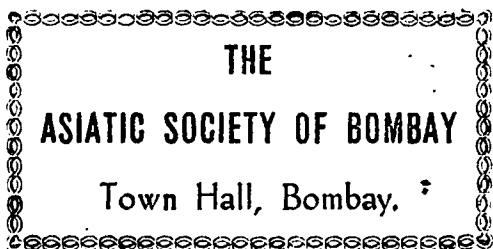




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TO  
ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq., L. E. D.,

POET-LAUREATE, &c. &c.

MY DEAR SIR,

EVERY writer of a book, from the author of the Colloquies down to the humble translator of another's thoughts and words, engages in a task more or less arduous and toilsome;—we are all apt to set some value on that which has cost us labour, and to watch the success of our lucubrations with some parental yearnings. With the conflicts to which the most exalted genius, the most profound philosophy, the proudest literary name, may, *may must* be liable, you are intimately acquainted: though less aware, perhaps, of the sufferings, anxieties, vexations, and disappointments, which await more ignoble candidates for fame or profit, but which may be easily guess-

ed, when we admit that no author of mediocrity ever launched a book upon the world, without rating its merits at, at least, a hundred times their value. In the midst, meanwhile, of so much discomfiture, every writer, however humble, enjoys *one* precious privilege—it is that of dedication;—it is the power of offering a distinct and individual homage, of pouring forth a free and unrestrained tribute of applause and admiration to virtue and wisdom; it is the means whereby every author, however small, is permitted to place himself in a kindly and sympathetic relation with the greatest. It is likewise the most unequivocal method whereby an individual may, without offence or intrusion, avow his own feelings, opinions, and principles. It is no trivial ambition, therefore, which lends me presumption to select from among the wise and good, the best and wisest. I know that I thus bespeak myself a place among the faithful band, who still cling with heart and soul to the faith of their forefathers, and the love of the dear land of their birth; for no enemy to the spiritual or temporal weal of England would willingly lend, even thus



small a mite, to the vast aggregate of renown, enjoyed by their uncompromising and invincible champion.

I should hardly offer apology, even had I not previously sought and obtained your permission, for addressing my translation to you. You are fond of Spanish associations;—you are acquainted with the works of Quintana, and they are honoured with your approval; besides, I think, that of all men living, you are the last who would disdainfully reject an expression of genuine heartfelt esteem. I have, therefore, only to add that I am,

My dear Sir,

Your obliged Servant,

MARGARET HOBSON.





20302



THE LIFE  
OF  
VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA.

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TWELVE years had elapsed since the discovery of the Terra Firma of America by Columbus, yet hitherto Spain had not formed there any permanent establishment. That great navigator, who, in 1498, first visited and surveyed the new continent by the coasts of Paria and Cumana, intended four years later to fix a colony in Veraguà, but the imprudence of his companions, and the invincible ferocity of the Indians, deprived him of this glory, and the colonists forsook the enterprise from its very commencement, abandoning its completion to more persevering adventurers.

Previously, in 1501, Roger de Bastidas had visited the coasts of Cumana and Carthagena, without any thought of colonizing, and only intent on a peaceable traffic with the natives. Afterwards Alonzo de Ojeda, a more celebrated adventurer than Bastidas, the companion of Columbus, and distinguished amongst his



countrymen for his bold and determined character, likewise visited the same shores, and contracted with the Indians, though he could not accomplish his object of establishing himself in the Gulf of Urabà, which had been already discovered by Bastidas.\* Nevertheless, the obstacles he experienced in his two first attempts, did not damp his resolution, and he tried his fortune a third time. He and Diego de Nicuesa were at once authorized by Ferdinand the Catholic to establish colonies and governments on the coast of America, appointing, as the limits of their respective jurisdictions, to Ojeda from Cape de la Vela to the middle of the Gulf of Urabà, and to Nicuesa from thence to the Cape of Gracias á Dios. The two expeditions sailed from Spain, and afterwards from St Domingo, nearly at the same time. Ojeda took the lead, and, on landing in Carthagena, lost, in different encounters with the Indians, several of his companions, which deter-

\* Bastidas, of whose voyage a summary relation may be found in the third volume of the work published by the Señor Navarrete, obtained no celebrity, either as a discoverer or as a conqueror; yet his memory should be cherished by every friend to justice and humanity, as having been one of the few who treated the Indians with gentleness and equity, considering their territory rather as an object of mercantile speculation between equals, than as a field for glory and conquest. "He was," says Las Casas, "ever known to treat the Indians kindly, and is grossly injured by those who say otherwise." Nor is the opinion of Antonio de Herrera less advantageous; and in his whole voyage he was never known to commit the slightest violence on the Indians. These principles of moderation caused his death. Being governor of Santa Marta, he was assassinated by his ferocious companions, because he restrained them from robbing and destroying at their pleasure.

