered the city of Mexico, on the eighth of November, 1519. One of the royal palaces was provided for the Spaniards.

It was built by Montezuma's father, and was large enough to lodge the whole army. It had very thick stone walls, was flanked with towers, and many of the chambers were furnished with cotton hangings, and feather-work of various colours. The chairs were formed out of solid pieces of wood, and the bedsteads had curtains like pavilions, the beds themselves were of palm-mats, and the bolsters of the same rolled up. Cortes entered these lodgings a little after twelve at noon, and had no sooner distributed his guards, and placed his artillery before the gate, than he found a splendid banquet prepared for himself and his officers, and great plenty of provisions dressed for the soldiers, with many Mexicans, who waited upon them in the most profound silence.

In the evening Cortes was visited by Montezuma, who came in the same state as before; Cortes went to the principal square to meet him, and after making a profound reverence, entered the apartment with Montezuma, who took his seat with an air of majesty, and ordered a chair to be brought for Cortes: when the company retiring to some distance, he is said to have addressed himself to him to the following purpose: "Before you mention the particulars of your embassy, illustrious captain, let you and I lay aside the prejudices we have each imbibed of the other, from the misrepresentation of common report. You have been in some places told that I am a god, that my power is invincible, and my riches immense; that my palaces are covered with gold, and that the earth groans beneath the weight of my treasure. Upon other occasions you have heard that I am a tyrant, insolent, cruel, and unjust; but you have been imposed upon by both representations: this arm of flesh and blood shews that I am mortal, and

“ these walls and roofs demonstrate that my pa-
“ laces are not covered with gold, and from these
“ instances you may conclude that the account of
“ my vices is also exaggerated by the malice of
“ my enemies. We have also received various ac-
“ counts of you ; some have affirmed that you are
“ gods who grasp the thunder, command the
“ elements, and compel the beasts of the forest
“ to obey your directions. You have been re-
“ presented by others as proud, vindictive, volup-
“ tuous, and transported with an insatiable thirst
“ after the gold which our country produces.
“ Yet I now see that I have been alike deceived
“ by these different accounts. You are made like
“ other men, and only distinguished from us by
“ the peculiarities of your own country. The
“ beasts that so readily obey you, are large deer
“ trained up to discipline. Your arms that pro-
“ duce lightning, I conceive to be barrels of
“ metal, and their effect, like that of our sarba-
“ cans, proceeds from air compressed, and striv-
“ ing for vent ; and as to the fire, noise, and
“ smoke, they surely are owing to enchantment.
“ In a word, we believe, that the great prince to
“ whom you pay obedience, is a descendant of
“ Quezalcoal, Lord of the seven caves of the Na-
“ vatlaques, and lawful sovereign of the seven na-
“ tions that gave rise to the Mexican empire.
“ For from the tradition of many ages, we know
“ that he left these countries to conquer new re-
“ gions in the east, with a promise that in process
“ of time, his descendants should return and new
“ model our laws, and reform our government.
“ We have therefore already determined, that
“ every thing shall be done for the honour of a
“ prince who is the offspring of such an illustrious
“ progenitor.”

To this speech Cortes replied to the following purport: " We have, it is true, Sir, heard very " opposite accounts of your character, which some " have extolled, and others have vilified ; but as " Spaniards have penetration enough to distin- " guish the colours of discourse, we have given no " credit either to your flatterers or your rebels, " but come into your presence with full assurance " of your being a great and equitable prince. " You justly conclude that we are mortal, though " more intelligent and valiant than your vassals. " Our beasts are not deer, but are of a more ge- " nerous species, inclined to war, and aspiring, " with a kind of ambition, to the glory of their " masters : and as to our arms, they are made by " human industry, without the assistance of magic, " an abominable art which we detest. I am come " as ambassador to your majesty from the most " powerful monarch on whom the sun sheds his " beams at his first rising. He desires to be your " friend and confederate, and though according " to your traditions he might pretend to be more " absolute in these dominions, he makes no other " use of his authority, but to promote your ad- " vantage, and to convince you that you have de- " parted from the worship of the true God, to pay " your adoration to insensible pieces of wood, " carved out by your own hands, to whom you " inhumanly sacrifice your fellow-creatures." He made use of other arguments to induce Montezuma to renounce his religion, and having ended his speech, the emperor arose, saying, " I accept " the friendship and confederacy of the great de- " scendant of Quezalcoal, but all Gods are good, " and yours may be so without offence to mine. " In the mean time, repose yourselves, you are " in your own own house, where you shall be " punctually served with all possible respect."

He then gave orders for some Mexicans without to bring in a present that he designed for Cortes, and which was a very valuable one, consisting of pieces of gold, cotton robes, and other curiosities, and at the same time, with an air of cheerful generosity, he distributed some jewels among the Spaniards who were present.

The next day Cortes demanded an audience, which was immediately granted, he therefore dressed himself in his gayest apparel, without quitting his arms, and set out for the palace with Juan Velasquez de Leon, Diego de Ordaz, Pedro de Alverado, and six or seven favourite soldiers.

The streets were crowded with vast multitudes of people, who made way to let them pass, often pronouncing amidst their acclamations the word Teule or God, with which the Spaniards were pleased, from the opinion that this extraordinary veneration would contribute to their success. At some distance appeared Montezuma's palace, a prodigious pile of building, which had thirty gates that opened to as many different streets. The principal front took up one side of a spacious square, and was of red, white and black jasper, beautifully polished; and in a large shield over the gate was represented Montezuma's arms, a griffin with its wings extended, holding a tyger in its talons. When the Spaniards approached this entrance, the Mexicans who accompanied Cortes walked up to one side of it, then retiring, formed a semicircle, that they might enter two a-breast; for it was esteemed irreverent to enter the royal palace in a crowd. After their having passed three squares, they reached Montezuma's apartments, which they admired for their largeness and furniture. The walls were covered with cotton hangings, interwoven with the furs of rabbits, and the innermost rooms were adorned

with a very beautiful kind of tapestry, composed of feathers. The floors were also covered with mats, and the roofs were of cypress, cedar, and other kinds of odoriferous woods, adorned with foliages and relievos, and though the use of nails was unknown to the Mexicans, the ceilings were so contrived, that the planks supported each other. In these spacious rooms were officers who guarded the entrance, and at the door of the anti-chamber, were the nobility and magistrates, who received Cortes with much civility, but detained him until they had taken off their sandals, and rich mantles, and put on others that made a less splendid appearance, for they thought it presumptuous to appear in their richest apparel before the emperor. Montezuma, who was standing with all his ensigns of royalty about him, advanced some steps to meet Cortes, who coming forwards with a low bow, the Emperor laid his hands upon his shoulders, gave the rest of the Spaniards a simile, and then seating himself, desired them to sit, and entered into conversation with great freedom; asked several questions relating to the manners and politics of the eastern countries, and made very judicious remarks upon the answers of Cortes. He then mentioned how much the Mexicans were obliged to the descendants of their first king, and seemed to rejoice in having the prophecy fulfilled in his reign. Cortes turned the discourse upon religion, and particularly exclaimed against human sacrifices with such warmth, that Montezuma from that day, banished dishes of human flesh from his table, though he maintained, that there was no cruelty in offering to the gods the prisoners of war, who were already condemned to death.

Some days after this interview, Montezuma, who was still very fond of his own religion, con-

ducted Cortes and some of his principal officers, with father Bartholomew, to the chief temple, in order to let them see its magnificence ; but before they were admitted, he cautioned them to behave with decency. The gates of this spacious edifice being opened, he himself explained the particulars of their worship with such solemnity, as excited the laughter of the Spaniards, whose rudeness on this occasion is not excuseable. Cortes being here transported with a ridiculous and unreasonable zeal, cried to Montezuma, " Allow me, Sir, to fix the cross of Christ before these images of the devil, and you will see whether they deserve adoration or contempt." Both Montezuma and the priests were enraged at this proposal ; the former desired them to withdraw, and following them to the threshold, added, " You may return to your house, my friends, but I shall ask pardon of my gods, for having suffered you to proceed so far." Yet notwithstanding his zeal for his religion, he was so from thinking of tyrannizing over the consciences of the Spaniards, that he ordered workmen to be sent to assist them in fitting up a chapel, in which both he and his chiefs were frequently present when mass was performed.

It may here be proper to give a more particular description of the city of Mexico, which was divided into two parts, one, where the meaner sort resided, was called Tlatelulco, while the other, appropriated to the court and the nobility, had the name of Mexico, which from thence was given to the whole city, that contained 60,000 families. This capital stood in a spacious plain, encompassed by high rocks and mountains, from which many rivulets falling down into the valley formed several lakes, among which there were two that extended about 30 leagues in circumference, and

were furrounded by fifty towns. These lakes had a communication with each other through openings left in a stone wall by which they were divided, and over these openings were wooden bridges, with sluices on each side, by which the lower lake was supplied from the other. The water of the uppermost lake was salt, which solely proceeded from the nature of the soil. The city of Mexico stood in the middle of the salt lake, in 19 degrees 13 minutes north latitude, yet it enjoyed a mild and healthy climate. It was joined to the main land by three noble causeways. The streets were straight and large, and had a great number of canals for the convenience of water-carriage, in barks and canoes of different sizes; above 50,000 of which belonged to the city. All the public edifices and houses of the nobility were built of stone, and though the dwellings of the common people were meaner and more irregular, they, as well as the others, were laid out in such a manner, as to form several courts, in which their merchandize was exposed to sale. In the square of Tlatelulco, fairs were kept on certain days of the year, and though it was one of the largest squares in the world, it was on such occasions entirely filled with tents, covered with coarse cotton cloth, that afforded shelter both from the sun and rain. They here sold by barter, jewels, gold chains, various utensils made of silver, paintings, beautiful landships made by an arrangement of feathers, different sorts of cloth, drinking cups of a kind of porcelain, fruit, fish, and all kinds of provisions; either maize or cocoas served as money for things of small value. Here a house was appointed for the judges of commerce, who decided all the disputes that arose among the merchants, and even employed inferior officers to maintain justice and good order in the fair.

Their temples, as has been already observed, were spacious and magnificent, particularly that dedicated to Vitzliputzli, their god of war, their supreme deity. A wall of hewn stone, on which were cut wreaths of serpents, surrounded a large square, and though the houses of the priests and their servants were erected round the inside of this wall, there was left room sufficient for 10,000 persons to dance upon their solemn festivals. On each side of the wall was a gate, over which stood four statues of stone, representing some inferior deities, to whom the people paid reverence as they entered. At a small distance from the principal gate, was a place of worship flat on the top, the four sides of which were encompassed by trunks of trees with holes bored in them at equal distances, through which passed several bars run through the heads of men who had been sacrificed. In the centre of the square stood a lofty stone tower, with a stair-case that consisted of 120 steps, by which the people ascended to the top, where was a flat pavement forty feet square, beautifully paved with jasper, and surrounded with a balustrade of a serpentine form. At the top of the stairs stood two marble statues well executed, supporting two large candlesticks of an extraordinary make. A little farther was a green stone raised about three feet from the pavement, on which the priests extended the miserable victim, while they opened his breast, and plucked out his heart. Beyond this stone, stood a chapel of excellent workmanship, which fronted the stair-case, and here the idol was placed upon an high altar, surrounded with curtains. The idol was in the form of a man sitting in a chair, sustained by a blue globe, furnished with four rods, which projected from the sides, each terminating in a serpent's head. By

these rods, the idol was carried by the priests on their shoulders when it was exposed to the public view; on the head of the god was a helmet composed of plumes, in the form of a bird, with a bill and crest of burnished gold. The countenance of this deity was horrible, his forehead and nose being swathed with blue bands; in his right hand he held a curling serpent, and in the other four arrows, and a shield, with five white plumes placed in the form of a cross. On the left was another of the same size and form, for the idol Tlalock, the supposed brother of that already described, and equally revered by the Mexicans. The ornaments of these chapels were of inestimable value. The city of Mexico had eight temples built nearly in the same manner; but those of a smaller size, dedicated to different idols, amounted to 2000.

Montezuma had, besides the palace in which he kept his court, several magnificent pleasure-houses, one of which was a noble building supported by pillars of jasper. In this palace he had an aviary of those birds that are most remarkable on account of their singing or feathers, and these were so numerous, that 3000 men were said to be employed in attending them. At a small distance was another very large edifice, where Montezuma's fowlers resided and took care of his birds of prey, among which were some bred to the game, like our hawks; and in the same place were eagles of an extraordinary size, and extremely voracious. In the second square of this last building were kept the wild beasts, as lions, tigers, bears and Mexican bulls, which are remarkably fierce and strong, and over their dens was a large apartment, where buffoons and monsters were kept for the emperor's diversion.

In Montezuma's armories a great number of workmen were employed in making shafts for ar-

rows, grinding flints for the points, and in forming all kinds of offensive and defensive weapons. In another building the arms were deposited in great order; these consisted of two-handed swords edged with flint, darts, javelins, bows, arrows, and quivers, head-pieces, breast-plates, quilted jackets, and others made of impenetrable skins to cover the whole body, which they carried rolled up on their left shoulders, and put them on when they were ready to engage. All these several houses had spacious and well cultivated gardens, in which were a great variety of flowers and medicinal herbs set in squares. They were also adorned with fountains and beautiful summer-houses.

But the most singular of all Montezuma's edifices was his house of sorrow, to which he retired in case of public calamity, or at the death of a favourite relation. It was well calculated for promoting gloomy reflections, for the walls, roofs, and ornaments were black, and no other light was admitted, but what proceeded from some narrow openings in the walls, which were but just sufficient to discover the gloomy objects within.

Montezuma had also several pleasant country retreats, and large forests for the chase of wild beasts, in which he greatly delighted. In these sports a number of persons surrounded the game, and contracted the circle into a certain space, where he beheld the combats of his hunters with the wild beasts, in which the Mexicans were equally dextrous and daring.

When an emperor was elected, he was obliged to obtain some victory over his enemies, before he was permitted to ascend the throne; but having thus proved himself qualified for the task of reigning by his success, he returned in triumph, and having made his public entry with great state and solemnity, all the nobility, ministers, and priests,

attended him to the temple of the god of war, where he alighted from his chariot, and having offered the customary sacrifice, was clothed by the electors in royal robes, who also put into his right hand a golden sword as an ensign of justice, and in his left a bow and arrows, to signify his power and command in war. Then the Cacique of Tezeuco placed a kind of golden mitre on his head. This ceremony being performed, one of the most eloquent of the magistrates made a speech, in which he congratulated him on his new dignity; expatiated on the cares and troubles that attend a throne, and upon the duty of a sovereign. The chief priest then approaching, tendered him an oath, by which he bound himself to maintain the religion of his ancestors, and the laws and customs of the empire, to treat his vassals with lenity, and absurdly promised to procure seasonable rains, to prevent sterility, inundations, and the malignant influences of the sun and planets,

Montezuma had two sorts of guards, the one of 200 nobles, who were obliged to attend every day at the palace, to guard his person. This attendance was divided between two bodies that were upon duty by turns, comprehending the lords of the whole empire, who were obliged to come to court from the most distant provinces. This was a scheme which Montezuma himself had contrived for keeping the nobility in dependance, and rendering himself acquainted with their persons, capacities, and dispositions. His other guards were composed of soldiers, who filled the courts of the palace, and were posted in bodies at the principal gates.

Montezuma had two wives who bore the title of queens, and were the daughters of tributary princes; these were lodged in separate apartments, and lived in equal splendor. His concubines,

however, who were selected from the most beautiful women throughout his dominions, exceeded 3000, and these, when dismissed, were married by persons of the first quality; for they were generally rich, and thought to be highly honoured by their being admitted to the emperor's embraces.

Though he often eat in public, it was always alone. His table was generally furnished with above 200 dishes of different meats, some of which were well seasoned. Of these he chose a certain number for his own use, and the rest were divided among the nobles and his guard. He sat on a little stool at a large low table, the cloths and napkins of which were of fine cotton. His dining-room was divided in the middle by a rail, which kept both the crowd and his own domestics at a distance, without obstructing the view, and within the rails he was attended by three or four old favourite servants. The dishes were brought in by twenty women richly ornamented, who served up the meat, and presented him with the cup. The cloths and napkins, as well as all the dishes of fine earthen ware, on their being once used, were distributed among the servants. He sometimes drank out of cocoa, and other shells, richly set with jewels, and he also used gold cups and salvers. He drank several sorts of liquor, one of which was a kind of beer made of maize; he had other liquors richly perfumed, and others again mixed with the juice of salutiferous herbs. After his meals he took a kind of chocolate, and smoked tobacco perfumed with liquid amber. Indeed the juice of this herb was one of the ingredients with which the priests intoxicated themselves whenever they were obliged to deliver an oracular answer. There were generally at the table three or four buffoons, who diverted the emperor with their ludicrous talents; and at proper

intervals he was entertained with music, composed of pipes and instruments made of sea shells, accompanied by voices, which formed an agreeable concert. The subject of these songs was generally the memorable actions of their kings, and the exploits of their ancestors. They had also merry songs used in dancing, when the voice was accompanied with two little drums made of hollow pieces of wood, of different sizes and sounds; these were principally used in a dance called Mitates, practised at festivals, in which the nobles and common people used shouting and odd gesticulations, mingling together without distinction, and drank to each other until they grew intoxicated.

Upon other occasions the people assembled in the porches and squares of the temples, and made matches for wrestling, running races, and shooting at the mark. Here were also rope-dancers, who performed with surprising dexterity, without the assistance of poles, and also great numbers of people playing at ball, near the statue of an idol, brought out by the priests as the superintendants of that diversion. In short, the people of Mexico were almost daily diverted with such spectacles and amusements, as were contrived by Montezuma, to entertain them, and prevent their employing their thoughts to his prejudice.

The great revenue which enabled Montezuma to support the expences of his court, and to keep two large armies constantly in the field, arose from the contributions levied on the subject, which amounted to one third of the annual produce of that vast empire; from the salt-works and other taxes, established from time immemorial, and from the produce of the gold and silver mines. All the towns in the neighbourhood of Mexico provided men for the king's works and fuel for the palace. The nobility were obliged to guard the emperor's

person, to serve in his armies with a certain number of vassals, and to make him presents, which though he received as gifts, they durst not neglect. He had different treasurers for all the different kinds of contributions, and the tribunal of the crown revenue having issued out what was necessary for the expence of the palaces, and for war, converted the overplus into ingots of gold. Besides this tribunal, there was a council of justice, which received appeals from inferior courts; a council of state, and a council of war; judges of commerce, and other officers. As they had no written laws, but were governed by the customs and institutions of their ancestors, their trials were summary and verbal; murder, theft, adultery, and any slight disrespect towards the emperor, were punished with death; but all other crimes were easily pardoned.

New-born infants were taken with great solemnity to the temple, where the priests gave them some admonitions relating to the troubles to which they were born. When the child was the son of one of the nobles, they put a sword into his right hand, and upon his left arm a shield, kept in the temple for that purpose. If he was of plebeian extraction, they put mechanical instruments into his hands, but the females of both ranks were presented with the spindle and distaff. After this ceremony was performed, the infant was taken to the altar, and his privities pricked with a thorn, or cut with a lancet of flint, so as to draw a few drops of blood, which was no sooner done, than they were sprinkled with water. The children of the plebeians were instructed in public schools, and those of the nobility in well endowed colleges, where they passed through three successive classes; in the first of which they were taught to read the characters and hieroglyphics, and to repeat

the historical songs: In the second, they were instructed in the rules of civility, modesty, and a polite behaviour: And in the third they were inured to robust exercises, as wrestling, managing their arms; the hardships of suffering hunger and thirst, and the inclemencies of the weather. Having acquired these qualifications, the young noblemen who were designed for war were sent as volunteers to the army, in order to accustom them to dangers and hardships, where they were often placed among the baggage men, and their shoulders loaded with provisions, to mortify their vanity, and inure their bodies to fatigue. After which they were obliged to give some proofs of valour, before they could be enrolled as soldiers.

Their marriage ceremony was very simple, for the contract being settled, the parties appeared in the temple, when the priest having examined them with respect to their mutual passion, he tied a tip of the woman's veil to the corner of the bridegroom's garment, and accompanied them, joined in this manner, to their habitation, where they went seven times round the fire, and then sitting down to receive an equal share of the heat, the marriage was completed. The husband then requested the bride's portion; but was afterwards obliged to restore it in case of separation, which was often effected by mutual consent. In that case the boys remained with the father, and the girls went with the mother, and the marriage being thus dissolved, the parties were forbid to join again on pain of death.

The Mexicans believed the immortality of the soul, and that it was rewarded or punished in a future state, but buried gold and silver with the deceased to defray the expence of their journey, which they imagined to be long and troublesome. Some servants were even slain to bear them com-

pany, and the wives frequently killed themselves in order to accompany their husbands: And when the emperor died, all his household officers were obliged to follow him to the other world.

The Mexican year, as well as ours, consisted of 365 days, but was divided into eighteen months of twenty days each, and at the end of the year, five days, appropriated to pleasure and a cessation from business, were added to make it answer the course of the sun; they had also a kind of weeks of thirteen days, to which different names were given, and a much longer period, stiled ages, which consisted of four weeks of years. This large period was represented in a very singular manner. In the centre of a circle, divided into fifty-two degrees, allowing a year for each, they painted the sun, from whose rays proceeded four lines of different colours, which equally divided the circumference, leaving thirteen degrees to each quarter, and here the sun had his prosperous or adverse aspects, according to the colour of the line: In a larger circle, which inclosed the other, they marked with their characters the chief occurrences of the age, and these secular annals were considered as public instruments that served for proofs of historical facts.

CHAPTER IX.

Cortes receives a very alarming letter from Vera Cruz, in consequence of which he takes Montezuma his prisoner, and some time after loads him with fetters. The Spaniards build two ships upon the Lake. A conspiracy formed against them; but discovered by Montezuma, and the principal conductor punished. Montezuma declares Charles V. king of Spain, his successor; and offers to become tributary to that prince, to which he gains the consent of the States, and confirms it by great presents. After which he insists upon Cortes's leaving Mexico; who is informed of the arrival of a fleet sent against him by Velasquez.

THE Mexicans seemed to vie with each other, in expressing their regard for the Spaniards. They were daily entertained with some new diversion, at which Montezuma appeared in person, a condescension which inspired the people with a higher reverence and esteem for these strangers. He appeared particularly fond of Cortes, spending a great part of his time with him, and contracted an acquaintance with his captains, to whom he frequently made presents, in which he distinguished the merit of each with great discernment. Thus the Spaniards enjoyed an agreeable repose; but were at length alarmed by a letter from Vera Cruz, brought by two Tlascalan soldiers, who had disguised themselves so as to appear like Mexicans, and had entered the city unperceived.

This letter informed Cortes, that some of the Indians in alliance with the Spaniards complained to Juan de Escalante, that Quialpopoca, one of Montezuma's generals, had assembled a great body

of forces upon the frontiers of Zempoalla, where they levied contributions with very great cruelty. Upon which Escalante sent to desire the Mexican general to suspend hostilities until further orders should come from Mexico, where the Spaniards, the allies of those people, were entertained by Montezuma with great hospitality. But Quilpopoca sending a very insolent answer, Escalante was so provoked, that he marched against him at the head of forty Spaniards, and 2000 Indians, and coming to an engagement, he put the Mexicans to flight, and notwithstanding his being almost entirely abandoned by his Indian allies, pursued them to the next town, where he attacked them with such resolution, that he entirely routed and dislodged them. This victory, however, cost the Spaniards very dear, for Juan de Escalante was mortally wounded, six of the soldiers also receives several wounds, and Juan de Arguillo, a man of extraordinary stature, was carried off alive. In this letter, the council of Vera Cruz desired Cortes to appoint them a new governor, and to give them directions relating to their affairs.

Cortes being greatly concerned at the loss of Juan de Escalante, communicated the letter to his captains; desiring each of them would give his opinion freely at their next meeting, and the following morning sent for some of the most sensible Indians in his army, when having asked them, if they had lately perceived any change in the behaviour or discourse of the Mexicans? they informed him, that the nobles appeared pensive and mysterious; that they had heard some of the people talk of breaking down the causeway, and that there was a report that a Spaniard's head had been presented to Montezuma, who viewed it with astonishment on account of its largeness, and the fierce-

ness of its aspect, and immediately ordered it to be concealed.

From these circumstances, and particularly that of the head, which Cortes supposed belonged to Arguillo, he immediately concluded that the Mexicans were resolved on his destruction, and that Montezuma himself had concerted the ruin of the Spaniards; he therefore immediately assembled his council, composed of his captains and some favourite soldiers, and having told them the hints he had received from the Indians, asked their advice. Some proposed that they should retire privately in the night: others that they should obtain a passport from Montezuma, and then retire publicly, and march to the relief of Vera Cruz; but the greatest part were of opinion that they should continue at Mexico without seeming to know what had passed at Vera Cruz, until they found an opportunity of retreating with safety. However, none of these schemes were approved by Cortes, who represented, that the project of retreating by stealth, was equally dangerous and disgraceful, since it would lower them in the esteem of their allies, who might desert them as dastardly fugitives, and perhaps recommend themselves to Montezuma's favour, by joining his forces in order to cut off their retreat. He observed that nothing could sink them lower in the opinion of the Mexicans than their demanding a passport, to retire from a city, which they had entered in spite of all opposition; and that if the emperor really sought their destruction, he would grant them a safe conduct with a view of depriving them of all apprehensions, and attacking them when it was least expected; and as to their staying at Mexico, he thought that would be highly imprudent without taking some resolute

step for their safety. He therefore proposed their seizing Montezuma, conveying him to their own quarters, and detaining him there as an hostage for the sincerity of his people. Such a bold action, he alleged, would fill the Mexicans with consternation, and so raise the character of the Spaniards that they would never dream of combining against them for the future, especially when they were sensible he had discovered the transactions at Vera Cruz, which they would imagine had been communicated by some supernatural intelligence.— This daring proposal he supported with all his eloquence, and with such success, that it was unanimously applauded.

Cortes having chosen the hour, when the Spaniards were accustomed to wait upon Montezuma, for the execution of this bold project, ordered his people to arm themselves in their quarters, privately to saddle their horses, and to wait without noise for farther instructions. He then occupied all the avenues to the palace with small scattered detachments, and directing thirty choice men to follow him at a distance, went thither attended by four of his captains, who, as they usually carried their arms with them, their doing so now occasioned no suspicions. Montezuma, according to custom, came out of his apartment to receive the visit, and his servants retired, as usual, to another part of the palace, when Cortes, with an air of resentment, complained of the Mexican general, for attacking his confederates in violation of a peace under which they thought themselves secure; for murdering a Spaniard in cold blood, and endeavouring to vindicate his perfidious conduct, by declaring that he acted in obedience to his majesty's commands.

On hearing this charge, Montezuma changed colour, but denied it with marks of confusion;

when Cortes, pretending to believe him innocent, replied, that after such a declaration made by his general, neither the Spaniards nor his own subjects would be undeceived, unless he took some extraordinary step to efface the impression made by such a calumny. That he was therefore come to beg, that he would, without any disturbance, repair with him to the Spanish quarters, where he should be treated with all the reverence and respect due to his majesty, until his character should be vindicated to the satisfaction of all mankind. Montezuma, amazed, and incensed at the boldness of this request, replied, that princes of his rank were not accustomed to go tamely to prison, nor would his subjects permit his so far forgetting his duty, as to stoop to so base a compliance. Notwithstanding Cortes made use of other arguments, he still refused to leave the palace, but being sensible of his danger, offered to send immediately for Qualpopoca, and to deliver him, and all his officers, into Cortes's hands, and in the mean time, to give him two of his own sons as hostages for the performance of his promise. Cortes, however, was not satisfied with these expedients, and his captains apprehending that the delay might be dangerous, began to grow clamorous; and, among others, Juan Velasquez de Leon called aloud, since he will not hear reason, let us seize him by force, or kill him on the spot. The emperor, hearing this uttered in angry tone, desired to know what he said, when Marina, to whom he addressed himself, earnestly exhorted him, as his own vassal and subject, to comply without hesitation, in order to preserve his life; which had such an effect, that he immediately rose from his seat, and said to Cortes, "I trust myself into your hands, let us go to your quarters, for so the gods have decreed." He then

ordered his servants to get ready his equipage, told his minister that he had resolved to pass some days at the Spanish quarters, and ordered the captain of his guard to march with a body of troops, and take Quilpopoca and his officers prisoners, that they might suffer for having invaded Zempoalla.

Montezuma having given these directions which Marina explained to Cortes and his officers, he left the palace with his usual attendants; the Spaniards, on pretence of respect, marching close by his chariot, which, as usual, was carried on the shoulders of his nobles. However, a report was instantly spread, that the strangers had seized the emperor's person; when the streets were suddenly filled with crowds of people, who rent the air with their cries, threw themselves on the ground, shedding floods of tears for their unhappy prince, and a general insurrection would have certainly followed, had not Montezuma, with a very serene countenance, commanded silence, and assured the populace, that he was going of his own accord to spend a few days with his friends the Spaniards. On his reaching their quarters, he ordered his guards to disperse the populace, and his ministers to make it known, that the least tumult or disturbance, should be punished with death. He then behaved in a very courteous manner to the Spanish soldiers who came out to receive him, and having chosen an apartment, at some distance from those in possession of the Spaniards, it was instantly furnished for his reception.

Cortes immediately doubled the guards, posted centinels at all the avenues, and, under the pretence of keeping his majesty from being crowded, restrained the ministers and courtiers that waited upon Montezuma to a certain number. Meanwhile he preserved all the formalities of decorum,

and treated the emperor with his usual respect, while that prince appeared cheerful and in good humour, and seemed perfectly pleased with his situation. He still exercised all the functions of royalty, held councils, granted audiences, and, with the same freedom as usual, regulated both the civil and military government of his kingdom. His table was supplied from the palace in a most plentiful manner, in order that the Spaniards might feast on the superfluity: and he constantly sent some delicacies to Cortes and his captains, each of whom he could call by their names. While he occasionally conversed with them, he studied their tempers, and, without descending beneath the dignity of his character, seasoned his discourse with pleasantries. All the time in which he was not employed in business, he passed among them, and sometimes he played with Cortes at Tololoque, a game which consisted of tipping down small pins of gold with little balls of the same metal; and as they played for jewels and trinkets, the emperor distributed his winnings among the Spaniards, and Cortes shared his good fortune among Montezuma's inferior officers.

While things were in this situation the captain of the guard returned with Qualpopoca, his son, and fifteen of the nobles, who had been concerned in the killing the Spaniard; they had surrendered themselves at the sight of the royal signal, and now arrived about twenty days after the beginning of Montezuma's confinement. Many great men went out to meet them, and their general was brought in upon men's shoulders, when Qualpopoca appearing before the emperor, the latter upbraided him for having killed the Spaniard, and delivered him and the other officers into the hands of Cortes, to whom they confessed themselves guilty of having violated the peace of their own

accord, and of their having ordered Arguillo to be put to death: till finding that the Spanish general resolved to take away their lives, they laid the whole blame upon the emperor, whose orders they obeyed. Cortes, however, treated this as a malicious aspersion, brought them to a formal trial, in which the Spaniards were both the judges and accusers, and cruelly sentenced them to be burned alive.

To deter Montezuma from endeavouring to prevent the execution of this sentence, the general resolved on taking another surprizing step. He went into that prince's presence, accompanied by Marina, and three or four captains, with a common soldier carrying fetters, and having saluted the emperor with his usual respect, assumed a peremptory look, and in a loud voice told him, that Qualpopoca and his officers had acknowledged the crimes for which they were condemned to death; but as they pretended they had done nothing without his orders, it was necessary that he should suffer some personal mortification. He then, with an air of authority, commanded the soldier to shackle Montezuma, and then leaving him, gave orders to the guards to prevent his having any communication with his ministers.

Montezuma's astonishment at being treated in this ignominious manner, was so great, that he had neither power to resist, nor speech to complain; while his servants, without uttering a word, threw themselves at his feet, and, with signs of the deepest affliction, supported the weight of his fetters, to prevent their hurting his legs.—However, when he first recovered from his surprize and amazement, he flew into a transport of rage; but soon recovering himself, collected his fortitude, and believing his life in danger, waited his fate with dignity and resignation.



Cortes orders Montezuma to be put in Iron's



In the mean time Cortes ordered the Mexican general, with his son and the rest of the officers, to be conducted under a strong guard of Spaniards to a large square, where in the presence of an innumerable concourse of people, their hands and feet were bound, after which they were placed on a large pile of broken bows and arrows, and fire being set to it, they were soon burned, to the amazement of all the spectators, who, without making the least disturbance, were struck with awe and admiration. Cortes then returned to Montezuma's apartment, and telling him with a smile, that the traitors who had presumed to blemish his majesty's character, had now received their just punishment, he stooped down, and with his own hands took off the fetters. The emperor received his liberty with a tumultuous joy, embraced Cortes several times, and sitting both of them down together, entered into an amicable conversation, during which the Spanish general let him know, that as the cause of his detention was now removed, he might return to his palace whenever he pleased. This was however no more than a political offer, which he knew he would not embrace: for Marina had been ordered to infuse into him a firm belief, that if he quitted the Spanish quarters before Cortes's departure, he would suffer greatly in his reputation, as soon as it should be known that he received his freedom from the hand of another. He therefore declined the offer, and made a merit of his stay, by saying, that on his return to his palace, his nobility and ministers would press him to take up arms, in order to obtain satisfaction for the injury he had undergone, and therefore, out of regard to the Spaniards he would remain where he was.

From this time the emperor seemed perfectly satisfied with his situation, and at length had such

confidence in Cortes, that he represented to him the expediency of allowing him to visit some of his temples, that his subjects might no longer look upon him as a prisoner, which Cortes readily granted, upon condition that human sacrifices should be abolished. His first excursion was to the principal temple, which he entered with his usual pomp and attendance, and his appearance was celebrated with the joyful acclamations of the people, among whom he distributed his bounty with uncommon liberality. From this time he went abroad as often as he pleased, sometimes to the palace of his wives, and at others to his pleasure-houses, where he enjoyed his former amusement, but never without mentioning it to Cortes, who generally attended him in his parties of diversion, and seemed so highly to engross his favour, that the nobles, who had any petition to offer to the emperor, constantly solicited the general's interest, which always proved successful. But notwithstanding this seeming tranquility, the broken expressions overheard by the Tlascalans, about breaking the causeways and removing the bridges, had made such a deep impression upon Cortes's mind, that he resolved to make himself master of the lake, by building two brigantines upon it.

Filled with this idea, he raised Montezuma's curiosity, by describing the manner of sailing with the wind, which was entirely unknown to the Mexicans, and obtained his permission to build two vessels for his majesty's amusement, and the instruction of his subjects. He then ordered the nails, cordage, canvas, and other tackle, belonging to the Spanish ships that had been sunk, to be brought from Vera Cruz, and some builders, who had enlisted as soldiers, were immediately set at work, with many of the Mexican carpenters, who followed their directions, so that in a short time

the brigantines were completed, and Montezuma resolved to embark with the Spaniards, in order to have a nearer view of this strange kind of navigation. Great preparations were made for this uncommon spectacle; a prodigious number of canoes, belonging to the emperor and others, were finely decorated, and manned with the most expert rowers. The Mexicans firmly believed that their boats would exceed the brigantines in swiftness: However a breeze no sooner sprung up, than these vessels unfurled their sails, and soon left the canoes at a great distance, to the great amazement of the Indians, who could form no idea of the European manner of steering and working such floating-houses, and they expressly declared, that by means of these wonderful machines, they believed the Spaniards could perfectly command the elements of wind and water. The astonishment of Montezuma, was mingled with joy, and he beheld the victory with the highest delight, though it was obtained over his own subjects.

The emperor now became daily more attached to Cortes, while the latter laid hold of this opportunity to desire his assistance in accomplishing various things he had in view; the first of which was the knowledge of the gold mines, their situation, how they were wrought, and what quantity of that precious metal was brought from them. Montezuma gave him very clear and distinct answers to all those enquiries, and, for his further satisfaction, allowed such of his people as he could trust, to go to the mines both within and without his dominions. Cortes being also desirous of having a map of the coast of the Mexican empire, in order to be the better able to fix upon some port, to which supplies might be sent him, the emperor ordered his painters to draw an exact representa-

tion of all his territories, with all the bays, harbours, and creeks upon the coast.

Some Spanish historians say, that at this time when such real harmony ought to have prevailed between the Spaniards and the Indians, Cortes's soldiers resolved to demolish all the idols of Mexico, and to convert the principal temple into a church; that the priests took up arms, and the whole city rose in defence of their gods; but after a long contest maintained without bloodshed, the Mexicans agreed, that a part of the temple should be converted into a christian chapel, and this even the idolatrous priests themselves took great pains to clear and adorn; after which an altar was erected, with the cross of Christ, and the image of the Virgin Mary; but that at length the Mexicans wanting rain, came in a tumultuous manner to Cortes and complained that their gods had refused to refresh the earth, on account of their having introduced strange deities into their temples, when, to appease this disorder, he promised, that they should have a plentiful shower, which, it is pretended, actually fell in a few hours, to the great admiration of Montezuma and his subjects. But it is very improbable that Cortes should suffer his soldiers to engage in so rash an enterprize, that could not fail of exasperating the minds of the Indians, and indeed the whole story appears to be only a fiction, designed to raise the character of Cortes, by having a miracle wrought in his favour.

While the Spanish general continued to enjoy Montezuma's favour, a plot was formed, which neither the emperor nor Cortes could foresee. Cacamazin, the emperor's own nephew, who was Cacique of Tezeuco, being a young man of great vivacity, art, and ambition, under the pretence of delivering Montezuma, entertained designs of as-

ending the throne of Mexico, either by occasioning an immediate revolution, or by obtaining it by the favour of the people at the next election. In order to which he privately represented to the nobles and people, the disgrace of being under subjection to a handful of strangers, who dared to confine his uncle Montezuma; the audacious behaviour of Cortes, who had acted as a supreme magistrate in the midst of Mexico, and had even by a most ignominious execution put an Indian general to death; that it was high time to stand up for their religion, their liberty, their honour, and their king, before the strangers had succours from their own country, from Tlascala, and other parts; and therefore proposed that they should take arms, and suddenly attack the Spaniards in their quarters. But the Cacique of Matalcingo, who was likewise Montezuma's nephew, and easily penetrated into Cacumazin's designs, which interfered with his own pretension, opposed the execution of this scheme, insisting that some steps should first be taken to secure the emperor's person, which would be in the greatest danger from such an attack, and finding his expedient rejected by the assembly, as impracticable, resolved to inform Montezuma of the conspiracy, though he seemed to act in concert with the council, who actually appointed the day in which the enterprize was to be executed. Montezuma was no sooner informed of this plot, than he went to communicate the particulars to Cortes, who by means of his spies was already informed of the whole. He however returned thanks to the emperor for his information, and begged to be allowed to march out with the Spaniards to chastise Cacumazin. Montezuma urged several good arguments against this proposal, desired the general to leave the punishment of the offender to his care, and soon took such measures, that his

nephew was seized and brought prisoner to Mexico, where he was closely confined. At this very time Cacumazin had a brother in Mexico, who was a youth of great courage, whom Montezuma had taken into his protection; but a few days before he had narrowly escaped a snare which Cacumazin, in consequence of some domestic jealousies, had laid for his life. Upon this occasion Cortes dissuaded the emperor from putting a prince of the blood to death by a public execution; but advised him to deprive Cacumazin of his rank and dominions, and to bestow them on his brother, who deserved that mark of indulgence. Montezuma was greatly pleased with this advice, which he instantly communicated to his council, who applauded it as equally just and merciful; and this manner of chastizing without bloodshed, being admired by the whole empire, had such an effect on the rest of the conspirators, that they disbanded their troops, and had recourse to the clemency of the emperor, whose pardon they obtained through the intercession of Cortes.

But though Montezuma appeared so well satisfied with Cortes, he was far from being pleased at the Spaniards staying so long in his capital, and several mortifying reflections rankled at his heart, and disturbed his repose; for he could not compare his former situation with what he had suffered from the Spaniards, and his present dependent state, without having very humbling thoughts. He here, however, proved himself so great a politician, that he entirely concealed the disposition of his mind, and when he actually proposed to Cortes the scheme he had formed to get rid of him, he was so far from conceiving it in that light, that he thought it the highest act of favour he had ever conferred upon him. He took a proper opportunity to inform him, that he was now prepared to make a vo-

luntary acknowledgment of the vassalage he owed to the king of Spain, as the successor of Quezalcoal; that he would convoke a general assembly of his nobles for that purpose, and, as a mark of that vassalage, would present the most valuable jewels of his treasury to the Spanish monarch, and did not doubt but all his Caciques would follow his example. Cortes returned him thanks for his liberality, without appearing surprized at his proposal, and inwardly rejoiced at the prospect of being able to give his sovereign such an important earnest of the wealth he might one day reap from this acquisition.