mined him to sail for the Gulf, from whence he endeavoured to discover the river Darien, celebrated already for the riches it was reported to possess ; but not succeeding, Ojeda resolved on founding a town, which he called St Sebastian, on the heights to the east of the bay, the second which had been raised by the hands of Europeans on the American continent. Its fate was but too likely to resemble that of the former. The Spaniards, without provisions for any long subsistence, destitute of patience; and unaccustomed to the labours of cultivation, could only maintain themselves by incursions, a resource at once uncertain and hazardous ; for the Indians of the country, naturally fierce and warlike, not only defended themselves, in most cases, with advantage, but, that rendered terrible by their poisoned arrows, they were continually assailing them, scarcely leaving them a moment's repose. Their necessaries were consumed, their numbers diminished by fatigue and hunger, and the survivors, disheartened and dejected, foresaw no termination to their miseries but death, nor any mode of shunning this fatal result, but flight. Ojeda's sole hope rested on the arrival of Martin Fernandez de Enciso, a lawyer associated with the expedition, whom he had left in the Island of Hispaniola, preparing a vessel to follow him. Enciso, however, did not arrive, and the Castilians, discontented and mutinous, insisted on their captain adopting some measure for their relief. He agreed at length to go himself in search of the expected succour, leaving in command during his absence, or until the

arrival of Enciso, that Francisco Pizarro, who became subsequently so glorious and terrible, by his discovery and conquest of the regions of the South. Ojeda gave his word to return within fifty days, and told them, that, if he did not return within that period, they might disperse and bestow themselves wheresoever they pleased. On this agreement, he embarked for Hispaniola, but lost his way and was driven into Cuba, and by a series of adventures, whose detail does not belong to this place, he passed at length to St Domingo, where, in the course of a few years, he died poor and miserable.

Meanwhile, the Spaniards of St Sebastian, seeing the fifty stipulated days elapse without the appearance of any succour, resolved to embark in two brigantines and return to Hispaniola. The two hundred who first set sail with Ojeda, were now reduced to sixty, but even this number could not be contained in the two barks, and they were compelled to wait yet, till famine and wretchedness should make a still farther reduction, and this melancholy object was soon accomplished, when they immediately embarked. The sea instantly swallowed one of these vessels. The terrified Pizarro took refuge in Carthagena, and had scarcely entered the port, when he descried at a distance the vessel of Enciso, accompanied by a brigantine, bearing towards him; he awaited them, and Enciso, to whom, by title of Alcalde Mayor, which he held of Ojeda, the command belonged, in the absence of that chief, assumed it, and resolved on steering immediately for Urabà;

but those unhappy men at first refused to face, a second time, the toils and sufferings from which they had fled. Enciso, however, partly by authority, partly by dint of promises and presents, overcame their repugnance. He carried with him a hundred and fifty men, twelve mares, some horses, arms, and a good provision of necessaries, but they only arrived at Urabà, to learn, by new misfortunes, the enmity of that soil to Europeans. The vessel of Enciso ran on a shoal, and was instantly dashed in pieces, losing, with exception of the men who escaped naked, nearly the whole of its freight. They found the fortress and houses they had formerly built, reduced to ashes. The Indians, rendered bold by their own advantages and the weakness of their enemies, awaited and attacked them with such audacity and arrogance, as left no hope either of peace or conquest; the Spaniards renewed their clamours to return to Spain. "Let us," said they, "leave this hostile coast, from whence, sea and land, the skies and the inhabitants, unite to repulse us." No words were heard but such as were dictated by despondency, nor any counsels, but those of pusillanimity and flight. A second time they were on the point of abandoning the establishment, and, probably, for ever, when, in that general consternation, a man stepped forth, whose language rekindled in their hearts new spirits and new hopes, and who afterwards, by his power and talents, gave consistency and lustre to the vacillating colony.

"I remember," said Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, "that some years ago, passing by this coast on a voyage of

discovery with Rodrigo de Bastidas, we entered this gulf, and disembarked on its western shore, where we found a great river, and saw on its opposite bank a town, seated in a flourishing and abundant region, and inhabited by people who do not poison their arrows." "These words seemed to restore them from death to life, and to inspire them all with new courage; to the number of 100 they followed Enciso and Balboa, leaped into the brigantines, crossed the Gulf, and explored the opposite coast for the friendly land, which had been announced to them. The river, the place, and the country, appeared such as Vasco Nuñez had described to them; and the town was immediately occupied by the adventurers, as the Indians, who had placed their best effects and their families in safety, did not attempt to attack them, but took post on a rock, where they courageously awaited them.

The Indians consisted of about 500 warriors, at whose head was Cemaco,\* their Cacique, a resolute

\* \* Father Las Casas, in the 63d chapter of his Chronological History, says that, in the old memorials in his possession, this war with the Indians is otherwise related. According to them, the Spaniards were received in peace by Cemaco, who, knowing their eager desire for gold, gave them voluntarily 8000 or 10,000 pesos. They enquired whence he had that metal. He replied, "From heaven." But, on their perseverance, he said that the larger pieces were obtained at a distance of twenty leagues, and the smaller from the neighbouring rivers. They required him to point out the places he had mentioned; and he thereupon consulted his Indians, who cautioned him, that if once the Castilians were instructed where to find the gold, they would never be got rid of. The Cacique concealed himself in the village of one of his vassals. The Spaniards traced him, seized him, and put him to the torture



and intrepid man, disposed to defend his land to extremity, against that horde of invaders. The Spaniards began to doubt the result of the battle, and commending themselves to Heaven, offered, in case of victory, to dedicate the town, which they proposed building in that country, to Santa Maria de la Antigua, a greatly venerated image in Seville. Enciso also made them all swear to maintain each his post, even to death; and, having taken every precaution that circumstances admitted, gave the signal for battle. With loud shouts and terrible impetuosity they rushed upon the Indians, who received them with no less spirit, but the Spaniards combated with the force of desperation, and their superiority in point of arms prevented the fortune of the conflict from remaining long in doubt; it was terminated by the slaughter and flight of the terrified Indians. The Spaniards, elate with their triumph, entered the town, where they found many ornaments of fine gold, abundance of provisions, and a great store of cotton vestments. They next explored the country, and discovered, amongst the reeds and canes of the river, the precious effects which the Indians had hidden, and having taken captive the few natives who had not escaped, took tranquil possession of the town.

Enciso next sent for the Spaniards whom he had left on the eastern side of the Gulf, and, full of hope

to make him surrender his secret. Overcome by pain, he discovered what he knew, and being then liberated, collected his people and his friends, and attacked the Spaniards.

and excitement, his followers betook themselves to the foundation of the town, which, in fulfilment of their vow before the battle, was called Santa Maria del Antigua of Darien.

The conduct of Enciso, at the commencement, did no discredit to the command, and authority he exercised; yet 12,000 pieces of gold, the amount of the spoil taken by the Spaniards, had excited in their breasts a spirit of covetousness, and an ardent expectation and desire of gain; and his imprudent prohibition, or pain of death, that any one should traffic with the Indians, most strangely interfered with the strongest passions of his band of adventurers. "He is a miser," said they, "who covets for himself all the fruit of our efforts, and abuses, to our prejudice, an authority to which he has no just claim. Placed, as we are, beyond the limits assigned to Ojeda's jurisdiction, his command as Alcalde Mayor, is become null, together with our obligation to obedience." The individual most distinguished in these murmurs was Vasco Nuñez, for whom the opportune translation of the colony had gained credit, among the boldest and most influential of his companions. The majority, therefore, resolved to deprive Enciso of the command, to establish a municipal government, to form a chapter, create magistrates, name judges; and, proceeding to election, the scales of justice were allotted to Martin Zamudio and Balboa.

: The adventurers, meanwhile, were not entirely con-

tented with this adjustment. Enciso's party continued to urge that they should never succeed without a head, and required that he should still be their chief; their opponents argued, on the other hand, that as they were then within the jurisdiction of Diego de Nicuesa, he should be sent for, and that they should place themselves under his command; while a third, and yet more powerful party, insisted that the government which had been formed was good, and that, in case of the adoption of a single chief, they could not follow a better leader than Balboa.

They were engaged in these debates, when they were suddenly surprised by the repeated sound of guns, which echoed from the eastern side of the Gulf, and were succeeded by the appearance of gusts of smoke, such as are used for signals, and to which they replied in like manner. Shortly after this arrived Diego Enriquez de Colmenares, who, with two vessels freighted with provisions, arms, and ammunition, and with sixty men, had quitted Spain in search of Diego de Nicuesa. Driven by storms on the coast of Santa Marta, where the Indians had killed several of his companions, he, with the remainder, descended the Gulf of Urabà, in hope of gaining intelligence of Nicuesa, and as he found none of the followers of Ojeda on the spot where he expected them, he determined, by firing his guns and making signals by smoke, to endeavour to obtain an answer; the return of his signals from the Darien directed his course to Antigua, where, nobody being able to satisfy his enquiry into the fate of Nicuesa, he

agreed to remain, and divide amongst the colonists the provisions and arms he had brought with him. This act of liberality gained him universal favour, and he had soon sufficient influence in the town to win over the majority to the opinion of those, who demanded Nicuesa for their leader. This was soon afterwards decreed by the council, and Colmenares himself, together with Diego de Albitez and Diego de Corral, were the deputed messengers; they immediately embarked, and directed their course to the coast of Veraguà, in pursuit of Nicuesa.