Montezuma, agreeably to his promise, dispatched couriers to convene all the Caciques of his empire, according to a custom practised on important occasions. They came with equal splendor and expedition, and the council was assembled in the king's apartment, in the presence of Cortes and his captains. The emperor began with a studied speech, in which he reminded them of the obligations they were under to him as their sovereign and benefactor, and having assured them, that he had both consulted and obtained the approbation of the gods, with respect to the cause of their meeting, repeated the story and prophecy of Quezalcoal, declared that the king of Spain was the descendant of that mighty prince, and consequently the lawful sovereign of the Mexican empire, to whom both he and they were bound to pay obedience, as a mark of which he had selected for an offering to the king of Spain the most precious jewels of his treasury, and he did not doubt but they would follow his example.

Montezuma was unable to pronounce this speech without interruption; he sighed from time to time, and on his owning himself the vassal of another prince, the tears trickled down his cheeks,

and he was unable to proceed. Cortes then rising, declared that it was not his sovereign's intention to dispossess Montezuma, or to occasion the least innovation in his government, and that he only required them to settle his right to the succession in favour of his descendants, at which Montezuma resuming fresh courage, finished his speech. The whole assembly were amazed, and struck dumb at a proposal that appeared so inconsistent with the dignity and known character of the emperor, and considering it as extorted by compulsion, they groaned bitterly; gave the strongest marks of anxiety and perturbation of mind, and with an emphatic silence looked at each other. At length the prime minister, who was well acquainted with his prince's disposition, took upon himself to answer, in the name of the whole assembly, and assured Montezuma, that as all the nobles esteemed him their natural lord and sovereign, they would cheerfully obey whatever he thought proper to propose, and follow his majesty's example to the utmost of their power. The whole assembly expressed their assent to this declaration, when Cortes, by means of his interpreter made an artful speech, in which he returned thanks to Montezuma and all present, for this proof of their respect, which he accepted in the name of his king. It is probable that Montezuma's sole intention in this transaction, was to forward the departure of his guests, without the least design of fulfilling the terms of this submission for the future. However, from that day, Charles V. was acknowledged, and believed by the people to be lawful sovereign of the Mexican empire, and their homage, according to the custom of the country, was authenticated by a public instrument.

The Emperor, having concluded this affair to his own satisfaction, resolved immediately to re-

cover that liberty and independence for which he had so long fought in secret, and speedily delivered to Cortes the present he had provided, consisting of curiosities in gold, in the shape of birds, fishes, and four-footed beasts, and many precious stones, particularly a number of a sort esteemed by the Mexicans above all others, which in colour resembled emeralds, and many beautiful pictures, formed of variegated feathers. In short, the whole seemed the ransom of a great prince, who thought he could not purchase his liberty at too high a price; and the liberality of the nobles was such as might be expected from wealthy chiefs, who vied with each other in loyalty and ostentation. Cortes chose a receiver and treasurer, who were directed to take an exact account of what was received, and in a few days, exclusive of jewels and pieces of curious workmanship, they had amassed as much gold as when melted down, amounted to 600,000 pesos in bars, out of which treasure, one fifth part was set aside for the king, and a fifth of the remainder for Cortes, and to defray the expence of providing necessaries for the army; another part was allotted to reimburse Velasquez, and Cortes's friends in the island of Cuba; and the remainder was divided among the officers and soldiers, including those that were at Vera Cruz. All who were in the same posts had equal shares, but among the private men those were best rewarded who had most distinguished themselves. This, however, produced loud complaints, which were soon silenced by Cortes's satisfying the malcontents out of his own share.

Montezuma having thus acknowledged his subjection to Spain, sent for Cortes, and with an air of greater dignity than usual, told him, that as his business was now dispatched, he ought to think of departing, since his staying longer, would be

attributed to sinister motives, nor could he longer afford him support, when he had not reason on his side. This intimation, and the manner in which it was delivered, were so unexpected, that Cortes was some time before he could recollect himself, so as to make a proper reply. He now perceived the design of convoking the assembly, and suspected that Montezuma had privately assembled some forces to back this proposal, and therefore sent one of the Spaniards who was with him to order his soldiers to take to their arms, and in the mean time, excused his embarrassment at seeing his majesty more moved than usual, assuring him that he was far from designing to delay his departure, that he came on purpose to desire his permission to build some vessels to carry the Spaniards to their own country, as his majesty well knew they had lost their ships, in which they had failed to that coast.

It is said that the emperor had provided 50,000 men to support his determination ; but it is certain that he was very desirous of avoiding a rupture with Cortes, and was even under some apprehensions with respect to the answer he might receive ; but he no sooner heard this artful reply, than he embraced him with singular marks of affection, and having now lost his fears, told him with great complacency, that he did not intend to hasten his departure before he was provided for the voyage, and that he should be speedily furnished with every thing he wanted. He accordingly gave orders for assembling all the carpenters in the country to cut wood, and to work under the direction of the Spaniards. Cortes seemed in equal haste to be gone, and dispatched all his builders to Vera Cruz, in order to collect the remainder of the iron work, rigging, and sails of the vessels which had been sunk, but at the same

time sent private directions to Martin Lopez, his master-builder, to proceed slowly, and prolong the work as much as possible, without incurring the suspicion of the Mexicans; his real design being to preserve his footing at Mexico, till the return of his commissaries from Spain; for he expected that they would bring with them both a supply of troops, and directions for his future conduct.

He thus for the present quieted the minds of Montezuma and his subjects; but a very few days produced an extraordinary alteration in his affairs. The emperor received intelligence that eighteen ships had appeared upon the coast of Pilleca, and by the paintings for his majesty's information, these ships seemed to be manned with Spaniards, a circumstance which naturally alarmed the whole empire, and revived the suspicions that had been entertained of Cortes, to whom Montezuma immediately communicated this intelligence, letting him know, at the same time, that it must now be unnecessary for him to proceed in building ships, since he might embark in those sent from his own country.

Cortes examined the paintings, and was convinced of their being Spanish vessels: but supposing that they were sent to him from Spain with a supply of troops and ammunition, answered with great composure, that he would immediately embark if they were going to return to any of the king of Spain's dominions, but that it would be imprudent to desist from building, till he should be informed of the particulars by a messenger from Zempoalla, whom he every moment expected. But a few days after this conversation, he received a letter from Gonzalo de Sandoval, by which he was informed, that this fleet contained

800 men, and was sent by Diego Velasquez to oppose him and his designs in Mexico. Cortes received this mortifying account, while he was in conversation with Montezuma, and was obliged to make use of all his prudence and resolution to conceal the emotions he felt upon this occasion, from the observation of that prince. He however succeeded in his endeavours, and retired in order to deliberate upon this unexpected event. But here it is necessary to mention the reception Cortes's commissaries found at the court of Spain, and the causes that induced Velasquez to fit out such a fleet against him, which will be the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER X.

The proceedings of the commissaries sent by Cortes to the court of Spain, and the rise of the second expedition formed by Diego Velasquez for the destruction of Cortes. The monks of St. Geronimo endeavour in vain to make Velasquez abandon his project. The fleet sails under the command of Pamphilio de Narvaez, arrives at Vera Cruz, but is opposed by the governor. Cortes endeavours to come to terms of accommodation with the other army, but without success, and sets out on his march against Narvaez.

IT has already been observed, that Cortes and the council of Vera Cruz, sent Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero and Francisco de Montejo, with letters to the king of Spain, together with the first tribute sent from New Spain. These gentlemen, contrary to the orders they had received, touched at the island of Cuba, in order

that Francisco de Montejo might have the pleasure of visiting his family and relations who resided near the Havannah, and at so great a distance from Velasquez, that they flattered themselves they ran no risk, either from his vigilance or resentment. This step, however, brought them into great danger ; for Diego Velasquez supposing that Cortes would send some of his ships to St. Domingo, to solicit succours of the religious governors, had placed spies upon the coast, who informing him of what had happened at Montejo's house, he immediately dispatched two light vessels well-manned, with orders to take the ship, and every person on board ; and Montejo, in consequence of the first notice he had received of this advice, had no sooner embarked, than he was obliged to sail through the gulph of Florida, which was hitherto unattempted, as the only means of escape.

This ship, however, had a very prosperous voyage ; but arrived at Seville at a very unfortunate conjuncture : for the chaplain Benito Martin, who had been sent by Velasquez to solicit the commission of king's lieutenant, had obtained his suit ; sent the commission to Cuba, and was then waiting at Seville for a ship, in order to return thither himself. This man represented Cortes as a pirate, who had clandestinely sailed with several vessels which belonged to Velasquez, and in consequence of his complaint, the directors of trade, ordered the ship and cargo to be seized ; but as a great favour, permitted the two captains, with the pilot sent by Cortes, to apply to the king for redress. They accordingly set out for Barcelona, but there found that his majesty was at Corunna, where he was preparing to pass over into Flanders, in order to accept of the Imperial crown. They therefore set out for that city, and in their

way visited Martin Cortes, who with equal pleasure and surprize, heard of the glory and success of his son, whose death he had long deplored, and persuaded him to accompany them to the emperor, in hopes that his character and grey hairs would give a sanction to their solicitations. They had the good fortune to overtake the court at Tordefillas, just as Cortes's presents arrived with the Indians of the New Conquest from Seville; for these being upon the emperor's own account, they durst not detain them. His majesty gave them a very gracious reception, and was extremely surprized at their account of this new discovered empire, and in several conferences with them, enquired minutely into every particular relating to the conquest. While the Indians and the presents that were before him, gave as it were sanction to all the wonderful things they related. But as he was then on his departure to Germany, he referred Cortes's letters and solicitations to Cardinal Adrian and the council, to which he had committed the management of affairs during his absence, desiring that they would find out some method of doing justice to Velasquez's pretensions, and at the same time to encourage Cortes. But the president of this council being Velasquez's friend, represented Cortes as a rebel, upon whom they could have no dependance. Though they did not think proper to give him an immediate cause of discontent, they resolved not to send him any part of the supplies he had earnestly requested; and all that the deputies could obtain was a small share of what they had brought for their own subsistence; after which they for two whole years attended the court without the least success.

In the mean time Diego Velasquez received his commission of king's lieutenant, not only of Cuba, but of all the countries that should be discovered

and conquered by his means, which, together with his being assured of the protection of the bishop of Burgos, president of the Indies, enabled him to gratify his ambition and resentment; whence he resolved to punish Cortes as a rebel and deserter, and to appropriate to himself the honour of conquering the Mexican empire. With these views he expended the greatest part of his fortune in equipping a squadron, which consisted of 800 Spanish infantry, 80 horse, 12 pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of provisions, arms and ammunition. The command of this squadron he bestowed upon Pamphilio de Narvaez, a man of distinction and capacity; but vain, haughty, and opinionated; and to this person he gave the title of his lieutenant, with private instructions to apprehend Cortes, and send him over to Cuba in irons, together with his principal officers, in case they refused to abandon his interests. After which he was to take possession, in the name of Velasquez, of all the countries that had been conquered, as being within his jurisdiction.

While these preparations were making, the monks of St. Geronimo, who presided over the royal audience of Domingo, and whose jurisdiction extended over the other islands, were informed of his designs, and foreseeing the ill consequences that might attend them, sent Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon to persuade Diego to desist from his enterprize, and in case his arguments failed, to command him, under great penalties, to desist from undertaking what might impede Cortes's measures.

This minister arriving in the island of Cuba when the fleet was just ready to sail, used all his elocution and influence to divert Velasquez from his purpose, and among other arguments, represented the mischief that might be done to the interest of Spain, should the Indians be witness of a

civil war among their conquerors, and exhorted him to leave his complaint to the examination of the royal chamber, which would not fail of doing him justice ; but Velasquez being deaf to all his remonstrances, and elevated by the title he had acquired to the greatest degree of pride and insolence, De Ayllon caused his orders and protest to be notified by a scrivener, and then dissembling his resentment, desired to be allowed to gratify his curiosity by accompanying the expedition. This request was immediately granted, and De Ayllon embarked, in hopes of being able to act as mediator between Narvaez and Cortes, and thus prevent the ill consequences that might arise from Velasquez's resentment. With the same view Andres de Duro, the secretary of Velasquez, who had befriended Cortes in the beginning of his fortune, engaged in the expedition, and the squadron sailing with a favourable wind, soon came to an anchor in the port of Ulua.

Narvaez on his arrival on the coast of Mexico, sent some soldiers on shore for intelligence, who soon returned with two or three Spaniards whom they found straggling about, and from these he received an account of every thing that had happened at Vera Cruz and Mexico. Narvaez, upon receiving this intelligence resolved to endeavour to obtain the fortrefs of Vera Cruz by treaty, and therefore sent a clergyman, named Juan Ruis de Guevara, with three soldiers and a public notary to Gonzalo de Sandoval, in order to persuade him to give up Vera Cruz, and to join the army with his garrison.

Gonzalo being informed by his centinels of their coming, was prepared for their reception ; but could scarcely contain himself within the bounds of moderation when Guevara delivered his message, and let him know that Narvaez was come

to send Cortes in chains to Cuba; he therefore answered with great warmth that he could not believe that Narvaez, whom he took to be a good subject, would attempt to interrupt Cortes in a conquest that would be of such advantage to Spain; but would rather join him with all his forces, in order to bring such a noble scheme to perfection. However if he was really resolved to offer violence to Cortes, he might be assured that the garrison of Vera Cruz would make all the opposition in their power. The priest being very passionate, was so provoked at this unexpected repulse, that he threatened Cortes, and all his adherents, whom he upbraided as felons and traitors, and then ordered the notary to do his office in publishing that all the Spaniards in Vera Cruz should obey Narvaez on pain of death.

Sandoval attempted to persuade this indiscreet ecclesiastic, that such violence was equally unjust and indecent in a person of his profession; but finding that all his arguments were vain, he at length assumed a peremptory air, and told the notary, that should he presume to publish any orders that did not come from the king, he would give directions for his being hanged immediately. He even caused the priest and his attendants to be apprehended, and sent to inform Cortes of the steps he had taken. He then summoned his Indian allies to assist him, in case he should be attacked; put his fortrefs in the best order possible, and, like an able and vigilant commander, made all the necessary dispositions for sustaining a siege.

Cortes was under the greatest anxiety on his being informed of these transactions, he being very sensible of the dangerous situation he was in, with respect to the Mexicans and to Narvaez, who were equally his enemies; and yet in the presence of Montezuma he wore an air of tranquillity, tell-

ing him that those who had newly arrived, were come with a second embassy to support the propositions he had already made, and, according to the custom of his country, had brought an army along with them; but that he would prevail upon them to return, and as his majesty's generosity had left nothing for him or them to desire, he would go along with them.

Cortes's uneasiness was however very far from rendering him inactive, he resolved, if possible, to bring about a reconciliation with Narvaez; but lest that should not succeed, prepared with the greatest diligence for war. He gave private instructions to three or four of his soldiers who were permitted to visit the mines of Chinantla, to persuade the Caciques of that country, to levy 2000 soldiers for his service, for they were a warlike people, and had already privately offered him their friendship. He at the same time purchased of them 300 lances, made of a very tough wood, armed with points of tempered copper, and distributed them among his soldiers, bayonets being not then invented, to preserve them from Narvaez's horse, which gave him great apprehensions.

While Cortes was taking these prudent steps, Pedro de Solis arrived from Vera Cruz with the prisoners sent by Gonzalo de Sandoval, who had been carried in chairs on the shoulders of the Indians. When Cortes, being informed of their coming, went out to receive them with a greater number of attendants than ordinary. He instantly caused their fetters to be taken off, embraced them with great appearance of cordiality, and was particularly civil to father Guevara, telling him, that he would chastise Gonzalo de Sandoval, for his shewing so little regard to his person and character. He then conducted him to his own apartment, complimented him with a place at his table, and

more than once intimated that he felt the greatest satisfaction at the arrival of Narvaez, with whom he had formerly lived in the most intimate friendship. He took him to Montezuma, and made him a witness of the favours he received from that great emperor, and of the profound respect with which he was treated by the Mexican princes, and greatly allayed the violence of his temper, by making him a present of some valuable jewels. His companions also had a share in his bounty, and then without dropping the least hint of his being desirous of their employing their good offices with Narvaez towards an accommodation, he in four days after their arrival suffered them to return, when warmly engaged in his interest.

Cortes, after having dismissed them in this courteous manner, allowed some time for his wife and politic behaviour to produce the desired effect, and then sent friar Bartholomew de Olmedo with letters for Narvaez, de Ayllon, and the secretary Andres de Duero, and at the same time furnished him with a stock of jewels, with orders to distribute them according to his own sagacity and penetration. In his letter to Narvaez he welcomed him to the Mexican coast, gave him an account of the conquest; describing the warlike genius of the Indians with the power and grandeur of Montezuma; expatiated on the ill consequences that would infallibly attend a misunderstanding among the Spaniards; reminded him of his duty to the king; and the friendship which had formerly subsisted between them; desired to know his orders, which if they were from his majesty, he promised to obey, even though he was commanded to desist from the enterprise in which he had so far succeeded, and intimated the mischief that would be produced with respect to the king's interest, if he only intended to prosecute the unjust resentment

of Velafquez, whom he not only refolved to indemnify for the expence in equipping the fhips with which he had arrived, but alfo to give a fhare in the glory and advantage of his fuccefs, and concluded with telling Narvaez, that he did not ufe arguments for want of ftrength, and that he knew how to maintain his own rights.

Narvaez had fixed his quarters at Zempoalla, where he was received with great hofpitality by the fat Cacique, who at firft imagined that he was come in order to affift his friend Cortes; but he was foon undeceived; for though Narvaez had no interpreters, his actions fpoke but too plainly. He treated the Zempoallans in the moft oppreffive and imperious manner, feized the furniture and jewels which Cortes had left in his own houfe, and his foldiers were fuffered to commit every act of rapine and violence.

Guevara, on his return from Mexico, waited upon him, expatiated on the magnificence of that city, the kind reception he had met with from Cortes, the aftonifhing degree of favour he was in with Montezuma, and his great defire to live in friendship with Narvaez, when that imperious officer interrupting him, bid him return to Cortes, by whofe artifices he had been cajoled, and then, with the moft fhocking marks of rudenefs and difrefpect, thruft him from his prefence. But though the prieft was repulfed by Narvaez, he and his companions made a great impreffion on the minds of the foldiers, to whom they extolled Cortes in fuch a manner, as not only made them defire an accommodation with that general; but infpired them with a diflike to their own commander.

Olmedo foon followed Guevara, and delivered Cortes's letter to Narvaez; but could fcarce prevail upon him to perufe the contents, which he however fuperficially skimmed over, out of com-

pliment to the function of the bearer. It was in vain that the friar made a very eloquent and pathetic speech, on the necessity of their acting in concert, in order to promote the advantage of Spain, and the fatal effects that would attend their animosity; Narvaez replied with indecent heat, that the principal design of his coming was to chastise Cortes as a rebellious subject; that he would instantly set a price upon his head, and proclaim all his adherents traitors, and that he had force sufficient to wrest the conquest from his hands, without having the least occasion to consult the accomplices and abettors of his rebellion. The friar, however, still preserved his temper, and let him know, that before he arrived at Mexico, he would be obliged to fight his way through intire provinces of warlike Indians, who were the friends and confederates of Cortes. That his Spaniards were resolved to die by his side, and that his cause would be supported by Montezuma, a prince who had such power, that for every single soldier Narvaez had under his command, he was able to raise a numerous army.

Olmedo having taken his leave, visited de Ayllon, and the secretary Andres de Duero, who promised to exert all their power and influence in producing an accommodation. He then mingled with the captains and soldiers of his acquaintance, explained the nature of his embassy, represented the necessity of reconciling the two commanders, distributed the jewels and other curiosities he brought with him with great judgment, and in short would soon have formed a strong party in favour of Cortes, had not Narvaez, who had been informed of his proceedings, ordered him to be brought before him, reviled him as being a mutinous and seditious traitor, and obliged him to depart immediately from Zempoalla.

The licenciado Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon at this instant entered the room, and proposed that before de Olmedo was dismissed, the officers should be assembled, in order to deliberate upon a proper answer to be sent to Cortes. But this proposal was rejected by Narvaez with great indignation; and, in order to prevent any farther dispute he ordered war to be declared against Cortes, as a rebel and traitor, assigned a considerable reward to any who should take him dead or alive, and commanded the army to prepare for a march. De Ayllon, exasperated at this instance of violence and irregularity, ordered the crier to desist, and commanded Narvaez not to stir a foot from Zempoalla on pain of death, or to employ the forces without the unanimous consent of the whole army. Upon which Narvaez ordered him to be apprehended, sent on board a vessel, and instantly transported to Cuba. At the same time de Olmedo set out on his return to Mexico, while the principal officers in Narvaez's army were shocked at his insolence, and the inferior soldiers loudly murmured at his conduct.

De Olmedo, on his arrival at Mexico, informed Cortes of the implacability and intemperate behaviour of Narvaez; but encouraged him by mentioning the disposition of the soldiers, upon which he immediately resolved to take advantage of this favourable circumstance, and the Spaniards at Mexico were no sooner informed of his having taken this resolution, than they expressed the utmost zeal and impatience to be in action; for, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, they had such confidence in the valour, ability, and discretion of their general, that they thought it almost impossible for them not to conquer, when under his command.

Cortes was unwilling to damp their alacrity by any unnecessary delay, and therefore repaired to Montezuma's apartment, to acquaint him with his intended march; but was not a little surprised at hearing that prince begin the discourse, and at his saying, he had from different parts received information, that the Spanish general at Zempoalla was come with very ill designs against him and his followers, and though he did not wonder that the two chiefs should be at enmity, from some private animosity, he could not help thinking, that as they were the vassals of the same prince, and headed armies of different factions, one of them must necessarily be a rebel to his sovereign. Cortes was somewhat startled at this declaration; but immediately availed himself of that presence of mind which never forsook him in his greatest emergencies, and replied without hesitation, that the accounts received by his majesty were undoubtedly true, and he was come to lay the same intelligence before him; but that Narvaez was not to be considered as a rebel, but rather as person who proceeded upon wrong principles through mistake, for he was come as lieutenant or substitute from a misinformed governor, who resided in a remote province, and was therefore unacquainted with the last resolutions of the court of Spain, and really imagined that the embassy to the emperor of Mexico was an affair that belonged to his office; but that all this misunderstanding would vanish as soon as he should lay his dispatches before that lieutenant. He had therefore resolved immediately to march with part of his forces to Zempoalla, in order to dispose them to return on board their ships, and that he should soon convince them, that they ought to respect the subjects of the Mexican empire, as a people under the king of Spain's protection.

Montezuma was much pleased with the prospect of getting rid of such troublesome visitors, of whose exactions and acts of oppression he was particularly informed ; but imagining that Cortes might be exposed to some danger, by attempting to bring them to reason, he offered to furnish him with an army that should entirely be under his command, and repeated this offer with such earnestness, that Cortes was fully convinced of his sincerity, though he declined accepting it, with many expressions of acknowledgment, from his having but little confidence in the attachment of the Mexican soldiers to his interest.

Cortes resolved upon leaving fourscore Spaniards in Mexico, under the command of Pedro de Alverado, an excellent officer, who by his engaging behaviour, had already acquired great share of Montezuma's friendship. Cortes gave him directions relating to his conduct, with respect to the emperor, and the soldiers were ordered to obey their captain, and serve Montezuma with the greatest respect. These precautions being taken, Cortes dispatched a messenger to Gonzalo Sandoval, with orders to entrust the confederate Indians with the fortrefs of Vera Cruz, and to march out with the Spaniards to meet him at a certain place of rendezvous. He then having taken care to obtain the necessary supplies of provisions on the road, and procured a body of Indians to carry the baggage, set out on his march.

CHAPTER XI.

Cortes, finding it impossible to bring Narvaez to accept of any terms of accommodation, attacks him and his army, obtains a complete victory, and prevails upon the soldiers to enter into his service.

THE Spaniards marched with the cheerfulness and circumspection of veterans, inured to the hardships and dangers of war. They took the road to Cholula, at which city they met with an hospitable reception, and proceeding towards Tlascala, found, at half a league's distance from the city, a splendid appearance of the nobility, and the whole senate, who received their visit with great demonstrations of joy and respect. After staying there a short time, they marched to Matlequita, a town of Indian friends, where they were joined by Gonzalo de Sandoval and his troops, with seven soldiers from Narvaez's army, by whom he was informed of every thing that had passed in the enemy's quarters before they deserted. He had also intelligence of a later date from two soldiers, who had gone from Vera Cruz to Zempoalla in the guise of Indians carrying baskets of fruit, which they exchanged with the Spaniards for glass beads, and other toys, and so dextrously assumed the simplicity of the natives, that they were permitted to range, without the least suspicion, through every part of the quarters; they even ventured to repeat the visit, and as a proof the carelessness with which they kept the watch, took from the very parade a horse belonging to a captain, who was one of Cortes most bitter enemies.

In order to gain time till the arrival of the Indians from Chinantla, Cortes sent de Olmedo a second time with proposals for an accommodation; but he meeting with no success, Juan Velasquez de Leon was sent to use his influence with Narvaez, from the hopes that his being related to Diego de Velasquez would render his mediation the more acceptable. Narvaez had indeed written to this officer to exhort him to espouse his kinsman's cause, and to offer him a very advantageous post in his army; but this letter Juan had delivered to Cortes, with protestations that he would die by his side, rather than desert his colours, and his behaviour upon this occasion was an additional motive for sending him upon this negotiation.

On his approaching Zempoalla, Narvaez came with a grand retinue to meet him, supposing that he was come to join him; but had soon the mortification to find himself mistaken. He however used many arguments to detach him from Cortes, and to render him an eye witness of his superior strength, commanded the whole army to be reviewed before him. The next day he invited him to dinner, together with those of his own officers, on whom he placed the greatest confidence, that they might assist in persuading him to join their party. In the beginning of the conversation, he was treated with great civility and respect, but in the midst of their festivity some sarcastic reflections were thrown out against Cortes, and though Juan de Velasquez, to avoid prejudicing the business in which he was employed, dissembled his resentment, yet the abuse thrown upon Cortes became so gross and indecent, that Velasquez being unable to restrain his indignation, cried with some warmth, that if any man in that company, who did not esteem Hernando Cortes and all his followers, as loyal subjects to the king of Spain,

would let him know his sentiments before fewer witnesses, he would undeceive him in what manner soever he pleased. Narvaez was disconcerted with this declaration ; but a young officer of the name and family of Velasquez replied, that no man was worthy of bearing that name, who attempted to vindicate a traitor. At this reproach Juan gave him the lie, and drew his sword, in order to punish him for his insolence, when the company interposed, but found it very difficult to prevent mischief. However, Velasquez was at length prevailed upon to sheath his sword, when abruptly leaving the company, he immediately returned to Cortes breathing defiance and revenge.

This incident occasioned such murmurs among the officers and soldiers, that Narvaez, in order to put a stop to their clamours, was obliged to send a person to Cortes, to apologise for what had happened to Juan de Velasquez, and to learn the substance of his commission, which he had not fully explained. For this purpose he sent the secretary Andres de Duero, who met Cortes on his march to an advantageous post, which he intended to occupy till the arrival of the Chinantlans. Duero and Cortes embraced each other like intimate friends, who had met after a long separation, and all the officers received the stranger with joy and respect. But before they proceeded to business, Cortes made him a present of some valuable jewels. He was entertained with great magnificence and hospitality, and staid till the next day, to consult about measures for preventing a rupture, which he was sensible would be highly prejudicial to the interest of Spain. Cortes, upon this occasion, shewed the greatest moderation, and even proposed to relinquish the Mexican conquest to his competitor, while he and his followers should engage in some other expedition. Andres de Duero

being struck with this instance of his modesty, and self-denial, proposed an interview with Narvaez, to which Cortes immediately agreeing, the secretary then returned to Zempoalla, where he also obtained the consent of Narvaez. But after the time and place were appointed, where they were to meet with only ten friends on each side, Cortes received private advice from Duero, that Narvaez had resolved to lay an ambuscade for his life, which being confirmed by others, he wrote to his treacherous enemy to let him know, that he was acquainted with his designs, and to reproach him with his baseness. Having thus given vent to his indignation, he continued his march, and took his station within a league of Zempoalla, where his front was defended by a river, and his rear by the neighbourhood of Vera Cruz. Having posted proper centinels, and detached a number of scouts, he quartered his people in some cottages, where they were sheltered from the sun, and allowed to take their repose.

Narvaez being informed of this disposition, drew up his army, caused war to be declared at the head of his troops, with the offer of 2000 pieces of eight, to any person who should bring him the head of Cortes, and also set a price upon the lives of Gonzalo de Sandoval and Juan Velasquez de Leon. He then marched to an open field, at about a quarter of a league's distance, vainly hoping that Cortes would leave his advantageous situation, to engage an enemy, who had three times as many men as himself.

In the evening the weather suddenly grew dark and cloudy, and such a quantity of rain fell, that the soldiers were instantly wet to the skin, and their arms rendered useless, when they cursed the author of the expedition, and with loud clamours insisted upon returning to their quarters. With

this request Narvaez was obliged to comply, and never imagining that Cortes would pass the river in such a night, retreated in great disorder to Zempoalla; and intending to take the field again early in the morning, lodged his troops in the principal temple of the city, which was built upon an eminence, that had an ascent of many ill-contrived steps, which rendered it very difficult of access, on the top of which he planted artillery. He fixed his head-quarters in the middle tower, whither he retired with some officers and about 100 soldiers, on whom he placed the greatest confidence: the rest of the army was distributed in the other tower; some horses were set to patrol in the neighbourhood of the town, and centinels placed in the avenues.

Meanwhile Andres de Duero sent one of his men to apprise Cortes of their retreat, and the manner in which they were disposed, merely with the view of his passing the night without any apprehensions of being attacked in his quarters: but Cortes no sooner received this information, than he resolved to take advantage of this favourable opportunity. Notwithstanding the continuance of the tempest, he assembled his people without delay, and they having passed the river with the water above their middle, he made a short speech, mentioning the manner in which the enemy were quartered, their carelessness and security; the ease with which they might be attacked and routed in the dark, before they could have time to be drawn up in their defence; and then expatiated on the insolence and treachery of Narvaez, and the justice of his own cause. His soldiers being thus fired with resentment, called aloud to be led to the enemy.

Cortes instantly formed his troops into three small battalions, the first of which was under the

command of Gonzalo de Sandoval: The second was led by Christoval de Oled, and Cortés in person took the command of the rest. Gonzalo had orders to begin the attack by mounting the steps, and preventing all communication between the towers: Christoval was to assault the tower in which Narvaez lodged, while Cortés with his men resolved to support both attacks as occasion should require. Orders were given that the drums should beat and the trumpets sound as soon as the action began, with a view of increasing the terror and confusion of the enemy, and the most profound silence being in the mean while recommended, they began their march at a very slow pace to prevent their being fatigued before the action began, and to allow the enemy time to be lulled in sleep and security. But they had scarcely proceeded half a league when their scouts returned with a centinel, whom they had surprized, though his companion found means to escape among the bushes. This accident occasioned a short consultation among the officers, who unanimously thought, that if the soldier should discover them he would take a circuit to the town to avoid danger, and therefore by hastening their march they might probably reach Zempoalla as soon as he, and at least should have the advantage of attacking the enemy in the disorder of their first waking. They therefore left their horses, baggage and other incumbrances by the side of a little brook near the road, and pushed forward with all possible haste. But notwithstanding this, the centinel winged by fear, had arrived a few minutes before them, crying aloud, The enemy is upon us; but being instantly carried before Narvaez, he slighted his intelligence, and thought it impossible that Cortés should venture to march in such a dark tempestuous night, or presume to attack him with such an handful of men.

A little after midnight Cortes reached Zempoalla without being discovered by the enemy's cavalry, and not only entered the town, but came in sight of the temple without finding any guards, or being challenged by one centinel. This happened at the very instant when the soldier was telling Narvaez that Cortes was marching towards the place with his whole army: But though he was disbelieved by that obstinate commander, his soldiers had taken to their arms, and were in some degree prepared for their defence. Cortes soon perceiving that he was discovered, and had no time to lose, began the attack, by ordering Gonzalo de Sandoval to mount the steps, when those who were upon guard with the artillery, fired two or three pieces, and their report was instantly succeeded with the noise of the drums, trumpets, and the confused cries of the soldiers, who flew to the defence of the steps. The dispute soon came to the pike and the sword, and Sandoval was hard pressed in his attempt to force his way in spite of the disadvantages of the ground, and the superiority of numbers; but De Oled soon came to his relief, and Cortes quitting the rear threw himself sword in hand into the hottest of the engagement, with such impetuosity, that nothing could withstand him, so that in a few moments the enemy gave way, and soon retreated in great disorder, after having abandoned their artillery, some flying to their quarters, while others repaired to the gate of the principal tower, where the dispute was renewed, and for some time continued with great obstinacy.

Narvaez having put on his armour, exerted his utmost endeavours to rally his scattered troops, and with great resolution rushed into the midst of the battle, where his eye being thrust out with a pike, he fell down crying, I am a dead man.

This completed the confusion of his soldiers, some of whom abandoned him, while others stood as if they had been thunderstruck, and others again fought with such disorder, that they were easily routed, and their general taken prisoner. An end was now put to the dispute, for the enemy shut themselves up in the towers, while the followers of Cortes, having nobody to oppose them, proclaimed their victory with loud acclamations, which served to heighten the apprehensions of the vanquished, whose terror was likewise augmented by the sight of numerous lights in the country, which though solely produced from a kind of glow-worms, they ridiculously imagined were an army of arquebusers with lighted matches, and their disordered imagination made them suppose that these were the auxiliaries of Cortes marching to his assistance.

Cortes at length putting a stop to the shouts of the people, caused the artillery to be turned against the towers, and proclaimed a general pardon for those who would surrender, with advantageous conditions to such as would enter into his service, and free liberty to those who were desirous of returning to Cuba. This step being taken in the first tumult of their fear, was attended with great success; for these terms were no sooner proposed at the three towers, than both officers and soldiers came in whole companies to surrender, when Cortes received them with the greatest kindness, though he caused them to be divided, and put under a proper guard, till the light should give him an opportunity of discovering who they were. He then went to visit Narvaez. That gentleman having been committed to the care of Sandoval, had his wound already dressed, and he seeing him enter, cried out, Thank God, Captain Cortes, for your success in making me your prisoner. Thanks be to God for all things, friend Narvaez, he re-

turned, but, vanity apart, I look upon this victory, and your imprisonment, among the least considerable actions that have been performed in this country.

Cortes being now informed that one of the towers commanded by Salvatierra and Diego Velasquez the younger, refused to surrender, he ordered two pieces of artillery to be planted against it; but the defendants called for quarters at the very first discharge, when Juan Velasquez de Leon entered with a small body, and seized Diego and Salvatierra, who were Cortes's inveterate enemies. Thus the victory was obtained with the loss of four men, though the conquered had a captain, ensign, and 15 private men killed upon the spot.

At day-break the 2000 Chinantlans arrived, when Cortes was glad of letting his prisoners see, that he was not destitute of allies; while the vanquished were filled with shame, perceiving the small number of men by whom they had been entirely defeated, and cursed their carelessness and the insolence of Narvaez. Cortes having many friends among them, who desired to be enlisted in his army, their example was soon followed by all the other prisoners, and not a single man expressed the least inclination to return to Cuba.

Thus Cortes, by his admirable conduct and bravery, found himself in a few hours, at the head of above one thousand Spaniards; the only enemies he had to fear, were safe in his custody; he had a fleet of eleven ships and seven brigantines at his disposal, and he had the pleasure of seeing the last effort of Diego de Velasquez entirely frustrated. Narvaez's horse never engaged in the action, but made their escape into the country, where being united into a troop of forty, they pretended to stand on their defence, but were soon brought to enlist under Cortes.

At length the sails, tackling, and rudders of all the vessels were brought on shore, and laid up in Vera Cruz; the pilots and mariners were brought to Zempoalla, and the army was allowed to continue some days in quarters for refreshment.

CHAPTER XII.

Cortes marches back to Mexico to the assistance of Alverado, against whom the Mexicans had taken up arms; where he finds the people in a violent ferment. His troops are several times attacked, and his offers of peace rejected. Montezuma harranguing the Mexicans, in order to persuade them to lay down their arms, is mortally wounded, and dies, conjuring Cortes to revenge his fall.

WHILE Cortes continued in his quarters of refreshment, he dismissed the Chinantlans with presents, and was visited by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, and by the Caciques of the adjacent countries, who all came to congratulate him upon his success: but, notwithstanding his good fortune, he could not be easy when he reflected upon Alverado's situation, since he knew him to be encompassed with enemies, and at the mercy of a prince who might be persuaded to sacrifice him and his few troops for the advantage of the empire. He therefore resolved to return to Mexico, and that neither Montezuma nor his people might be offended at his returning with such a numerous body, he proposed to divide his army, and employ the greatest part of it in other conquests.

While Cortes was taking these measures, a letter from Alverado obliged him to alter his scheme. By this letter he was informed, that in spite of Montezuma, who had never once attempted to leave the quarters, the Mexicans had taken up arms, and repeated their attacks with such resolution, that unless he and his men were immediately succoured, they must all inevitably perish. And what was still more extraordinary, the soldier who brought this letter, was accompanied by an ambassador from Montezuma, who pressed the general to return as soon as possible, and assured him, that though his own life should be at stake, he would never abandon Alverado.

Upon receiving this intelligence, Cortes and his officers unanimously agreed, that no time should be lost. Roderigo Rangel, a person of approved fidelity, was immediately appointed deputy governor of Vera Cruz; and a garrison was left at Zempoalla, after which the army amounted to one thousand foot, and one hundred horse. Cortes having sent an answer to Montezuma, and another to Alverado, with an account of his victory, and assurances of his coming to their assistance, began his march, the army taking different routes, in order to be the more easily supplied with provisions. They rendezvoused near Tlascala, at which city they were received with great joy and affection; the republic stimulated him against the Mexicans, and offered to assemble all their troops for his service. He, however, declined the offer, and contented himself with taking a body of 2000 men.

Cortes passed the causeway without the least opposition, notwithstanding his perceiving many marks of the fury of the Mexicans. For his two brigantines were staved to pieces; and half burnt. On his entering Mexico, the suburbs were aban-

done; the bridges, by which the streets had a communication with each other, were all broken down, and a profound silence reigned over the whole city. These suspicious symptoms made the general order the infantry to slacken their pace, while the cavalry marched before to reconnoitre: but the Spaniards who had been left in the city, soon discovering the army, raised a great shout, and removed his apprehensions. Pedro de Alverado and his men received them at the gate of his quarters, in a transport of joy, and Montezuma himself went to the outer court to meet Cortes, whom he embraced with all the marks of a sincere affection.

Cortes having taken proper measures for the security of his troops, retired with Alverado, to enquire into the cause of that sedition among the Mexicans, which had put him in such danger; when that officer informed him, that soon after his departure, the nobles had behaved with less respect than usual; that from the information of a trusty spy, he learned that they held frequent assemblies in private, and that a conspiracy was concerted against the Spaniards, in which it was agreed to assemble the inhabitants, under the pretence of celebrating annual dances called Mitates, when the nobles were to harangue the populace, and immediately proceed to the Spanish quarters, in order to extirpate the insolent strangers, who kept their emperor prisoner, and treated even their gods with contempt.

On the morning preceding the day appointed, some of the chief persons in the sedition, came to desire Alverado's permission to celebrate their festival. However, he was that very night informed that they were very busy in concealing considerable quantities of arms in houses near the temples; upon which he resolved to anticipate the execution of their scheme, by attacking them before

they should have time either to take arms, or to raise the populace. This ill-judged scheme he put in execution. He left the fort with 50 of his men, under the pretence of seeing the diversion, and perceiving the Mexicans intoxicated with liquor, attacked and dispersed them without opposition; many of them being killed and wounded in their flight: the Spaniards stripped them of their jewels and other ornaments; after which Alverado retired without even taking the necessary step of acquainting the people with his motives for committing this action, whence it was naturally imputed to his avarice. The people incensed at seeing the nobility slaughtered and pillaged before their eyes, now ran to arms, and raised a very formidable insurrection. They had several times attacked the Spanish quarters, and being so successful as to kill three or four Spaniards, their courage was raised to such a height, that instead of dreading the resentment of Cortes and his troops, now so greatly increased, they retired to another part of the town, leaving the entrance open, that by giving the Spaniards an opportunity of being united, they might surround and destroy them at once.