With five ships and two brigantines, and about 800 men, had this discoverer quitted St Domingo, very soon, as we have said above, after the departure of Ojeda. On arriving in Carthagena, he assisted the latter in his conflicts with the Indians, and they afterwards separated, in order to take possession of their respective governments. The various adventures, and the fatal disasters, which befell the unfortunate Nicuesa, as soon as he began to coast the regions subject to his command, form a narrative, at once most melancholy and most terrible, and which offers a dreadful warning to human avarice and rashness. Those events, however, do not fall within the compass of our story, and it suffices to say, that of that powerful armament, which seemed able to give laws to the isthmus of America, and to all the neighbouring countries, at the end of a few months only sixty men were left, who, lingering miserably at Nombre de Dios, six leagues from Portobello, momentarily ex-

pected death, in a state of utter despondency, all hope of relief having abandoned them. Such was their situation, when Colmenares arrived with the message he brought from Darien for Nicuesa. They now believed that Heaven, weary of persecuting them, and appeased by their sufferings, had opened a way for their relief, but misfortune or imprudence still opposed their hopes, and this unforeseen summons proved, in the end, the fatal snare by means of which their ruin was accelerated.

Those disasters which generally serve to render men prudent and circumspect, had a different effect on the noble temper, for which Nicuesa had been distinguished. The generosity, gaiety, and moderation, which had formerly characterised him, had given place to rashness, recklessness, and even cruelty. Scarcely had he accepted the authority conferred on him by the Spaniards of the Darien, when, even previous to quitting Nombre de Dios, he already threatened them with chastisement, and declared he would take from them the gold, of which without his permission they had possessed themselves. Colmenares was disgusted, and still more were Albitez and Corral offended, since the menaces of the governor more nearly concerned them as colonists of the Darien. Their arrival in the Gulf a little preceded that of Nicuesa, who added to his insane bravadoes, the error of allowing these men to anticipate his arrival, with such sinister announcements. The Spaniards of Antigua became furious at these tidings, and the excitement of their minds was



at the height, when they were joined by Juan de Caicedo, Nicuesa's inspector, who, likewise provoked by these inconsistencies, threw fresh fuel on the flame, by taunting them with their madness in having, free and uncontrolled as they were, submitted themselves voluntarily to the domination of a stranger.

It was then that the two parties of Enciso and Balboa rose and united, as might be expected, determined on the overthrow of the wretched Nicuesa. On his arrival in the Darien the inhabitants sallied forth to receive him, with loud cries and threats, prohibiting his disembarkation, and ordering him back to his government. Zamudio the Alcalde, with others of his party, led this movement, whilst Balboa, who had secretly excited them to this, in public affected temperance and moderation. Nicuesa, on finding himself so desperately situated, felt as if the heavens were falling upon his head: in vain he entreated, that even if rejected as their governor, they would admit him at least as their equal and companion, and, if even this were too much to ask, he implored them to cast him into prison and let him live there confined among them, since that would be a milder fate than to be sent back to Nombre de Dios, to perish from hunger or arrow wounds. He reminded them of the enormous capital he had sunk in the undertaking, and the deplorable miseries he had endured. Policy, however, has no compassion, and avarice no ear; the general irritation increased every moment, and could not be appeased, and Nicuesa, contrary to the secret counsel conveyed to

him by Balboa, not to disembark but in his presence, suffered himself to be misled, by some treacherous promises, into disembarking, and throwing himself into the hands of his infuriated enemies, they seized him, and forced him into a brigantine, ordering him to sail immediately, and present himself at court. He protested against the unworthy cruelty with which they treated him, insisted on his right to claim command and authority in that land, and finally threatened to summon them to an answer, before the tribunal of God. All was fruitless. Embarked in the most ruinous little vessel they possessed, badly provisioned, and accompanied by only eighteen men, who desired to share his fate, he quitted that inhuman colony, and pushed out to sea, and neither he, his companions, or his vessel, were ever seen again.\*

Nicuesa being thus disposed of, there remained only Enciso, who could counterpoise the authority of Balboa in the Darien. The party of that lawyer in the town, however, constituted but a feeble dependence. Vasco Nuñez had him accused of having usurped the jurisdiction, with no better title than he derived from Alonzo de Ojeda, brought him to trial, confiscated his property, and at length, allowing himself to be

\* Herrera is evidently disposed to acquit Vasco Nuñez of the machinations here imputed to him. He even describes him as taking the part of Nicuesa in good faith, and punishing Francisco Benitez with a hundred stripes, for his clamours against the landing of that unfortunate man. Chap. 8, Dec. 1, Book 8. Translator's Note.\*

influenced by entreaties, and by the dictates of prudence, commanded him to be set at liberty, on condition that he should sail with the first opportunity, either for St Domingo, or for Europe. It was afterwards agreed to despatch commissioners to each of those quarters, to report the proceedings of the colony, to convey an idea of the quality of the soil, and circumstances of the natives, and implore aid both in provisions and men. They chose for this office the Alcalde Zamudio, and the Magistrate Valdivia, each of whom was the friend of Vasco Nuñez, and charged to purchase, by dint of presents, the protection and favour of Miguel de Pasamonte, treasurer of St Domingo, and, at that juncture, almost absolute arbitrator of the affairs of America, from the great credit he enjoyed with the Catholic King and his Secretary Conchillos. But either these presents miscarried, or proved insufficient to satisfy the treasurer's avarice, since there is no doubt that the first despatches of Pasamonte to government, on the affairs of the Darien, were all as favourable to Enciso, as they were otherwise to Vasco Nuñez; and to this unjust step we may trace the cause of the misfortunes, and final catastrophe, of that discoverer. Valdivia remained on the island, to prepare and accelerate the succours necessary for the Darien; and Zamudio and Enciso went to Spain, to disseminate, the one praises, and the other accusations, of Balboa.