Cortes censured Alverado very severely for his rashness in leaving his quarters, when the city was in such a commotion; blamed him for concealing from Montezuma the first intelligence he had received, and for retiring without having informed the populace of the cause of such a violent assault; and made Alverado so sensible of his indiscretion, that he desired to be imprisoned, in order to facilitate the reduction of the enraged multitude.

The Mexicans made no attempt that night, but the same mysterious silence prevailing the next morning, Cortes ordered Diego de Ordaz to

march through the principal streets at the head of four hundred Spanish and Tlascalan soldiers, and, if possible, to penetrate into their designs: But Diego had not proceeded far, when he observed a body of armed men, which had been detached on purpose to draw him farther from the quarters. He accordingly advanced a considerable way, in order to take some prisoners; but was all at once opposed by an innumerable multitude, who ran boldly up to his front, while another army which had been concealed in the cross streets attacked him in the rear. At the same time the terraces and windows on each side were crowded with armed men, who showered upon them an infinite number of arrows, darts, and stones. Diego perceiving his retreat cut off, so as to prevent his informing Cortes of his danger, ordered his rear to face about, and part of his men to exert themselves with their swords and pikes below, while his fire arms were used against those above. The heat of the engagement was however but of a short continuance, for notwithstanding the fury with which the Mexicans advanced, their attacks were made in so tumultuous a manner, that they were soon thrown into confusion, and retired to a distance, where they could neither offend, nor be offended; and the windows and terraces, being at the same time cleared by the fire arms, Diego endeavoured to make his retreat, though he was obliged to cut his way sword in hand. In this engagement he left seven soldiers dead upon the spot, and both himself and the greatest part of his men were wounded.

This event rendered Cortes but too sensible that there was no room for negotiation. He therefore resolved to sally out with the greatest part of his forces, in order to oblige them to sue for an accommodation. In the mean time, the Mexicans

looked upon Diego's retreat as a flight, and followed him with inconceivable fury, till they were terrified and driven back by the artillery, from the Spanish quarters, which made a very dreadful slaughter. They however halted within sight, and the streets were soon filled again with armed men, whose drums and shells founding the signal for an assault, they advanced with prodigious impetuosity. Their rear was composed of archers, who were designed to clear the walls, that the rest of the army might approach, and such showers of arrows were discharged, that the Spaniards were soon obliged to employ a number of hands to remove them, to prevent their blocking up the way to the ramparts. While the archers were thus engaged, the rest, notwithstanding the dreadful havoc made among them by the cannon and small arms, advanced to the very gates, which they endeavoured to cut in pieces, with instruments edged with flint. Some leaped upon the shoulders of their companions, and others made ladders of their pikes and lances in order to scale the walls; one set of men were no sooner wounded and fell, but their place was supplied by others, who, as if they had been strangers to fear and compassion, trampled upon their friends and fought like wild beasts made doubly furious by famine and revenge. They were, however, at last repulsed, when they retired for cover to the cross streets, where they staid till the approach of night, and then raised another terrible alarm, by beginning a very different kind of fight, for by shooting fire arrows into the quarters, they produced a dreadful conflagration in several parts of the building, which forced the Spaniards to break down walls, to prevent the communication of the flames, and then to labour the greatest part of the night in repairing the breaches they had made, in order

to put themselves again into a posture of defence.

The next morning the enemy appeared at a distance, and though afraid of advancing within cannon shot, challenged the Spaniards to come out to battle, with many injurious reproaches. Cortes, who had resolved to make a sally, took this opportunity to inflame the minds of his soldiers with a short speech, and finding them impatient of delay, divided his whole force into three battalions, two of which were directed to clear the cross streets, while he himself took the large street, where the greatest body of the enemy was posted. The Mexicans stood the first charge without giving ground, and even fought hand to hand with their clubs and two-handed swords which they wielded with incredible fury, nor could the fire-arms put a stop to the showers of stones and javelins that were thrown from the windows and balconies, till fire was set to some of the houses. The Mexicans however at last gave way; but as they retreated, broke down the bridges of the streets, which obliged the Spaniards to fill up the canals before they could prosecute the victory. While Cortes was thus advancing, the two battalions charged the multitude that had possession of the streets on the sides, and drove the enemy before them, till they entered a large square, where the three divisions joined, when the Mexicans betook themselves to flight, with as much precipitation as they had before made their attack.

Cortes did not think proper to allow his troops to engage in the pursuit, but having lost ten or twelve soldiers in the action, retired without opposition. The loss of the enemy was so great, that the dead bodies lay in heaps, and the canals of the city were tinged with blood. Cortes allotted three days for the refreshment of his troops, dur-

ing which he renewed his overtures of peace, by means of some Mexicans, who were in Montezuma's service; but at the same time continued to observe the strictest vigilance and precaution, and among other stratagems contrived four wooden towers to run upon wheels, each of which was capable of containing 20 or 30 men, who might fight under cover, set houses on fire, and destroy their barricadoes raised in the principal streets. Having finished these machines, he made a second sally with the principal part of the Spaniards, together with the whole body of the Tlascalans, who had fought with great bravery in the last engagement. He also took some pieces of artillery, the wooden towers, and a few led horses, that were to be used occasionally.

The Mexicans were now commanded by the principal nobles, who had greatly augmented the army, and waited for the Spaniards in profound silence; but the latter had no sooner begun their march, than they were suddenly surpris'd with the hoarse and disagreeable sound of their sea-shells and drums, added to the shouts of an innumerable multitude, which advanced with unusual regularity, and amazing resolution, giving and receiving the first charges, without being disordered. When they were forced to give way, they retired leisurely, without turning their backs, and renewed the fight at every canal, or barricado, with such obstinacy, that they were not to be dislodged without the artillery. They discharged their arrows and lances in a regular manner. Some swam about the canals searching for opportunities to wound the Spaniards with long pikes; while others cast from the windows, balconies, and terraces, large stones and fragments of rocks provided for that purpose, by which the moving towers were soon shattered to pieces: and, in short, the battle was

fought with such method and alacrity, as plainly proved that it was conducted by a general in chief.

The engagement continued the greatest part of the day, during which a great number of the Mexicans lost their lives, and the city was much damaged by the burning of the houses. The Spaniards and their confederates were repulsed with such bravery, that they were obliged to dispute the ground by inches, and night drawing on before Cortes had made much progress, he found it would be impossible to maintain the posts he had gained, and therefore retired to his quarters with the loss of 40 men, who were chiefly Tlascalans, and with 50 Spaniards much wounded, he himself having received a shot with an arrow in his left hand. He now began seriously to reflect, that notwithstanding all the advantages he had gained over the Mexicans, his numbers in a series of such victories would be greatly diminished, and that in case of a general revolt against Montezuma, they might easily starve him in his quarters; nor was the emperor himself under less uneasiness. From the highest turret of the palace he had observed the battle, and could easily distinguish the Cacique of Iztapalapa, and other nobles who might aspire to the empire. He dreaded the loss of his crown, and being sensible that he could never restore his subjects to obedience while the Spaniards remained in Mexico, he sent for Cortes the next morning, told him his sentiments, and intreated him to leave the city, that he might return to his own palace, resume the reins of government, and quell the seditions of his people.

Cortes readily consented to this proposal, and resolved to retire for the present, that he might have leisure to concert a new plan, and be enabled to execute it with a better prospect of success: but his conference with the emperor was interrupted,

by his being told that the enemy was advancing with great fury to make a general attack upon the quarters. They rushed on with prodigious impetuosity, and in spite of the havoc made among them by the artillery and small arms, behaved with such bravery, that some of them got over the walls, which obliged Cortes to form a body of reserve in the principal court, whence he occasionally sent detachments to support such as were hard pressed or fatigued with action.

While the assault was thus carrying on with amazing vigour, Montezuma proposed to shew himself to the people from the wall, in order to command the populace to retire, and order the nobles to come unarmed into his presence, that he might take proper measures to redress their grievances. This motion being approved by Cortes, the Emperor immediately adorned himself with the ensigns of royalty, the crown, the mantle, and the jewels worn on the most solemn occasions, and then mounted the terrace, with the principal Mexicans who continued in his service, one of whom advancing to the rails, called with a loud voice, that the great Montezuma had condescended to come forth, and redress their grievances. His name was no sooner mentioned, than the outcries of the people ceased, and they stood silent and motionless, as if awed by something supernatural, and when he appeared, the whole multitude humbled themselves to the earth. He looked round him with a majestic air, and distinguishing the nobles in the crowd, desired them severally by name to approach, thanked them for the zeal and affection they had shewn in his service, and represented to the people that they were actuated by a principle of mistaken loyalty; that his residing among the Spaniards was not the effect of compulsion; that he was resolved to dismiss them from

his court, and therefore desired his subjects to lay down their arms.

This condescension made such an impression upon the hearers, who had been used to obey him with fear and trembling, that many wept to see the emperor so humbled, and the rest hung down their heads, and stood in silence and suspense. But these favourable dispositions were soon changed. Some of the emissaries belonging to the Cacique, who hoped to succeed Montezuma, upbraiding that Prince, with being a coward, a prisoner, and a slave, raised a clamour among the people, and instantly turned their compassion into such a rage, that they cursed him, and uttered the most opprobrious invectives. The motions he made with his hand and head were now disregarded; and his efforts to speak rendered ineffectual, by their repeated shouts, until at length they let fly a shower of arrows against him. Two soldiers being near him, endeavoured to cover him with their bucklers; but in spite of all their care, he was wounded in several places, and received a terrible blow with a stone upon one of his temples, which brought him to the ground. Cortes having caused him to be carried to his apartment, resolved to be revenged on the authors of this misfortune. But he then could find no enemy on whom he could wreak his revenge; for the emperor no sooner fell, than the Mexicans, struck with horror and consternation, instantly fled,

Montezuma had scarcely recovered his senses, when he became frantic with rage; imprecated the most dreadful curses upon his rebellious subjects, and refused to listen to the remonstrances and consolations of Cortes, who in vain endeavoured to comfort him. He tore the bandages and plaisters from his wounds, and even attempted to put an end to his life, which made it necessary to

restrain him by force, and then he absolutely refused to take any manner of sustenance. The wound in his head was very dangerous, and the agitation of his mind soon rendered it mortal. Cortes joined with Father Bartholomew de Olmedo in persuading him to renounce his idolatry; but all their arguments were to no purpose, and he expired after having conjured the general to revenge his death.

Montezuma's unhappy fate filled Cortes with great concern. He had an affection for that prince, and all his hopes had centered in his voluntary submission to the king of Spain. He was now obliged to form a new plan, and to quit all the advantages he enjoyed by his influence at the court of Mexico. The first step he took, was appointing six of Montezuma's principal attendants, some of whom were priests, to carry out his body to the rebels, with orders to tell the princes who headed them, that he had sent them the corpse of their late sovereign, whom they themselves had murdered, and who, before his death, had earnestly conjured him to revenge his wrongs, and chastise them for their abominable rebellion. But as he imagined that the insurrection was not approved by the nobles, he once more proposed peace, and was ready to agree to any reasonable conditions; but should they neglect his proposal, he would treat them as the worst of rebels; and as his respect for Montezuma could no longer moderate his resentment, he would lay waste their city with fire and sword.

The bearers of the corpse were met at a small distance from the quarters by a body of the inhabitants, who threw down their arms, and followed their deceased sovereign with the most profound reverence and respect. The city was instantly filled with lamentations, and though another Em-

peror was already elected, they testified their repentance by the strongest expressions of sorrow, repeating the name of Montezuma, and running about the streets in clamorous tumults until the next morning, when they conveyed the body to the mountain of Chapultepeque, where it was interred with great solemnity.

Thus fell the great Montezuma, the most powerful Emperor that had ever filled the Mexican throne. He had reigned seventeen years, was the eleventh in the number of Emperors, and the second of that name. He left four sons and three daughters: two of the former, who lived with their father in his confinement, were afterwards killed by the Mexicans in Cortes's retreat. The daughters afterwards embraced the Christian religion, and were married to Spaniards; but the most distinguished of his descendant's was one of Montezuma's sons, who at his baptism took the name of Don Pedro de Montezuma, and received many favours from his most Catholic majesty, who gave him considerable possessions in New Spain, with the title of Count of Montezuma, which his posterity still enjoy.

CHAPTER XIII.

The war carried on afresh against Cortes, who escapes the most imminent dangers, and every where defeats the Indians. He retires from Mexico, with his army, by night; but is assaulted in his retreat, and loses many men; however, he at length obtains a great victory over the united forces of Mexico, by seizing the Royal Standard.

THE Mexicans made no attempt upon the Spanish quarters while the emperor remained ill of his wounds, which Cortes attributed to their being filled with horror at the thoughts of the crime they had committed; but it was really owing to the nobility being wholly employed in the inauguration of Quilavaca, Cacique of Iztapalapa, whom they raised to the throne.

The Mexicans, instead of listening to the proposal made by Montezuma's servants, renewed the war with greater vigour than ever; and on the morning that succeeded the late Emperor's funeral, all the streets were, by break of day, filled with armed men. They had also put a strong garrison in the towers of the temple, which commanded part of the Spanish quarters. This important post, which was defended by 500 chosen men of the nobility, Cortes resolved at all events to carry. He therefore drew the greatest part of his strength out of the quarters, and having formed several battalions sufficient to cut off all communication between the towers and the Indians in the streets, he ordered captain Escobar with a considerable detachment, to attack the temple, which was of difficult access. That officer marched to the lower porch without opposition;

but suddenly the defendants from the upper porch discharged such a shower of lances, arrows, large stones, and half-burnt beams of timber provided for that purpose, that the assailants were thrown into disorder, and obliged to retreat in confusion, after their having returned three times to the attack.

Meanwhile Cortes was at the head of a troop of horse, busily employed in supporting those who most needed his assistance; but seeing Escobar defeated, he instantly quitted his horse; caused a shield to be fastened to his arm, on account of the wound in his hand, then flying to his assistance, advanced to the stairs with such intrepidity as induced his followers to imitate his example. In an instant the action was renewed with surprizing obstinacy. The brave defendants fought hand to hand like men resolved rather to die than to surrender. The very priests fell fighting valiantly, exhorting the people to shew their courage in defence of their gods, and they all suffered themselves to be cut in pieces to a man, before the Spaniards could get possession of the post. In the heat of this engagement, two Mexicans who had devoted their lives to the service of their country, seeing Cortes upon a tower, threw down their arms, ran up to him, and stooping down like supplicants, seized him, and endeavoured to throw him over the rails: but after struggling with him for some time, he had the good fortune to disengage himself; upon which they threw themselves headlong from the tower, and their brains were dashed out against the pavement.

Cortes then seized a considerable quantity of provisions which he found in the temple, and ordered it to be conveyed to his quarters: which being done, he commanded the Tlascalans to set fire to several houses, that the artillery might com-

mand the whole edifice. He then took a view of the engagement below, and perceiving the Spaniards closely pressed in the principal street which they defended with great difficulty, he immediately mounted his horse, and hastened to their assistance, ordering Escobar to follow with his men, with all possible expedition. In the mean time he attacked the multitude at the head of his cavalry, killing or wounding all who opposed him, but rushing too far before the rest of his troops, his retreat was cut off. Upon this he entered another street, where he hoped to meet with less resistance, and there he fell in among a body of Mexicans, who had taken Andres de Duero, and were conveying him alive to offer him as a sacrifice to their gods. Cortes instantly flew upon them with such fury, as threw the whole party into confusion, and Duero took this opportunity of drawing a dagger, which they had overlooked, when they attempted to disarm him, and instantly freed himself by the death of those who held him; then recovering his horse and lance, the two friends broke through all opposition. The Mexicans now retired with great precipitation, and the general returned with his troops into the quarters, after they had made a dreadful havock among the enemy, and burnt a considerable part of the city.

The next day the enemy desired a parley, which being granted by Cortes, several of the nobles approached the walls, and in the name of the new emperor, proposed, that the Spaniards should instantly march down to the sea side, and leave the country, upon which condition they promised to put an end to all hostilities; but observed, that should he reject this proposal they must all inevitably perish; for as they were now convinced by experience, that the Spaniards were mortal, they were resolved to continue their attacks, and

though the death of every christian should cost them 20,000 lives, they would have a number left sufficient to rejoice at their success.

To this Cortes replied, that the Spaniards did not pretend to be immortal, though they were so superior to the Mexicans, that with his handful of men, he would destroy the whole empire; but being moved by the calamities, they, through their own obstinacy, had suffered, he was resolved to depart, and that he only waited till the necessary preparations could be made for his march, and other articles agreed upon for the reciprocal advantage of both parties. The nobles seemed pleased with this answer, though the overtures they had made were intended to answer a very different purpose. It had been agreed by the new emperor and his council, that instead of exposing themselves to such terrible slaughter, as the people had always suffered from the artillery and other fire-arms, they should distress the Spaniards by famine, and amuse them with negotiations, until they should be weakened and dispirited by hunger, when they might fall upon them to great advantage. They recollected that Montezuma's three sons, and other persons of distinction were prisoners in the Spanish quarters, but willingly sacrificed them to the good of their country, except their chief priest, whom they resolved, if possible, to deliver.

The deputies therefore returned the same evening with a proposal, that some of the Mexican prisoners should be sent with instructions to the emperor, artfully hinting, that the most proper person would be a certain ancient priest, who being an intelligent person, would be able to remove whatever difficulties might be started. The general readily assented to the proposal, and made the priest acquainted with his demands in relation

to the necessaries he should want in his march, resolving if he should return, to explain himself with respect to their laying down their arms, and delivering hostages. But they had not the least intention to send him back, or to come to an amicable agreement, which was very evident from the centinel's discovering that they were making trenches to defend the passage of the canals, in breaking down the bridges of the principal causeway, and cutting off all communication with the road leading to Tlascala. Cortes was greatly alarmed at this intelligence, and immediately ordered a portable bridge to be made strong enough to bear the weight of the artillery, and so light as to be carried by forty soldiers.

Men were immediately employed in making this bridge, and at the same time Cortes assembled his captains, in order to consult whether they should retreat by day or by night; for he was resolved to retire to Tlascala, and there to take measures for laying siege to the city of Mexico. The majority of the officers proposed a retreat by night, on account of the superstition of the Mexicans, which made it unusual for them to engage an enemy after sun-set, and from the difficulty of attacking them in the canoes in the dark. This was, however, warmly opposed by Cortes, and others; but the question being put to the vote, the majority declared for the first proposal, to which Cortes assented, and it was resolved to give the enemy as little time as possible to form obstructions, by beginning their march that very night. The carpenters had no sooner finished the bridge, which was to be removed from one opening in the causeway to another, than Cortes sent another Mexican in order to amuse the enemy with farther proposals of peace, while he made

the proper dispositions for his retreat. His vanguard he ordered to consist of 200 Spanish soldiers with the choicest of the Tlascalans, and twenty horse. The rear-guard was to consist of a still larger number of horse and foot; and the prisoners, the artillery, and the baggage, with the body of the army, were to be in the centre. This order being fixed, he caused the treasure to be brought into his apartment, and taking one-fifth for the king, in what was most portable, he delivered it to the commissary with some wounded horses for the carriage; but the remainder, which amounted to 700,000 pieces of eight, he proposed to leave as a dangerous incumbrance; but finding the soldiers unwilling to lose their share, he gave them leave to take what they could conveniently carry, in consequence of which some of the most avaritious, who were among those who came with Narvaez, loaded themselves so heavily, that they staggered under their burdens.

Cortes having taken these previous steps, encouraged the soldiers by a short speech, and about midnight they began their march with the utmost silence and circumspection, being favoured by the wetness of the weather, and the darkness of the night.

The bridge which was carried in the front was laid over the first canal before they met with the least opposition; but the weight of the artillery and horse jammed it so fast, that they found it impracticable to remove it; and indeed they had not time to use much pains about it; for before the army had passed the first breach of the causeway, they were suddenly attacked on all sides; for the enemy having observed their motions, had assembled their troops and canoes with such expedition and silence, that the lake was covered on each side of the causeway.

The attack began with great regularity, before they were observed, and had the Mexicans continued to preserve the same good order during the engagement, Cortes and his whole army must have perished. But they soon returned to their usual way of charging in confusion, by which means many of the canoes were dashed to pieces against each other, and the Spaniards made a dreadful slaughter. They were attacked in front by a vast number, who being impatient till they came to action, had thrown themselves into the lake, and clambered up the causeway in order to dispute the passage; but they were so crowded, that they had not room to use their weapons, and the slaughter was, according to some, so great as to supply a sufficient number of bodies to form a passage for the Spaniards in the lake: but other authors allege, that the enemy left the beam of the second bridge, on which the soldiers passed over in files, leading their horses through the water by the bridles.

Cortes on his reaching the shore ordered his men to be formed as fast as they arrived, and then returning to the causeway, entered into the engagement, and animated the men by his presence and example. He caused each side of the causeway to be lined with soldiers, who were to repel the enemy, while the rest marched between them in the centre, and to facilitate their march, he ordered the artillery to be thrown into the water; but notwithstanding all his vigilance, part of his rear-guard was cut to pieces, the bridge being destroyed by the Mexicans in the canoes, before these unhappy men could pass it, and these consisted chiefly of those who had so overloaded themselves with treasure, that they were incapable of exerting themselves in their own defence.

The army having passed over the lake by break of day, halted near Tabuca, to give time to those

who had escaped from the battle to join their friends; a precaution which saved the lives of several Spaniards and Tlascalans, who had swam ashore, and concealed themselves in some fields of maize until the morning. These brought intelligence that the last division of the rear-guard was intirely cut off, and the troops being reviewed, their loss was found to amount to about 200 Spaniards, above 1000 Tlascalans, and 46 horses, with all the Mexican prisoners, who, in the darkness and confusion of the night were treated as enemies by their own countrymen. The Spaniards were much dejected at finding how greatly their number was diminished; at the loss of their artillery, and at the apprehension of being every moment again assaulted, while they were oppressed with fatigue. Their affliction was encreased by the loss of some excellent officers, among whom was Juan Velasquez de Leon, who brought up the rear, and was overpowered by numbers.

Had the Spaniards been now attacked, before they had time to refresh themselves, and recover their spirits after the fatigue of the battle, they would in all probability have been easily destroyed; but an event which they considered as extremely unfortunate, prolonged their lives, by giving them time for repose. It has already been observed that all the Mexican prisoners were killed in the engagement, and in the morning when the enemy went to strip the dead, they found three of Montezuma's sons, whom they had killed with their arrows. At this spectacle they were amazed and stupified, the troops were seized with consternation, and the news of this event soon reached the new emperor; he ordered the bodies of these unhappy princes to be conveyed to the burying-place of their ancestors, and all the inhabitants attending their funeral, afforded the Spaniards this seasonable respite.

Mean while Cortes marched with great caution towards Tlascala, suspecting that the enemy's delay proceeded from some design, which had been formed against him, and indeed the Spaniards had not proceeded far, before they observed several companies of armed men following the army at a distance. These were some of the inhabitants of several cities whom the Mexicans had ordered to observe the motions of the Spaniards, and retard their march, until they themselves had discharged their last duty to the sons of Montezuma. At length the whole body of the Mexicans appeared, and joining the others, attacked the army with great impetuosity. Cortes placed his fire-arms and cross-bows in the front, and then ordered the horse to advance and charge the Indians, which they did with great success; but their enemies continually increasing, the Spaniards were fatigued with killing them, and began to despair of their ever being able to rout such a prodigious multitude, when Cortes, perceiving an edifice with turrets on the top of an eminence near the field of battle, resolved to gain that post, which he effected, though with great difficulty. As this building was a temple that had a spacious court, encompassed by a wall and several towers, it was easily defended. The Spaniards here found shelter from the danger to which they had been exposed, and on account of this signal relief, afterwards erected an hermitage on the spot, which is still known by the name of Nuestra Señora de Los Remedios, or Our Lady of Relief.

The Mexicans approached near the walls, but having discharged a great number of arrows, retired towards Mexico; however, the Spaniards perceived from the tops of the towers that they halted in the plain, where they divided into several bodies. Cortes, having posted his guards and

centinels, ordered fires to be made to burn the arrows that lay in heaps about the place. The men were refreshed with some provisions they found in the temple, and with what the Indians had saved with their baggage, and had their wounds dressed, the linen horse-cloths serving for lint and bandages. These necessary steps being performed, Cortes called a council of his officers, and proposed, as this post could not be maintained for want of provisions, and as they could not hope to make their retreat while surrounded by such a multitude of the enemy, they should seize this opportunity of continuing their march during the night, in order that they might be two or three leagues from the Mexicans the next morning. This proposal being unanimously approved, some hours rest were allotted for the refreshment of the people, who were dreadfully fatigued, and most of them wounded, and at midnight they retired from the temple, leaving the fires burning in order to deceive the enemy. The van-guard, which was provided with guides, proceeded about half a league without interruption; but on their entering some hilly grounds, several ambuscades were discovered, formed by the militia of the neighbouring towns; but these slight skirmishes did not obstruct the march of the Spaniards, who having advanced two leagues, entered before day-break into another temple, upon an eminence, being induced to take up their residence there, from their fancying that they saw at a distance some detachments from the Mexican army; but the approaching light no sooner discovered their mistake, than they continued their march two leagues farther, to a village advantageously situated, which was deserted by its inhabitants, and there they staid two days, until the wounded were again able to travel. They now marched two days through a rocky and

barren country, at a distance from the great road, which they purposely avoided, being without shelter in the night; perpetually persecuted by flying parties of Indians, and exposed to the extremes of hunger and thirst, which they endeavoured to assuage by means of the herbs and roots they discovered, until the death of one of the wounded horses afforded relief to those who were thought in the greatest extremity. In the last of these marches, they reached a village, where the inhabitants provided every thing for their entertainment with an air of frankness and hospitality; which was no more than an ill-judged stratagem designed to lull the Spaniards into a careless security.

Early the next morning the army ascended a mountain, on the other side of which was the valley of Otumba, when Marina observed that the Indians, who still followed at a distance, shouted and frequently exclaimed, "Proceed, tyrants, you'll soon arrive at the place where you will all perish." Cortes took all possible precaution to prevent being surprized; but on his reaching the top of the mountain, he found the passage of the troops effectually obstructed by an immense multitude of armed men, who covered the extensive plain of Otumba. These were the Indians they encountered at the first temple, reinforced by vast numbers of people from Mexico, with the principle nobles at their head, who had separated into several bodies, and marched by different roads with such expedition as to get the start of the Spaniards and unite in this spacious plain, where there was no danger of their being embarrassed for want of room. The front of the army, which appeared, from the diversity of the colours and standards, to be of different nations, extended along the whole breadth of the valley, but the eye could not reach

the extremity of the rear. In the centre appeared the captain-general of the empire, borne in a sumptuous chariot, upon men's shoulders, that he might the better judge of emergencies, and see his orders punctually obeyed. Near him was the royal standard of Mexico, which was a net of massy gold, fastened to a pike, crowned with a plume of variegated feathers, and this standard was never brought into the field but upon the most extraordinary occasions. Indeed this vast army, with the motions of their different weapons, and their feathers waving in the wind, formed an appearance that was at once beautiful and tremendous.

Cortes, having taken a view of this dreadful army, turned with alacrity to his soldiers, and told them that they must either conquer or die; but was immediately interrupted by his men, who called out, that he should give the word and lead them to battle. He was unwilling to balk their ardour, and having ranged them in order, immediately advanced. The soldiers gave no stroke either with their lances or swords, but what was fatal. The horse broke and trampled under foot those dead bodies that endeavoured to flank or enclose the army, and the Tlascalans rushed into the thickest part of the enemy. In the first effort the Spaniards gained ground; but the Mexicans fought with great obstinacy, and no sooner was one corps cut in pieces, than it was succeeded by another. The battle being continually renewed by fresh supplies of men; so that the Spaniards must at last have been spent with incessant labour and fatigue. Cortes, who fought on horseback, succoured those who most needed his assistance, carrying death and terror wherever he came. While he was in this situation, and was reflecting that the strength of his men must soon fail, he recollected that he had heard among the Mexicans,

that the whole success of the battle depended upon the royal standard, the losing of which decided the fortune of the day. Upon which he instantly resolved to make an extraordinary effort in order to obtain it, and commanded Sandoval Alverado de Olid, and Davilla, to follow and secure his rear, while he, with his troop of horse, charged that part which appeared weakest and nearest the centre. This troop trod down whole battalions, and soon cut their way to the place where the Imperial standard was defended by a guard composed of the nobles; when Cortes spurring his horse through the midst of them, wounded the captain-general, and threw him from his chariot with the first stroke of his lance, and Juan de Salamanca, a private gentleman, leaped from his horse, dispatched the general, and seizing the standard, gave it into the hands of Cortes.

The Mexicans no sooner beheld the Imperial standard in the power of the Spaniards, than they struck all the rest of their colours, and betook themselves to a precipitate flight; while the victorious Spaniards made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives, 20,000 Indians being said to be killed in the battle and pursuit. On the side of the Spaniards some were wounded, of which number two or three died at Tlascala, and Cortes himself received a violent blow on the head with a stone, which battered his head-piece, and made a small fracture in his skull. The spoils which Cortes divided among the soldiers, was very considerable: for the Mexicans, depending upon their number, which amounted to 200,000, came adorned with the best jewels as to a certain triumph.

CHAPTER XIV.

Cortes marches to the city of Tlascalala, where the Spaniards meet with a joyful Reception. The Tlascalans receive an Embassy from the new Emperor of Mexico, to excite them to take Arms against the Spaniards, and Xicotencal privately espouses their Cause; but is discovered. Cortes defeats the Tepeacans. Another Mexican Army attacks the Spaniards, and is entirely routed.

THE Spaniards now pursued their march, but not without some suspicion of being again attacked, as several bodies of men were seen on the tops of the mountains, but they proceeded without molestation, and the next day they entered the confines of Tlascalala, when the whole army expressed their joy by loud acclamations, and the Tlascalans kissed the earth. Here they rested themselves by a fine spring of fresh water, when Cortes observed to the people the great importance of preserving the friendship of the Tlascalans, exhorting them to treat the inhabitants of the city with kindness and civility, and to avoid giving offence to the meanest citizen. At noon Cortes entered Gualipar, a considerable town, where he was received with great hospitality, and having quartered his troops there, he sent two Tlascalans to the senate, with an account of his retreat and success; but the messengers were scarcely dismissed, when he was visited by Magiscatzen, Old Xicotencal, with his son, and others deputed by the senate to compliment him upon his return. They congratulated him upon his victory, testified the deepest concern for his wounds, lamented the

loss of so many Spaniards, inveighed against the Mexicans, and offered to assist him in his revenge with all the forces of the republic and her allies. They proposed his immediately proceeding to the city, where quarters were already provided for the Spaniards. But he chose to remain in his present situation, until his people should be refreshed and entirely recovered from their fatigues, to which the Tlascalans the more readily assented, as this would give them time to prepare for his reception, and his entering the city in a solemn triumph.

The Spaniards were liberally supplied with necessaries at the expence of the public, during a stay of three days at Gualipar, when adorning themselves with the plumes and jewels of the vanquished Mexicans, they began their march for Tlascala, which they entered in July 1520. The senate in their richest robes came out with a numerous attendance to receive them; the fields were crowded with people; the air was filled with acclamations, and they were saluted at their entrance with the sounds of flutes, drums and horns. The festival kept in honour of their triumph, continued some days, during which the Tlascalans celebrated the victory with all the diversions practised in that part of the world. They contended in leaping, wrestling, running, and shooting with arrows at a mark, and in the evenings were exhibited different kinds of rope-dancing, with a kind of masquerade. Cortes was deeply moved with the affection they shewed on this occasion: his officers behaved towards these faithful allies with the utmost cordiality, and the common soldiers generously shared with them the jewels and other spoils they had obtained from the Mexicans.

But in the midst of this festival a damp was given to the public joy by Cortes's illness. The wound in his head broke out afresh, he was seized

with a dangerous fever, and his friends began to despair of his life. The mirth of Tlascala was instantly changed into mourning, and both the nobles and people expressed their concern, by constantly enquiring after his health. But the senate employing the most expert physicians of the country, he speedily recovered.

Cortes now immediately longed to know the state of affairs at Vera Cruz, and therefore sent a letter to the governor, by an Indian courier, who soon returned with an answer, that no alteration had yet happened in the garrison or on the coast, and that Narvaez and Salvatierra were still in safe custody; but that a corporal and eight soldiers, who had been sent to Tlascala for the gold belonging to the garrison, were not returned; that it was reported among the Indians, that they were murdered in the province of Tepeaca, and that it was feared the wounded soldiers belonging to Narvaez had met with the same fate; for being impatient to reach Mexico, which they considered as the centre of their wealth, they as fast as they recovered, had marched away from Zempoalla for that city. Indeed the truth of this report was now confirmed by the Tlascalans, who had hitherto concealed it from Cortes, lest it should retard his recovery, and he had the mortification to find himself thus deprived of a reinforcement of near 50 Spaniards, who had been destroyed by the Indians of Tepeaca. Cortes therefore resolved to be revenged on that nation, which lay between him and Vera Cruz, and the Tlascalans promised to interest themselves in the quarrel.

At this time ambassadors from the new emperor of Mexico arrived at Gualipar, whence they sent to desire leave of the senate to enter the city, with proposals of peace; and this being granted, with the consent of Cortes they made their public entry

with great splendour and solemnity, preceded by the carriers who brought the presents, which, as usual, consisted of gold and silver, fine cotton cloths, plumes and other curiosities. The ambassadors richly adorned with jewels, and attended by a numerous retinue, were received in the senate-house, where they made offers of peace and perpetual alliance, on condition of their declaring war against the Spaniards, and assisting them in their endeavours to extirpate those insolent strangers. Their speech was interrupted by the murmurs of the assembly, who were exasperated at the proposal. However, they were permitted to retire to the lodgings assigned them, until the senate should deliberate upon the subject of the embassy, when it was unanimously agreed to reject their proposals. But the ambassadors did not wait for a formal dismissal: for dreading lest some popular insurrection should be formed against them, they fled with great precipitation.

Notwithstanding the regard the Tlascalans upon this, and other occasions, shewed for the Spaniards, Xicotencal still hated and envied Cortes, and had hitherto disguised these dispositions under the mask of friendship. Though he did not so much as speak in the senate, in behalf of the Mexican proposals, he took the opportunity of sowing jealousies among the people, by means of his friends, who privately magnified the advantages of an alliance with the Mexicans, and represented their friendship for the Spaniards, as a dangerous connexion, that would entail slavery and oppression upon them and their posterity. The senate was soon informed of these practices, and upon this occasion held a consultation, at which Xicotencal's father gave his opinion, that his son should suffer death, as a sower of sedition; but out of respect to the grey hairs and character of the father, they were unwilling

to deprive him of life ; they however ordered that he should be brought before them in chains, when they reproached him for his perfidioufness ; deprived him of the honours he enjoyed, and caused him to be thrown down the stairs of the senate-house. A few days after this degradation, Xicotencal implored forgiveness of Cortes, who did not know of his crime till after the punishment was inflicted, and by his interposition in his behalf, he was restored to his former rank and honours.

Xicotencal now endeavoured to atone for his fault by his diligence in assembling the troops of the republic. Mean while the soldiers who came with Narvaez, being disgusted at the fatigues and dangers they had undergone, and intimidated at the thoughts of a new war, loudly exclaimed against the expedition to Tepeaca, and even delivered a formal protestation to Cortes, signifying their refusal to undertake that enterprize, and their desire to march immediately for Vera Cruz, where they might be nearer at hand to solicit reinforcements form St. Domingo and Jamaica.

Cortes was greatly provoked at this insolent remonstrance ; but thought proper to disguise his resentment, and to represent to them, that as the Tepeacans had seized the passes of the mountains, it was impossible for them to reach Vera Cruz without fighting them, in which he should be assisted by the Tlascalan troops, that were assembling for that purpose ; but he assured them that as soon as those Indians should be subdued, they who were unwilling to follow his fortune, should have free leave to depart.

Cortes, having thus reconciled his troops to the service, marched with 8000 choice Tlascalans commanded by officers of distinguished valour, and left the care of bringing up the rest to Xicotencal. Hav-

ing proceeded three leagues they spent the night in a village abandoned by the enemy ; and the next morning Cortes ordered some peasants, who had been taken by the advanced guard, to be brought before him, gave them some presents, and set them at liberty, on their promising to tell the Cacique of Tepeaca, in his name, that he was come to revenge the death of the Spaniards, whom they had treacherously murdered, yet if they would join him and his allies against the Mexicans, he would pardon what was passed, and consider them as friends. With this message the Indians departed, and returned the next day with an answer, in which all terms of peace were rejected, and the Spaniards threatened with being carried to the altars of their gods. The Tepeacans now took the field in order to stop their march, and formed an ambuscade in some fields of maize, which might have turned to their advantage, had not their impatience occasioned their being discovered by Cortes, when at a considerable distance. He however marched on as if he had not the least suspicion ; but suddenly wheeling about, attacked them with great fury, and made a prodigious slaughter. The battle soon became general ; but though the Tepeacans fought with great bravery, they were soon thrown into confusion, and being deserted by their Mexican allies, were totally routed, with the loss of almost their whole army. They therefore the same night sent deputies to implore the mercy of the conqueror.

The next day Cortes marched with his army, into the city, where the inhabitants threw themselves at his feet with marks of extreme fear. But upon his ordering his interpreters to proclaim king Charles, and a general pardon in the name of that prince, their apprehensions were converted into joy, and they intreated Cortes to take their

city into his protection, that they might never more be influenced by the Mexicans to renounce their treaty with the Spaniards. Cortes instantly took advantage of this request, fortified the city with pallisadoes and a trench, and built a kind of citadel to keep them in obedience, and secure the passage to Vera Cruz. But before this work was begun, he sent all the prisoners who had been taken in the battle to Tlascala, where, by his direction they were publicly sold for slaves.

Some time after Xicotencal arrived with 35,000 more troops, when Cortes, in order to keep them employed, sent different detachments, under the conduct of Spanish officers, to reduce some parts of the province of Tepeaca, from whence they returned victorious after they had enriched themselves with a considerable booty, and a great number of captives, who were also sold for slaves.

Quetlavaca, emperor of Mexico, dying about this time, the electors conferred the Imperial dignity upon Quatimozin, son-in-law to Montezuma, a young prince of great sagacity, who immediately encouraged the soldiers with rewards and considerable privileges; treated his nobles with affability, and exempted his subjects from all tribute, during the continuance of the war; made presents to the Caciques on his frontiers, in order to confirm him in their fidelity, and sent an army of 30,000 men for their support.

Cortes received an account of these transactions from some deputies from the Cacique of Guacachula, a populous and warlike city, situated in the road to Mexico, who came to complain of the tyranny of the Mexicans, and to implore the assistance of the Spaniards against them. As Cortes made no doubt of this Cacique's sincerity, and thought it highly necessary to expel the enemy from such an important place, he immediately

formed a body of 30,000 Tlafcalans, with 300 Spaniards, and 13 horse, and the next morning sent this army with the envoys of Guacachula, under the command of Christoval de Olid, who was directed to repulse the enemy, and take possession of the town. They proceeded very cheerfully for six leagues, when being about that distance from Guacachula, they were told by the peasants, that the emperor of Mexico was marching against them with all his forces, and this report made such an impression upon Narvaez's soldiers, that they positively refused to proceed, and De Olid found it very difficult to prevail on them to break this resolution. This dispute was scarcely ended when several bodies of armed men were seen advancing towards them from the mountains with great expedition. Upon which De Olid instantly drew up his people in order of battle. However some horse, which he had sent out for intelligence, soon informed him that these Indians were commanded by the Cacique of Guazocingo, and some of his neighbours, whose dominions had been ravaged by the Mexicans, and who were coming to assist the Spaniards. The Tlafcalans however suspected their motives, and persuaded the Spaniards that they were not to be trusted, as they were probably sent by the Mexicans in order to fall upon the Spaniards during the engagement. This opinion had such an effect upon De Olid, that he immediately caused the Caciques to be seized, and sent in irons to Cortes, who continued at Tepeaca. This inconsiderate action, however, produced no ill consequence, for as the Indians really came with a design to assist Cortes, they resolved to wait patiently for his determination, which they hoped would do justice to their sincerity, and indeed they were not disappointed. Cortes appeared equally displeased and concerned to see the Caciques in

chains, and instantly ordered their fetters to be knocked off, received them in the most friendly manner, and made an apology for the rashness of his captain, whom he promised to reprimand, and then set out with them in person to take the command of the troops.

Cortes no sooner arrived at the camp, than every thing like mutiny disappeared; he blamed De Olid for his inconsiderate behaviour, and joining his new allies, marched directly to Guacachula. The Mexicans, being informed of his motions, advanced between him and the city, and began the battle with great fury, when the Caciques of Guacachula taking advantage of this opportunity, fell suddenly upon the rear of the Mexicans, who in a little more than half an hour were entirely defeated. The Spaniards then entered the city where they took up their quarters, while the Tlascalans and the other confederates, whose number was continually increasing, staid without the wall, and many other Caciques joining them, Cortes's army, soon after the battle amounted to 120,000 men.

Cortes now resolved to reduce Yzucon, a town naturally of great strength, fortified with walls and ravelins, defended in front by a river, and garrisoned with 10,000 Mexicans who had broke down the bridge in order to dispute the passage. Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, De Olid, who commanded the vanguard, attempted to cross the river, and though his horse was killed under him, and himself wounded in the thigh, he with his troops gained the opposite bank, and drove the enemy into the city, which they made a shew of defending; but the Spaniards had scarce received orders for the attack, when the cries of the enemy suddenly ceased; the garrison disappeared, and the city was forsaken by the inhabit-

ants; but some of the fugitives being brought back, were instantly discharged with the offer of a pardon and good treatment, to all who should return to their houses; and this had such an effect, that the town was almost filled the same day. The spoil obtained in these two actions, Cortes distributed among his new allies, and then returned with the Tlascalans to Tepeaca, where the fort and settlement was now completed, to which he gave the name of Segura de la Frontera.

CHAPTER XV.

Several ships arrive upon the coast with recruits from Velasquez, who all join Cortes. Deputies sent to the Court of Spain to desire more assistance. The Spaniards march towards Mexico. Cortes's expedition against Tezeuco, where he sets up a new Cacique.

A Ship arrived about this time at St. Juan de Ulua, with thirteen Spanish soldiers, some provisions and ammunition, and two horses, sent by Diego de Velasquez to Narvaez; under the command of Pedro de Barba. Pedro de Cavallero, who commanded some troops on the coast, discovering this vessel, put off from shore in a boat, and saluted the new-comers with great civility; when Pedro de Barba enquiring after Narvaez, he replied without hesitation, that he was well and in great prosperity; for all those countries had submitted to him, while Cortes, with a few of his followers, had fled to the mountains. De Barba, being deceived by this intelligence, landed with-

out distrust, and was conducted to Vera Cruz, where finding himself outwitted, he readily embraced Cortes's interest, and received the command of a company of cross-bows. After which Cortes gained the affections of the soldiers, by making them presents, with which they were so pleased, that they readily enlisted in his service. He then read the letter intended for Narvaez, in which Velasquez promised to send him powerful succours, and ordered him to transport Cortes to Cuba, that he might be carried as a criminal to Spain, where the Bishop of Burgos intended to make a public example of him in the most ignominious manner.

Eight days after a second ship arrived with eight soldiers more, and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, and the officer who commanded this vessel, being also trepanned by Cavallero, and sent to Segura, both he and his men also entered into the service of Cortes.

As the general was resolved to make a new attempt to conquer Mexico, he formed the scheme of building 12 or 13 brigantines, that should be able to resist the Indian canoes, in order to escape the danger of passing the causeways, and these he proposed to carry in pieces on the shoulders of the Indian carriers, over the mountains of Tlascalala, to a river in the neighbourhood of the lake. This singular project he communicated to Martin Lopez, who not only approved of the design, but undertook to execute it with the utmost facility, and was therefore immediately sent to Tlascalala, with all the Spanish carpenters, and a number of Indians to cut wood. He at the same time employed many hands in extracting pitch from trees that grew upon the mountains, and sent others to the volcano discovered by Diego de Ordaz, from whence they brought a large quantity of sulphur, which was

made into gun-powder. These previous steps being taken, Cortes left instructions with the new council of Segura, and having appointed a commander of the garrison, which consisted of about twenty Spanish soldiers, set out for Tlascala.

It has been already observed that Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, had sent to order Cortes not make any settlement upon this coast. But notwithstanding the disappointment he met with in having his messengers seized, he now resumed the enterprize, and sent three ships, but his soldiers had no sooner landed, than they were attacked with such fury by the Indians, that they were obliged to return to the ships in great disorder. His ships were afterwards separated for some days, when each of them severally formed the same design, and without knowing the sentiments of each other, arrived almost at the same instant on the coast of Vera Cruz, in order to serve under Cortes. The first ship that made land had sixty Spanish soldiers on board, and was commanded by captain Carnago; the second brought fifty men and seven horses, under the command of a brave and experienced officer, named Miguel Diaz de Cruz; and the third brought about forty soldiers, ten horses, and great plenty of arms and provisions, and was commanded by captain Ramirez.

These people took the road to Tlascala, and were received with great joy by the general and his people: but notwithstanding this acquisition of strength, the soldiers brought by Narvaez were still importunate for leave to return to the island of Cuba, and reminding Cortes of the promise he had made before they set out on the expedition to Tepeaca; he was now the more inclined to grant their request for his having received this reinforcement of men, whom he imagined would be more obedient to his command. He therefore caused

proclamation to be made that all who desired to return should be furnished with vessels and all other necessaries. Upon which the greatest part of those who came with Narvaez, seized this opportunity of returning to Cuba, among whom was Andres de Duero, who had been Cortes's particular friend.

Cortes having directed Alverado to see these men embark, sent orders to the confederates to get ready to march on the first notice, and in the mean time resolved to equip a vessel, and send other agents to Spain, in order to forward the negotiations of Portocarrero and Montejo, and to desire them to send him an account of his interest at court, about which he was very anxious. For this purpose he wrote a memorial to the king, which contained an account of all the incidents that had happened, from the time of his marching out of Zempoalla until his retreat to Tlascala, with an account of the wealth, power, and extent of the Mexican empire, and the alliances he had concluded with the Indian nations, as the most proper means to bring that vast and fertile country under the dominion of Spain. He desired speedy justice against the proceedings of Diego de Velasquez, and Francisco de Garay, solicited succours of men, horses, arms and ammunition ; and besought his majesty to send some ecclesiastics of approved virtue, to assist father de Olmeda in the conversion of the Indians. The two councils of Vera Cruz and Segura also wrote to his majesty on these subjects.

Cortes intrusted these dispatches to the care of Diego de Ordaz and Alonzo de Mendoza, who a few days after embarked for Spain, after their having received private instructions to conceal their commission till they should find Cortes's father and the two agents, with whom they were to

act in consort; and to give the greater weight to their joint solicitations, they carried a second present for the emperor*, which consisted of gold and some curiosities. He at the same time dispatched Alonzo Davila, and Francisco Alvarez Chico with letters to the regulars of St. Jerome, who presided in the royal audience of St. Domingo, and had jurisdiction over all the islands and new discoveries on the main land, intreating their speedy assistance in promoting his success, and the interposition of their authority in putting a stop to the proceedings of Velasquez and Garay: and these fathers soon sent him a favourable answer, in which they promised to support the justice of his pretensions to the king of Spain, and to check all the efforts of his rivals.

After a prosperous voyage, Ordas and Mendoza arrived at Seville, were they found the commissioners of trade had express orders from the bishop of Burgos to imprison any one sent from New Spain, and to seize the gold and other merchandise brought from thence. Therefore leaving the present for the emperor in the hands of those judges, they thought themselves happy in escaping with their letters and dispatches, and went in search of Martin Cortes, and the two agents, who had been before sent from Mexico. These persons they found at Medellin, and being afterwards encouraged by Adriano, the cardinal regent, to whom they shewed Cortes's letters, entered a prosecution against the bishop of Burgos in his own court, and obtained a verdict in their favour. This sentence being laid before the emperor, who at this time was just returned from Germany, it was approved by his majesty, and Hernando Cortes was declared a faith-

* Charles I. king of Spain, had some time before been raised to the Imperial throne, and was the fifth emperor of that name.

ful subject; perpetual silence was ordered to be imposed on Velafquez, with respect to any pretensions to the conquest of New Spain, and he was only allowed to sue for the money he had expended in fitting out Cortes's fleet; several marks of the royal favour were bestowed on Martin Cortes, on account of his son's merit; some regulars were named for the conversion of the Indians, and a fleet was ordered to be speedily fitted out, with a supply of men, ammunition, and horses.

Cortes in the mean time received another unexpected supply of thirteen Spanish soldiers, who came in order to seek their fortunes, in a vessel that arrived at Vera Cruz, laden with arms, gunpowder, and provisions. He therefore resolved to begin his march, and as the troops of his allies were already assembled, he did not choose to wait till the brigantines were finished. It was agreed that their first attempt should be made upon Tezeuco, which being in the road from Tlascalala, and almost upon the borders of the lake, they resolved to fortify and maintain as a sure retreat, where they might be sheltered from all the accidents of war.

This resolution being taken, Cortes reviewed the Spaniards, who amounted to 540 soldiers with forty horse, and nine pieces of artillery, that were brought on shore from the ships. This review was made with great ostentation, in order to raise the admiration of the Indians, an innumerable concourse of whom were assembled to see the spectacle; and they were so delighted with the flying colours, and the dexterity of the soldiers in managing the horses, handling their arms, and saluting the general, that they filled the air with acclamations of applause. Xicotencal, at the head of 10,000 Tlascalans, complimented Cortes, by appearing in his gayest accoutrements, and performed

the Indian exercise with equal pomp and agility. All his captains being adorned with variegated feathers, and jewels hanging at their ears and lips, they carried their two handed swords under the left arm, with the points upwards, and each was attended by a page who bore his shield, on which was represented in figures his own warlike achievements.

Cortes being sensible of the difficulty of governing an army composed of many different nations without strict discipline, formed several articles of war to be observed on pain of death, such as that no man should draw his sword against another, either in their quarters, or upon the march. That a Spaniard should neither in word or action insult a confederate Indian. That no man should violate or abuse a woman, though belonging to the enemy. That no soldier should without leave quit the army to go and plunder, and that they should not play away their horses and arms. He also prohibited blasphemy, swearing, and other crimes, on pain of infamy, and degradation. These orders being interpreted to the commanders of the Indian troops, had a surprizing effect in reforming their discipline, and after a few examples had been made, they behaved with the utmost regularity and circumspection.

The general having settled these wise regulations and every thing being ready for the march, he caused the Spaniards to be drawn up, and then made a speech, in which he exhorted them to behave with complacency to the poor Indians, who had so warmly espoused their interest, and declared his intention to punish offenders with all the rigour of military discipline; reminded them of the honour they had already acquired; represented the harvest of glory that lay before them, and protested

that he would upon all occasions reward superior merit to the utmost of his ability and judgment.

After this speech which was answered with loud acclamations, he, on the feast of Innocents, in the year 1520, put himself at the head of the army, which consisted of 60,000 men, and having before sun-set marched six leagues took up his quarters in Tezmeluca, a town on the confines of Mexico, under the jurisdiction of Guacozingo who had provided plenty of provisions for the whole army. The next day they proceeded with all possible precaution into the enemy's country, and being informed that the Mexicans were assembled on the other side of a mountain, on the road to Tezeuco, halted all night in the open fields, making large fires on account of the weather. Early in the morning they began to ascend the mountain, which was overgrown with wood: but having proceeded about a league, they found the way blocked up with trees, and sharp stakes fixed in the sand in order to wound the horses. However these impediments were soon removed by a detachment of 2000 Tlascalans, and small parties were sent to guard against ambuscades. Having marched two leagues farther they arrived at the summit of the mountain, from which they had a view of the great lake of Mexico, and saw fires successively kindled in the distant towns, as signals of their approach. Then continuing their march till they got clear of the woods, they descried the enemy's army at a great distance. It filled a large plain, through which ran a river collected from the neighbouring hills, and over it was laid a small wooden bridge, which was left as a decoy to the Spaniards, whom they intended to attack before they could form on the other side; but as Cortes advanced, their courage failed them, and they gradually retired from the pass, until part of the Spaniards had

crossed the bridge, when 20 horse, and a body of Tlascalans being detached to keep them in play, they fled with great precipitation, and took shelter among the rocks and mountains, whither Cortes did not think fit to pursue them.

That evening the troops took up their quarters in a place within three leagues of Tezeuco, and the next day continued their march, when they observed ten unarmed Indians hastening towards them with a plate of gold fastened to the top of a lance, as a signal of peace. These were ambassadors from the Cacique of Tezeuco, and came to beseech Cortes to spare his country, and to admit him into the number of his confederates. They let him know that he had provided good quarters for the Spaniards in the city, and that his allies would be supplied with all necessaries without the walls. Being examined in private, they told Cortes that the present Emperor had threatened their prince with intolerable oppression, on account of his having refused to vote for him at his election, which had made him resolve to sue for his protection.

This prince was probably Cacumazin, who had been dispossessed by Montezuma, and restored by the new emperor, on account of his inveteracy against the Spaniards. However this be, Cortes called a council of his officers, let them know the proposals he had received, and that he doubted the Cacique's sincerity. Upon which it was resolved to proceed with great precaution, and in the mean time to embrace, with seeming pleasure, the proffered alliance, in order to obtain a free entrance into the town, where they might continue upon their guard, and act as occasion should require. Cortes therefore dispatched the ambassadors with thanks, and that night lodged in a village by the town, which was deserted by its in-

habitants, a circumstance that increased the general's suspicion, especially as the Cacique did not come out to congratulate him upon his arrival. In the morning he was preparing to attack the town, when he found the gates open, and having entered without resistance, he advanced in order through the streets, until he arrived at a large square in which he drew up the greatest part of his men, while the rest guarded the avenues. The inhabitants, who, in several places, appeared in crowds, had all the signs of fear, and as there was not a woman to be seen, the general made no doubt of their having formed some hostile design. He therefore dispatched several officers, and some Tlascalans to take possession of the chief temple, which being performed, they observed great numbers of the inhabitants flying, some to the mountains, and others in canoes to Mexico, whither the Cacique himself had retired, attended by a few followers; for Cortes was soon informed, that the Cacique finding, on the return of his ambassadors, how strongly Cortes was supported by his Indian allies, was afraid of putting in execution a scheme he had formed for letting the Spaniards into the city, where, being in full security, he thought they might be destroyed in one night by the Mexicans, whom he had promised to admit in the dark for that purpose. Upon receiving this intelligence, Cortes resolved to conciliate the affections of the people, by forbidding his soldiers, under the severest penalties to commit the least outrage against the inhabitants. All the Spaniards, and part of the Tlascalans, he quartered in the Cacique's palace, while the rest, to prevent incommoding the people, lodged in the neighbouring streets, without entering the houses.

The next morning some of the priests came with a petition in behalf of their gods, to return thanks

for the moderation with which they had been treated, and to desire permission for the nobles to come and make an offer of their obedience and friendship. This request being granted, they came in great formality, headed by a youth of a genteel mien, who told Cortes, that he came with his friends to serve in his army, and hoped they should deserve his protection; Cortes embraced the young man, and having received his followers with marks of respect, retired with them to a private apartment, in order to ask them some questions by means of his interpreters: when they let him know, that the youth was son to the elder brother of Cacumazin, and heir to the crown, which that usurper had possessed, after murdering the lawful sovereign, and that he had rendered himself odious by his tyranny and oppression. Upon hearing these circumstances, Cortes resolved to raise this young prince to the throne, and the next day caused him to be crowned with great solemnity, when the people expressed their satisfaction by the loudest acclamations. In consequence of this revolution the city was soon re-peopled by the return of those families that had fled to the mountains; the Mexicans were declared the enemies of the city, and the Spaniards revered as its benefactors.

CHAPTER XVI.

Cortes marches to the City of Iztapalapa, where he and his Army narrowly escape being drowned. The War with Mexico renewed. Several Brigantines built by Cortes's Order at Zempoalla, brought in Pieces to Tezeuco, in order to navigate the Lakes of Mexico. He takes several Towns, but is repulsed at Tacuba, and his Army exposed to great Danger; whereupon he returns to Tezeuco.

CORTES, in order to facilitate his enterprize upon Mexico, and to employ his Indian allies, now resolved to advance with part of his forces to the city of Iztapalapa, situated six leagues nearer Mexico, on the side of the causeway. He set out on this expedition with 300 Spaniards, and 10,000 Tlascalans, leaving the military government of Tezeuco to Gonzalo de Sandoval. They began their march by the causeway, designing first to possess themselves of that part of the city which was built upon it, and to dislodge the inhabitants, with the artillery and fire-arms, from the other part that was built on the lake. But they no sooner came within sight of Iztapalapa, than they were opposed by a body of 8000 Mexicans, who fought with great bravery, and then retired into the city, where, without staying to defend the entrance, or shut up the gates, they threw themselves into the lake, and suddenly disappeared.

Cortes, finding that the gates were left open, entered the city, the higher part of which was entirely abandoned, and promised to take up his quarters there for the night; but it no sooner began to grow dark, than the Spaniards perceived the canals overflow, and the water of the lake

rushing with great impetuosity from a number of sluices, which obliged them to quit the place in the greatest hurry to prevent the whole army being drowned.

Cortes, was extremely mortified at the success of this stratagem, and spent the night on a little rising ground, where the troops suffered by the wetness of their clothes and the coldness of the weather, and at day break retreated towards Tezeuco, making his men march as fast as possible to keep them warm; but they had not advanced far, when seeing themselves pursued by a vast multitude of the enemy, they were obliged to face about in order to sustain the attack, which was very violent: the Mexicans however being soon repulsed with considerable loss, the army resumed their march; but notwithstanding this the enemy rallied, and twice returned to the charge, by which they lost above 6000 men.

While Cortes continued at Tezeuco, many of the neighbouring Caciques came to enter into an alliance with him against the emperor of Mexico, and among others, deputies arrived in great haste from the provinces of Chalco and Otumba, to solicit assistance against an army of Mexicans that appeared upon their frontiers, in order to punish them for having entered into an alliance with the Spaniards. Cortes resolving to grant them immediate assistance, detached Gonzalo de Sandoval and Francisco de Lugo with 200 Spaniards, 15 horse and a body of Tlascalans. These were attacked in their march by a body of Mexicans, who lay in ambuscade; but though they were easily routed, they afterwards assembled a formidable army in the road; however Sandoval and Lugo being apprized of their design, advanced in great order, and though the Mexicans rushed upon them with great impetuosity, they met with so warm a

reception from the fire-arms and cross-bows, as put them to a stand, when the horse advancing, were followed by the infantry and Tlascalans, who soon threw them into confusion, and being at the same time attacked in the rear by the troops of Otumba and Chalco, they were entirely defeated with a terrible slaughter; and eight of the most considerable persons in the army were taken prisoners. After which the Spaniards passed the night in the city of Chalco, where they were entertained with great hospitality; and as the Chalquese had long been at enmity with the Tlascalans, the Spanish captains seized this opportunity of proposing a peace between the two nations, and it was afterwards confirmed by the senate of Tlascala.

Sandoval and Lugo having thus happily terminated this expedition, returned to Tezeuco, when Cortes ordered the eight Mexican prisoners to be brought before him, and received them in the midst of his captains with a look of great severity, while they had all the marks of terror and confusion, expecting the punishment they thought inevitable; but he let them know, that though it was in his power to make them suffer for the barbarous cruelties they had exercised on his people, he would convince them that Spaniards were as much their superiors in generosity, as in valour, and that he would grant them both life and liberty, if they would promise him to inform their prince, that he was coming to demand satisfaction for their perfidiously attacking him in his march from Mexico, in direct opposition to the treaty which they themselves had proposed and confirmed. But principally to revenge Montezuma's death, and that his army being now augmented, he would in a short time seek the emperor in the midst of his court, and lay the city of Mexico in ashes, unless

he would sue for peace, which should be granted on reasonable terms. He then ordered the prisoners to be unchained, and to have a boat to carry them to Mexico by water, at which they threw themselves at his feet, and promised not only to make the emperor acquainted with what he said; but to use their utmost endeavours to procure an accommodation.

Martin Lopez about this time sent word to the general that the brigantines were finished, and that he would speedily set forward with them, the republic of Tlascala having provided 10,000 carriers, and 2000 to relieve those who should be tired, besides those appointed to carry the provision and ammunition; but he thought it adviseable to stay in the last town of the Tlascalans for a convoy of Spaniards, since it would not be prudent to pass through the Mexican territories without any other force than that of the Indian allies.

This news filled the army with joy; and Cortes immediately gave orders to Sandoval to march with 200 Spaniards, fifteen horse, and also some companies of Tlascalans, towards the territories of the republic, in order to conduct Lopez with his materials to Tezeuco. This officer accordingly set out, but halted at Zalepeque, a small town that refused to submit, and was the very place where the Spaniards were murdered in their way from Vera Cruz to Mexico, for which reason he had orders to chastise and reduce the inhabitants; but they no sooner perceived the detachment than they fled to the mountains; when Sandoval entering the town, found written with charcoal upon a wall, "In this house the unhappy Juan Justina was taken, with many others of his companions;" and afterwards they found, in one of the temples, the heads of the Spaniards dried to preserve them from putrefaction.

This dreadful fight filled the Spaniards with rage, and Sandoval resolved to punish the inhabitants with the utmost rigour. At this instant several companies that had been detached in pursuit of the fugitives, returned with a great number of men, women, and children, after having killed upon the mountains all who refused to surrender. These poor creatures half dead with fear, implored the mercy of the Spaniards by their tears and outcries, and soon moved them to compassion. Sandoval privately desired the officers to intercede in their behalf, that they might set the greater value upon their pardon, which he at length granted, and received the submission of the Cacique and principal citizens, who afterwards strictly adhered to the Spaniards.

The remains of the murdered Spaniards being decently buried, Sandoval continued his march to the frontiers of Tlascala, where Martin Lopez received him with joy. He had with him a young officer called Chichemecal, who commanded the Tlascalan reinforcement, and had been with difficulty persuaded to wait for the Spanish detachment, he being extremely desirous of distinguishing himself against the Mexicans. The men having been allowed sufficient time for rest and refreshment, Sandoval prepared for marching back to Tezeuco, when Chichemecal took such umbrage at his being stationed in the rear, that he could scarcely be prevailed upon to proceed, until Sandoval proposed to march along with him. The vanguard consisted of part of the Spaniards and Tlascalans who came from Tezeuco. The carriers marched rank and file with their burdens, and being properly secured on their flanks, formed the main body, while the rear was brought up by the new reinforcement. In this order they marched through the Mexican territories, without being

molested by the enemy, though different bodies of Mexicans frequently appeared on the distant hills. On approaching Tezeuco, they were met by Cortes and the Cacique of that city, and made their entrance into it amidst the acclamations of the whole army, after which all the materials were separately stored in a large work-house prepared for that purpose near the canals.

Cortes, being informed that the vessels could not be finished in less than twenty days, resolved to engage in some enterprize, and therefore leaving the government of Tezeuco to Sandoval, put himself at the head of a detachment of 250 Spanish Infantry, 20 horse, and a numerous body of the nobles of Tezeuco; 15,000 Tlascalans, under the command of Chichemecal, and about 5000 commanded by Xicotencal; and began his march towards Yaltocan, a town five leagues from Tezeuco, situated upon one of the small lakes that discharged themselves into the great lake of Mexico, resolving to chastise the inhabitants for returning an insolent answer, and wounding the messengers he had sent to require their obedience. He found the Mexicans drawn up in order of battle at a small distance from the town; but after the first discharge of the fire-arms and cross-bows, the horse rushed in amongst them, put them into disorder, and they were soon entirely defeated, with a great slaughter, those who survived flying to the mountains.

After this victory, Cortes deferred making an assault upon the town till the next day. But the enterprize was found much more difficult than was imagined, for it was situated in the lake, and the bridge or causeway being broke down, it was entirely surrounded with water, whence it would have been impossible to have carried the place, had not Cortes been informed by one of the Indians of Tezeuco, that a little higher the lake was fordable.

He immediately ordered two companies of Spaniards, supported by a large number of the allies, to pass over, which they performed in spite of the enemy, who boldly defended the passage with their slings and arrows, and obliged every man to fight while he was up to the middle in water; but the Mexicans were no sooner driven from the shore, and observed the Spaniards drawing up in a plain near the town, than retiring with precipitation to their canoes, they left the place unguarded, upon which the Spaniards entered without opposition. The soldiers were allowed to plunder the town, in order to punish the inhabitants; but they left very little behind them; however, some loads of corn and salt were transported to the army, with considerable quantities of cotton cloths, and some jewels, which had not been concealed; fire was then set to the principal temples, in order to strike terror into the fugitives; after which the army repassed the ford.

Cortes then continued his march, and found several towns, situated upon the lake, that had been abandoned by the inhabitants, in each of which he lodged one night, in order to make observations, and afterwards retired without suffering any damage to be done to the buildings, to shew the Indians that he never used rigour, but when he met with resistance.

He now advanced towards Tacuba, a place of great importance, on account of its being nearer to Mexico than any other town upon the lake; but he only designed to take a view of it, in order to form some scheme for attacking it at a more convenient opportunity. Upon his approaching the town, he observed a vast multitude of the enemy, and in an instant they poured upon him with their usual impetuosity; but after several ineffectual efforts they fled, and were pursued with

great slaughter. The Spaniards passed the night in the field of battle, and the next morning were again assaulted by the enemy, who on their being once more routed, fled into Tacuba, and being closely pursued, some of the Spaniards and allies entered with them ; and maintained the fight within the city, till night approaching, Cortes ordered them to be called back, and to set fire to the houses, in order to employ the Mexicans, and give the Spaniards time to make their retreat.

Cortes staid five days in this place, during which he was frequently attacked by the Indians, who were always driven back to the city with great loss, whence he began to entertain hopes of carrying the town after the garrison should be wasted by these diurnal sallies. At length he observed a considerable body of Mexicans advancing on the causeway, and having permitted a part of them to pass and draw up on the main land, he charged them with great fury, when, after a faint resistance, they fled towards the causeway, and he following, fell into the snare they had laid for him ; for his troops were no sooner crowded on this narrow pavement, than the Mexicans faced about, while innumerable canoes sailed out of Mexico, and invested both sides of the causeway, by which means the Spaniards were at the same time attacked in front, flank, and rear. What rendered their situation still more dangerous, many of the Mexicans were armed with long spears, pointed with the swords they had taken from the unfortunate soldiers who had been killed in their retreat from that city. In this emergency Cortes formed a front every way, made great havock among the enemy, and at length brought off his troops, many of whom were wounded, and a pair of colours in great danger of being taken.

Cortes being sensible of the difficulty of reducing Tacuba, returned to Tezeuco, where he had the satisfaction of learning that a vessel was arrived at Vera Cruz, laden with a great quantity of arms and amunition, with a person on board named Julian de Alderete, who came in the character of the king's treasurer, and some Spanish soldiers of distinction who instantly marched to Tlascala, where they obtained an escort which conducted them to Tezeuco.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Sandoval obtains three victories over a Mexican army. Cortes marches to Suchimilco; makes an unsuccessful attempt to scale a mountain defended by the Mexicans; defeats a Mexican army; obtains a second victory before Suchimilco, and takes that city, where he narrowly escapes being carried prisoner to Mexico.

ABOUT this time the Caciques of Chalco and Thumanalco sending messengers to Cortes to desire his assistance against a powerful army of Mexicans, he ordered Sandoval to march with a body of forces to their relief. The Mexicans had fortified themselves in some hollow ways, where they were secured from being attacked by the horse, whence Sandoval, with great difficulty, dislodged them. They however rallied upon the plain, where they again soon gave way, and dispersed; but the Spaniards pursuing them, made such a terrible slaughter, that the greatest part of them were cut to pieces.

Immediately after, Sandoval, being informed that a body of 14, or 15,000 Mexicans were ad-

vancing towards him, the troops were called in from the pursuit, and being again ranged in order of battle, marched to meet them; but these fresh forces, being soon routed, fled in great confusion to the town of Guastapeque; the Spaniards entered the place at the same time, and dividing into several streets, drove out the enemy with a terrible slaughter. Sandoval allowed the soldiers to plunder the place, but soon after the Cacique and principal inhabitants making their submission, Sandoval took them into his protection.

The next day, Sandoval being informed that the Mexicans, who had escaped from the two last engagements had rendezvoused at Capistlan, he marched immediately to that town, which was situated on the top of a high rock, whence the Mexicans trusting to their situation, exasperated the Spaniards by their reproaches. Sandoval ordered the troops of Chalco and Tlascala to advance, on account of their being accustomed to those rugged passes; but they did not obey him with their usual alacrity, until he observing their backwardness, began to mount the rocks at the head of the Spaniards, when his example animated them to such a degree, that they clambered up with surprising intrepidity. The Mexicans seeing this retired with marks of despondence into the town, but were afterwards driven out to the very edge of the precipice, and all who did not throw themselves down were put to the sword.

Sandoval in these three engagements destroyed the Mexican army to a man. However the emperor ordered a new army to march, over whom the Chalquefe, after a desperate action, obtained a complete victory.

Cortes now resolved to penetrate in person as far as Suchimilco, a town upon the lake, with a broad causeway, which joined those that led to Mexico,

and this was a seasonable relief to the Chalquefe, who had discovered a new army of Mexicans on that fide. The confederate Caciques were already affembled in the city of Chalco, when Cortes unexpectedly arrived, and filled the city with joy and gratitude. That general being then told by the Indian fcouts, that the Mexicans had taken poffeffion of fome almoft inaccessible mountains on the road to Suchimilco, marched directly to a town which he found deserted by its inhabitants, and in which he fpent the night. The next morning he entered the mountainous country by a narrow and difficult path; while the Mexicans fhewed themfelves from the tops of the eminences on each fide. The army marched until they arrived at an opening. There Cortes ordered the men to attack a confiderable fortrefs, where the enemy appeared in great numbers; and without waiting to choofe the leaft difficult path, ordered Pedro de Barba, and Bernal Diaz de Castillo to begin the attack. The Mexicans at firft retired in feeming confufion; but when the Spaniards had mounted to the moft dangerous part of the precipice, they fuddenly returned with hideous outcries, and rolled down large ftones, which bore down every thing in their way. Cortes then feeing the impoffibility of fucceeding gave orders for their retreat, upon which they retired with the lofs of four Spaniards killed, and a number of them wounded.

Cortes now ordered the army to march, and in order to allure the Mexicans laid open his flanks, and then fuddenly turned fhort upon them, but was unable to do them much damage on account of the fwiftness of their flight, and the thicknefs of the woods. Thofe above at the fame time abandoned their fortification, and followed at a diftance. Cortes having proceeded a league and a half farther, perceived another fortrefs garrifoned

by the enemy; but not choosing to attack it, he encamped near a forsaken village. The general the next morning taking a view of the enemy's post, perceived an eminence within musket shot, which the Mexicans had neglected to occupy; but which was immediately seized by Alderete and Verdugo Barba, with the musketeers, who made such a successful fire, that the Mexicans, filled with terror, fled to the distant parts of the country.

Cortes now marched to Guastapeque: but before he reached it, the Cacique with the principal inhabitants invited him and the rest of the Spaniards to lodge there, to which he readily consented. They had however but little time to enjoy the pleasures of this place, for the general being informed that the enemy had halted at Quatlavaca, to dispute his passage over a hollow way filled with water, ordered the army to march thither. The passage seemed impracticable; but Cortes charged the enemy with the fire-arms and arrows, and ordered two or three bridges to be made of long trees, which being laid across the chasm, afforded a passage for the infantry, which the Mexicans seeing, attacked those who had passed over with such fury, that they could hardly stand their ground, and were in the most imminent danger, when Cortes, Alverado, Olid and Tapia, came to their assistance with the horse, who, together with some Tlascalans, charged the enemy with such impetuosity, that they were immediately disordered, routed, and pursued to the mountains with great slaughter.

Early the next morning Cortes marched towards Suchimilco; the first day they went through a defile three leagues long, and at night took up their quarters in some houses near the road. At day break they proceeded on their march, and perceived the Mexicans draw up in a plain, with

a large and rapid river in the front. Cortes extended the troops of his allies along the bank of the river, and while both sides made some discharges at each other with little effect, commanded the Spaniards to take the bridge that was between them; but they met with such an obstinate resistance, that they were twice repulsed. However, returning the third time, they gained the pass, which so discouraged the Mexicans, that they began to fly in great disorder.

The Spaniards instantly formed upon the ground the Mexicans had quitted, and being joined by several bodies of the allies who had swam over the river, advanced towards the Mexicans, who had halted near the city, and fell upon them with such resolution as they were entering the gates, that they made a very great slaughter. Cortes then leaving part of his troops to secure a retreat, entered with the fugitives, and ordering some companies to force the barricadoes in the street on the right and left, advanced to the principal avenues, where the enemy had their greatest force. This he with some difficulty surmounted, and rushed forwards into a multitude of the enemy, but instantly finding himself surrounded, and his retreat cut off, he supported himself for some time, until his horse falling, he was in extreme danger, and nothing saved him but the great desire of the Mexicans to seize him alive for a present to the emperor; but before they could carry him off, Christoval de Olea, a common soldier of distinguished bravery, seeing his distress, and calling to some Tlascalans who were fighting near him, put himself at their head, and forced his way to the place with such resolution, that he killed the Mexicans who had seized Cortes, and he having thus recovered his liberty with only two slight wounds, pushed the enemy so vigorously, that they fled to

that part of the city which was built in the water and left the Spaniards masters of all the streets upon the firm land.

The troops without the gates were in the mean while warmly attacked by a body of 10,000 Mexicans, who fought for some time with great obstinacy, but were at length glad to return with considerable loss.

This success made Cortes master of all the streets and buildings on the firm land, and having placed sufficient guards by the water-side, he ordered an officer and 20 or 30 soldiers to keep watch on the top of the principal temple. Near the close of the evening they discovered about 2000 armed canoes advancing with great speed from Mexico, upon which the guards at the landing places were immediately doubled, and in the morning about 15,000 of the enemy landed at a considerable distance from the city. Cortes immediately marched out and charged them with such impetuosity, that they were routed at the first attack, and the whole action appeared rather a chase than a victory.

Cortes having continued four days at Suchimilco, retired in good order, with the satisfaction of having accomplished the end of his expedition, by taking a view of that city and weakening the force of the enemy: he was however inwardly dissatisfied at his having lost nine or ten Spaniards in this expedition. For besides those who were killed in attempting to scale the mountains, three or four were taken alive, while they were pillaging one of the houses at Suchimilco, and two of his servants fell into an ambuscade by imprudently separating from the army.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The brigantines got ready for sailing on the lake. A plot to assassinate the general and his principal officers discovered. Xicotencal leaves Cortes to return home, but is pursued and killed. The brigantines launched upon the lake, and attacked by 4000 canoes, most of which are destroyed. An attack made upon the three causeways at once, in which the Spaniards are seasonably relieved by the brigantines; these clear the lake of the Mexicans, who afterwards invent several stratagems to destroy the Spaniards.

SOON after Cortes's return to Tezeucó, a foldier who had been long in the service came to him with marks of fear and concern, and desired a private audience, which being granted, he gave him all the particulars of a conspiracy that had been formed in his absence. The chief contriver of this treacherous design was a private foldier, named Antonio de Villafana, who disliked the enterprize against Mexico, blamed the general for his pursuit of that conquest, accusing him of obstinacy and rashness. Finding that his fellow foldiers listened to his insinuations, he expressed a desire of relinquishing the enterprize, and returning to Cuba; but as it was impossible to do this without Cortes's consent, he, after having sufficiently sounded his confederates, proposed to them a scheme for assassinating the general and all his principal officers, except Francisco Verdugo, who had married the sister of Diego Velasquez, and on him they proposed to confer the chief command, which would give a sanction to the mutiny, and be highly agreeable to the governor of Cuba;

but as they knew Verdugo to be a man of honour, they durst not acquaint him with their design. In short, the affair was managed with such dexterity, that the numbers of the conspirators daily increased, and it was at length agreed, to feign a packet from Vera Cruz with letters from Spain, and to give it the general while at table; that they should all go in together, under pretence of hearing the news, and while Cortes was reading the first letter, they were to make use of that opportunity to murder him and all his friends with their daggers.

The general having received this intelligence, went immediately, with two Alcades and some of his captains, to Villafana's quarters, where he found him with three or four of his accomplices, and having put him in irons, and ordered every body to retire, while he examined him in private, he took out of the wretch's bosom, a paper signed by all the conspirators, in which he found some names that greatly increased his concern; but concealing the paper from his friends, he ordered the soldiers who were found with Villafana to be put into another prison, and then withdrew, directing the officers of justice to proceed in his trial with all possible dispatch, without taking any notice of his accomplices; and Villafana being condemned to die, he was the next morning seen hanging at the window of his own lodging, so that his guilt and punishment were made public at the same time. But this being no time to satisfy justice with the lives of so many persons, the general pretended that Villafana had swallowed a paper which he believed contained the names of the conspirators, and then assembling his captains and soldiers, gave them a summary account of the design against his life, and the lives of many present; said that he thought himself happy in not

knowing Villafana's accomplices, and intreated his friends to enquire whether the Spaniards had any complaint to make against his proceedings, because he was above all things desirous of giving satisfaction to his soldiers, and was ready to correct his own faults. At the same time he ordered the soldiers who had been taken with Villafana, to be set at liberty, and behaved to the rest of the conspirators as usual, so that thinking him ignorant of their crime, they afterwards served him with extraordinary circumspection, to avert any suspicion of their fidelity. He however seized this opportunity of having 12 men, commanded by an officer, to guard his person.

Cortes was a few days after perplexed with another affair, that gave him no small disturbance. Xicotencal, having conceived some disgust at the general, resolved to leave the army, and having assembled some companies of Tlascalans who were attached to his interest, retired in the night, of which Cortes being informed, sent after him some noble Indians of Tezeuco to persuade him to return; but Xicotencal's answer so provoked the general, that he dispatched three companies of Spaniards, with an additional force of Indians, with orders to make him prisoner, or to kill him in case of resistance. As he defended himself to the last, it was impracticable to take him alive, and he no sooner fell, than his soldiers who fought with reluctance, readily submitted, and returned to Tezeuco, leaving their general hanging on a tree.

The brigantines being now ready, Cortes ordered them to be launched and rigged, and then reviewed the Spaniards, who amounted to 900 men, near 200 of whom used fire-arms and cross-bows, the rest were armed with swords, bucklers, and lances. He had also 86 horse, and 18 pieces of

cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition. He then ordered, on board each vessel, 20 Spaniards, under the command of a captain, with twelve rowers and one piece of artillery.

Cortes resolving to take possession at the same time of the three principal causeways: the expedition of Tacuba was intrusted to Alverado, who had 150 Spanish foot, 30 horse, 30,000 Tlascalans, and two pieces of cannon. The attack of the causeway called Iztapalapa was committed to Sandoval, who commanded 150 Spaniards, 24 horse, two pieces of artillery, and all the troops of Chalco, Cholula, and Guacocingo, amounting to above 40,000 men, and the attempt upon Cuyocan another of them was assigned to De Olid, with 160 Spaniards, two pieces of cannon, and 30,000 confederate Indians.

Alverado and Olid marched together as far as Tacuba, which was abandoned by the inhabitants, as were all the towns upon the lake, who were gone to defend Mexico. The two Spanish captains had notice that the Mexicans had formed a considerable body within half a league of the city to cover the aqueducts that supplied it with fresh water. Upon this intelligence they marched thither, and after a very obstinate battle, drove the enemy from their post; broke the aqueducts, and by this means effectually cut off their water.

Olid then marched to Cuyocan the other causeway; and Cortes having allowed Sandoval time to reach Iztapalapa, embarked with the Cacique of Tezeuco and his brother, and took upon himself the command of the lake, after having left a sufficient number of troops to cover his place of arms, and secure a communication with his quarters. His thirteen brigantines being drawn up in a line, and adorned with flags and streamers, he approached Mexico, and then sailing back, observed a pretty large castle, situated upon a small island

which the enemy thought impregnable. Cortes landed here with 150 Spaniards, and drove the enemy, who made a brave defence, into the castle, where they were so crowded, that having no room to manage their arms, they were obliged to surrender. The Spaniards then returned to their brigantines, in order to steer towards Iztapalapa, to assist Sandoval, when they observed a fleet of 4000 canoes assembling on the lake. Cortes drew up his vessels in the form of an half moon, and advanced towards the canoes, when a breeze of wind suddenly springing up, they began the attack at a distance with the artillery, and then making use of their sails, ran in among the canoes with such force as overfet all that stood in their way, while their fire-arms and cross-bows made a terrible slaughter. The nobles of Mexico, who had manned the 500 canoes in the front, made some opposition ; but most of these being destroyed, the rest were thrown into such confusion, that they ran foul of each other, so that the greatest part of them overfet, when the brigantines pursuing the miserable remains of this fleet with their cannon shot, forced them to take shelter in the canals of the city of Mexico.