But who was this man, who, without title, commission, or fortune, could thus influence his compa-

nions, and supplant persons, whose authority was legitimate, and their right to command unquestionable; all of them no less daring, covetous, and ambitious of power and rule, than himself? And why did they bend to the government and coercion of an obscure, private, necessitous man? Vasco Nuñez de Balboa was a native of Xeres de los Caballeros, of a respectable though poor family. In Spain he had been a dependant of Don Pedro Portocarrero, Lord of Moguer, and afterwards enlisted amongst the companions of Rodrigo de Bastidas, and accompanied that navigator on his mercantile voyage. He was, at the period of Ojeda's expedition, established in the town of Salvatierra, in Hispaniola, where he kept a few Indians, and cultivated a small property. Loaded with debts, like most of those colonists, and greedy of glory and fortune, he was anxious to accompany Enciso, though the edict of the admiral, prohibiting all debtors from quitting the island, presented an obstacle to his wishes. To elude it, he embarked secretly, and without the knowledge of that commander, inclosed in a cask, or, as others say, wrapped in a sail, and was not discovered till they were already out at sea. Enciso was excessively enraged, and threatened to leave him on the first desert island they should reach. However, softened at length by the interposition of others, as well as by the submission of Balboa, he consented to receive him. He was tall, robust, of a noble disposition, and a prepossessing countenance; his age did not then exceed

five-and-thirty years, and his singular vigour of frame rendered him capable of any degree of fatigue; his was the firmest arm, his was the strongest lance, his was the surest arrow; nay, even the blood-hound \* of Balboa was the most sagacious and powerful. Nor did the endowments of his mind disgrace those of his body; ever active, vigilant, of unequalled penetration, and possessing the most invincible perseverance and constancy. The translation of the colony from St Sebastian to the Darien, in pursuance of his advice,

\* "We must not omit to mention a dog which Balboa possessed, called Leoncico, from the dog Becerrico, of the island of St Juan, and no less famous than his parent. This dog gained his master, in this and other entries, more than 2000 pesos of gold, because he received the share of a companion, in the distribution of gold and slaves. And truly the dog deserved it better than many sleeping partners. This dog's instinct was wonderful; he could distinguish between the warlike or peaceful Indian; and when the Spaniards were taking or pursuing the Indians, on loosing this animal, and saying, 'There he is—seek him,' he would commence the chase, and had so fine a scent, that they scarcely ever escaped him. And when he had overtaken his object, if the Indian remained quiet, he would take him by the sleeve, or hand, and lead him gently, without biting or annoying him, but if he resisted, he would tear him in pieces. Ten Christians escorted by this dog, were in more security than twenty without him. I have seen this dog, for when Pedrarias came to this territory, in the year 1514, he was still alive, and Vasco Nuñez lent him to him, when he received his share, as I have stated. He was of a red colour, had a black nose, was of a middle size, and not handsomely formed, but stout and powerful—exhibiting many wounds, which in the course of these wars he had received from the Indians. The dog was at last maliciously poisoned. Some dogs of his race were left; but nothing equal to him has been seen in these regions."—Oviero's *General History*, book xxix. chap. 3.



was the circumstance which first raised him into credit with his companions ; and when placed at their head, and invested with the command, he was always seen the first in toils and dangers, never losing his presence of mind. He maintained, in discipline, a severity equal to the frankness and affability he uniformly displayed in common intercourse ; he divided the spoil with the most exact equity ; he watched over the meanest soldier, as though he were his son or his brother ; and he reconciled, in the most amiable and satisfactory manner, the duties and dignity of the governor and captain with the offices of comrade and friend. The adhesion which the colonists then swore to him, and the confidence they reposed in him, knew no bounds, and all congratulated themselves on having delegated the authority to a chief, so proper to command. Until the expulsion of Enciso, he might be considered as a bold and factious intriguer, who, aided by his popularity, aspired to the first place among his equals, and who endeavoured, artfully and audaciously, to rid himself of all those who might, with better title, have disputed it with him ; but as soon as he found himself alone and unrivalled, he gave himself up solely to the preservation and improvement of the colony, which had fallen into his hands. He then began to justify his ambition by his services, to raise his mind to a level with the dignity of his office, to place himself, in the scale of public opinion, almost in comparison with Columbus himself.