Cortes passed the night near Tezeuco, and in the morning was preparing to sail to Iztapalapa, when he discovered a great number of canoes making towards Cuyocan, and following them found De Olid engaged on the causeway with the enemy who defended it, and at the same time with the canoes on each side, against each of whom being obliged to make a front, he was hardly able to keep the ground he had gained. The Mexicans had drawn up the bridges on the causeways towards the city, and mounting on them in ranks, charged from the top. The Spaniards were obliged to clear these places of defence with their

cross-bows, while fascines were brought to fill the ditch ; but a piece of artillery being brought up, it soon cleared the passages. De Olid had just made himself master of the first ditch when the canoes arrived ; but at the sight of the brigantines all the Mexicans fled with precipitation : and the canoes on the other side, as soon as three brigantines had got through a wide passage, retired in disorder towards the city,

The troops passed the night upon the causeway, and in the morning proceeded on their march with little or no opposition, until they approached the last bridge, which they found fortified with strong works, and the trenches that were cut in the streets were defended by a vast multitude of people. The artillery from the brigantines made a dreadful slaughter of them, while De Olid having ruined the fortification of the causeway, and filled up the ditch, charged the Mexicans who had defended them ; and Cortes landing with 30 Spaniards, gave such life to the attack, that the enemy quickly turned their backs, and the chief street of Mexico was gained. The fugitives however took possession of a temple near the entrance of the city, and from this post they defied the Spaniards ; but Cortes ordering three or four pieces of cannon to be landed, they were soon made sensible of their danger, and all that part of the city was forsaken ; the next day Cortes retired along the causeway to Cuyocan, guarded on each side by his brigantines, so that the enemy durst not disturb his march.

Cortes then proceeded to Iztapalapa, where he found Sandoval reduced to the last extremity. He had taken possession of the buildings on the land, and had made great havoc among those who approached in their canoes ; he had demolished some houses, and overthrown two or three reinforcements from Mexico, sent to attack him by land ;

and that day the Indians having abandoned a large building, he resolved to seize it, in order to enlarge his quarters. This scheme he effected by forming a passage with fascines, but he had no sooner entered the house with some of his people, than a great number of canoes which had lain in ambush, advanced with a multitude of Mexicans, who threw themselves into the water and dragging away the fascines cut off his retreat, by which means he was besieged on all sides, while the enemy discharged their arrows at him and his men, from all the terraces and windows of the neighbouring houses. He was in this distress when Cortes arrived, and observing the vast number of canoes in the water streets, advanced with all possible speed, and played his artillery with such success, that the enemy fled in great confusion. The loss of the Mexicans on this occasion was very great.

Cortes now resolved to quit the post he was in, and to dispatch Sandoval to Tapeaquilla, where there was another causeway, the possession whereof would effectually cut off the enemy's provisions, of which they already began to be in want. Sandoval advancing, and finding the place forsaken, lodged himself in it without resistance. The general then sailed to Tacuba to visit Alverado, who had met with various success; for though the place was deserted at his approach, he had, like De Olid, been obliged to beat down works, and to fill up ditches.

Cortes now resolved to put a stop to all operations by land, until he had made himself master of the lake; for this purpose he prevailed on the allied towns to send a vast number of canoes manned by the most expert Indians, who with the brigantines sailing continually about the lake, and along the three causeways, afforded them an op-

portunity of taking many canoes loaded with provisions and water, which reduced the besieged to great distress.

The Mexicans now sent canoes to clear the ditches, and made sallies in the night only to alarm their enemies, and fatigue them by want of sleep; that they might afterwards attack them with the advantage of fresh troops. They also built large piraguas strengthened with planks, in which they sheltered themselves from the shot in time of engagement. In these they came out in the night, and lay in ambush behind a grove of reeds in the lake, which effectually concealed them from view: and designing to draw thither the brigantines that cruised about the lake by two at a time, they provided three or four canoes laden with provisions for a bait, and fixed a considerable number of large stakes in the water to destroy or incumber the brigantines.

The next day, as they expected, two of the brigantines that attended Sandoval began their cruise, when the Mexicans sent out their canoes, which as soon as they were seen, pretended to fly and retire among the reeds, and the brigantines giving chase, fell in among the stakes, where they were so embarrassed, that they could neither move forward nor backwards. At the same instant the piraguas came out and attacked them on all sides with such fury, that the Spaniards must infallibly perish, had not some expert swimmers cut away the stakes with hatchets, and in the mean while they kept such a fire upon the enemy, that almost all the piraguas were sunk, but this victory was not obtained before the brigantines had received great damage.

Cortes however resolved to turn this stratagem against the enemy, and being sometime after informed that the Mexicans had concealed them-

selfes a second time among the reeds, he ordered six brigantines to steer off in the night, and lie in ambush among another parcel of reeds, at a small distance from the enemy's ambuscade. In the morning one of the brigantines began her cruise, and discovering the piraguas as if by accident, stood off immediately, and pretended to fly towards the place of the counter ambuscade, when she was instantly pursued by the piraguas, until being at a convenient distance, the other brigantines sallied out, and gave them such a terrible salute with their great guns, that at the very first discharge they were almost all sunk, and most of the men perished.

CHAPTER XIX.

Cortes offers a Peace to the Emperor, but his Priests prevent the accepting it. Upon which Cortes makes a general attack, and after an obstinate engagement is defeated. He afterwards renews the attack, makes a lodgement and obliges the Emperor to retire to the farthest part of the city. The Emperor and his Consort are seized in an attempt to escape, and the whole Empire of Mexico acknowledges their subjection to Spain. Cortes extends his conquests to the South-Sea, rebuilds Mexico, and dies in Spain.

CORTES being informed that the besieged began to want provisions, exerted his utmost diligence in cutting off all relief from the city, and in the mean time dismissed two Mexican noblemen with a message to the emperor Guatimozin, with overtures of peace. Upon which the emperor was

advised to agree to the general's proposals. This favourable disposition was however destroyed by the remonstrances of the priests; insomuch that Guatimozin himself declared that, to whatever distress the city should be reduced, he would put the first man to death, who should from thenceforward mention peace.

Cortes was no sooner informed of this, than he resolved to carry fire and sword into the city; and for that purpose sent orders to the commanders of the troops of Tacuba, and Tapeaquilla, while he himself marched by the causeway of Cuyocan at the head of the troops commanded by De Olid. All obstacles were soon removed, and the troops advanced without any considerable opposition to the last bridge, where the Indians had broken down part of the causeway to enlarge the ditch; and on the opposite bank they had raised a fortification covered with planks; it was however soon destroyed by the artillery, and the enemy retired into the city. Thus the shore being left free, Cortes ordered his men to land immediately, and to take on shore the horse and three pieces of cannon, but before he advanced into the streets he gave orders to Julian de Alderete to stay behind, and fill up the ditch, while the brigantines were to approach the scene of action by the great canals, and to fire upon the enemy. But Alderete no sooner heard them engaged, than thinking his employment dishonourable, he rushed forwards to have a share in the battle, leaving the care of filling up the ditch to another officer, who also abandoned it for the same reason. The Mexicans stood the first charge, and behaved with great bravery, doing the Spaniards considerable damage from the windows and tops of the houses. But suddenly in the heat of the engagement, they quitted the ground, for Guatimozin being informed that the

great ditch was abandoned, resolved to fall upon the Spaniards in their retreat.

Cortes suspected their intent, and having barely time to gain his quarters before night, began his retreat, after having set fire to several houses, from which he had sustained some damage. He had scarce began to march, before his troops were attacked on all sides by an incredible number of chosen warriors, who fought with such intrepidity, that they disregarded both the fire-arms and cross-bows. Cortes being informed that the retreat was hindered by the ditch, endeavoured to form his battalions: but could not, because the confederates, being in the front, were the first who arrived at the ditch, and had thrown themselves into it with such confusion, that they were destroyed by the Mexicans, who either wounded or drowned them. The general was now left with his people to maintain the fight, when his horse being killed under him, Captain Francisco de Guzman alighted to give him his, and was taken prisoner without a possibility of being rescued. At length however he got to the brigantines, and returned to his quarters, wounded, and extremely mortified at his defeat, above 40 Spaniards being taken prisoners. Upwards of 1000 Tlafalans were killed, one piece of cannon was lost, and of the Spaniards scarce one escaped unwounded.

Alverado and Sandoval entered the city by different ways at the same time with Cortes, and met with nearly the same success, but they did not lose above 20 Spaniards.

The Mexicans celebrated the victory with great rejoicings, and were so elevated with their good fortune, that a little before break of day they advanced by the three causeways, to beat up the quarters, to set fire to the brigantines, and to complete the destruction of the Spaniards. But the

latter were well prepared to receive them; they were repulsed by the artillery of the brigantines, and some pieces mounted at the Spanish lodgements, which played upon the causeways.

The next day Guatimozin caused a report to be spread, that Cortes was killed. However, his allies soon recovered their fright, fresh succours came in, and several nations that had hitherto continued neuter, being sensible of the distress of Mexico, declared for the Spaniards. So that in a few days, Cortes found himself at the head of above 200,000 men. The Mexicans in the mean time were not idle, but frequently attacked the quarters both by day and night, though they were always repulsed with loss. The city was now in the greatest distress for want of bread and water, which induced the general to proceed to action, and as he had suffered so much in retreating, it was agreed that the commander of each body of Spaniards should endeavour to stay in that part of the city into which he should penetrate.

This plan being approved, Alverado and Sandoval began their march by day break from Tacuba to Tapeaquilla; Cortes advanced from Cuyocan with a body of troops commanded by Olid; while the brigantines and canoes were distributed so as to support the three attacks. All the difficulties were surmounted as usual, and the three captains entering the city much about the same time, fortified themselves with the ruins of the houses.

This new method of proceeding filled the Mexicans with consternation, and entirely broke all their measures. A council was immediately summoned at Guatimozin's palace, where it was resolved to dislodge the Spaniards, and their army being divided into three bodies, advanced to the attack, at break of day; but preparations having been made for their reception, they no sooner approach-

ed, than the artillery began to play upon the avenues, and made such a terrible slaughter of the van-guard, that they durst not proceed; when the Spaniards rushed upon them, they were soon routed and dispersed, by which means they obtained better quarters for the ensuing night. The Spaniards that continued were obliged, as they advanced, to destroy houses, level works, and fill up the trenches cut across every street: notwithstanding these obstructions, all the three leaders in less than four days came in sight of the principal square in the city where they had agreed to meet. Alverado arrived first at this spacious square, which was called Tlateleuco, where he found the enemy endeavouring to make a stand, but he fell upon them with such resolution, that they immediately abandoned the ground, and retired in great confusion to the streets on the opposite side. Observing at a small distance a very large temple, the towers of which were possessed by the enemy, he immediately detached some companies to drive them from thence in order to secure his rear, which was performed with very little opposition. He was soon after joined by Cortes and Olid, who advanced by a different avenue, driving a confused throng of Mexicans before them into the square, who falling in upon the battalion which Alverado had drawn up in order of battle, and being attacked on every side, were most of them cut to pieces. The same miserable fate attended those who were driven into the square, by the third division under the command of Sandoval.

The enemy perceiving that the whole force of the Spaniards was united, now ran with the utmost precipitation to defend the person of their prince, by which means Cortes had an opportunity of lodging his troops to the best advantage. The next morning all the streets in possession of the

enemy were filled with armed men, in order to cover those who were raising a kind of fortification, but as they did not proceed to hostilities, Cortes suspended the attack he had meditated and resolved to try once more, whether they were disposed to an accommodation now they saw him so advantageously posted. He therefore sent a message to Guatimozin, who had retired with his ministers and the nobility to a spacious angle of the city, the greatest part of which was defended by the lake.

A suspension of arms being agreed upon, Guatimozin held several councils, to deliberate on the overtures of peace, and the majority were for agreeing to the treaty; while others were for continuing the war, who being joined by the priests it was resolved to prosecute it. In the mean time the emperor gave orders that all the piraguas and canoes should retire to a bay, in order to secure his retreat, in case he should be driven to extremities. Cortes immediately suspected their design, and therefore appointed Sandoval commander in chief of all the brigantines, with orders to surround the bay at a distance, and to keep a strict watch upon the enemy's motions.

Cortes having taken these steps, advanced with his troops, which the Mexicans perceiving, prepared for an engagement. But they no sooner observed the terrible havock made by the first discharge of the cannon on their wooden fortifications than they sent notice of it to Guatimozin, and in a little time demanded a parley; upon which four Mexicans, who seemed persons of distinction, appeared on the farther side of a ditch, and informed Cortes that they were appointed to receive his proposals, but the general desired that the emperor himself would come to treat in person, and in the mean time a stop should be put to all acts of hos-

tility. With this answer the ambaffadors retired, and word was brought that the emperor would come the next day to conclude a treaty, but he put off his coming for feveral days.

However, the day being come which was the utmost period allowed by Cortes, Sandoval difcovered, before the fun arofe, great numbers embarking on board the canoes in the bay, and thefe attacked the brigantines with great fury, without being terrified at the havoc made among them by the artillery.

In the hottest part of the engagement Sandoval obferved fix or feven piraguas rowing with the utmost fpeed from the fartheft part of the bay, upon which he ordered a brigantine to give them chace. The captain foon came up with the foremoft piragua, which feemed to command the reft, when the Mexicans instantly ceafed rowing; and defired him not to fire, becaufe the emperor was on board. The captain, with other Spaniards, immediately leaped into the piragua, to fe cure their prize. Upon which Guatimozin faid, “ I am your prifoner, and ready to go whither you think fit to conduct me. All the favour I have to ask is, that fome regard may be paid to the honour of the empress my confort, and her female attendants.” Guatimozin then paffing into the brigantine, gave his hand to that princefs to help her up the fide. The captain had no fooner made Guatimozin prifoner, than he difpatched a canoe to Cortes with an account of his fuccefs, and all military operations ceafed foon after*.

Cortes fent two companies of Spaniards to the landing place to guard the royal prifoners, whom

* This great event happened on the 13th of Auguft, 1521, and from thence has been dated the dominion of the Spaniards over the Mexican empire.

he received with great respect, which the emperor returned in the same manner. On their arrival at the Spanish quarters, Guatimozin and his empress went in first. When Cortes, to alleviate their sorrow, told him, that he was prisoner to one of the most powerful monarchs of the universe, from whose clemency he might hope to receive not only his liberty, but even his empire, and that till his pleasure should be known, he should be treated with all the respect due to the emperor of Mexico.

Cortes thinking it was still necessary to reduce that part of the city which was in the enemy's possession, left the care of his prisoners to Sandoval, and went to give orders for another attack. But Guatimozin suspecting the cause of his abrupt departure, desired to speak with him, and upon his returning back, conjured him to spare his unhappy subjects, who would surrender very peaceably as soon as they were informed of his captivity. He therefore intreated Cortes to allow one of his ministers to accompany him, and command the Mexicans, in their prince's name, to obey the Spanish general, which order they no sooner heard, than they threw down their arms and submitted.

Cortes's troops no sooner took possession of the places evacuated by the Mexicans, than they found themselves surrounded with objects of horror, a vast number of miserable wretches, of the sick and wounded, were lying calling upon death to release them from their tortures, and whole houses and courts, were filled with the bodies of persons of distinction, who had been slain in battle, and kept till their funerals could be performed: from these places proceeded a stench which threatened the air with infection, and obliged Cortes to take immediate care to prevent a pestilence, by giving orders for interring the bodies. While this necessary office was performing, he retired with his prisoners

to Cuyocan, after having assigned quarters to Alverado and Sandoval, whom he appointed to superintend the cleansing of Mexico, and this disagreeable duty being in a few days performed, he returned again to the city.

The respect with which the emperor Guatimozin was treated did not last long, for the soldiers remembering the vast quantities of gold they had seen in Montezuma's possession, demanded an account of what was become of it. When Cortes protesting his ignorance, they suggested that he had secretly secured it for his own use. Hence they grew furious and insolent, in which disposition they were encouraged by Julian de Alderete, the king's treasurer, who had great authority, was nephew to the bishop of Burgos, and was inclined to do Cortes all the mischief in his power. Alderete being unable to obtain an account of these treasures, demanded that the emperor and his first minister should be put into his hands, in order to be examined about them, which Cortes in his present circumstances did not care to refuse.

This inhuman monster, according to some authors, caused them to be immediately put upon the rack; but as others, with greater truth, affirm, had them extended upon burning coals. When they were in this melancholy situation, the minister casting his eyes upon the emperor cried out violently, upon which Guatimozin with great composure said, "Do you think I lie here upon roses?" At which the poor man was so struck, that he expired without uttering any further complaint: but Cortes hearing his first cries, burst into the apartment, and relieved the emperor before it was too late; upon which occasion the soldiers themselves approved his conduct, and blamed the treasurer's barbarity. No discovery was however made by this instance of cruelty. They then searched all

parts of the lake to no purpose, ransacked the temples, in which they found but little gold, and tore to pieces the tombs, in which a small quantity was found, which Cortes, in order to pacify them, divided amongst them.

Those provinces of the Mexican empire that were nearest to the capital immediately submitted, and Cortes having received intelligence of the kingdom of Mechoacan, which lay to the westward of Mexico, he sent Montano with three other Spaniards as ambassadors to the king, who at first gave them an indifferent reception; but afterwards treated them with great magnificence, and even went in person to see Cortes, who soon after dispatched Christopher de Olid with an army to take possession of that country, which he accordingly did, and forced the king to fly for shelter into the mountains.

Cortes upon this great flow of success, lost that humanity and virtue by which he had before distinguished himself, discovering the utmost haughtiness and cruelty. He erected forts, and sent Sandoval to subdue the countries near Tabasco and Tecountepee on the north sea, while he sent De Alverado with a body of Spaniards and confederate Indians, to take possession of the countries bordering upon the vale of Guaxaco, to the eastward of Mexico.

While Cortes was thus employed in reducing an amazing extent of country to the obedience of Charles V. emperor and king of Spain, Christoval de Tapia arrived at Vera Cruz, with a commission from that prince to command all the new conquests; but he was so threatened and terrified by the garrison of Vera Cruz, that he was glad to make his escape, and leave the general in possession of Mexico.

Cortes now marched in person into the province of Panuco, which he not only reduced to subjection, but had the inhumanity, in violation of the laws of nature and of nations, to divide the country and all the Indian inhabitants amongst the officers and soldiers, who treated them as slaves, and this was his practice in every province, whether the people voluntarily submitted to him, or were compelled to it by force: but he sent such rich presents to the emperor, that notwithstanding his cruelty, he was declared captain-general and governor of New Spain, and the governors of Hispaniola and Cuba were commanded to send him supplies, and to give him all possible assistance.

Cortes now finding himself established in his command, set about rebuilding the city of Mexico; assigned places for erecting churches and public edifices; laid out market places; divided the best part of the ground among the Spaniards and the rest among the natives.

All his conquests could not however procure him a peaceable establishment. He was in danger from the intrigues of the Indians, who, from a love of liberty, were desirous of recovering their country, and driving out or extirpating the Spaniards, and therefore in 1527, he hanged the emperor Guatimozin, and two other Indian princes, whom he had detected in a conspiracy against him. Sometimes he was exposed to danger, by his own countrymen: Christoval de Olid, who had behaved so gallantly in the war against the Mexicans, revolted from him; but was soon taken off by a violent death. Several conspiracies were formed to murder him; he had also many enemies in Spain, who took such pains to prejudice the emperor Charles V. against him, that he found it necessary to return thither, in order to justify his conduct.

Accordingly in 1528, he undertook that voyage, and was received by Charles V. with great respect: that prince gave him the whole vale of Atrisco with the towns and vilages upon it; conferred on him the title of Marquis of the vale of Guaxaca, and to complete his favours, procured him a very honourable marriage.

The next year he returned to Mexico with his lady, and afterwards being involved in some disputes with the viceroy of Mexico, he, in the year 1542, made a second voyage to Spain, where he died in a village near Seville, called Castilleja de la Cuesta, on the 2d of December 1554, in the 63d year of his age, after which his corpse, by his own direction, was carried to New Spain.

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THE

Discovery of Golden Castile.

CHAPTER I.

Vasquez Nunez de Balboa sends two agents to solicit succours from James Columbus and the court of Spain. He subdues and enters into an alliance with the Cacique Careta; visits the Cacique Comagre, where he obtains the first intelligence of the South Seas, and of the riches of Peru. He returns to Santa Maria, and, receiving ill news from Spain, resolves to attempt a discovery of that rich country, in hopes of pacifying king Ferdinand and his ministers.

VASQUEZ NUNEZ DE BALBOA, having got the command, in the manner already related in our account of the discoveries from the death of Columbus to Cortes's expedition, immediately contrived to make the best use of the great power he had obtained, in order to extend the discoveries, and acquire more gold, which he foresaw would be the only means of securing him in the possession of the government, at which he had so strangely arrived.

His first care was to secure those supplies, of which the colony was in want; and for this purpose he sent his friend Valdivia to Hispaniola, to prevail on the governor and council to furnish him

and his people with all they wanted ; and had the greater hopes of success, as the admiral Diego Columbus was then there, who he was sensible was disposed to contribute all in his power to promote the king's service. ; He next persuaded the colony to send a person directly to Spain, to inform the court of their situation, and of the great probability there was of their being able to make very advantageous discoveries and conquests ; and for this important employment he recommended Zamudio, his colleague in the magistracy ; by which means he secured the sole authority to himself ; and at the same time committed the care of his concerns to one whose interests were the same as his own ; since he had been as deeply engaged, in the bringing about the revolution, as himself ; and as there was a small ship belonging to the colony in port, he caused it to be fitted out as well as possible, in order to carry away the two deputies and his old antagonist Enciso. But as the last mentioned person might represent his proceedings in a light that would be far from being to his advantage, he gave Valdivia a considerable quantity of gold, which he desired him to present to the king's treasurer-general at St. Domingo, who had a great interest with the Spanish ministry.

At this time many Indians resorted to Darien to observe whether the Spaniards were going away, and what were their designs : but to conceal their motives they carried Indian wheat and other provisions to exchange for beads, knives, and other things of small value, endeavouring to persuade them to be gone, by observing that there was much gold and plenty of provisions in the province of Coyba, which was at 30 leagues distance. Upon this, Nunez de Balboa sent Francis Pizarro, with six men to discover the country ; who having travelled three leagues up the river, were attacked

by 400 Indians, under the command of the Cacique Zemaco; but after a smart engagement, in which about 100 of the Indians were killed, the rest were put to flight, and the Spaniards returned to Darien; but having left one of their companions behind them, Nunez was so offended that he ordered Pizarro to march back with a fresh detachment, which he accordingly did, and returned with him to the colony.

Nunez now sent two brigantines for the Spaniards who had been left at Nombre de Dios. These vessels sailing along the coast, reached a port belonging to the Cacique of Coyba, where two Spaniards, entirely naked and painted red, came to them. These and another person had, a year and a half before, made their escape from Nicuesa's ship to avoid the punishment due for some crime they had committed; and putting themselves into the hands of the Cacique Careta, were kindly treated; but not agreeing among themselves, one of them, whose name was Juan Alonzo, dangerously wounded the other; whereupon the Cacique, admiring him for his bravery, made him commander of his forces, in a war in which he was then engaged, and would do nothing without his advice.

These two men were highly acceptable to those in the brigantines; they observed that the country abounded in gold, and that if Nunez would invade it, they should all obtain great riches. Upon this advice it was agreed, that one of them should go to Santa Maria, to inform Nunez of the state of the country; and that the other should stay to be serviceable as occasion should offer.

When the brigantines returned to Santa Maria, Nunez was much pleased with the intelligence they brought of this rich country, and at his having Spanish interpreters, who understood the lan-

guage of the natives ; and having sent back the brigantines, to bring away the rest of the Spaniards from Nombre de Dios, (as they had been unable to take them all before) he chose 130 of the bravest of his men, who, on the return of the brigantines, set out with a sufficient supply of arms and provisions in search of the cacique Careta, who lived at 30 leagues distance.

The cacique hearing of his coming, waited for him in his house ; and Nunez arriving there, demanded provisions, for his men to carry with him to Darien ; but Careta excusing himself, under the pretence of his being at war with a neighbouring Cacique, which had prevented his people's sowing, Nunez, by the advice of Juan Alonzo, pretended to return back by the same way he came ; but at midnight returned, and, attacking the town in three places, took the cacique with his two wives and children prisoners ; all of whom he sent away to Santa Maria, after having loaded the brigantines with provisions.

Being returned to Darien, Careta intreated Nunez not to keep him in captivity ; promising, in return for his liberty, to furnish him with provisions, and to do him all the service in his power. He offered him one of his daughters, who was very beautiful, for his wife ; and desired his assistance against his enemy Ponca, a neighbouring cacique, in order that his own people might have leisure to till and sow the ground.

Nunez gladly accepted of these offers, and taking his daughter, kept her as his mistress, behaving towards her with great affection, which highly pleased the Indians. Careta being now suffered to return, treated Nunez and 80 men who accompanied him, so well, that they resolved to assist him in his wars ; which Ponca no sooner heard, than he fled to the mountains ; and the Spaniards entering his

country, seized some provisions, and a considerable quantity of gold.

Careta soon after informed his guests, that he had another neighbour more powerful than Ponca, whose name, as well as that of his country, was Comagre; and, that he lived in greater splendor than any other cacique, and was very desirous of being acquainted with the Spaniards. As the dominions of this prince were large and fruitful, Careta desired Nunez to pay him a visit, and offered to accompany him.

On their arrival at the palace of Comagre, they found that it was a large wooden building, 150 yards in length, and 80 in breadth, surrounded with a good stone wall. The reception they met with was equally kind and hospitable; Comagre and his sons taking all the pains imaginable to render their stay agreeable, and discovering in their conversation a knowledge and politeness much superior to any of the Indians they had hitherto met with. They were entertained with plenty of provisions and with different kinds of liquors of various colours, not much inferior either in strength or flavour to wine; and the cacique and his sons making them presents of gold and pearls, they had no reason to repent of their journey, or to distrust Careta, who seemed highly pleased with the courteous entertainment they had given his friends.

Comagre's eldest son being particularly desirous of obliging his guests, caused several pieces of gold, that were valuable both for their workmanship and fineness, to be brought; and this gold, which weighed about 4000 pieces of eight, with 70 slaves, he gave to Nunez and Colmenares, who immediately began to weigh it, in order to set apart a fifth of the gold for the king, and to divide the rest among themselves; but some of the men quarrelling about the best and largest pieces, the

young prince ran to the scales, and striking them with his double fist, threw all the gold upon the ground; saying, that they need not fall out about such a trifle: but if they were so fond of it as to disturb peaceable nations, and leave their native country to obtain it, he would shew them a province where they might have as much as their hearts could wish; but that there must be a greater number of them, as they were to oppose a monarch who defended his dominions with great bravery: that they would first meet with a cacique who had a vast quantity of what they looked upon as wealth, and was six suns, or six days journey, from thence, pointing with his finger towards the South Sea, which he told them they would see as soon as they passed certain lands. He added, that there were other nations who had boats with sails and oars, and that beyond that sea they would find an immense quantity of gold, formed into vessels out of which these people eat and drank. And having understood from the Spaniards that there was great plenty of iron in Spain, he signified that there was more gold in those parts than iron in Biscay. This was the first intimation given them of the extensive country of Peru, whither he offered to accompany them. This discourse was interpreted by the two Spaniards who had fled from Nicuesa, and lived with Careta.

After a short stay in the dominions of Comagre, Nunez de Balboa returned to his government of Santa Maria, in order to consider at his leisure of the properest means of making these important discoveries.

Valdivia had by this time returned from Hispaniola, with the strongest assurances that Diego Columbus would give him sufficient support. This induced Nunez to send him over a second time with the same instructions as before; but with fresh

proofs of the services he had rendered to the crown, and fresh presents for those whom he imagined most capable of supporting his interest : but the vessel in which Valdivia attempted to sail back to Hispaniola, was unfortunately shipwrecked in her passage on the coast of Yucatan, and the men with great difficulty got on shore, where they were quickly surrounded and made prisoners by the natives, who cruelly sacrificed them to their idols ; two only escaping, one of whom was Agullor, who was of such great use to Cortes.

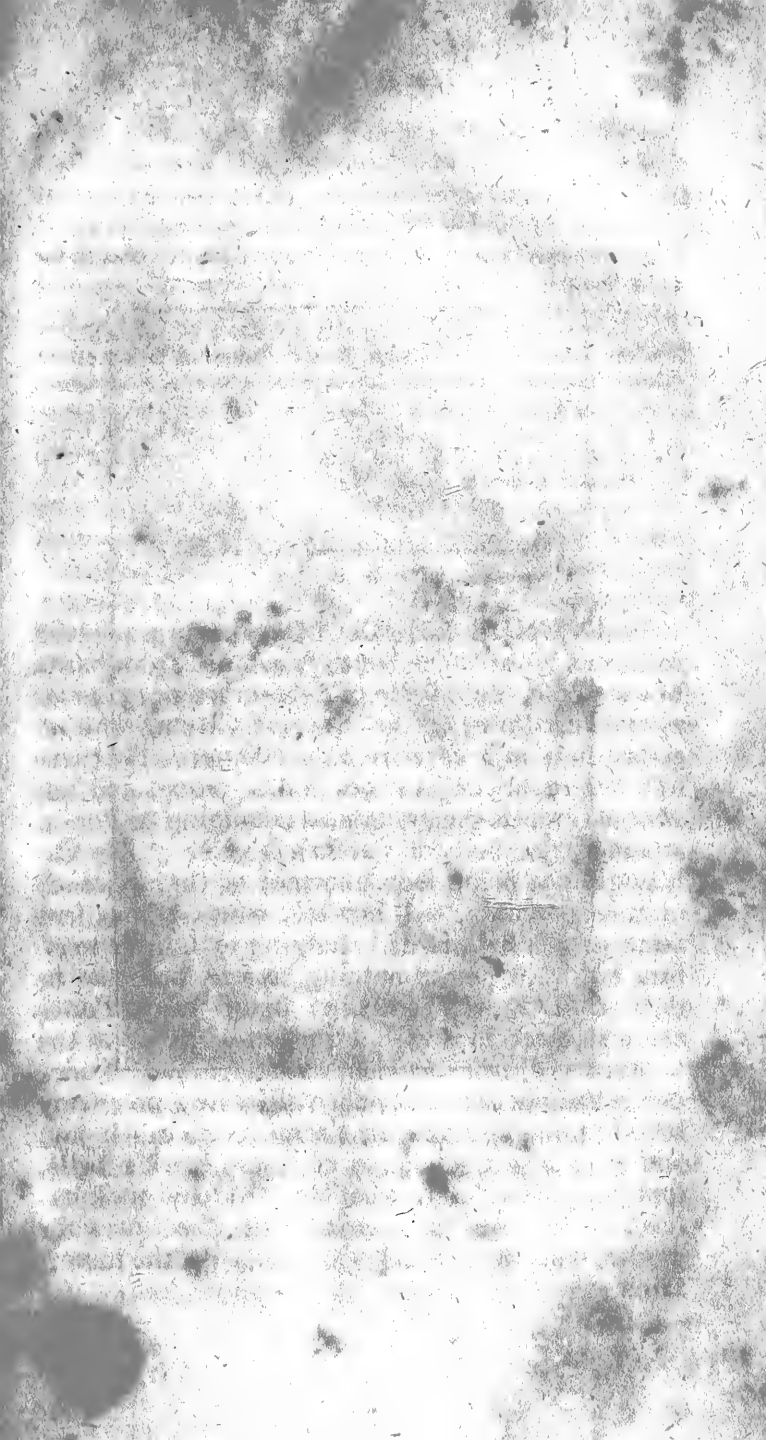
Nunez de Balboa was greatly afflicted at the news of this event, and, to prevent the ill consequences that might arise from it, had some thoughts of going to Spain ; but this the colony would not suffer, and he had soon sufficient reason to believe that they judged right ; for by the dispatches he received from Zamudio, he was informed, that Eucifo had so incensed the court against him, that there was no persuading the ministers, that he was not a villain who had in the highest degree trampled upon the royal authority.

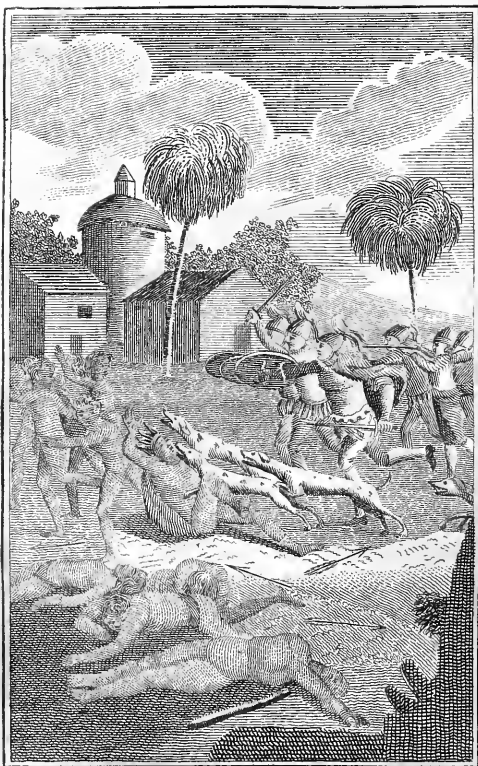
Nunez de Balboa, having considered the contents of these letters, plainly saw that nothing could restore his character in Spain, but making an immediate use of the informations he had received, by perfecting his discoveries of larger and richer countries, than hitherto the Spaniards had been acquainted with. This he judged would cover all his past faults, and atone for every irregularity he had committed ; and therefore, without communicating to the colony any of the particulars contained in his dispatches, he persuaded them to engage in such an expedition, as the most likely means of rendering them all rich and happy ; upon which they gladly embraced this proposal.

CHAPTER II.

Nunez marches in order to discover the South Seas: obtains the friendship of the cacique Ponca: defeats Quarequa; and takes a view of the South Sea. He also defeats the cacique Chiapes, and afterwards obtains his friendship: takes a formal possession of the South Sea, and its coasts and islands, in behalf of the king of Spain; but in endeavouring to navigate a bay, is in danger of being lost with 80 other Spaniards. He afterwards opposes Tumaco, a powerful cacique; but, having obliged him to retire, concludes a peace with him, and obtains a great quantity of pearls and diamonds.

NUNEZ DE BALBOA having resolved to march towards the South Sea, sailed from Santa Maria about the middle of September 1513, as far as the territories of the Cacique Careta, who received him in a very friendly manner. He there left one of his brigantines and a canoe, and advanced towards the mountains belonging to Ponca, attended by a body of Careta's subjects. The Cacique Ponca being soon informed of the approach of the Spaniards, hid himself; when Nunez sent some of the Spaniards belonging to Careta to assure him that he had nothing to fear, and that he only desired his friendship; upon which Ponca came to meet him with a present of gold, to the value of 110 pesos, which was all he had. Nunez being sensible of the necessity of leaving no enemy behind him, received the Cacique with much joy, and gave him abundance of beads, hawk's bells, looking-glasses, and, what these Indians most valued, some iron axes; and then asked him for guides, and men to carry burdens up the mountains.





*The Cacique Quarequa & his Indians fall upon
Niñez and his Spaniards but are defeated
and great numbers torn to pieces by Dogs*

The Cacique readily granted all he desired ; and, having supplied him with plenty of provisions, the Spaniards marched into the dominions of a great Lord named Quarequa, who was prepared to oppose them. He having provided a great number of men armed with bows and arrows, and a kind of slings for throwing darts made of wood hardened in the fire. They had also clubs made of a very hard kind of wood, which they used with both hands. In this manner the Indians met the Spaniards, asking what they came for, and ordering them to proceed no farther ; but observing that they paid little regard to what they said, the Cacique himself came forward, clothed in cotton, with some of his principal men; all the rest being entirely naked, and immediately attacked the Spaniards with dreadful cries. Nunez instantly ordered his soldiers to discharge their fire-locks and cross-bows ; upon which some dropped down dead : when the Indians seeing the fire, and hearing the report, naturally concluded that the Spaniards used thunder and lightning, and had a supernatural power to destroy them, they therefore fled in the utmost consternation. The Spaniards pursued, setting their dogs upon them, which tore some of them in pieces ; while the Spaniards made a great slaughter with their swords. In this engagement the Cacique himself was killed with about 600 of his people ; some were taken, and the town was plundered, in which the conquerors found a considerable quantity of gold. Among the prisoners were the Cacique's brother, and some others adorned like women ; from which circumstance, Nunez judging that they were guilty of sodomy, without any other proof caused them to be torn in pieces by the dogs.

As some of the Spaniards were now grown sickly with hunger and fatigue, Nunez left them in the

town, which belonged to the late Cacique, where he took fresh guides, and men to carry burdens, dismissing those who belonged to Careta. He then proceeded towards the top of the mountains, which was at the distance of about six days journey; but in this progress he spent twenty-five, on account of the ruggedness of the way, and the difficulty of procuring provisions. At length Nunez having notice given him that they were near the summit, commanded his men to halt, and going up alone, saw the South Sea; which he no sooner viewed, than, falling on his knees, he returned thanks to heaven for being the first who had seen it. This done he called his men, and again falling on his knees, they followed his example, while the Indians stood amazed at seeing such expressions of joy and wonder. Nunez then extolled the intelligence given him by Comagre's son, promising his men wealth and happiness: they believed all he said for he was extremely beloved, on account of his bravery, his compassion for the sick and wounded, and his making no difference between himself and the meanest soldier. He then caused a certificate to be drawn of his having taken possession of that sea, and every thing in it for the crown of Castile; in testimony of which he cut down timber, erected crosses, raised heaps of stones, and cut the king of Spain's name on some of the trees. This being done, he resolved to go down the mountains to the sea coast.

Nunez being informed that near this place there was another town, belonging to a Lord, whose name was Chiapes, advanced very cautiously; while that Cacique perceiving the small number of the Spaniards, marched against them; but drawing near, the latter saluted them, first with their fire-arms, and then with their cross-bows, after which they let loose their dogs. The Indians ter-

rified at this reception, fled with the utmost precipitation, while the Spaniards pursued, and, having taken some prisoners, dismissed a part of them with some of Quarequa's people, to assure Chiapes that they desired his friendship. At this message, that Cacique thought it safest to put himself into the hands of these dreadful enemies, and therefore waited upon them with the value of 400 pieces of eight in gold. Nunez received him very graciously, giving him beads, looking-glasses, and hatchets: and having here likewise given some trifles to Quarequa's Indians, he dismissed them well pleased with their treatment.

Nunez now sent captain Francis Pizarro, Juan Escarray, and Alonzo Martin, with twelve men under each, to find the shortest way to the sea. Alonzo Martin discovering the readiest road, came in two days to a place where he found two canoes upon dry land, yet saw no sea; but while he was considering which way these canoes came thither, the tide flowed in, and soon lifted them up; for on that coast it ebbs and flows every six hours two or three fathoms, so that large ships are left dry, and no sea water appears for at least two or three leagues. Alonzo Martin seeing the canoes swim, went into one of them, and bid his companions bear witness that he was the first that entered the South Seas; another did the same, and bid them bear witness that he was the second; after which they returned to carry this news to Nunez; who, upon receiving this intelligence, resolved to proceed to the sea side with the Cacique to try what farther discoveries could be made. On their reaching the shore, that Spanish commander marched on, armed as he was, until the water took him up to the middle; and then caused a notary to draw up an instrument, importing that he had taken possession of that sea, its coasts, and the islands in

it, in behalf of the crown of Castile; at which ceremony the Indians were justly amazed.

He next passed the mouth of a great river, and landed on the opposite side in the territories of another Indian prince, whose name was Coura, and who at first endeavoured to make some resistance; but finding it was in vain, he suffered his son to go and treat with them, and he himself soon after carried them a considerable present.

Nunez Balboa at length observing a large bay of the sea, resolved to navigate it, and therefore desired the Indians to furnish him with canoes; which they did, and offered to accompany him, though they at the same time advised him to suspend this attempt, as the rains were coming on, and the bay was far from being safe; but he obstinately refused to comply with this advice, and embarked with fourscore Spaniards, together with Chiapes and some of his attendants, on board nine canoes.

They weighed anchor on the 29th of September; for which reason he called it St. Michael's Bay: but when they were at some distance from land, the waves began to swell so high that Nunez repented he had not taken the advice given him by Chiapes, and was soon in the utmost danger of perishing; but the Indians had recourse to their usual remedy; and fastening two canoes together with cords, to prevent their being overfet, made towards an island; where they landed, and fastened their canoes to the rocks or trees. There they continued all the night in the utmost uneasiness; for upon the flood the whole island was covered with water, and they were obliged to stand in it almost up to their waists. When day appeared, and the water ebbed, they went in search of their canoes, but found some of them beaten in pieces, others almost split, and the rest filled with water and sand, and no part of their goods or provisions

was to be found. In this distress they pulled off the tender bark of the young tree, and, bruising it with grass and other herbs, caulked the crannies of such of the canoes as were not staved, and thus embarked, almost famished with hunger.

They now steered towards the dominions of a Cacique named Tumaco, which lay in a creek of the bay, where they found him ready to oppose them. Nunez, perceiving his men weak and hungry, no sooner landed, than he picked out a few of the ablest of them, whom he placed in the front. The Spaniards began the engagement with their swords and dogs, with which they made great havoc ; and Tumaco himself being wounded, the rest were obliged to retire. Soon after Chiapes sent some of his men to let Tumaco know the power of the Spaniards, and the kindness they shewed to those who were their friends. The Cacique, however, could not be persuaded to believe their report ; but a second messenger prevailed so far, that he sent his son, whom Nunez entertained very courteously, giving him a shirt and some toys, and advising him to persuade his father to come himself, and have a share in his friendship. Upon which Tumaco went, attended by many of his subjects, but carried no present. However, Nunez treated him with much respect, and Chiapes observed to him, that he thought it but reasonable that he should assist the Spaniards on account of their being strangers.

The Cacique being now pacified, and losing all his apprehensions, sent some of his servants home, who brought gold to the value of 614 pieces of eight, and, what was much more extraordinary, 240 fine large pearls, with many others, that were bright, though small. At this sight Nunez and his men were filled with joy, believing the immense treasures Comagre's son had mentioned

were now at hand. The large pearls were of great value, and would have been of still greater, had not the Indians used fire in opening the oysters, which rendered them not so white as they naturally are. Tumaco observing that the pearls gave the Spaniards such joy, shewed that he himself set but little value on them, by sending some Indians to fish, who, within four days, brought as many as weighed no less than 96 ounces. Both the Spaniards and Indians were much pleased; the former with the prospect of immense wealth; and the latter, especially the Caciques, at obtaining the friendship of the Spaniards for what they esteemed at so cheap a rate as pearls and gold. But Chiapes rejoiced most, on account of his being instrumental in gaining Tumaco's friendship.

These two Caciques assured Nunez, that there was a country in that bay, about five leagues from thence, governed by a powerful Cacique, where there was abundance of large oysters, which contained pearls as big as beans. Upon which Nunez ordered the canoes to be immediately got ready; but the Caciques intreated him not to think of such an expedition at that time; but to stay till summer, when the sea was calm, and he might go with ease, and then they promised to go with him. Nunez approving of this advice, Tumaco added, that the coast extended a prodigious way, pointing to Peru: that there was an immense quantity of gold, and that the natives used certain beasts to carry their burdens, which were the sheep of that country: he even made the representation of them in clay. The Spaniards were amazed; some said they were camels, and others that they were fallow deer, of which there are many on the continent, about as big as small calves, but their horns are small, and their legs short in proportion to their bodies.

CHAPTER III.

Nunez sends another Agent to the Court of Spain, with a rich present to the Bishop of Burgos, who had before appointed Pedrarias Governor of Golden Castile. This new Governor cruelly persecutes Nunez de Balboa, and treats the Indians with the utmost inhumanity, which forces them to take up arms against him. Nunez, however, causes a peace to be restored, builds a Town on the South Sea, and is at last beheaded.

ABOUT the middle of January, Nunez returned to Santa Maria carrying with him gold to a very great value, and pearls to a much greater; of which he made a very equitable division, reserving the fifth part for the King, and distributing the rest among the soldiers, in such a manner that they were perfectly satisfied with his conduct. He now judged with great appearance of reason, that the signal services he had performed, rendered it impossible for the Ministers to deny that he had made amends for any indiscretions into which he had fallen; he therefore resolved to send another Agent to Spain with the king's money, and with more considerable presents than it was in his power to send by the former, and therefore sent on this important message Pedro Abolanchos a person of capacity, and what was still of greater consequence, of unshaken integrity and fidelity.

On this person's arrival at court, he applied himself to the famous bishop of Burgos, who received his letters with civility, which changed into the greatest kindness and friendship, upon his seeing the pearls and gold sent him by Nunez; for these fully convinced him of his innocence, and

of his being a good and faithful officer. He therefore took great pains to vindicate him to king Ferdinand, who had hitherto a great aversion to Nunez de Balboa: but the favours of this prelate came too late; for he himself had already done this unhappy man such an injury as he was unable to repair. It was a maxim with this bishop, that nothing was so dangerous as suffering the great men who made discoveries in America, to perfect them; and therefore as soon as they had opened the road to the new countries, and had overcome the first, which are always the greatest difficulties, it was his constant method to send some of his own creatures to reap the fruits of their labours.

Before the arrival of Nunez's agent, he had chosen Pedro Arias d'Avila Governor of Castillo del Oro, whom the Spanish writers, by joining his two first names, commonly called Pedrarias. He was a man of birth, and of a court education, but proud, haughty, insincere, barbarous, and unjust; cruel beyond expression; and one who thought the only compensation that could be made for leaving his native country, was his raising a vast fortune; which, as he wanted abilities to do in an honest way, he resolved to bring about by the methods he understood, which were violence, fraud, and oppression; in all which he was a complete master. We have his character drawn to the life, by the hand of the humane and worthy bishop of Chiapa, who represents him as the most wicked monster that was ever sent into those parts.

This new governor sailed from Spain, on the 12th of April, 1514, with a fleet of fifteen sail, on board of which were 2000 soldiers, a friar, John de Quevedo, who, before his departure, had been consecrated bishop of Darien, with many other persons in great offices, among whom was Enciso, the mortal enemy of Nunez, who was Pedrarias's

provost-marshal. This fleet arrived in the gulph of Uraba, in the latter end of July, and thence proceeded to Santa Maria, where the commander was received with all imaginable respect by Nunez de Balboa.

Pedrarias was very much surprized at the late governor's appearance, and at the state in which he found the colony. There was indeed a very strong fort, and 450 brave fellows to defend it; but Nunez's house, or, if you will, his palace, consisted but of three rooms, and his dress corresponded with his dwelling; he had a pair of canvas drawers, and a cotton waistcoat over his shirt, and that was all. His diet was of a piece with the rest; for a joint of roast pork, some greens and fruit, were all his table afforded; at which no other liquor was drank than good spring water. Such were the manners of this conqueror, who fared no better than the meanest of his soldiers; but there was no murmuring, no complaints; he maintained his authority by the means with which he had acquired it; that is, by his merit; while his soldiers loved and feared him as a father. His only fault was his ambition, that had led him to do some unwarrantable things in order to obtain power; but when he had once acquired it, none used it better. His accounts were clear; he made good every point he had written to Spain; and proved that he had opened a passage to the South Seas; in return for which good services, Pedrarias committed him close prisoner to the custody of Enciso, and did not set him at liberty till he had fined him in above half his fortune.

In order to justify this proceeding, he sent over a very false report to the court of Spain, expecting that this would have procured him authority for going greater lengths; but he was mistaken. He had brought over some honest men with him,

who ventured to send the naked truth to court, and it met with all the credit it deserved.

In answer to these representations, Pedrarias received fresh advices from his Majesty, in which the King declared, that he was perfectly satisfied with the conduct of Nunez de Balboa, and had created him Lord Lieutenant of the countries on the South Seas ; that his Majesty expected that the Governor should take his advice, and that the measure of his obedience to his royal orders would appear from the respect he shewed to Nunez de Balboa. Pedrarias, equally displeas'd and disappointed, took care to conceal his instructions; and, like a true courtier, resolv'd in appearance to conform to his master's order ; but, in effect, to disobey them, and to leave no means untried to procure the destruction of the man he hated.

In order to lessen the character of his predecessor, and to raise his own, Pedrarias sent several of his officers to make excursions into the country ; which he thought must produce new discoveries, as indeed they did : but these were neither to the advantage of the colony, nor to the crown of Spain, since they only contributed to shew the avarice and cruelty of the Spaniards in the most glaring light. His officers knew that the only means to obtain his favour and protection, was to make him large presents, and to plunder all the Caciques without mercy ; so that in a few months time, that reputation for honesty and kind usage, which Nunez de Balboa had been at some pains to establish, was entirely lost, and a war between them and the natives broke out afresh with greater fury than ever, so that there were no great hopes of his making any progress ; which when he came seriously to consider, he entered upon a new scheme, and, by the assistance of bishop Quevedo, became reconciled to Nunez, who very sincerely applied himself

as formerly to the public service, and that with his usual success.

This, however, only served to raise the envy of Pedrarias, even though he had promised to give Nunez his daughter, and publicly called and treated him as his son. He had employed him in raising a town, establishing a port, and building ships on the South Seas; all which, with incredible labour and fatigue, he at length accomplished; and this added to the great reputation he had before acquired. Pedrarias seeing this, and finding that most of the people in his government were inclined to remove and settle in the town built by Nunez de Balboa, as soon as it should be finished, resolved no longer to delay removing out of the way a man whose superiority became more and more conspicuous; and for this purpose sent for him to Santa Maria.

Nunez de Balboa, relying upon his own innocence, and thinking it out of the Governor's power to hurt him, made no difficulty of obeying his orders; but immediately upon his arrival, Pedrarias commenced a fresh prosecution against him, on the same pretences for which he had fined him before, to which he had added another very extraordinary accusation; a treasonable intention to usurp the King's domain, founded upon nothing more than his having cut down, without the Governor's licence, some timber for erecting public edifices; and, to the amazement of the colony, and the terror of the inhabitants, he upon this charge, condemned him to suffer death, and actually caused this unfortunate gentleman to be publicly beheaded.

Such was the fate of Vasquez Nunez de Balboa, who, in the forty-second year of his age, suffered as a traitor, for having served his prince with too much zeal and fidelity. This happened in the year 1517, and in the third of Pedrarias's govern-

ment. The Royal audience of St. Domingo, however, condemned this action as a downright murder; but Pedrarias does not seem to have been ever called to an account for it; but, on the contrary, was permitted to go on in the same base and barbarous track, for many years together.

CHAPTER IV.

Pedrarias builds the city of Panama, and engages in a long and unsuccessful war with the Cacique Urraca. The Court of Spain being at length wearied out with complaints against him, sends a new governor; upon which he retires to Nicaragua, when, under the form of justice, he murders Francis Hernandez, who had made a conquest of that province.

PEDRARIAS, having thus, at the expence of law and justice, freed himself from a man whom he at once both feared and hated, resolved to settle a new colony on the coast of the South Seas, though that place, from the heat and moisture of the adjacent country, was very unwholesome; but it was a place commodious for trade, and very convenient for forming new discoveries. He there built a palace, and made it the seat of his government; which inducing others to choose it for the place of their residence, it soon increased in the number of its inhabitants, and was pretty well fortified.

This city, which received the name of Panama, may deserve an account of its present state. It is but of a small circumference, on account of a morass that incloses it on one side; and the damps which arise from the morass, render the place so

very unhealthy, that there are few inhabitants, except traders, who generally stay there no longer than is necessary to acquire a sufficient fortune to enable them to leave it. A river runs near the city, and in its neighbourhood is a large district, in which are many farms, and great numbers of black cattle. It abounds in the fruits of the country; as pine-apples, plantanes, and guavas; besides which several sorts of Spanish fruits have been introduced. The rivers in its neighbourhood afforded great quantities of gold, when the city was built, but neither wheat nor barley grow within its neighbourhood; however, it is supplied with maize from Peru. Both the rivers and the sea abound with fish; and near the houses along the coast, are vast quantities of cockles; on which account the Spaniards suppose Pedrarias chose this spot, as they would be some supply in a time of scarcity. In the rivers of this province are vast numbers of alligators of a monstrous size, which have devoured many of the Spaniards and Indians.

But to return; though Pedrarias had a strong desire to distinguish himself by doing something great, yet, in the space of eight or nine years, he did little or nothing; for his vices defeated his schemes, and rendered all his undertakings abortive. Instead of treating the Indian Caciques, as his predecessor Nunez had done, with civility and justice, he behaved towards them like an imperious master, and yet was unable to extort half the quantity of gold that had been freely bestowed on Balboa in presents. He granted licences to various persons to undertake discoveries, but on such hard terms, and with so many restrictions, that they had no better success than himself, and all their endeavours had no other effect than to waste great numbers of men, and to bring an odium upon these expeditions.

But what chiefly employed the care of Pedrarias was reducing Urraca, a cacique of the mountains, whose country was very rich in gold, and who, after the death of Nunez, would have nothing to do with the Spaniards; presuming, he said, they could mean no good to others, who murdered and persecuted one another. The governor made war upon him for five years together, and in that time destroyed a great number of his subjects, without being able to subdue or render him tributary; on the contrary, this cacique was frequently too hard for the Spaniards; his subjects were stout and warlike, and the situation of his country gave him such advantages, that the Spaniards could never act against him with their horse. He was a brave and enterprising prince, had great good sense, and foresaw advantages as soon as any man, and there were few who could manage them better. Pedrarias therefore lost more men in the course of this war, than Cortes in the conquest of Mexico, without even gaining a foot of land, or an ounce of gold; but he made himself amends by the grievous extortions he committed among the caciques who had submitted to the Spaniards; and, with the gold he forced from them, maintained so great an interest at court, that, notwithstanding every enterprize in which he engaged was attended with loss, yet every new project he sent over, was applauded.

This was the more extraordinary, as no man ever met with more opposition than he did; for, on the one hand, he was hated to the last degree by the Indians, for whose sake the Bishop of Chiapa had the humanity to go in person to Madrid to solicit relief. The Spanish officers, who were uneasy under his government, sent home a true representation of his conduct, which was such as would have ruined the fortune of any other man.

Besides all this, he was upon very bad terms with the royal audience at St. Domingo, which was then, what it still is, the supreme tribunal in the West-Indies ; and the chief reason for his removing the seat of his government from Santa Maria to Panama, was, that he might be farther out of their reach.

However, about the beginning of the year 1526, the court of Spain, wearied with continual complaints against him, was at length resolved to send him a successor. Pedrarias was informed of this resolution, and, as he knew no means of avoiding his coming, and was very loth to part with his power, he began to cast about in his own mind where to find another establishment. There was only one expedition under any of his creatures which had met with success, and that the conquest of Nicaragua by Francis Hernandez, who acted under his licence, and the governor had also been at some expence in fitting him out. He resolved therefore to retire into this country, in order to secure it for himself, though it of right belonged to him who had subdued it ; and also to avoid delivering up his province to his successor in person, for fear he should treat him as he himself had done Nunez. One would have imagined, that, when his affairs were in this situation, he would have abated somewhat of his cruelty ; but, whether he had no power over his temper, or knew that he had still interest enough at court to prevent his being called to an account for murder, he committed one more base and barbarous, if possible, than that of Nunez de Balboa.

On his entering the new province, he pretended that he had received information that his deputy intended to revolt, and therefore sent for him to answer to the charge : Francis Hernandez came with that boldness which is natural to innocence ;

but Pedrarias no sooner had him in his power, than he caused his head to be struck off; alleging that there was no other way for a government to be safe against persons in power, when their fidelity was once suspected. Yet, as black and heinous as this fact was, he not only escaped being called to an account for it, but was confirmed in his government of Nicaragua, as if the gratification of his own cruel disposition had been an indisputable proof of his zeal and attachment to the crown of Spain.

THE
CONQUEST OF PERU,

BY FRANCIS PIZARRO.

CHAPTER I.

Francis Pizarro, with the assistance of two other persons, undertakes the Discovery of Peru, but meets with many hardships, till at length meeting with a particular account of the riches of the country of which he is in search, he returns to Panama, but being opposed by the Governor, embarks for Spain.

THE reader has seen, in the preceding chapters, that Vasquez Nunez de Balboa was the first Spaniard who formed the project of making discoveries on the South Sea, and the desire of wresting the execution of it out of his hands, was the principal motive that induced Pedrarias to take away his life. But when all the expeditions undertaken by this cruel monster had failed, three persons in the year 1524, offered to engage in this undertaking at their own expence, provided they might be allowed fair and equitable terms. To this proposal Pedrarias readily listened, believing that he ran no hazard in complying with their request, since, if they miscarried, he should not lose

any thing, and if they succeeded, he hoped that he should be able to secure the fruits of their enterprize.

The principal of these three persons was Francis Pizarro, who has been already mentioned more than once. He was a native of Truxillo, a town in the province of Estramadura in Spain; and some of the Spanish writers say he was a nobleman by birth; while others maintain that he was the illegitimate son of Gonzalo Pizarro, an officer at Truxillo, who suffered him to be exposed as a foundling at a church door; however, being discovered to be the father, he was obliged to support him; but giving him no manner of education, he made him spend his youth in the most servile offices, and in particular in keeping his hogs. Young Pizarro however, at length ran away from the herd, and, entering on board a ship, sailed to the West Indies, where he distinguished himself by his bold and enterprising disposition, in the wars of Hispaniola and Cuba, and obtained a commission; he at length sailed with Hojeda to the gulph of Darien, and afterwards served under Nunez de Balboa, and, having acquired a handsome fortune, had, on the first building of Panama, settled in that city, where he seemed disposed to spend the remainder of his life in peace, till the thirst of gold incited him to engage in this undertaking, and afterwards prompted him to commit actions that rendered him a disgrace to human nature.

The second of these adventurers was Diego de Almagro, who took his name from the place of his birth; for his origin was so obscure, that no historian has been able to discover who was his father.

The third was Ferdinando de Luques, or, as he is sometimes called, de Lugne, who, as well as both the former, was advanced in years. This

man, who was a priest, had much the largest fortune; he was proprietor of the island of Tobago, had a good estate besides, and a considerable sum in ready money.

This partnership made much noise, as nothing could be more singular than for three private men to raise a joint stock for conquering a great empire; and this, like other projects, was treated as a wild and visionary scheme that would infallibly end in the ruin of the projectors: but, without regarding the opinions of the world, they solemnly promised each other, that no dangers nor disappointments should make them lay aside their enterprize, and that they would make equal division of the wealth they should acquire, after having first deducted the Emperor's dues, and all expences. To each of them was assigned a particular part in the conquest of Peru: Francis Pizarro was to command the party that went upon the discovery; Almagro was to carry him recruits, and to reinforce him from time to time; and Ferdinand de Luques was to stay at Panama, to provide ammunition and provisions for the use of those engaged in the expedition.

These articles being agreed upon, they repaired solemnly to high mass, which was celebrated by the priest Ferdinando de Luques, who, having broke the wafer into three pieces, took the first himself, and gave the others to his companions, as a token that they would pursue their present project with no less eagerness than if their eternal happiness depended upon it. They took care to make the best enquiries they could into the causes of all the former miscarriages, in order the better to avoid them; and were very assiduous in finding out persons who had been employed in the preceding expeditions, that they might reap the benefit of their experience.

About the middle of November, 1524, Pizarro embarked in a new ship, with 114 men, officers included, and proceeded to an island, about five leagues distant from Panama, whence he sailed to the Pearl islands in the midst of the bay, where he took in wood and water, with hay for 4 horses he had on board; and then proceeded 100 leagues to the southward, landed at Port Pinas, upon the continent, on the south side of the bay of Panama, and endeavoured to penetrate into the country, but the people having fled from their habitations, and meeting with nothing but bogs and mountains, without any prospect of provisions, he proceeded farther down the coast; but finding there the same inconveniences, and perceiving the rainy season coming on, and that many of his men died by sickness, fatigue and want of provisions, he sent the ship to the Isle of Pearls, to procure fresh supplies.

Mean while, Pizarro was joined by Almagro, with two ships, and sixty recruits; when notwithstanding the unhealthiness of the climate, they continued on the coast, and had many skirmishes with the natives, in one of which Almagro lost an eye; but happening in some of these excursions to meet with gold to the value of 14,000 or 15,000 crowns, they resolved, in spite of all the hazards and difficulties they encountered, to proceed on the enterprize; to which they were encouraged by their pilot, who, while they were on shore, had run down as far as Cape Passaro, under the equator, where he seized some prisoners, who made him sensible that the treasures of Peru, greatly surpassed whatever had been reported of them.

When the pilot returned with this agreeable news, he found Pizarro greatly reduced; all his money being exhausted, his men sick, and Alma-

gro gone to Panama with the gold they had taken to procure another reinforcement of troops and provisions.

Almagro raised forty recruits, and having purchased some horses, arms, clothes, provisions, and medicines, returned to Pizarro, where the greatest part of his men being sick or dead, they removed from that unhealthy part of the continent to the island of Gallo, where having staid about fifteen days, they ran still farther to the southward; but found the weather continue so bad, and the country so much under water, that Pizarro himself began to despair of success; and so hot was the dispute about continuing the enterprize, that the two commanders were on the point of drawing their swords; but at length it was agreed, that they should return to the island of Gallo, where Pizarro was to remain with his men, until Almagro went to Panama for recruits. Many of the soldiers desired to go along with him; but this was absolutely refused; and, as several of the soldiers had threatened to complain to the governor, that sending them on this expedition was devoting them to destruction, great care was taken to prevent their sending letters. However, one of them found means to send a paper, subscribed by most of them, representing their hardships, and desiring to be recalled; which was so artfully inclosed in a bottom of cotton yarn, that it escaped the vigilance of the officers, and came safely to the hands of the new governor; for Pedrarias was now removed from his government, and succeeded by Pedro los Rios, who was so far from suffering Almagro to raise more recruits, that he sent a message with a commissary to the island of Gallo, to bring back all the men who survived.

The arrival of this ship greatly mortified Pizarro, who intreated the commissary to allow such

of the men to stay with him as voluntarily chose it; which being granted, he drew a line with the point of his sword, and haranguing his men, told them they were at liberty, if they thought fit, to return to Panama; but that he was grieved at the thought of their now abandoning so glorious a prospect, when they were on the point of reaping the reward of all their sufferings. That, for his part, he would perish in the glorious undertaking rather than desert it; and those who voluntarily staid, should share with him the treasures which fell into his hands. He then desired those who were willing to proceed, to come over the line he had drawn. But so great were the sufferings of these poor men, that only thirteen men and a mulatto came over; while the rest, embarking with the commissary, returned to Panama.

Pizarro's affairs were now in a most wretched situation, for he was not only deprived of the hopes of performing any thing remarkable at present, but had a very indifferent prospect with respect to futurity. In this distress, which he concealed in his own breast, he retired with a few daring fellows, who resolved to follow his desperate fortune, to the island of Gorgona for a supply of water, and staid there till he was joined by Almagro, with a few volunteers, whom he had, with some difficulty, persuaded to engage in this expedition.

With these men they left Gorgona, and sailed along the coast till they found themselves in 30 south latitude, having spent about two years in a voyage which, now the current and trade winds are known, is performed in as many weeks. In this passage, however, they took several Indian vessels of considerable value, and obtained such intelligence of the wealth of the coast, that Pizarro resolved to send Pedro de Candia, a man of good

ſenſe, and agreeable addreſs, to penetrate as far as he could into Tumbez, in order to learn whether the information he had received were true.

Pedro rendered himſelf agreeable to the Indians, and by his good conduct was enabled to execute his commiſſion in the completeſt manner. He returned ſafe to Pizarro; aſſured him that the country exceeded all imagination; that the wealth and ſplendor of the people, and the grandeur of their public edifices were incredible, and that great art and ſkill were viſible in theſe ſtructures, which were ſo rich, that the very walls were covered with gold and ſilver.

Upon this report Pizarro called a council of his people, when, after much deliberation, it was reſolved to return to Panama, and being enabled to give an account of the prodigious advantages to be reaped from an expedition made in a proper manner to Peru, it was to be hoped they ſhould find people who were willing to embark in ſuch an advantageous undertaking, and obtain ſuch ſupplies as would enſure their ſucceſs.

However, failing a few leagues farther along the coaſt, they made Payta, to which Pizarro gave the name of Santa Cruz: and finding this one of the beſt harbours they had obſerved on the coaſt of Peru, they caſt anchor, and going aſhore, found the natives extremely civil, and willing to take the trifles they had to give them, in exchange for proviſions. They weighed from this place, leaving a Spaniard, named Alphonſo de Molina, who had ſeparated from them on ſhore; but ſoon after returning, he came on board in one of the floats of that country, and told them that he had been entertained with great civility by a woman of diſtinction, who was very deſirous of ſeeing the ſhip. Soon after, the ſame woman ſent other floats to pilot them into a ſafe part of the harbour.

Upon which Pizarro sent Molina, with three other gentlemen, to invite this Peruvian lady on board ; and she coming, he treated her in the most elegant manner his circumstances would admit. In return, she invited Pizarro on shore, and the next morning at his landing, received him with a great retinue, and conducted him and his attendants to an arbor ; where she entertained him at dinner, and afterwards with several Indian diversions.

It is pretended that Pizarro not only thanked this Peruvian lady for her great civilities ; but made her a long speech, in which he represented the excellencies of the Christian religion, and the errors of idolatry ; exhorting her and her friends to submit to the king of Spain, the most powerful monarch upon earth ; and that the Peruvians answered in general terms, that they were satisfied with the religion of their ancestors, and knew of none who ought to command their allegiance, but their own lawful Inca ; but it does not appear that Pizarro had yet any opportunity of learning the Peruvian language.

However, the Spaniards returning on board, sailed back to Panama, where they arrived towards the end of the year 1527, with several large pieces of gold, three Indian boys whom Pizarro intended to educate for interpreters, and some Peruvian sheep. Those who had before ridiculed this expedition as absurd and ruinous, now confessed their error, and were desirous of partaking of its advantages ; but Pizarro being opposed by the governor, who refused to allow his levying more men, and finding it necessary that he should be supported by an authority superior to his own, he, with the consent of his partners, embarked for Old Spain, to solicit the Emperor's protection, and such powers as were necessary for promoting their schemes.

CHAPTER II.

Pizarro arrives in Spain, and meets with a favourable Reception from Charles V. who grants him Commissions and Powers for pursuing his Conquests. He returns to Panama, whence he continues his course to St. Mathew's Bay, where he attacks the defenceless Indians without Provocation, which occasions his being distressed for want of provisions. He lands at Tumbez, in spite of the Inhabitants, who, being terrified at his cannon and horses, fly farther into the country, leaving behind them immense riches, which are seized by Pizarro, who builds a fort upon the coast.

PIZARRO arrived without any remarkable accident at Seville, whence he proceeded to the court of the emperor Charles V. where he met with a very gracious reception, on his presenting his Majesty with some Peruvians in their proper habits, several gold and silver vessels of the fashion of the country, and two or three Peruvian sheep. The Emperor took great pleasure in hearing him relate the difficulties he had met with in his search for Peru, and referred him to the council of the Indies, who ordered him to proceed in the conquest of that Empire, as far as 200 leagues to the southward of Tumbez, which is at the bottom of the bay of Guiaquil. He also obtained the titles of Governor and Captain General, with the offices of Adelantado, or Lieutenant, and of Alguazil Major or Chief-Justice of Peru. This was directly contrary to his agreement with his partners; he having promised to obtain the second of these titles for Almagro, and the last for his pilot, who had served him with great fidelity and skill. However,

he obtained for Ferdinando de Luques the title of Protector-General of the Peruvians, with the Emperor's promise of recommending him to the Pope to be made Bishop of Tumbes, of which place Almagro was however nominated Governor, with the title of Don; his bastard son was legitimated; besides, of the 13 men who remained with Pizarro in his distress on the island of Gallo, those who were gentlemen, had the honour of knighthood; and such as were not, were raised to the rank of gentlemen.

These Commissions were granted at Toledo on the 26th of July 1528, and six Dominican Fryars were ordered to go over with Pizarro, as missionaries to assist in the conversion of the Peruvians; but though the Emperor hoped to obtain considerable advantages from this expedition, he did not advance a single piece of money for the service.

Pizarro having thus settled the affairs which brought him to Spain, paid a visit to Truxillo, the place of his birth, where he found that his father had been many years married to a woman of a good family, and had three sons grown up to man's estate, Ferdinand, Gonzalo, and Juan; and that his mother had been married to a farmer, by whom she had a son named Francis Martín de Alcantara; these entered into his service, and, being greatly beloved in the neighbourhood, made great dispatch in providing whatever he wanted; which having effected, he embarked with them at Seville, in the month of January, 1530, and safely arrived at Nombre de Dios, on the coast of Terra Firma; from whence he marched with his people over land to the city of Panama, where Almagro was so disgusted at his having engrossed all the honour and authority himself, that he refused to assist him in the intended expedition, till Pizarro promised to relinquish the title of Adelantado, and

to give him an equal share in whatever they should acquire. Upon which concessions Almagro agreed to assist him as formerly; but though he, for the present, smothered his resentment, yet he never heartily forgave him.

Three ships being prepared at Panama, on board of which were 125 soldiers, 37 horses, with arms, ammunition, and stores, Pizarro set sail from that city; but meeting contrary winds, he found it impossible to keep the sea with his horses on board, and therefore came to an anchor above one hundred leagues to the northward of Tumbez, at a place which he called St. Matthew's Bay. He had here the inhumanity to attack the natives without the least provocation, and to make many of them prisoners, when the rest flying into the country, he plundered their towns, in which he found immense treasures; for these people, being honest themselves, had no suspicion of the Spaniards, and therefore took no care of hiding any thing from them.

By this cruel conduct Pizarro soon became distressed for want of provisions; and losing many of his men by sickness, and the hardships they endured in marching through bogs, and thickets of mangroves, his forces were greatly diminished; besides many of his people contracted a kind of disorder, which they imputed to the water then drunk being poisoned; for their faces and bodies were suddenly covered with warts, that were extremely painful, and when they were cut off, some of the men bled to death. He now too late perceived his error, in not courting the friendship of the natives; and being in no condition to make a conquest of Peru with the forces he had left, sent back his ships to Panama to raise more recruits. He also sent to the same place 30 000 pesos in gold, with a great number of emeralds, and might

have sent many more, had it not been for the folly of some of his people, who were so stupid as to break them in pieces with hammers, in order to try if they were not as hard as diamonds.

Francis Pizarro resolved to continue in action till the arrival of his recruits, and, having, in some measure informed himself of the state of the country, thought he might take some advantage of the disputes which subsisted between the Tumbezene, and the inhabitants of Puna, a neighbouring island, by making friends of the latter. He therefore continued his march towards Tumbes, keeping the sea still in sight, till coming near the above island, he passed over to it with his men; however, disagreeing with these islanders, he attacked and routed them. This he flattered himself would have opened the way for his contracting a close alliance with the Tumbezene; because finding 600 of the latter, with one of the most considerable persons of the city, prisoners to the inhabitants of Puna, he sent them to Tumbes with three of his own people. But, if the Spanish writers are to be credited, the Tumbezene had the ingratitude and cruelty, to sacrifice these three men to their idols; however, as Pizarro was ignorant of this circumstance, he still regarded the Tumbezene as his allies, upon whose assistance he might constantly depend.

In the mean time, Almagro sending Pizarro a considerable reinforcement from Panama, and Ferdinand de Soto, and other adventurers, also arriving with troops from Nicaragua, he thought himself in a condition to carry on the war upon the continent, especially as he had some reason to expect, that he should be supported by the Tumbezene. Accordingly, having provided a sufficient number of floats, he transported his troops to Tumbes; but lost some of his men on his land-

ing, some floats being overfet by the surf which beat upon the shore, and, to his great furprize, feveral of his people were attacked and cut off by his fupposed friends.

The Spanifh writers have given different reafons for this behaviour in the Tumbezzenes: fome relate, that the natives obferving, that the Spaniards had enflaved the inhabitants of Puna, fubverted their religion and government, demolished their temples, and every thing they held facred, expected to be treated in the fame manner; and therefore thought themfelves obliged to oppofe their landing. But others inform us, that while the Spaniards were engaged in the reduction of Puna, a very great alteration happened in the affairs of the continent: Atahualpa, or, as he is generally called, Atabaliba, had defeated the forces of his brother Huefcar, the emperor, cut in pieces moft of the inhabitants of Tumbes, and the neighbouring provinces, for adhering to him, and that the troops which oppofed Pizarro's landing, were thofe detached by Atabaliba to that province, in order to repel the invafion of the Spaniards.

But whatever were the motives of their oppofing the defcent of thefe ftrangers, they were thrown into fuch confufion by the Spanifh horfe and artillery, that they fled as the Spaniards advanced; and, after feveral thoufands of them had been flaugtered, were forced to abandon not only the city and caftle, but even the whole valley of Tumbes, and to leave behind them all their gold and filver plate, emeralds, pearls, and other rich fpoils which lay heaped up in the temple of the Sun and the Inca's palace, and were of fuch immense value, that the Spaniards could fcarcely believe their eyes, on their finding them fo fuddenly in their poffeffion; and fo great was the confternation of

the Inca Atabaliba, and his whole court, when the fugitives related the slaughter made by the thunderer's ordnance, and the impossibility of escaping the Spanish horses, that they concluded, if the Spaniards were not Gods, as they at first conjectured, they were certainly devils, and that it was impossible for any human force to oppose them.

Pizarro soon received intelligence of the terror he had spread through the Inca's court, of which he resolved to take advantage as soon as possible; He, however, thought proper to defer his march, till he had erected a slight fortress, that might serve him as a place of retreat and security, and in which the recruits he expected might be quartered. He accordingly built one upon the sea-coast, and gave it the name of St. Michael. This was performed in the year 1531, and was the first Spanish colony planted in Peru.

The forming of this settlement was certainly a very prudent step, and there was no place on the whole coast so properly situated for it as that chosen by Pizarro. His next step was also the wisest he could possibly have taken, for he made an equal division of all the gold and silver in his possession, giving notes for it, payable at Panama, to those who were to accompany him in the future conquest, while he delivered to such as remained behind in the new colony, their whole shares without abatement. By this establishment he plainly discovered his intention to remain in the country, which it was evident he could not do but by force, and therefore the news of his erecting a fortified town, and compelling the Indians who lived near it to obey not only him, but the meanest of the Spaniards, soon spread through the whole Empire, and engaged the two brothers, who were contending for the throne, to turn their eyes upon those who might soon have the empire at

their disposal. But as the disputes between these two brothers proved their ruin, and the chief cause that brought this great empire under subjection to the Spaniards, some account of the affairs of Peru is necessary to render this history perfectly intelligible.

CHAPTER III.

An account of the divisions in Peru at the time of Pizarro's discovering that kingdom. Pizarro solicited for his assistance by the contending parties. Ferdinand Pizarro and Ferdinand Soto, wait upon Atabaliba in quality of Ambassadors, and meet with a favourable reception. The Inca, attended by his army, waits upon the Spanish General; but is inhumanly attacked, many of the soldiers murdered in cold blood, and himself taken prisoner. He offers a ransom for his life, which is accepted; but is afterwards basely murdered under the form of law.

THE Inca, or Emperor Guayanacapa was a prince who distinguished himself by his many virtues; but being ambitious, and generally successful in war, made several considerable additions to his dominions, and in particular subdued the province of Quito; to confirm his title to which, he married the daughter of the late Sovereign, and by her had a son called Atahualpa or Atabaliba, to whom at his death he bequeathed the crown of Quito, on account of its being independent of the dominions of the Inca's, and its descending to him in right of his mother. But Huescar Guayanacapa's eldest son, who succeeded to his father's hereditary dominions, insisted upon Atabaliba's surrendering the kingdom of Quito, promising, in return, to

give him a share of his father's treasures, and to assign him lands for his subsistence. Atabaliba refused to consent to this proposal; but offered to pay homage to his brother Huefcar for the crown.

In consequence of this dispute both parties had recourse to arms, and a general engagement ensued which lasted for three days, and was as bloody as it was obstinate. At length the forces of Atabaliba were defeated, and he himself taken prisoner; but while the guards were immersed in the rejoicings and festivals which followed the victory, he found means to break a hole through the wall of the house wherein he was confined, by which he made his escape, and returned to his own subjects, whom he found dispirited by their last defeat. He however soon revived their courage, by assuring them, that his father had appeared to him in prison, and by changing him into a serpent, had given him an opportunity of sliding through a little hole in the wall.

What to a sensible people would appear ridiculous, is, to a superstitious and credulous multitude a miracle. This story instantly spread through the whole Empire: the people in general took up arms in his defence, and he had soon a larger body of forces than ever. He now defeated two or three armies that opposed him, levelled with the ground the place where he had been imprisoned, and on his arrival at Tumbes attempted to make himself master of the island of Puna, but without success; when leaving that island, he marched with all his forces to give Huefcar battle, who was advancing towards him with a prodigious army. Atabaliba hearing of his approach, sent two of his best officers with 3 or 4000 light armed troops to observe his brother's strength, who on their drawing near to Huefcar's camp, struck out of the high road to avoid being discovered.

At this very instant Huescar, with some of his chief courtiers and principal officers, had retired into the same bye road to shun the noise and bustle of his army; when Atabaliba's men observing the royal standard, laid hold of this opportunity of putting a speedy end to the war, and immediately attacking Huescar, defeated his guards and made him prisoner.

These victors were however soon in as much danger as the vanquished, for Huescar's army being informed of what had passed, surrounded this handful of men, and threatened to cut them instantly in pieces. In this extremity they told Huescar, that if he did not immediately order his army to retire, they would cut off his head, after which they were determined to die upon the spot. At the same time they observed, that he need be under no apprehension from his confinement, since all Atabaliba required, was the permission to enjoy his own kingdom of Quito, which being secured to him, he was too generous to detain him. On this Huescar ordered his principal officers to draw off their forces to Cuzco, where the Incas kept their court, and this command was immediately obeyed.

Things were in this situation when Pizarro entered Peru. He was first solicited to assist Huescar; but answered in general terms that he was on his march to assist the distressed, and see justice impartially administered. He was afterwards honoured with a solemn embassy from Atabaliba, to desire his alliance and friendship. Upon which he immediately resolved to visit that prince at Caxamalca, where he then was. The Spaniards, in their way thither, suffered extremely by marching through a parched barren desert, that was about 20 leagues over, after which they entered into a rich fertile country, where they staid to refresh themselves, and then continued their journey.

The Spaniards were soon after met by other ambaffadors, who came to compliment Pizarro, and to present him, in the name of the Inca, with a pair of gold buskins richly ornamented, and bracelets of the same metal, set with emeralds, which he was desired to put on, at his obtaining an audience of Atabaliba, who, by seeing his own presents, would easily know him. These ambaffadors also made him several other valuable presents and brought with them great plenty of provisions, which were much wanted by the army.

The chief of this embaffy was of the race of the Incas, and behaved with great politeness, which the Spaniards attributed to fear, in which they were certainly right, though they did not stand in awe of them so much on account of their arms as from a religious motive; for they superstitiously imagined that the Spaniards were the descendants of the Sun. For they had an old tradition, which had been universally received, that the elder son of one of their Incas, who had lived many ages before, had seen a strange kind of phantom who called himself Virachoca, or offspring of the Sun. His dress and appearance were intirely different from that of the Peruvians, who have no beard, and whose clothes reached no lower than their knees; but this phantom had a long beard, a garment of a very unusual make, which reached down to his feet, and he led in his hand an animal that was absolutely unknown to the young prince. This fable was so universally believed, and so firmly rooted in the minds of the Peruvians, that they no sooner saw a Spaniard with a beard, his legs covered, and holding his horse by the bridle, than they cried out, See there is the Inca Virachoca, or the Son of the Sun. This opinion, joined to the dissensions between the two brothers, greatly facilitated Pizarro's conquests.

The Spaniards on their arrival at Caxamalca, found that Atabaliba had retired to a place at a small distance. Upon which the general sent to him his brother Ferdinand Pizarro and Ferdinand Soto in quality of ambassadors.

They were received with very great ceremony, and immediately introduced into the royal presence, which struck the Spaniards with joy and reverence; for not only the Inca, but all who were with him, glittered with gold and jewels.

As soon as the Spaniards approached Atabaliba, who was seated in a chair of massy gold, they saluted him in the Spanish fashion; with which appearing well pleased, he arose and embraced them; and a golden chair being brought for each, they sat and were served by two beautiful princesses, in vessels of gold set with emeralds. They had afterwards a collation of fruit, which being over, Ferdinand Pizarro, by means of a wretched interpreter brought from Puna, made a long speech, in which he told the Inca, that Francis Pizarro, a famous general, was come as ambassador from the High Priest of the Christian church, and from Charles V. the most potent emperor upon earth, to deliver him and his subjects from the tyranny of the devil, and to point out to him the right road to heaven. To this the Inca they supposed made a pathetic reply, as he drew tears from the eyes of those who understood him, and he concluded with telling them that he would come the following day to hold a personal conference with their general. They could collect but little from his discourse; and, from the absurd manner in which their interpreter explained what the Inca had said, they had reason to believe that he had received a very imperfect explanation of Ferdinand Pizarro's oration.

Francis Pizarro being informed of this intended visit, divided his cavalry, which amounted to sixty

men, into three troops of twenty each, and posted them behind an old wall, that their sudden appearance might have the greater effect; and having put himself at the head of his infantry, which amounted to only 100 men, waited for the coming of Atabaliba, who advanced in regular order with his army, which was divided into four battalions, consisting of 8000 men each; and, as soon as they drew near the Inca, addressing himself to his officers, said, "These people are messengers of the gods, let us be seen to do nothing to offend them; but, on the contrary, use our utmost endeavours to gain them by civilities."