The outskirts of the new establishment were inhabited by different tribes, in a great degree similar in their habits, though formerly separated by the wars which continually raged among them, as well as by the nature of the country, which was rude, rocky, and unequal. Though no less valiant and warlike than the Indians of the eastern coast, those of the Darien were infinitely less cruel and ferocious. The former used poisoned arrows, gave no quarter, and ate their prisoners; while the Darien Indians fought with clubs, wooden swords or darts, and did not poison their arrows. They spared the lives of their captors, but having marked them, either by branding the forehead, or by the loss of a tooth, retained them as slaves. They conferred nobility on any individual of their tribe who was wounded in battle; and, recompensed by an allotment of property, a wife of distinction, and a military command, he was considered as illustrious among his compatriots, and transmitted his privileges to his sons. They were governed by Caciques, who, according to ancient tradition, exercised more authority than is generally held by the chiefs of savage nations. They had physicians and priests, who were called Tequinas, impostors, whom they consulted in sickness and in their wars, in short, in almost all their undertakings. They adored a deity whom they called Tuira: and the superstition of this mild and pacific race evinced itself in offerings of bread, spices, fruit, and flowers; while the more cruel and ferocious tribes

offered blood and human sacrifices on the altars of their gods.

They generally made their settlements on the seashore, or on the banks of rivers, where they might maintain themselves by fishing—the culture of the soil likewise, and the chase, varied their occupations; but their chief support was derived from their fishing. Their houses were of wood and canes, tied together by the bark or coarse filaments of trees—the whole covered by leaves or grass, as a defence from the rains. These, when built on the solid ground, they called Bohios—and Barbacoas, when they were constructed in the air, on trees, or upon the water; and some of these might, amid the general nakedness of the land, have been considered palaces. None of their establishments were on a large scale, and they changed them frequently, according to the dictates of danger or necessity.

The men were generally naked—the women wore cotton petticoats from the waist to the knee; nevertheless, in some districts neither sex used any covering whatsoever. The Caciques, or chiefs, as a badge of distinction, wore cotton mantles over their shoulders. They all painted their bodies with juice of annatto, or coloured earths, especially in preparation for battle. They adorned their heads with panaches of feathers, their nostrils and ears with beautiful shells, and their arms and ankles with bracelets of gold. They suffered their hair to grow, and wave freely over their shoul-

ders behind, but cut it off over the eyebrows, with sharp flints. The women were very vain of the beauty and firmness of their bosoms ; and when, through age or child-bearing, they were threatened with the loss of this charm, they supported the bosom with bars of gold, fastened round the shoulders with cotton bands. Both men and women were greatly addicted to swimming ; and to be continually in the water was one of their favourite pleasures.

They were of very free, or rather, if the expression may be used in speaking of savages, of very corrupt habits. Their Caciques and chiefs wedded as many women as they pleased, the remainder only one ; no formal divorce was necessary, the will of both, or even of one consort only, being sufficient to procure separation, especially in case of sterility in the female, who was always abandoned, and sometimes even sold, by the husband. Prostitution was not deemed infamous ; it was a maxim with the noble ladies, that it was rude and vulgar to deny any request that was made to them, and they freely surrendered themselves to their lovers, more particularly if they chanced to be men of consequence. This tendency to libertinism led to the inhuman practice of taking herbs to procure abortion, when they perceived themselves pregnant. True it is, that these sensual and dissipated women followed their husbands to the war, combated by their sides, and would die valiantly in their defence. Another unnatural crime, authorized by their Caciques, was prevalent to a great degree with these Indians, and several

of their youth were devoted to this most abominable pollution. The public diversions were limited to the Areito, a kind of dance greatly resembling those of the northern provinces of Spain. An individual led the dance, singing and performing steps to the tune of the song, others followed in imitation, while others, again, employed themselves in drinking fermented liquors, distilled from the date and from maize, which they shared with the dancers. This exercise would last whole hours, and even days, until the dancers remained senseless from drunkenness and fatigue.

In case of the death of a Cacique, the wives and servants most attached to his person put themselves to death, that they might serve him in a future life, in the same relations as they held in this; for they believed that the souls, which omitted this act of duty, either perished with their bodies, or were dispersed in air. They consigned their dead to earth, though in some provinces, as soon as a nobleman died, he was seated on a stone, and a fire being kindled around him, the corpse was kept till all moisture was dried, and nothing but skin and bones remained, and in this state it was placed in a retired apartment, dedicated to this use, or fastened to the wall, adorned with plumes, jewels, and even robes, and placed by the side of his father, or of the ancestor, who had last preceded him. Thus, with his corpse, was his memory preserved to his family, and if any of them perished in battle, the fame of his prowess was consigned to posterity, in the songs of the Areitos.