As he approached, Father Vincent de Valverde advanced from the Spaniards, carrying in one hand a cross, and in the other his breviary. At his appearance, the Inca seemed much surprized; but received him with great respect, and ordered a chair for him; when the Father began a long discourse which was translated by the above wretched interpreter; while the Inca listened very attentively to his harangue; in which he gave an account of the mysteries of the Christian faith, the power of the pope, St. Peter's successor, and the universal monarchy of the emperor Charles V. to which it was necessary that the Inca should submit, for otherwise God would harden his heart, as he did Pharaoh's, and then the Spaniards were to inflict upon him all the plagues of Egypt.

As the Inca had never heard of these subjects, this dissertation must have had all the appearance of nonsense, yet it was rendered still more ridiculous by its being delivered through a channel so despicable and barbarous as Pizarro's interpreter. However, the Inca made some sort of reply, which was interpreted so badly, that the priest knew no more of the emperor's meaning, than the emperor did of his. Thus a scene of confusion immediately

ensued, which was increased by a tumult caused by some Spaniards, who observing an Indian idol upon a tower, richly adorned with gold, silver and precious stones, their avarice would not suffer them to wait longer, and therefore they fell to plundering it, in which they were at first opposed by the Indians, till the Inca, whose command was to them equal to a divine law, cried out, That they should do nothing to offend the Children of the Sun.

Father Vincent hearing the noise of this tumult, turned about, and dropping his cross and breviary, ran in haste to appease it, when some of the perfidious Spaniards perceiving the cross trampled under foot, cried out, "An insult on Christianity," and instantly falling upon the Indians, committed a most dreadful slaughter, and the horse suddenly appearing, bore down all before them; the poor Indians falling tame sacrifices to their treachery, without making the least resistance. Francis Pizarro at this instant putting himself at the head of the horse, advanced in person to seize Atabaliba, and laying hold of his robe, dragged the Inca from the chariot in which he sat on the shoulders of his attendants. At which instant, one of the Spaniards attempting to strike the emperor with his sword, wounded Pizarro, which was all the Spanish blood spilt at this scene of cool, merciless slaughter, in which about 5000 Indians were inhumanly massacred, without attempting to use the weapons they held in their hands; for they thought every command of the Inca, a part of their religion, and of the divine law, though it was attended with the loss of their lives. Their principal attention was fixed upon their prince, and many of them died, while eagerly endeavouring to support his chariot, to which the Inca clung while the cruel and treacherous Pizarro dragged him from it. This hap-

pened on the 3d of May 1533, a day kept sacred by the Romish church, in honour of finding the cross of Christ, after its having been many years buried.

When this horrid scene was over, Pizarro caused the Inca to be conveyed to his own quarters, and directed that the spoils of the field should be brought to him, which consisted of large gold and silver vessels, fine garments, jewels and ornaments, belonging to the Inca, the royal family, and great officers. There were also taken many of the women of quality, and some of the consecrated virgins. That very day Pizarro impiously directed, that thanksgivings to God should be offered, upon the very spot where the earth was covered with dead bodies of the poor Peruvians, they had thus inhumanly murdered and plundered.

The next day Pizarro sent a detachment of his forces to plunder the Inca's camp, where he met with an immense quantity of riches, though the Peruvian generals are said to have removed 3000 loads of gold and silver before the Spaniards arrived there. To induce the Indians not to carry off or conceal any more of their treasures, Pizarro caused it to be proclaimed that the Inca was alive, and that they were at liberty to come and wait upon him as usual. Upon which, many of the generals and great officers returned to Caxamalca to attend their captive sovereign. He also caused the Inca's women to be brought to him, and suffered him to be served in the same manner as before his misfortunes, though he kept him in fetters, at which the Inca could not forbear sometimes shewing his resentment.

Atabaliba observing the insatiable thirst of the Spaniards after gold and silver, and being very desirous of liberty, made them an offer of filling a

large room in the castle of Caxamalca with these metals, as high as an ordinary man could reach his hand ; a proposal which amazed the Spaniards, and which they gladly accepted. For this purpose he desired that some Spanish officers might be sent with his own people to Cuzco, and other cities, to fetch the treasures deposited there, and at the same time, issued his orders, that the Spaniards who were dispatched to those places should be hospitably entertained in the countries through which they passed, and receive all the assistance his subjects could give them.

In the mean while Almagro, having enlisted 150 men, at Panama, had embarked with them for Peru, in order to reinforce Pizarro, but had been obliged by contrary winds to land at Capa Francisco, where he was joined by another party of the Spaniards, who were going to share Pizarro's fortune ; by which means his whole body amounted to between two and 300 ; but having lost by sickness and fatigue 30 or 40 of his men, he at length arrived at the Spanish colony of St. Michel's, where he was informed that Pizarro had made the Emperor Atabaliba prisoner, and taken possession of a vast treasure ; when fearing that he would refuse him his dividend, he consulted his officers, whether they should not proceed in quest of some new discovery independently of Pizarro ; but a faithful account of this deliberation being privately dispatched to Pizarro by Almagro's secretary, he immediately sent several obliging messages to Almagro, to assure him of his integrity, and to invite him to join him : at the same time, he let him know, that there were some people who endeavoured to sow divisions between them, and intreated him to be on his guard, as that might end in the ruin of one or both of them, as well as the destruction of their enter-

prize; and to support this advice, sent him the letter he had received from the secretary, which Almagro no sooner saw, than he caused him to be hanged.

The report of Almagro's arrival increased Atabaliba's solicitude about his liberty, for he wisely judged, that the insolence of the Spaniards would be augmented in proportion to their strength; he therefore hastened the bringing in of the treasure he had offered for his ransom, that he might obtain his liberty before Pizarro was joined by Almagro; but, another accident happened about the same time, which he apprehended might prove still more fatal to him; for the Spanish officers who were sent with his people to Cuzco, happening to pass through the town where Huescar his brother was confined, went to see him, and told him what Atabaliba had offered for his ransom; when that prince replied, that he had been unjustly deposed by his brother, who had no right either to the empire or the treasures he had promised; and that, as he had heard one principal design of their coming, was to relieve the distressed, he did not doubt but they would release him from his captivity, and restore him to his throne, which he would not only most gratefully acknowledge, but would give them more treasure than it was in the power of the usurper to bestow; for his loyal subjects had buried most of their gold and silver on his being made prisoner, but would readily produce it again, and pay it for his ransom.

Pizarro's messengers listened to his overtures, and promised the Inca that justice should be done him; but, however, left that prince in prison, and continued their journey to Cuzco. Mean while Atabaliba being informed of these overtures resolved to put his brother to death; but reflecting that the Spaniards might make this a pretence

for taking away his own life, he resolved to found Pizarro's inclinations upon the subject ; which he did by informing him, with the appearance of much affection and concern, that his brother had been murdered. But finding that Pizarro was not at all moved at this news, and only replied, that this was the fortune of war, and that the lives of captives were at the conqueror's disposal, he dispatched an express for putting Huefcar to death, and his orders were immediately executed ; but in what manner is still doubtful : some affirming, that he was drowned, and others that his body was cut into small bits, to prevent his subjects from paying the usual honours to his corpse. However, it is reported, that when the murderers came into Huefcar's presence, and let him know their business, he expressed himself to them in the following terms ; “ It is true, my reign is but short ; “ but the person by whose orders I am put to “ death, who was born, and ought to have con- “ tinued my subject, will not long enjoy that “ power which he endeavours to purchase at “ the expence of the blood of his brother and “ lawful prince.”

His death was no sooner known than the Peruvians made great lamentations, and cried to Heaven for vengeance on his murderers. It is even said, that some desired the Spaniards to revenge it. Mean while the officers who were sent to Cuzco were, on their arrival there, adored by the people as the true descendants of the Sun ; but they soon perceived that they ought to deduce their original from a baser fountain, and they were afflicted to find that so profligate a race of men, who trampled upon every thing they held sacred, and whose avarice seemed to exceed all bounds, should become the masters of their country, and from that time they meditated how they might throw of the in-

tolerable yoke they perceived the Spaniards were about to lay upon them. They durst not, however disobey the commands of Atabaliba, but having amassed a considerable quantity of treasure, they sent it to Caxamalca, probably with a view of asserting their liberties to greater advantage when they should have procured their Inca's release.

Pizarro being informed that a great quantity of gold, silver, and emeralds, was lodged in the temple of the Invisible God, he dispatched his three brothers thither with the Peruvian officers deputed by Atabaliba; but the priests of his deity being informed that some of their temples had been ruined by the Spaniards, endeavoured to prevent the like misfortune, by sending away 400 carriers loaded with gold, silver, and jewels, before the Spaniards arrived, which were either buried in the earth, or carried to such a distance that the Spaniards could never discover them.—Ferdinand de Pizarro, however, found as much plate in this temple as amounted to 9000 crowns, besides what was embezzled by the soldiers.

Almagro being by this time advanced into the neighbourhood of Caxamalca, Pizarro went out to meet him, and received him with all possible marks of affection and esteem, offering him such share of the spoil as made him perfectly easy. But his soldiers, who expected to divide the booty with those who had served under Pizarro, were ready to mutiny on their being told, that they were entitled to no part of it; but they were soon appeased by Pizarro's agreeing to distribute 100,000 ducats among them. The rest of the plunder, after the emperor's fifth was deducted, was divided by Pizarro among his officers and soldiers; and it is said, that after he had reserved the Inca's golden chair for his own use, he distributed as much gold and silver plate among the soldiers, as amounted

to above 1,500,000 crowns; which, considering the value of gold and silver at that time, was more than 15,000,000 of crowns now. But, as large as this sum appears in round numbers, it will yet be found more extraordinary and surprising, if we consider among how small a number it was divided*.

Ferdinand Pizarro was now chosen as the fittest person to go to Europe, and wait on the Emperor Charles V. with his share of the treasure; when about 60 of the private men insisted upon their discharge, that they might go home, and peaceably enjoy the wealth they had obtained; but this was violently opposed by Almagro, and most of the council, who alledged it would greatly weaken their little army. But Francis Pizarro over-ruled this opposition, by observing, that nothing could be more political than allowing them to return home; for as the meanest soldier would depart so very rich, they might be certain of gaining ten men for every one they lost.

Ferdinand Pizarro, before his departure, went to take his leave of Atabaliba, with whom he was in greater esteem than any of the Spanish officers: the Emperor therefore was much concerned at his departure, and said "My lord, you are going home, " which is certainly matter of joy to you, though " it fills me with grief; for I already apprehend, " that, before your return, the man with one eye, " meaning Almagro, and the other with the great " belly, which was the King's treasurer, will put " an end to my life: let us then take our last fare- " well."

* It appears from good memoirs, that upon this division, each horsemen had to share near 2000 ounces of gold, and the meanest foldier the value of 2000l. sterling, and that even some of the foot had twice that sum.

His conjecture was indeed just, for the Spaniards who had been sent for the rest of Atabaliba's ransom, making a report of the prodigious quantities of gold they had brought, and the reasons they had for believing that much greater were concealed, Almagro gave it as his opinion, that they should wait no longer, but dispatch the Inca, and then make as much haste as possible to get into their possession all the gold in Peru; a cruel resolution, which, though Francis Pizarro at first seemed to reject with horror, he afterwards gave it his approbation, on account of his being treated with some degree of contempt by Atabaliba, and his giving a visible preference to other officers in the Spanish army, the reason of which is very singular, and cannot fail of giving pleasure to the judicious reader.

Atabaliba was a prince of great penetration, and therefore laboured to obtain as perfect a knowledge as possible of the manners, customs, and abilities of the Spaniards, in order that he might be the better able to deal with them, if, upon the payment of the sum proposed for his ransom, they should actually restore him to liberty. What particularly puzzled him, and seemed most unaccountable, was their having the art of writing and reading; he not being able to comprehend whether it was a natural endowment, or was acquired by labour and application. In order to obtain satisfaction, he asked one of the Spanish soldiers, whether he could express the name of God upon his thumb-nail: the man readily answered that he could, and accordingly wrote it; after which the Inca went to several of the captains and soldiers, and shewing them his thumb-nail, asked if they knew what that mark signified? and from their answers, began to entertain an opinion, that

reading and writing were natural to the nation ; but Francis Pizarro falling in his way, he asked him the same question, when being able neither to read nor write, he blushed and turned away without resolving the question ; which not only changed Atabaliba's opinion, with respect to these accomplishments, which he now plainly saw were the fruits of education ; but gave him a very low opinion of the general, whose original he was persuaded must have been but mean, since he was in this respect exceeded in knowledge by the poorest of his soldiers.

His contempt for Pizarro, however, laid the foundation of his ruin, which was completed by the villainy of the wretched interpreter already mentioned, who, falling in love with one of Atabaliba's wives, that monarch was so incensed, that he let Pizarro know, that the fellow deserved to be put to death, which the general turned into jest. Upon this the interpreter resolved to be revenged, and accused the Inca of contriving the destruction of the Spaniards, when the general ordered that this wild and ridiculous story should be digested into a formal accusation ; commissioners were appointed to try Atabaliba, and the following charge was with great formality brought against him. That the late Inca being his eldest brother and lawful sovereign, and himself a bastard, he had caused him to be deposed and imprisoned, and afterwards usurped his throne. That he had caused his said brother to be murdered. That Atabaliba was an idolater. That he caused his subjects to sacrifice men and children. That he had raised unjust wars, and been guilty of the blood of many people. That he kept a great many concubines. That he had exacted taxes and tribute of the Peruvians, since the Spaniards were become in possession of his country, and had even consumed and

embezzled the public treasure ; and that he had incited the Indians to rebel and make war against the Spaniards since he had been their prisoner.

Upon these absurd and ridiculous articles, this Sovereign Prince was tried, in the midst of his own dominions, by the invaders of his country ; and, what still adds to the absurdity, was tried, not by the laws of Peru, or by the law of nations established by any country, but by those of Spain ; and being found guilty, was condemned to be burnt alive.

However, in justice to the rest of the Spaniards, it ought to be observed, that almost all the persons of family and distinction in the army declared against this vile proceeding, and even delivered a protest in writing against it.

Father Vincent, after being concerned in this mock shew of justice, undertook the Inca's conversion ; and the argument he used to induce him to be baptized, was worthy of such a preacher. He promised, that if he would die a Christian, instead of being burned, he should be only strangled, which had the desired effect, and, to the eternal dishonour of all who were concerned in this iniquitous proceeding, he was baptized in the evening, and strangled the next morning.

There are some who have pretended, though without any proof, that the Indians insisted upon Atabaliba's death, to retaliate that of his brother Huefcar ; but it appears that there is not the least foundation for such an assertion ; for after Huefcar's death, Atabaliba was universally acknowledged as the lawful Inca throughout the whole Empire ; and, on his being murdered by the Spaniards, the Peruvians began every where to act offensively against them, which they had never done before.

CHAPTER IV.

The divided state of Peru, after the Inca's death. Several Spaniards killed in an ambush, and some prisoners taken, who were set at liberty upon very generous conditions. Manca Capac acknowledged Inca of Peru. Pedro de Alverado enters Peru with an army, but is prevailed upon to retire to his government in Mexico. Pizarro lays the foundations of the cities of Lima and Truxillo. Almagro assumes the government of Cuzco; but is persuaded to resign it.

THE events that followed the death of the Inca Atabaliba, plainly shew that human nature is the same in all countries and climates, and that whilst some are actuated by principles of honour and love to their country, others regulate their conduct by views of ambition. Rumnavi, one of Atabaliba's generals who had retired from the bloody slaughter at Caxamalca, with the rear-guard of his army, seized upon the province of Quito, and no sooner heard of his Sovereign's death, than he cut to pieces such of his officers as he believed firmly attached to his late master; while Quisquis, another of his generals, who had been Huescar's executioner, attempted, with a still larger army, to secure part of the province of Cuzco; yet had so little bravery, that he fled before a handful of Spaniards who were sent in pursuit of him, but a few of these pushing too far, and falling into his hands, he caused them to be put to death.

This general, justly apprehending that it would be impossible for him to maintain himself against

the Spaniards, contrived to get into his power, a younger brother of the Inca's, whose name was Pallu, whom he persuaded to take the title of emperor; but this young prince discovered a greatness of soul worthy of the highest praise, and generously told Quisquis, that he scorned to derive that authority from the misery of the empire, which he could not hope for in better times, and esteemed it far more honourable to be thought a good man, than a bad monarch; which had such an effect upon Quisquis, that though he had this prince in his power, he allowed him to retire. Whereupon he went to Francis Pizarro, and told him that the true heir of the empire was his eldest brother Manco Capac, and that if, as he pretended, he proposed to do justice, and to protect those who had right on their side, he ought to declare in favour of that prince, who had already a good army, and who, with the assistance of the Spaniards, would infallibly restore the lustre of the imperial diadem.

We can scarce form an idea of a country in a worse situation than Peru was now in, or a nation in greater distraction than its inhabitants. They were dispirited with superstitious fears of the Spaniards, which prevented their considering their own strength; and, on the other hand, were divided into different factions, headed by different princes, at a time when union alone was absolutely necessary for their preservation. Pizarro, after having gratified his resentment, thought fit to treat the corpse of Atabaliba with the respect due to a sovereign prince; he celebrated his funeral with great solemnity, and went into mourning for him; but he soon discovered how detestable this murder rendered him in the opinion of the natives. The two factions instantly united against him under Manco Capac, the brother and heir of Huefcar,

who was proclaimed Inca at Cuzco. Upon which Pizarro proclaimed Toparpa, the son of Atabaliba; caused him to wear the imperial coronet; to be treated with the same honours as his father, and issued such orders in his name as were for the interest of the Spaniards. This emperor, however, died soon after; when Pizarro imagining that nothing could establish the dominion of the Spaniards in Peru, more than his obtaining possession of Cuzco its capital, he began his march thither with all his forces, which consisted of near 400 men, besides such as were stiled confederate Indians.

Meanwhile Atauchi, brother to Atabaliba, having collected a large quantity of treasure, to purchase his brother's ransom, brought it to Caxamalca; but finding Atabaliba murdered, and the Spaniards marched from thence, resolved to be revenged, and joining his forces with some Peruvian generals, surprized the Spaniards upon their march to Cuzco, killed some of them, and took several prisoners, among whom was Sanco de Cueller, who had drawn up the process against Atabaliba, and attended his execution. With these prisoners the Indian generals returned to Caxamalca, where they caused De Cueller to be strangled on the very spot where the emperor was put to death; but being informed that some of the other prisoners had protested against the Inca's murder, they not only spared their lives, but ordered the wounded to be cured, and dismissed them with considerable presents, on their signing the following articles. That all acts of hostility should be forgiven on both sides. That, for the future, peace should be inviolably maintained between the Peruvians and the Spaniards. That the former should allow Manco Capac to ascend the throne of Peru. That such Indians as they held in chains should be set at liberty. That for the future, no

Peruvian should be loaded with fetters, and that the Spaniards should not treat them as slaves but as freemen, and be allowed to entertain Peruvians as hired servants. That the laws of their country should be inviolably observed, that were not repugnant to those of Christianity; and that this treaty should be ratified by the Spanish general and his sovereign the emperor of Germany. The Spaniards insisted on having the free exercise of their religion, on having land assigned them for their subsistence, and free liberty of trade, without paying any taxes. All which were granted them.

But, reasonable and generous as these articles were, on the side of the Indians, Pizarro and Almagro positively refused to ratify them, and would hear of nothing but an absolute submission of their country and persons to the will of the Spaniards; and therefore continuing his march towards Cuzco, was again attacked at some difficult passes in the mountains, by several parties of Peruvians: but finding themselves unable to resist their fire-arms and horses, they fled to the capital, declaring that it was in vain for any human force to oppose the Spaniards, who were armed with thunder and lightning; upon which the inhabitants of Cuzco fled with their wives and children, and what was most valuable to them, to the woods and mountains. Pizarro entered the city without opposition, in October 1532, and though the citizens had time to carry off their goods, met with an immense treasure; and, as it was the custom of the country to bury with their great men the best part of the riches they possessed, these conquerors, who made no difficulty in rifling sepulchres, found as much wealth in the tombs, as in the habitations of the living; whence the plunder of the city has been computed to amount at least to the full value of Atabaliba's ransom.

Pizarro having now made himself master of the capital, thought fit to invite the inhabitants to return to their dwellings, as he justly concluded that if the people were rendered desperate, the whole power of the empire might assemble against him. The Indians accepted this invitation, and returned to their houses, and even the Inca made some overtures, intimating that he would be content to embrace the Christian religion, and hold his dominions of the emperor of Germany, provided that neither he nor his subjects should for the future be molested either in their persons or estates. When Pizarro giving him all possible encouragement, he came in person to Cuzco, where he was proclaimed Inca, and invested with that dignity in the same manner as his predecessors, Pizarro at the same time agreeing to observe the articles already mentioned.

The Spaniards indeed found themselves under the necessity of taking these pacific measures, from their receiving intelligence that all the southern provinces of Peru were assembling against them, in behalf of the Inca Manco Capac, and from Pizarro's knowing that Rumnavi, Quisquis, and other Peruvian generals had taken possession of Quito, which had a little before obliged Pizarro to send a considerable detachment under the command of Sebastian Balancazar to reinforce the colony at St. Michael's and to make head against the Peruvian Generals in Quito.

Balancazar, upon his arrival at St Michael's, found a large reinforcement of volunteers, come from different parts of the Spanish settlements in order to obtain a share in the riches of Peru, and out of these he chose 120 foot and 80 horse, which he incorporated into his army, and then marched directly towards Quito, to make himself master of the riches of the late Emperor, most of which

remained there. The Indian General who commanded in that province, did all that lay in his power to harass and fatigue the Spanish army, without coming to a decisive action; but finding that Balancazar continued to advance directly towards the capital, he caused all the late emperor's riches to be brought into the hall of the palace, and then setting fire to it, abandoned the city.

While Francis Pizarro and his officers were thus employed in the reduction of several provinces of the empire, they were suddenly interrupted by an unexpected invasion of their countrymen. Don Pedro de Alverado, who had distinguished himself with Cortes in the conquest of Mexico, hearing of the vast wealth obtained by these adventurers, was resolved to come in for a share; and being possessed of the province of Guatemala, he fitted out several ships; and, to increase his strength, seized two vessels more that were actually fitting out in one of the ports of Nicaragua for the service of Pizarro, and on board these ships he embarked 500 horse and foot, which were as good troops as any in America. With this force he landed at Puerto Vejo, but endured great hardships in his voyage.

He then crossed a part of the Andes near the equator, in which expedition his army also suffered greatly; but after losing 60 of his men by the coldness of the weather, he arrived in the neighbourhood of St. Michael's, where he refreshed his troops, and was preparing for continuing his progress into the heart of the country; but was met in the valley of Riobamba, by a large body of troops sent by Pizarro, under the command of Almagro, who had joined Balancazar. A battle now seemed almost inevitable; but Alverado foreseeing the consequences that must attend an action, let victory remain on either side, willingly entered into a negotiation; and a private treaty was signed between them, by

which Alverado agreed to return to his own government, in consideration of his being paid one hundred thousand pesos of gold to defray the expence of fitting out his fleet ; and promising never to attempt an invasion of Peru during the lives of Pizarro and Almagro. It was also stipulated that each party should be left at liberty to pursue their separate discoveries, for their own advantage ; by which means Alverado provided for such of the people as desired to remain in Peru. Things being thus amicably settled, Alverado and Almagro joined their forces, in order to march to Cuzco to procure Pizarro's ratification of the treaty.

It is necessary to observe, that the peace between the new Inca and Pizarro was concluded after Almagro had marched from Cuzco, and consequently he was at this time entirely ignorant of it, and that the confirmation of it, had not yet reached Quisquis, who was encamped near Caxamalca, and waited in expectation of hearing it confirmed, with a good army, which he was then ready to disband, and therefore retired as the Spaniards advanced ; but the two generals seeing so numerous a body of forces, thought proper to attack them, and at first gained considerable advantage ; for Quisquis had not the least suspicion that they would come to an engagement. However, he secured a retreat to some neighbouring rocks, the steep accesses of which he defended with undaunted courage, and rolled down huge stones with such success as to kill several of the assailants, and particularly the horse. In this manner he defended himself till night, when he retired to the hills, but his rear being attacked the next day on the banks of a river, maintained a very difficult pass for many hours, and secured a safe retreat to the mountains, whence in a few days he made a sally with pretty good success, for though

he had a considerable loss, his hopes were kept alive by his having killed above 50 Spaniards.

Pizarro being informed of these transactions, resolved to prevent Alverado's visit, for he was a little doubtful whether the sight of Cuzco, and the rich country about it, might not revive Alverado's ambition. On his arrival at Caxamalca, he had an interview with the indian chiefs, in which he informed them of the treaty concluded with the Inca Manco Capac and himself, and put an end to these feuds, by assuring them that his countrymen had been entirely ignorant of it, promising that from thenceforward all hostilities should cease. He afterwards met Alverado, in the valley of Pachacamac, embraced him with the appearance of great affection, and not only agreed to perform the articles stipulated by Almagro, but made him a present of 20,000 pesos of gold more, for the expences of his journey in coming to meet him, besides a great number of emeralds, turquoises, and vessels of gold curiously wrought for his own private use, and ordered all his officers during his stay to look upon him as their commander.

Alverado, after he had sufficiently rested and refreshed himself, took his leave of the two generals, highly satisfied both with the treatment he had met with, and the treasures he had acquired. Almagro then went back to Cuzco, while Pizarro staid behind to search for a proper place for founding a new city, which he at length built on the sea coast on the banks of the little river Lima, in 12 degrees 30 minutes south latitude, 120 miles west of Cuzco. The first stone was laid on the 6th of January 1534, and from its being the feast of Epiphany, he called the town Villa de los Reyes, or the City of Kings. This place is now the capital of Peru, and is known by the name of Lima. Pizarro having fettled some of his people here,

divided the neighbouring lands among them, and assigned a number of Indians to perform their drudgery, which they justly considered as a very great hardship. He then proceeded along the coast of the South Sea to a place about 300 miles farther north, where he founded another city, which, from the place of his birth, he called Truxillo.

While Francis Pizarro was employed in building this last city, he received advice, that his brother Ferdinand had in a great measure succeeded in his negotiation at the court of Spain, having procured for him the title of Marquis de los Atabillos, with the revenues of that province, and a large increase of territory, which was to be distinguished by the name of New Castile; that he had also obtained for Almagro the post of marshal of Peru, and a government 200 leagues in extent to the southward of the country assigned to the marquis Pizarro; but as to his demand of the vassalage of 20,000 Indians, the emperor refused to grant it him, till he was informed of the customs of the country, and what consequences might proceed from it, when he would shew him all the favour in that particular that was consistent with justice.

Some account of these affairs reaching Almagro, before any authentic advices had arrived, he laid aside the title of Pizarro's lieutenant, and assumed that of Governor of Cuzco, under the pretence of its being out of Pizarro's jurisdiction, which he maintained was only 200 leagues from the line, but being opposed by Pizarro's brothers, Juan and Gonzalo, the dispute arose to such a height; that some skirmishes ensued, in which several lives were lost. Pizarro soon heard the news of these dissensions, while he was at Truxillo, when seeing the necessity of his presence, he left all his Spanish followers to proceed with the settlement of his

new colony, and committed himself, without any attendants, to the care of the Indians, who carried him in a hammock on their shoulders, and relieving one another at proper stages, travelled with such expedition, that he reached Cuzco before there was the least suspicion of his approach. He soon convinced Almagro of his error; told him, that if on the arrival of their commissions from Spain, he should dislike what was allotted him, he would divide with him the government of Peru, and at the same time also said, that though the territory to the southward of Cuzco called Chili, was by all accounts richer in gold and silver, he would consent to his marching at the head of the best part of their united forces to discover and obtain the possession of it.

As the assistance of the Peruvians was still necessary to the Spaniards, they endeavoured to keep fair with them, yet at the same time awed them with troops in different places; they strengthened Balancazar at Quito, and a large body marched to the north-east to reduce some provinces bordering on the immense ridge of mountains called the Andes, and thus shewed that they were far from intending to perform the agreement they had made with the Peruvians.

CHAPTER V.

Almagro sets out with a powerful army of Spaniards and Peruvians to conquer Chili; but loses many of his men, and suffers dreadful hardships in passing the Cordilleras. He abandons Chili in order to take upon himself the government of Cuzco, which is attacked by the Indians. The Inca disbands his forces and retires to the mountains; while the city of Cuzco is surprized by Almagro, who gains several advantages over Pizarro, but afterwards concludes a treaty with him, which being broken by Pizarro, a bloody battle is fought, in which Almagro is taken prisoner, and afterwards tried, condemned and executed.

ALMAGRO having resolved upon his southern expedition, the Inca Manco, in hopes of obliging the Spaniards, assisted him with 15,000 men, under the conduct of his brother Paullu, and Villachuma, or as he is called by the Spanish historians Villahoma. With this body of men Almagro began his march in the year 1535, and proceeded southwards as far as the province of Charcas, which he slighted as not worth keeping, on account of its being a barren and inhospitable country.* In this province Almagro was informed of two passages into Chili, both of them attended with extraordinary difficulty, the one being through a hot sandy desert, where his people must be prepared to encounter the severest attacks of heat and thirst, the other lying over prodigious

* Charcas has, however since proved the most valuable of all the Spanish acquisitions, as it contains the rich mountains of Potosí, from whence more silver has been brought into Europe, than from any other mines hitherto discovered.

mountains covered with snow, so craggy and steep as scarce to admit of being climbed, and so intensely cold as to be impassable, except at one season of the year.

Almagro considering that the latter was the shorter road, and that cold, however sharp, was more supportable to European constitutions than excessive heat, chose that passage, and persisted in his resolution, in spite of the representations of Paullu and the Indians: but he had soon reason to repent of his obstinacy, for his men being obliged to remove the snow with their hands, made short journies, soon consumed their provisions, and were reduced to inconceivable distresses, so that he lost above 10,000 Peruvians, and 150 Spaniards, exclusive of such as escaped with the loss of their fingers and toes, though the Spaniards were very warmly clothed. They also lost all or the greatest part of their baggage. However they, at length, after a tedious march of 600 miles, arrived in Capayapu, subject to the Inca of Peru, where through Paullu's influence they were cheerfully entertained, and the inhabitants not only brought them plenty of provisions, but being informed of their love of gold made them presents to the amount of 5000 ducats.

Almagro found Paullu's authority of great service to him in his progress, for on his account he was received in many places with much cordiality, and opposed only in few, so that he might easily have established colonies in very advantageous situations, had not a kind of infatuation directed all his views towards Cuzco, were, notwithstanding the late treaty he was resolved to rule, affirming from the commission which he had now received from the King of Spain, that this city fell within his jurisdiction. This commission was brought him by Ruis Diaz and

Juan de Harada, who joined him with recruits from Cuzco, after having passed the Cordilleras, the road Almagro himself had taken, and which, as it was then summer, he passed with little fatigue.

Notwithstanding Almagro's receiving these recruits, he abandoned all his views upon Chili, and began his march to the northward, when his army being terrified at the remembrance of the distresses they had endured in passing the Cordilleras, absolutely refused to return by the same road they came. Upon which he was obliged to take his route through the desert, where he was told by the Indians, that there was no water, but what was to be met with in standing pools, corrupted by the heat of the sun, and even these at eighteen or twenty miles distance from each other. To remedy these inconveniences, leathern bottles were made to carry the water, and parties of Indians dispatched before the army to drain the pits of that which was stagnated, and leave the fresh at liberty to rise: expedients that were of vast use, and enabled them to pass these barren tracts with much less difficulty than was at first imagined.

In the mean while the Peruvians who marched with Almagro, grew discontented at the ill usage they met with from the Spaniards, and complained to each other of their barbarity. None had a greater share of these conferences than the interpreter so often mentioned, who at length engaged in a plot against Almagro's life; but reflecting on the danger to which he was exposed, endeavoured to secure himself by flight. He was however taken, and then informed against the Inca Pauliu as being the principal person in the plot; but this being inconsistent with that Prince's general behaviour, Almagro caused the interpreter to be put to the torture, when he confessed the falshood of his accusation, and at the same time acknow-

ledged, that by false suggestions he had contributed to take away the life of Atabaliba. On which accounts he suffered an ignominious death.

At this time affairs were in great confusion in Peru; the Inca Manco had now lost all confidence in the Spaniards, and was so sensible of the injuries he received, and of the little hopes there were of his ever being restored to the possession of his throne and the sovereign power, as had been promised by the treaty of Caxamalca, that he resolved to try what could be done by force; judging it better to rely upon the justice of his cause, and the assistance of his people, than upon the promises of those who had so basely broken their words to his brother, and had never fulfilled their engagements to himself. For this purpose he prevailed on Ferdinand Pizarro to give him leave to go to a solemn festival held at Yucaya, four leagues from Cuzco, which was in reality a kind of assembly of the states of Peru, where a scheme was laid of instantly raising three armies, and investing Cuzco, Lima, and Truxillo, at the same time. With the first, he himself took the castle of Cuzco, and closely blocked up the city; the second, which consisted of a good body of troops, marched against Francis Pizarro, at the city of Lima, and the third was intended to act against Almagro, notice of which was sent to the high-priest, who found means to escape from the army. Prince Paullu was also informed of the situation of his brother's affairs, and what was expected from him, in order to facilitate the conquest of the invaders, but he rejected the proposals, and declared that he would not break his faith with the Spaniards. The interpreter having disclosed this secret with his last breath, Almagro declared Paullu emperor, and though he had before refused that title, yet he now suffered it to be given him, for the sake of

his own safety, and that his nation might not want a protector.

The Inca Manco still continued to besiege Cuzco with an army of 200,000 men; but though there were only seventy Spaniards in the place, yet having some horse, and a good train of artillery, they made a vigorous defence, and what is still more surprising, made several sallies, in one of which Juan Pizarro being wounded in the head with a stone, died about three days after, to the great regret of those of his party.

The Inca, hearing of Almagro's approaching Cuzco, resolved to retire, and though Almagro endeavoured to persuade him to agree to a treaty, he absolutely refused it, being determined never more to hear of terms from a people who had hitherto kept none with him: but took a very surprising step, which was disbanding his army, and privately retiring to the mountains. His officers endeavoured to dissuade him from it, by observing, that no time could ever promise him greater success than this, in which Pizarro and Almagro were at open variance. In answer to which he replied, that notwithstanding their private animosities, they would certainly join against him, should he make a shew of opposing them, and that it was time enough for him to return and vindicate his right, when they were thoroughly weakened by their mutual contentions.

It is surprising that the Spaniards should have chosen this time for quarrelling among themselves, and entering into a civil war. But Almagro having a considerable body of troops under his command, resolved immediately to renew his old claim to Cuzco, and in case he should make himself master of that city, determined to render it the seat of his government. On his appearing before the walls, and finding the Indians drawn off, he

sent a summons to Don Ferdinand Pizarro the Spanish governor, to deliver up the city, to which he answered, that he held it by commission from his brother the marquis, and would not deliver it up without his orders, as he knew it to be within the limits of his brother's government. He immediately proceeded to put the place in a posture of defence; but part of the garrison being Almagro's friends, introduced his forces into the town at midnight, when Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro were made prisoners, by which means Almagro became possessed of Cuzco with little or no bloodshed, and most of the garrison entered into his pay.

In the mean time the marquis Pizarro hearing no news from his brother at Cuzco, and concluding that all the parties he had sent thither to reinforce them had been cut off by the Peruvians, resolved to send such a body of troops thither as should be able to force their way in spite of all the opposition the Indians could make against them, and having assembled 5000 horse and foot, gave the command of this body to Don Alonzo de Alverado, with orders to march with all possible expedition, and under him appointed Pedro de Lerna, captain of a troop of horse, who being an older officer, was so disgusted at this affront, that he meditated the ruin of the enterprize.

Alverado marched with such dispatch, that though he had pressed upwards of 5000 Peruvians to carry his baggage, most of them perished in the first part of the journey, by being overladen, and driven beyond their strength, upon which he halted, and pressed some thousands more to supply the places of those he had lost.

Almagro having received intelligence that Don Alonzo Alverado was advancing, dispatched some Spaniards of distinction to represent to him that

Cuzco, according to the emperor's division of Peru, was a part of his government, and to advise him to return back to Lima, till the marquis and he should adjust the limits of their respective governments, when Alverado, instead of complying with this request, made these gentlemen prisoners. Upon this Almagro took the field, and surprized a party of Alverado's horse, by whom he was informed that great part of the troops were better affected to him than to the marquis Pizarro, and that Pedro de Lerma, with many of his friends, would desert upon the first opportunity, he therefore advanced to the banks of a small river, on the other side of which Alverado was encamped; they remained quiet however without endeavouring to attack each other all day; but in the night Orgonez, Almagro's lieutenant general, forded the river at the head of the troops, threw Alverado's forces into great confusion, and giving Pedro de Lerma, with the rest of Almagro's friends, an opportunity of joining him, gained an easy victory, and took Alverado prisoner, with whom he returned in triumph to Cuzco. Some of the principal commanders now advised the conqueror to provide for his future security, by putting the Pizarros to death: but this he absolutely refused, alleging, that it was beneath a gentleman and soldier to put people to death in cold blood; and, though he was pressed with great warmth to march with his victorious army against Lima, he would not agree to it, on account of his having no claim to that part of the country.

The marquis of Pizarro was greatly affected at the news of this defeat, but finding himself too weak to make head against Almagro, as his whole force scarcely exceeded 400 men, he resolved to try what could be done by policy, and therefore sent deputies to Cuzco, to propose an accommoda-

tion. Almagro received them with great civility, and promised to have an interview with the marquis, in which commissioners should be chosen to settle their respective boundaries. He accordingly marched out of Cuzco at the head of above 500 Spaniards, and took the road to Lima, carrying Ferdinand Pizarro with him as his prisoner, while Gonzalo Pizarro and Alverado were left in the city under the care of De Rojas, but after Almagro's departure they seized De Rojas, put him in irons, and made their escape to Lima, accompanied by about sixty men, whom they had won over to their interest. Upon receiving the news of their escape, Orgonez and his partizans urged Almagro to revenge it by the death of his prisoner Ferdinand; but this he absolutely refused, and soon after met the marquis at Mala, with twelve persons on each side, in order to terminate their disputes. This conference was, however, suddenly broke off by one of Almagro's followers rushing abruptly into his presence, and crying out that he was betrayed, whereupon he instantly took horse and rode off, leaving matters entirely unfettled.

This alarm was caused by the approach of Gonzalo with 700 men. Upon which Orgonez also advanced with his troops in order to prevent the treachery he suspected to be in agitation. Each side now seemed ready for war, and yet the marquis again found means to persuade Almagro, to listen to terms, and a treaty was concluded and sworn to by each of them, by which the possession of Cuzco, with other advantages, was ceded to Almagro, till the emperor's decision should be known. In consequence of this treaty Ferdinand Pizarro was set at liberty upon his taking an oath not to act against Almagro.

The marquis Pizarro had no sooner obtained his brother's liberty, than he broke through the treaty,

sending a notary with witnesses to summon Almagro to surrender Cuzco and all the places he had conquered, on pain of being treated as a rebel: a method of proceeding that was the more inexcusable, as he had just before received an express from court, by which each governor was enjoined, under pain of the emperor's displeasure, to keep quiet possession of all such places as should own their respective jurisdiction at the time of the messenger's arrival, and in case they thought themselves injured, they were directed to appeal to the council of the Indies. But these orders he thought fit to suppress.

Almagro, seeing how ungenerously he was treated, gave orders for defending Cuzco, and marched with his troops to meet the marquis's army which was advancing under the command of Gonzalo Pizarro; the two armies met near a place called the Salinas, so named from a fountain of brackish water which sprung up there; but after an engagement which lasted two hours, Almagro was entirely defeated. Orgonez behaved with great gallantry; but growing faint with his wounds, accepted quarter from a person named Fuentez, who thus getting him into his power, murdered him in cold blood. Ferdinand Pizarro was in the heat of the engagement unhorsed by Lerma, who at the same time upbraided him with his perjury; his armour however saved his life. Lerma was afterwards borne down by some of Pizarro's party, and was treacherously stabbed; but had the misfortune to recover, and to be more cruelly butchered, and at length Almagro who was ill and too weak to sit a horse, was carried into the field in a litter, and perceiving his army defeated, retired to the citadel of Cuzco, whither he was followed by Alverado, to whom he was soon obliged to surrender.

Almagro was no sooner in the power of his enemies, than Ferdinand resolved to be revenged for his own and his brother's long imprisonment; therefore, after Almagro had been some months confined in prison at Cuzco, the lawyers were employed to draw up articles against him, the principal of which were, that he had seized the city of Cuzco, entered into a sacred treaty with the Inca, encroached upon the government granted to the marquis, and fought two battles against the forces of his sovereign, by which much Christian blood had been spilt, and the progress of the Spanish arms greatly retarded.