From this sketch of the policy and customs of these natives may be inferred the little resistance they could have made to subjection or extermination, should the European colonists once acquire strength and union. They had founded their town on the bank of a river, which the Spaniards took for the Darien, though it proved to be only one of its most considerable mouths. To the east of them was the Gulf, which separated them, by seven leagues, from the coast of the Caribs and those ferocious tribes; on the north was the sea; on the west the Isthmus; and to the south the plain, cut off and limited by the different arms of the Darien, and entirely occupied by swamps and lakes. For a people, confiding in cultivation for their means of subsistence, the valley would have been sufficient, which is formed between the Sierras of the Andes and the least lofty of the Cordilleras, that bound the coast, from the principal mouth of the river to the western point of the Gulf, and to which they gave the name of Cape Tiburon. This valley, excellent for planting, and the resources of fishing and the chase, which the Gulf, rivers, and surrounding mountains presented, would have more than sufficed to maintain adventurers less covetous and restless than these. But the anxiety of the Spaniards was to discover countries, to acquire gold, to subdue nations; and to this end they must prepare to strive, not only with the ferocious and errant tribes, who peopled the Isthmus, but with the severities of the country, still more terrible and repulsive than its inhabitants. And if to this, we

add the inroads continually made on the health and constitution of the Europeans, by the constant heat and humidity of the air, and the heavy and frequent rains, we must perceive that nothing less than the most unquenchable ardour, and the most marvellous resolution, could support and overcome so many difficulties.

During the contest which existed for the command, the Indians went and came to the Darien, brought provisions and sold them for beads, knives, and toys, from Castile; but they were led thither by other incentives than the desire of traffic, they came likewise as spies, and, anxious to free their own country from the presence of the adventurers, boasted to them of the abundance and wealth of the province of Coiba, distant thirty leagues westward of them. Vasco Nuñez sent, in the first place, to recall Francisco Pizarro, who returned after a short skirmish with a troop of Indians headed by Ceniaco; he then went himself, with a hundred men, in the direction of Coiba, but in marching many leagues and encountering no Indian, either peaceable or warlike, finding the country depopulated by the terror which had been spread, he resolved on returning to Antigua, having reaped no advantage from this his second expedition.

He afterwards despatched two brigantines, for the Spaniards who had been left at Nombre de Dios, which on their return touched on the coast of Coiba, and were there met by two Castilians, who were naked, and painted with arnotta, in the Indian mode. They were

mariners from the vessel of Nicuesa, who, in the foregoing year, had quitted that unfortunate commander, when he passed from Veragua. Having been treated by the Cacique of the place with the utmost hospitality, they had remained with him the whole time, learned the language, and made themselves acquainted with the circumstances and resources of the country. They described it to the navigators as rich, and abounding in gold and every kind of provision; and it was finally agreed that one of the two should remain yet with the Cacique, to be useful in the proper time, while the other should accompany the rest to Darien, and enrich the governor by his observations.

Well did Balboa appreciate the acquisition of such an interpreter, brought to his hands; and having diligently informed himself of all circumstances, necessary for a due knowledge of the people, whom he intended to attack, he ordered that a hundred and thirty of the most vigorous and intrepid of his men should prepare for the expedition. He provided himself with the best arms which the colony could supply, with instruments proper for smoothing his road, through the mountain-thickets and brambles, and with the merchandise useful for traffic; and thus equipped, he embarked with two brigantines for Coiba. On arriving there, he landed, and sought the mansion of Càreta the Cacique; Càreta had been prepared to expect his arrival, and replied mildly to his demand for provisions for the troop which followed him, and for the colony of the Darien, that "whatsoever strangers had passed



by his land had been provided by him with all things necessary for them, but that, in the present season, he had nothing to give, in consequence of the war he was engaged in against Ponca, a neighbouring Cacique; that his people now neither sowed nor reaped, and were therefore as necessitous as their visitors." By means of his interpreters, and in pursuance of their advice, Vasco Nuñez expressed himself satisfied with this reply, to which, however, he gave not the least credit. The Indian was at the head of two thousand warriors, and Balboa conceived it better to attempt his subjugation by surprise, than to risk an open attack; he pretended, therefore, to set out on his return to the quarter whence he came, but in the middle of the night marched back upon the town, overthrew and slew whoever opposed his way, took the Cacique and his family prisoners, and loading his two brigantines with all the provisions he could find, carried the whole away to the Darien. Càreta, after this warning, resigned himself to his destiny, and humbled himself to his conqueror, whom he entreated to allow him his freedom, and admit him to his friendship; he offered to furnish the colony with necessaries in abundance, if the Spaniards would in return defend him against Ponca. Such conditions could not but be agreeable to the Castilian chief, who thus adjusted peace and alliance with the Indian tribe; the Cacique presenting his beautiful daughter to Balboa, as his wife, in pledge of his sincerity, a pledge willingly accepted, and greatly valued.