For these offences Almagro being tried by his enemies, was convicted and condemned to die, though he appealed to the emperor, and in very moving terms applied to Ferdinand Pizarro to save his life. He observed that he had spared him, and, on account of the friendship he bore him and the marquis, had refused to put to death any of his relations; that he would do well to remember how instrumental he had been in enabling his brother to obtain those conquests, and raising him to the honours he possessed: he desired the Pizarros would consider, that he was an old gouty man who could not live many years, and that they would therefore suffer him, after the innumerable hardships he had sustained, to die a natural death. Alverado also pleaded strongly, that his appeal to the emperor might be admitted, and attempted, though in vain, to soften Ferdinand's inflexibility, by representing the kindness with which he had treated both him and his brother when they were his prisoners, and their lives in his power. But looking upon their old companion and fellow-soldier as the only obstacle to their ambition, and believing that by his death they should obtain the sole dominion of Peru without a rival, they were deaf to all his

intreaties, and having caused him to be privately strangled in prison, they ordered his head to be cut off on a scaffold in the great square of Cuzco. His body lay most part of the day almost naked, exposed on the scaffold, without any body daring to bury it, lest this should provoke his enemies, who were so inhuman as to take no care of its interment. But towards evening a few poor Peruvians who had been his servants, wrapt it in a coarse sheet, and conveyed it to a church, erected by the Spaniards, where it was interred by the clergy under the high altar.

Thus died Almagro, in the seventy-fifth, or, as others say, the sixty-fifth year of his age. He was of a low stature, but strong and well set. His enemies said he was of mean parentage, but this it was impossible for them to know, since as has been already observed, he was found in the streets, and, being never owned by any body, went by the name of the town in which he was found. His education was of a piece with his birth, for it is uncertain what it was, or where he received it. He became a soldier almost as soon as he became a man. He was remarkable for his bravery, and had such presence of mind that no danger could disconcert him. He was kind, liberal, and slow in punishing his soldiers; yet, from the force of his own example, maintained a very strict discipline. Though he kept a good table for his officers, he himself fared as hard as any private man in the army, and when this was represented to him as a piece of affectation, he replied, that his was the diet of a soldier. He was loyal to his prince, and merciful to the Spaniards; but was at the same time haughty and ambitious, and at first very cruel to the Peruvians; but living some time with a Peruvian woman, by whom he had his son Diego, he at length grew so kind to them, that they loved him better than any of the Spaniards.

The natural son which Almagro had by the above Indian woman, he at his death bequeathed to the care of Diego Alverado, who desiring Pizarro to evacuate so much of the country as he had always allowed to be put under Almagro's government, that he might take possession of it for the youth, was haughtily answered, that his government was now unbounded, and since Almagro was no more, he knew of nobody who had a right to insist on sharing it with him.

Alverado exasperated at this answer, resolved to seek redress at the court of Spain; he therefore soon after left Peru, and returned to Europe, with such evidences as were proper to support the cause he espoused.

The death of Almagro, though covered with a shew of justice, was so highly resented by the Spaniards, that instead of extinguishing, as was expected, it increased his faction. Upon which Ferdinand Pizarro, suspecting from the behaviour of the soldiers, that some designs were carrying on against his life, thought proper to follow Alverado to Spain, with all the gold he could collect, in order to bribe the Spanish ministry. But Alverado having prepared the way for his reception, he was arrested, and thrown into prison as soon as he arrived, and though Alverado died soon after, he was suspected to have been poisoned by Ferdinand, to put a stop to the prosecution, yet the latter continued 23 years in confinement.

The Peruvians now observing the division that subsisted among the Spanish generals, had again recourse to arms, and though the Spaniards in Peru soon amounted to above 2000, they found it more difficult to maintain their ground than at first, when they had not 400; for the terror the Peruvians were under from the fire-arms and horses, which they had never seen before, was in

a great measure worn off; some of them had even learned of the Spaniards how to ride, and handle their arms, and, having taken some horses, were not afraid to make use of them against these tyrants; and it seems highly probable, that, had not some particular bodies of Indians been so infatuated as to adhere closely to the interests of the Spaniards, discovered the strong passes, and, from time to time, brought them both provisions and intelligence, Pizarro would at last have been obliged to abandon his conquests.

CHAPTER VI.

The Marquis Pizarro extends his conquests to the South, and subdues the province of Charcas, after which he sends his brother Gonzalo, whom he had made Governor of Quito, to make new discoveries, who proceeds to the eastward, in hopes of finding countries still richer than Peru: but is at length deserted by Orellana, who sails down the river of Amazons, and from thence returns to the Spanish settlements on the other side of the Continent of America, which obliges Gonzalo to return to Quito.

THE most considerable acquisition made after Almagro's death, was the conquest of the province of Charcas, in which were the invaluable mines of Potosi, whose treasures attracted such a multitude of adventurers, that the Peruvians were at length compelled to submit, and become slaves to their imperious masters. But the Spaniards were far from being so successful in Chili; that brave people disputed the ground with them by inches, nor could they ever entirely conquer it;

even in the province of Charcas, Gonzalo Pizarro, and his forces, were so surrounded and distressed by the Indians, that his brother the marquis was obliged to march in person to his relief, with the garrison of Cuzco.

However, this conquest being finished, the marquis founded the city of La Plata, so named from the silver mines, and divided not only the city, and country about it, but the Indian inhabitants, among the conquerors. To his brother Ferdinand Pizarro, who was then confined in Spain, he allotted a large share, and to his brother Gonzalo, that part of the country in which were the silver mines of Potosi. Ferdinand, as a citizen of La Plata, had also a share of those mines, and a particular part of the country being assigned to his officers, they discovered so rich a vein, that they are said to have dug from it the finest silver without any alloy.

The Marquis now found himself possessed of an extent of country 7 or 800 leagues in length, from the equinoctial to the south part of the province of Charcas, in which were more rich mines than in all the world besides, and yet his avarice or ambition was not fully satisfied; but, in an extreme old age, he employed his brother Gonzalo, who was then Governor of Quito, in the conquest of other nations.

Gonzalo accordingly entered the province of Los Quitos, and after subduing that country, where the inhabitants were downright barbarians, when compared with those of Peru, he resolved to pass the high mountains which bound that province on the north, and, for that purpose, assembled a considerable number of Indians, and a good quantity of cattle; but having ascended half way, the cold was so intense, that he perceived it would be impossible for him to prosecute his march in

that manner. Therefore, leaving his cattle, and the best part of his baggage, he hastily descended into the valley of Zumaque, which he found extremely fertile, and there refreshed his forces for two months.

Gonzalo then endeavoured to continue his march northward; but, finding the way extremely rough and mountainous, he turned directly east, in hopes of meeting with an easier passage, and entered into a rich and populous country, where the inhabitants were filled with amazement and terror at seeing the Spaniards among them, and indeed they had the greatest reason; for these pretended Christians behaved towards them with the most savage brutality, for Gonzalo Pizarro himself is said, even by some Spanish writers, to have given several of the natives to be eaten alive by his dogs.

This inhuman treatment made them rise in arms against these invaders, which obliged him to encamp, and use all the precautions necessary in an enemy's country. But, having fixed their tents on the bank of a river, it swelled so much in one night, that, if the centinels had not in time warned them of their danger, they had all been drowned; but the alarm was no sooner given, than they secured themselves, by running up towards the cottages of the Indians.

Pizarro; disappointed at this event, and not knowing what other course to take, returned to Zumaque, and from thence proceeded, with all his men, towards a large village called Ampua, where he found the Cacique, and a great number of the inhabitants in a posture of defence; but there was another and greater obstacle in his way, and that was a river so wide and deep, that he had no possible means of crossing it. The only expedient he had left, was, therefore, to enter into a treaty

with the people of the country, and desire the assistance of their canoes. This proposal the cacique received with great civility, agreed to terms of peace, and granted them as many canoes as they desired; on which Gonzalo in return, made him a present of many little Spanish toys. The cacique, however, receiving advice of the ill treatment his neighbours had received from his new guests, endeavoured to make them believe, that great riches were to be found among the people who dwelt some days journey lower down the river. Pizarro returned him thanks by his guides, who were his interpreters; but afterwards finding no appearance of these pretended riches, he returned to Zumaque, much dissatisfied with his expedition; but resolved not to return to Quito, till he had made some discovery that would render him as famous as his elder brother the marquis Pizarro.

This resolution he communicated to Francis Orellana, a gentleman of Truxillo, who came to join him in the valley of Zumaque, and having taken one hundred soldiers, and some Indians for guides, and to carry provisions, he marched directly to the east; but these guides soon brought him into a country full of mountains, forests, and torrents, which obliged him to make ways where he found none, and open a passage through the woods with hatchets. However, after many days march he pierced through as far as the province of Coca, where the cacique came to meet him, and offered him all the accommodations the country afforded.

Gonzalo was highly pleased with this reception, and, by the assistance of his guides, entered into a conversation with the cacique, who let him know, that the country through which he had passed, was so full of mountains, forests, and rivers, that

he had taken the only passage that could have brought him thither ; but that, if he was willing to embark on the river he saw before him, or to follow it by land, he might assure himself, that he would reach the banks of another river, much larger than this, where there was a plentiful country, whose inhabitants were covered with plates of gold.

The cacique could not have mentioned a more alluring motive. Gonzalo's avarice was fired, and he immediately sent two of his guides, with orders to the officers and soldiers he had left at Zumaque, to come and join him immediately. These orders they instantly obeyed, and, surmounting all the difficulties of the way, arrived, much fatigued, at the town of Coca, where Gonzalo, having made them stay some days to refresh themselves, placed them in order of battle before the cacique, who was so terrified at their appearance, that he collected a great quantity of provisions, and presented them to Pizarro, in order to hasten his departure. The latter, impatient to be gone, the next morning filed off his troops along the river, where, having made the cacique a present of a sword, he placed himself at the head of his cavalry, and proceeded along the banks, which were extremely pleasant.

However, the smoothness of the way did not last long. It was soon interrupted by small rivers and uneven grounds, and they were obliged to march forty-three days without finding either provisions, fords, or canoes to enable them to pass the river. By this long march they were much fatigued, when they were stopped by a sight which appeared very surprising ; the river grew narrow and confined between two rocks at no more than twenty feet distance from each other, and the water rushing with

rapidity through this strait, precipitated itself into a valley, which lay 200 fathoms below.

Here Pizarro made the famous bridge for his troops to pass over, which is so much extolled by the Spanish historians; but finding the way not at all the better on the other side, and their provisions growing daily more and more scarce, Pizarro resolved to cause a brigantine to be built, in order to carry by water all his sick men, provisions, baggage and gold; and this being done with no small difficulty, Pizarro sent on board this vessel whatever had obstructed his march, with fifty soldiers under the command of Francis Orellana, who were strictly ordered to keep up with them, and to come every night to the camp. This order he observed very exactly, till Gonzalo seeing all his men pinched with hunger, commanded him to go in search of provisions and cottages, where the Spaniards might meet with refreshments.

No sooner had Orellana received his orders, than he launched out into the middle of the river, where the rapidity of the stream carried him as fast as he could wish, for in three days he made above 100 leagues without the use of either sails or oars. The current of the river Coca, at length carried him into a much larger river, where the stream was not near so swift. He there staid a whole day to make his observations, and perceiving that the farther he went down, the more the river widened, he had not the least doubt, that this was the great river that had been so often sought for, which filled him with such joy at his good fortune, that without paying the least regard to his duty, fidelity, and gratitude to Gonzalo Pizarro, he thought of nothing but executing an enterprize he was then forming. For this purpose he persuaded his companions that this country was not that described by their general; that it had not the

plenty the Cacique told him he should find at the joining of the two rivers, and that they must proceed farther in search of that pleasant and fertile land, where they were to store themselves with provisions; and besides, that they saw there was no possibility of returning up the river, for though they had now proceeded only three days, yet he believed they could not make their way back in the space of a year; that it was much more reasonable for them to wait till Gonzalo came up with them; and that it was necessary they should still proceed in search of provisions.

Thus concealing his design, he hoisted sail: and thought of nothing but pursuing the course of the river, till he should discover it quite to the sea. Mean while his companions were amazed at the manner in which he put in execution the design he had been proposing to them, and thought themselves obliged to tell him, that he went beyond the orders of his general; that considering the extreme want he was in, they ought to carry him the little provisions he could find, and that he had given sufficient evidence of his having entertained some ill design, by his neglecting to leave two canoes at the joining of the two rivers, as the general had ordered, for his army to pass over.

These remonstrances were chiefly made by a dominican friar named Gaspar de Carvajal, and a young gentleman of Badujos, called Ferdinand Sancho de Vargas, who were so respected by those on board, that their remonstrance occasioned a division in this little vessel, and from words they were very near coming to blows; but Orellana at length by his protestations and fair promises appeased this disorder. By means of a friend he had on board, he afterwards gained most of the soldiers that were against him, when seeing the two heads of the other party left almost alone, he caused de Vargas to be set ashore and left by himself without

either provisions or arms, in a dismal wilderness, bounded on one side with high mountains, and by the river on the other. He had more prudence than to treat the friar in the same manner; but he let him know, that it was not for him to penetrate any more into the intentions of his commander, unless he had a mind to be severely chastised.

After this he continued his voyage, and the next day being willing to know if he might safely depend upon all that were with him, he told them, that he aspired to a much higher dignity than could be obtained in the service of Pizarro: that he owed every thing to himself and to his king; and that his fortune having, as it were, led him by the hand, to the greatest and most desirable discovery that ever was made in the Indies, namely, the great river whereupon they were sailing, which coming out of Peru, and running from west to east, was the finest channel in the new world, through which they might pass from the South Sea to the Atlantic Ocean; and that he could not, without betraying them all, and without ravishing from them the fruits of their voyage and industry, make others share in a favour which heaven had reserved for them alone.

By this means Orellana brought his men to have a share of that ambition which fired his own breast. His necessities, however, sometimes forced him to land with his people to obtain provisions; but as he did not take these with that prudence that became him in a strange country, the natives unanimously took up arms, and with great boldness fell upon the Spaniards, who defended themselves with much courage, and killed many of their antagonists with their cross-bows, when inspecting their bodies, they found that several of them were women; it being no uncommon thing in that country for the women to fight by the sides of their husbands; but Orellana being of a romantic turn,

improved this slight hint into a formal history of a great nation of Amazons settled upon this river: by which fable, he overturned his great design of giving it his own name; from this story it received the name which it still bears, and will always bear, of the river of the Amazons.

However, Orellana, in the remaining part of his passage took care to behave with more prudence and mildness to the people he met with, among whom were many gentle and even polite nations, as well as others that were fierce and warlike. In fine, he passed down the river to the sea, and having coasted about a promontory, now called the North Cape, two hundred leagues from the island of Trinidad, he sailed directly thither, and there buying a ship, returned to Spain, where he made such a report of the country he had seen to the emperor Charles V. that he obtained as ample a commission as he could desire; and, in the year 1549, sailed with three ships for the river of the Amazons; but this second expedition was the very reverse of the first, and was unfortunate from the very beginning; for a contagious distemper spreading among his men, obliged him to quit two of his three ships, and afterwards his company was so reduced as to sail in a small bark, with which he proposed to prosecute his discovery; but being shipwrecked on the coast of Caraccas, he there lost three of his men, and soon after died of mere vexation and despair in the island of St. Margaret.

But to return to Gonzalo, who, while Orellana was engaged in this expedition, was reduced to the greatest distress; he proceeded for several days along the banks of the river, until at last seeing that there was no hopes of Orellana's return, he concluded, that he and his men were lost, and therefore giving up all expectation of making any farther discoveries in that country, proceeded back to his government of Quito.

CHAPTER VII.

The Marquis Pizarro's cruelty to Almagro's followers occasions his being assassinated.

AFTER the marquis Pizarro had sent his brother Gonzalo on the above expedition, he employed himself solely in securing and establishing his authority by a method that was at once the most cruel and impolitic: he had before discharged all the officers whom he suspected to have any regard for Almagro, and conscious of his own injustice, and fearing lest they should complain against him, he prevented their returning home to Spain, by which means many of them being reduced to the necessity of living upon the alms of their countrymen, he resolved to deprive them even of this pitiful subsistence, and for this purpose published an edict forbidding any to relieve them; a proceeding that at once rendered them desperate, and seeing no end to their miseries, but by dispatching themselves or the marquis, they resolved upon the latter.

The bravest of Almagro's friends repaired privately by two or three at a time to the city of Lima, where they did not want friends who concealed them in their houses, till their number amounted to above 200. As they were all hardy veterans, and had several experienced officers among them, they immediately resolved to seize the first opportunity of executing their design, but soon after thought proper to delay it, in hopes that a new commissioner, some of whose attendants were already arrived, would come from Spain,

to take cognizance of the marquis's conduct, and do them justice without laying them under the necessity of raising an insurrection. But on Sunday the 26th of June, 1541, De Rada, one of the principal conspirators, being informed that they were discovered, and that the marquis was taking measures for having them all put to an ignominious death in less than three hours, hastily communicated this intelligence to such of the conspirators as he could most readily meet with, when finding there was no time to be lost, they repaired one by one, to the number of nineteen, to the house of young Almagro, which stood on one side of the great square, whence they boldly marched at noon day, with their drawn swords, through the market-place, to the marquis's palace, crying, "Long live the king, but let the tyrant die!"—When, though there were above 1000 people in the square, they neither met with the least opposition, nor did the marquis receive the smallest hint of their rising, so that they found the gates of the palace open, which they easily entered.

Pizarro was sitting with two or three people when the first news of the disturbance was brought by one of his pages, and immediately ordered Francis de Chaves his lieutenant general, to secure the great door, which he neglected, as he supposed it to be only some trifling tumult, that would be easily suppressed by his presence, when going down stairs and meeting the conspirators upon the great stair-case, he demanded the reason of that insolence, which was answered by two or three of the conspirators lodging their daggers in his bosom, and he fell dead at their feet. The marquis hearing them in the gallery, and not having time to put on his armour, seized his sword and buckler, and for some time defended the door of the drawing-room with great bravery, supported only by his

half brother Don Francis de Alcantara, and two of his pages, the rest of his company and servants having fled at the beginning of the insurrection. At length one of the conspirators killed Don Francis, when the rest pushing forward with fresh vigour, the marquis retired before them, but at last sunk down fainting with loss of blood, and was soon dispatched, while his two pages who fought bravely in his defence, wounded several of the conspirators, and expired by his side.

Thus died Don Francis Pizarro, in the 65th year of his age, in the city of Lima, the capital of Peru, which he had founded ten or eleven years before. His body was by the young Almagro's permission, privately interred by his servants, no person of any figure daring, at this juncture, to attend his funeral, for fear of giving offence to the prevailing party.

The meanness of Pizarro's education was publicly known, from his not being able to write his own name, which was always inserted by his secretary between two strokes, which he drew with a pen. He was never married, but had several concubines, some of them the daughters and sisters of the Incas; however, we do not find that he left any children behind him. Nature had endowed him with some good qualities, the most remarkable of which was his bravery, but his ambition was boundless; he never scrupled to sacrifice his honour to his interest; and his cruelty rendered him a disgrace to human nature. His fate was in some measure like that of Almagro his unfortunate associate; since like him he died a violent death, like him was a victim to ambition, and like him went to the grave in obscurity after a life of splendor.

The conspirators had no sooner completed this bloody scene, than they returned to the market-place, declaring that the tyrant was dead, and

proclaimed the young Almagro governor of Peru. For all the friends of Almagro had assembled while the others were attacking the marquis in his palace, and securing his guards, prevented his receiving any assistance. They also secured all the horses and arms in the city, and commanded all the inhabitants who refused to join them, not to stir out of their houses without leave. They plundered the houses of the marquis, and his principal friends, in which they found an immense treasure; but did not meddle with the furniture of the marquis's palace, which they left for the use of young Almagro, whom they had no sooner proclaimed governor, than they conducted thither.

CHAPTER VIII.

Young Almagro meets with opposition. Vaca de Castro, a person of an excellent character, arrives from Spain, with power to settle the disputes in Peru, and is joined by several officers. He comes to a battle with Almagro, whom he defeats, and Almagro being afterwards taken prisoner, is convicted of high treason, and executed with many of his adherents.

LIMA was instantly obliged to own the authority of Almagro, and the marquis Pizarro's death was no sooner publicly known, than Cuzco and most of the principal towns declared for him. But Alonzo de Alverado, who was in the southern province of Chiachapuca, and Pedro Holguin, absolutely refused to acknowledge Almagro's authority. The former, therefore, instantly assembled a body of troops between Lima and Quito, and at the same time Holguin, with several other generals and officers, raised another body of troops, and

hasted to Cuzco, where they erected the royal standard, and sent messengers to the provinces of Arequipa, Los Charcas, and other places, to encourage a spirit of opposition to the new government. Upon this some who were friends to Almagro privately left those places in order to join their friends at Lima, but were pursued and brought back.

In the mean while Holguin being informed that Almagro was marching at the head of 600 men, either to lay siege to Cuzco, or to give him battle, and being sensible, that he was too weak to oppose him, resolved, if possible, to accomplish a junction with Alverado, which he performed in the following manner. He sent a party of horse to surprize some of Almagro's people, two of whom he ordered to be hanged, and sent back the rest, with orders to tell their leader, that in a day or two he would pay him such a visit as would make him repent their meeting. Upon which Almagro halted to receive him, while he seized that opportunity of turning off into another road, by which he quickly came up with Alverado, and soon after joined Vaca de Castro, a new commissioner, who at this instant arrived from Spain, and was not only appointed to enquire into the disputes subsisting between the generals, but was authorized in case of the Marquis Pizarro's death, to assume the post of Governor of Peru. He had been driven into the bay of Gorgona by contrary winds, and resolved to travel by land to Lima, when he was thus reinforced on the road, and by this means became 700 strong.

Vaca de Castro was a man of good sense, great knowledge, and uncorruptible integrity. He was bred to the law; but his steady adherence to justice, and his declining those causes that had the slightest appearance of any illegality, prevented his

having the encouragement his virtue deserved, by which means he was but little known. The Emperor who had received some convincing proofs of his virtue, preferred him to this post, without advising with any of his ministers, saying, that he would try how probity would thrive in an Indian soil, since it was so little cherished at a Spanish bar, and it is generally allowed that the Spanish dominions in America never had such a governor, either before or since. Upon this expedition he ventured with little money, and but few followers; but after being thus seconded, his success was surprising.

De Castro gave Alverado and Holguin a very agreeable reception, and to prevent all disputes arising from a division of the chief authority between Pizarro and Almagro, assumed the title of Captain General, resolving, though he had not been bred in the field, to act every where in person. Indeed it was impossible to behave with a more even conduct. De Castro used the strictest impartiality in deciding every cause that came under his inspection, without paying the least regard to the party's being a Spaniard or an Indian. In short, he threatened no body, flattered no body, acted like a governor, but lived like a private person. The people were at first astonished at his deportment; but in a few weeks he was obeyed with more submission than ever was exacted by a tyrant, merely because they saw he meant nothing but their good. Balancazar left his government of Popayan to compliment him: most of those places that were not overawed by Almagro readily submitted to his authority; and Gonzalo Pizarro being returned from his expedition to the eastward, after his having sustained very great hardships, and lost near two thirds of his men, sent a deputation to him from Quito, to inform him of his submission, and to offer to march with all the men he

could raise to his assistance ; to which De Castro replied, that he accepted of his submission ; but that the hardships he had endured in his late progress required some rest, and therefore he would dispense with his presence, and he was at liberty to apply himself to the government of Quito.

In the mean time, young Almagro was making what head he could against the captain-general. He had great abilities, improved by a proper education, and was of an open, brave, and generous disposition ; but was rash, and somewhat cruel ; while his youth lessened his influence, and drove him into many errors. The death of De Roda, who was his general, and a man of fidelity and experience, was a very great misfortune ; and his afterwards dividing the post of general between Garcia de Alverado, and Christopher de Sotolo, laid the foundation of his ruin : for the latter having condemned a soldier for theft was opposed by the former with such warmth, as occasioned a violent quarrel, and de Sotolo was killed on the spot. This assassination was highly resented by Almagro, when Garcia fearing that he would seek an opportunity of being revenged, resolved to be beforehand with him, by murdering him at an entertainment he pretended to provide for him. But Almagro coming to the knowledge of this cruel design, under the pretence of sickness, staid at home. Garcia, however, unwilling to lose so favourable an opportunity, went to his palace, to persuade him to come to the feast, when Almagro, seeming at last overcome by his persuasions, called for his cloak, which was a concerted signal for the appearance of six men, who lay in wait, and instantly rushed in, seized Garcia, and stabbed him in several places, Almagro himself drawing his sword, and running him through the body. This being done, he appointed Balsa his general, and marched against the new governor.

De Castro had encamped about fifty leagues south-west of Cuzco, where, being willing to spare the effusion of human blood, he strove to persuade Almagro to lay down his arms; while the latter insisted upon enjoying his father's government, till it should be disposed of by the emperor. Several messages passed between them; but at length Almagro found that De Castro was endeavouring to seduce his people, and a Spaniard, disguised like an Indian, was discovered in his camp, with letters to Pedro de Candia, Almagro's engineer, containing very advantageous offers, to induce him to render the artillery useless, in case the two armies should come to an engagement; at which the young general was so incensed, that he ordered the spy to be immediately hanged, and though he before seemed to be inclined to agree to terms of accommodation, he now refused to listen to any farther proposals, except De Castro would consent to banish Alverado, Holguin, and many veterans, who composed the chief strength of his army: therefore both parties losing all hopes of coming to an agreement, marched forward in order to engage in the valley of Chapas.

De Castro's army was composed of 700 Spaniards, and many Indians; while Almagro's amounted to no more than 500 Spaniards; but he had the advantage of a rising ground, where his artillery commanded the whole plain. Carvajal, De Castro's serjeant-major, endeavoured to avoid the effects of this disposition, by approaching the enemy under cover of a little hill; but, on their losing that shelter, they were laid open to the fire of the artillery; which did no manner of execution, on account of their being levelled too high. This being observed by Almagro, he flew in a rage to his engineer, and, giving him the name of traitor, struck him through with a spear: he then instantly

alighted, and, throwing himself upon one of the cannon, brought it, with the weight of his body, to bear upon the enemy, when, ordering it to be fired, it swept down seventeen Spaniards.

Almagro now seemed to bid fair for obtaining a victory, when the heat of youth led him into a blunder that completed his destruction. De Castro boldly advancing, some of Almagro's people pressed him to lead them forward to meet him, to which he immediately consented, and inconsiderately got between the enemy and his own artillery, which rendered it intirely usefess. This being observed by Suarez, his serjeant-major, he told him, that had he kept his post, De Castro would have been inevitably ruined; but as he had thrown away the advantage fortune had given him, he did not chuse to share in a defeat that rose from his misconduct, and immediately rode off, with several followers, to De Castro's army, and soon after the latter obtained a complete victory. In this battle, which was fought on the 16th of September, 1542, 500 Spaniards were slain, and the principal persons in Almagro's army taken prisoners. Almagro, who had behaved with great resolution and courage, escaped with only six horsemen, intending to have taken refuge in the mountains, till he could obtain a favourable opportunity of recovering his government; but taking Cuzco in his way, with a design of carrying off his treasure, and such of his effects as would have been most useful to him in his exile, the very men, whom Almagro had trusted with the government of the city, hearing he had lost the battle, apprehended him, and delivered him up to De Castro, in order to make their peace with him; upon which the young Almagro, who was not above twenty years of age, was tried, condemned, and executed for high treason, in the same place, and much in the same manner, as his

father had been, and was afterwards privately buried in the same grave.

De Castro, upon this occasion, was so inexorable, that he did not think the beheading of Almagro a sufficient atonement for his rebellion and its consequences; but caused most of his principal counsellors, and particularly those who had been concerned in the assassination of the marquis Pizarro, to be tried and put to death; by which means he not only extinguished the rebellion, but eradicated the very seeds of it.

CHAPTER IX.

De Castro's wife regulations after the suppression of the rebellion. He is superseded by Blasco Nunez, who has the title of Viceroy, and puts De Castro under an arrest; however, he is opposed by Gonzalo Pizarro, and imprisoned; but escaping, is at length killed in battle, and Gonzalo acknowledged governor of Peru.

PEACE being thus restored, De Castro disbanded the best part of his troops, laid aside all his severity, and applied himself to the arts of peace. He established courts of justice, in which causes were decided with great impartiality: he erected colleges and schools in all the cities and great towns; appointed many learned men to study the Peruvian language, and preach the doctrines of christianity to the people: he caused the old colonies to be better settled, and new ones planted: took care to have the old mines improved, and such as were daily discovered, to be wrought for the benefit of his master, and the lawful pro-

prietors; and, had the government continued in his hands, Peru would, in a little time, have been one of the best regulated kingdoms upon earth, and more profitable to the crown of Spain than all its other dominions. But the cabals of the ministry, who could draw no advantage from a man, whose conduct needed no defence, and was above either courting or bribing them, prevailed on the king to erect a kind of royal audience in Peru, and to give very great power to the commissioners of which it was composed, who, immediately on their arrival, made it their business to cross the governor in every thing. This occasioned fresh disturbances, both among the Spaniards and Indians, and fresh complaints to the court of Spain, which were perhaps far from displeasing the ministers, because, whenever they came, their interest was solicited by rich presents. These discontents occasioned another person's being sent, with the title of viceroy, to supersede the governor, and enforce a body of laws made at Barcelona; which, though well intended, were by no means proper for Peru.

This new governor, whose name was Blasco Nunez Vela, arrived at Lima in the year 1554, and, notwithstanding the inhabitants unanimously proposed to support De Castro in his administration, and to petition the emperor for his continuance, he absolutely refused to take advantage of their friendship, and submitted to the authority of Nunez, who being jealous of his influence, soon found out a pretence for putting him under an arrest, and proceeded in so arbitrary a manner, as to create himself many enemies, who encouraged Gonzalo Pizarro to raise troops against him, and promise to support him in the post of procurator-general, with a power to enlist men for his personal defence. Even the judges, sent by the court of Spain, acknowledged his title, in opposition to

Nunez, and took such measures, that, in the city of Cuzco, he was acknowledged governor of Peru.

Nunez behaved in so haughty and arbitrary a manner, that his forces daily deserted to Pizarro; and, being extremely passionate, he ordered Suarez, one of his best friends, to be assassinated in his presence, from the bare suspicion that he designed to desert; but he was soon after fully convinced of his fidelity. In a short time this rash viceroy was taken into custody by the judges, who sent him under a guard on board a ship, as the only method of preserving him from the resentment of the angry populace, and the revenge of Benito de Carvajal, brother to Suarez, who had served under Gonzalo. However, Nunez was afterwards set at liberty, and, at his own desire, was conducted to Truxillo by Alvarez, one of the judges.

In the mean while, Gonzalo Pizarro got himself generally acknowledged governor of Peru; but very prudently referred the administration of civil affairs to the judges, and solely applied himself to the improvement of his army, regulating affairs in such a manner, that nobody appeared willing to dispute his authority. He resolved to send two of his party to Spain, to defend his proceedings, in the same ship with De Castro: but the latter fearing to be ill treated by these two envoys, prevailed on the crew to quit the harbour, and steer for Panama, before Pizarro's dispatches were ready.

In the mean while Nunez and judge Alvarez arrived at Tumbes, where they published a manifesto, with an account of the particulars of Pizarro's rebellion, desiring the assistance of all loyal subjects against him. While Nunez was in these circumstances, he discovered much greater abilities than he had before done in his prosperity; but his ill character frightened even Pizarro's enemies from joining him: he was therefore forced to retire on

the approach of Pizarro, who pursued him to the mountains of Quito, where he was frequently reduced to such distress, as to be obliged to feed on horse-flesh. In this manner Nunez avoided him for above a year together, during which many instances of cruelty were committed on both sides; but at length the two armies came to an engagement near Quito, on the 19th of January, 1546, when Nunez's party was entirely routed, and he himself, while fighting with great bravery, was knocked down, his head cut off, and set upon a pole. But this Pizarro repented, and was no sooner informed of it, than he ordered it to be taken down, and interred with the body. He affected to appear grieved at his death, and even went into mourning; but, notwithstanding this affectation of sorrow, he solely employed himself in amassing wealth, and, from thence forward, behaved rather like a sovereign prince than a governor.

CHAPTER X.

Pedro de la Gasca, a person of distinguished virtue, is made governor of Peru, with the title of president, upon which Gonzalo Pizarro every where loses ground; but at length defeats Centeno, one of De Gasca's generals, and is afterwards ruined, by rejecting Carvajal's advice; for, being abandoned by his people, at the meeting of both armies, he surrenders himself prisoner, and is condemned and beheaded: after which, De Gasca being perplexed about the division of lands, returns to Spain.

CHARLES V. being uneasy at hearing of these dangerous divisions, now sent Pedro de la Gasca, with the title of president of the royal court of Peru, and all the power of a sovereign prince;

so that he could make or repeal laws, and pardon or punish treason, in what manner he thought fit: and indeed, he had the same authority as the emperor would have had, had he himself come in person. Though a priest, and a brother of the inquisition, he had an excellent character, and was distinguished by his mildness, affability, penetration, and sagacity; by the strictest honesty, and the most intrepid courage. His commission was dated at Vienna, in the beginning of the year 1546, and he arrived at Panama about the middle of July the same year, where his agreeable behaviour procured him many friends, among whom was Hinojosa, Pizarro's admiral; but it was agreed, that his revolt should be kept a profound secret, till it should be known how Pizarro behaved to the messenger sent to him by Gasca, with a letter from the emperor, and another from himself.

Pizarro received this messenger in a very respectful manner, and submitted to an assembly of his principal officers, the instructions he brought; in which a general amnesty was offered to all who would acknowledge the president's authority, with the promise of a proper provision to be made for Pizarro and his family, in consideration of their services. Carvajal warmly declared for accepting these terms, in which he was seconded by all moderate people: but several persons of a restless disposition, prevailed on Pizarro to send a short defence of his conduct, and to desire to be confirmed in the government of Peru, to which he alleged he had an undoubted right, as being heir to his brother, who had conquered the country.

About this time Pizarro was informed of the defection of Hinojosa, and several other persons on whom he placed the greatest confidence; and that the two gentlemen he had sent into Spain, with a defence of his conduct, had deserted his interest.

Soon after, the city of Cuzco was surprized by stratagem. Centeno, an officer who had fought with great bravery under the viceroy Nunez, but, after his defeat, took refuge in the mountains, once more made his appearance, declared for Pedro de la Gasca, and was joined by about thirty horsemen, with whom he resolved to surprize that city, notwithstanding its being garrisoned by 300 men, under the command of De Robles, a person strongly attached to Pizarro. For this purpose, he ordered some Indians, as soon as it was dark, to drive some mules, and other beasts of burden, with a great noise, and matches lighted at the pommel of each saddle, up a certain street. This alarming the garrison, the soldiers marched out to the place where the confusion was raised; while Centeno and his people entering the town on the opposite side, attacked them in the rear, and put them in such disorder, that they immediately fled, leaving him in possession of the place; and De Robles himself, having taken refuge in a convent, was made prisoner. Thus was this action crowned with all the success that could be desired; when the late governor treating Centeno in an insolent manner, the latter gave orders for his being beheaded.

By this time the president De Gasca was arrived in the province of Quito, when he caused a general amnesty to be published, and a repeal of the laws which had been so disagreeable to the people. His army was now increased by reinforcements from La Plata, Arequipa, and other places, and amounted to above 1000 men; and as the president's army was daily increasing, he resolved to march towards Lima, which had declared in his favour, a few days after Pizarro had marched from thence towards Arequipa. But the latter finding that things went every where against him, and that he was

but little above 400 strong, though he had been joined by Acofta with fifty horfe, he turned off to the fouthward in order to eftablifh a colony on the eaft fide of the mountains of Potosi, the filver mines of which were but juft difcovered; and in cafe that proved unfuccefsful, he intended to retreat farther fouthward, and make a fettlement in Chili. Centeno, however, blocked up his paffage with an army of between 1000 and 1200 men; and Pizarro, after having tried in vain to bring him over to his fide, refolved, after confulting with Acofta, to force a paffage through his camp, though his army did not amount to 500 men; for which purpofe Acofta made his attack in the night, but being difcovered, was obliged to retire, though without lofs.

The next day both armies drew up in fight of each other, when the courage and conduct of Carvajal fupplied the place of numbers. He armed every man with two mufquets, for many who had deferted left their arms behind them, and commanded his people not to move from the poft in which he had fixed them, till the enemy were clofe upon them; and his orders were fo well obeyed, that, though Pizarro's cavalry were at firft clofely preffed, Centeno was at laft entirely routed; and after having in vain endeavoured to rally his men, was obliged to efcape by private roads to Lima.

Pizarro, being now joined by many of the vanquifhed, marched to take poffeffion of Cuzco. Mean while the prefident's army daily increafed, he being joined by Centeno and feveral other good officers, among whom was Pedro de Valdivia. This laft gentleman had been governor of Chili; but finding his force too fmall to maintain himfelf in his poft, had taken fhipping at St. Jago for Lima, with a large quantity of treafure, which he defigned to difpofe of in raifing recruits. But on his arrival

at Lima he joined the president, who received him in the most respectful manner. His coming was considered as a very valuable acquisition; for he was one of the best soldiers in America, and his intrepidity and foresight made him a proper match for Carvajal.

Gasca being thus reinforced found himself at the head of 1500 men, and with this army determined to march in search of Pizarro; who, being flushed with success, rashly resolved to meet him, though the experienced Carvajal assured him, that it would be their entire ruin, and made it evident that the most judicious step he could take, would be to distress the president's army, by retiring before him to the southward, and carrying off all the provisions. But Pizarro was deaf to all his arguments; and, though Carvajal offered to prevent the enemy from passing the river with only 200 foot and 50 horse, his proposal was slighted; and, after every opportunity of straitning the president was disregarded, both armies were drawn up on the ninth of April 1548. The victory was not long in dispute; for Carvajal, who was disgusted at Pizarro's perverseness, had refused all command. Garcelasso de la Vega, father to the historian, went over to the president, and was followed by the whole right wing and several squadrons of horse; at which Carvajal, who acted only as a private man, began to sing aloud part of an old ballad, that seemed well adapted to the occasion; while the remainder of the men seeing themselves thus abandoned, threw down their arms and fled, when Pizarro being left with only a few officers, turned to Acofta, and calmly said, "Well, brother John, what are we to do?" "Why, die like Romans," he replied: "No," returned Pizarro, "let us rather fall like christians." They then moved towards Gasca's army, where Pizarro surrendered himself to Pedro de Vil-

lavicentio, who, with great politeness, refused to take his sword and dagger. Gonzalo behaved before Gasca, who accused him of rebelling against the emperor, with great firmness, saying, “ You
“ may recollect that this whole country was annexed to the throne of Spain by my brother’s
“ valour. I too contributed to it; and did I,
“ who have been his assistant, and am the only
“ representative of that brother, ask any thing
“ unreasonable, when I insisted upon being made
“ its governor? I dare not tax the emperor with
“ injustice, but I cannot help saying, that if he
“ saw my situation, and was allowed to do it with
“ impartial eyes, instead of treating me as a rebel,
“ he would give me a still larger reward, than
“ that for which I have been forced to contend.” Gasca was displeas’d with this defence, and ordered him into the custody of Centeno, by whom he was treated with the highest respect.

Gasca soon after held a council of war, in which judges were appointed to try Pizarro and his followers; it being resolv’d to determine their fate as speedily as possible, lest some change should happen in their favour; and accordingly Pizarro, old Carvajal, Acosta, and Guevara, were tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged; and this sentence was instantly executed upon all but Pizarro, who, in consideration of the nobility of his brother, was beheaded the next day, in the 42d year of his age; after which, the houses of Pizarro, both at Lima and Cuzco, were razed to the ground, and the places on which they stood sown with salt. There was also erected a marble pillar on which his crimes were inscribed, and his head with that of Carvajal, was set up in the market-place of Lima.

The president having made these sacrifices, proclaimed a general pardon, and retired to Cuzco,

where he staid for some time, and afterwards privately withdrew to Lima, whence he went to Panama, in order to embark for Spain, and it is said carried with him near two millions for the emperor's use, and not a ducat for himself. But while he continued at Panama, he narrowly escaped losing the treasure he had amassed for the emperor, by an insurrection, which he however happily suppressed. He then embarked at Nombre de Dios for Spain in the year 1550, and at his arrival, the emperor was so pleased with his conduct, that he gave him the bishopric of Sigüenza, a city in Old Castile.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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