The two allies next resolved to march against Põica, who, not daring to await them, took refuge in the mountains, abandoning his land to the ravage and ruin prepared for it by the Indians and Spaniards. Balboa, however, did not at present pursue his success farther; leaving to the future the conquest, or, as he termed it, the *pacification*, of the interior, he returned to the coast, where it was more for the advantage, security, and subsistence of the colony, to have his friends or his vassals stationed. Càreta had for a neighbour a Cacique, called by some Comogre, by others Panquiaco, chief of about ten thousand Indians, amongst whom were three thousand warriors. Having heard of the valour and enterprise of the Castilians, this chief desired to enter into treaty and friendship with them, and a principal Indian, a dependant of Càreta, having presented himself as the agent in this friendly overture, Vasco Nuñez, anxious to profit by the opportunity of securing such an ally, went with his followers to visit Comogre. No sooner was the Cacique apprized of this visit, than he sallied forth at the head of his principal vassals and his seven sons, all still youths, and the offspring of different wives, to receive the Spaniards. Great was the courtesy and kindness with which he treated his guests, who were lodged in different houses in the town, and provided with victuals in abundance, and with men and women to serve them. What chiefly attracted their attention was the habitation of Comogre, which, according to the memorials of the time, was an edifice of an hundred and fifty paces in length,

and fourscore in breadth, built on thick posts, surrounded by a lofty stone wall, and on the roof an attic story, of beautiful, and skilfully interwoven wood. It was divided into several compartments, and contained its markets, its shops, and its pantheon for the dead ; for it was in the composes of the Cacique's ancestors that the Spaniards first beheld these ghastly remains, dried and arranged as above described.

The honours of hospitality were confided to the eldest son of Comogre, a youth of more sagacity and intelligence than his brothers ; he one day presented to Vasco Nuñez and to Colmenares, whom, from their manner and appearance, he recognised as chiefs of the party, sixty slaves and four thousand pieces of gold, of different weight. They immediately melted the gold, and having separated a fifth for the king, began to divide it among themselves ; this division began a dispute that gave occasion to threats and violence, which, being observed by the Indian, he suddenly overthrew the scales in which they were weighing the precious metal, exclaiming, " Why quarrel for such a trifle ? If such is your thirst for gold, that for its sake you forsake your own country, and come to trouble those of strangers, I will show you a province, where you may gather by the handful the object of your desire ; but to succeed, you ought to be more numerous than you are, as you will have to contend with powerful kings, who will vigorously defend their dominions. You will first find a Cacique who is very rich in gold, who resides at the distance of six suns

from hence; soon you will behold the sea, which lies to that part," and he pointed towards the south; "there you will meet with people who navigate in barks with sails and oars, not much less than your own, and who are so rich, that they eat and drink from vessels made of the metal, which ye so much covet." These celebrated words, preserved in all the records of the times, and repeated by all historians, were the first indication the Spaniards had of Peru. They were much excited on hearing them, and endeavoured to extract from the youth farther information of the country he had mentioned; he insisted on the necessity of having at least a thousand men, to give them a chance of success in its subjugation, offered to serve them himself as their guide, to aid them with his father's men, and to put his life in pledge, for the veracity of his words.

Balboa was transported by the prospect of glory and fortune which opened before him; he believed himself already at the gates of the East Indies, which was the desired object of the government, and the discoverers of that period; he resolved to return in the first place to the Darien to raise the spirits of his companions with these brilliant hopes, and to make all possible preparations for realizing them. He remained nevertheless yet a few days with the Caciques, and so strict was the friendship he had contracted with them, that they and their families were baptized, Càreta taking in baptism the name of Fernando, and Comogre that of Carlos. Balboa then returned to the Darien, rich in the spoils of Ponca, rich in the presents of his friends,

and still richer in the golden hopes, which the future offered him.

At this time, and after an absence of six months, arrived the magistrate Valdivia, with a vessel laden with different stores; he brought likewise from the Admiral great promises of abundant aid in provisions and men, as soon as the arrival of ships from Castile should enable him to fulfil them. The succours, however, which Valdivia brought were speedily consumed; their seed destroyed in the ground by the storms and floods, promised them no resource whatever, and they returned to their usual necessitous state. Balboa then consented to their extending their incursions to more distant lands, as they had already wasted and ruined the immediate environs of Antigua, and he sent Valdivia to Spain, to apprise the Admiral of the clue he had gained to the South Sea, and the reported wealth of those regions. Valdivia took with him fifteen thousand pieces of gold, which belonged to the king as his fifth, and a charge to petition for the thousand men which were necessary to the expedition, and to prevent the adventurers being compelled to exterminate the tribes and Caciques of the Indians,\* for otherwise, being so few in number, they would be driven, to avoid their own destruction, to the slaughter of all who would not submit themselves. This commission,

\* Vasco Nuñez wrote to the Admiral that he had slain thirty Caciques, and must in like manner destroy as many as he should capture, as the small number of his troops left him no alternative. Herrera, Dec. 1st, Book 9th, Chap. 3d.

however, together with the rich presents in gold, sent by the chiefs of the Darien to their friends, and Valdivia, with all his crew, were no doubt swallowed by the sea, as no trace of them was ever afterwards discovered.

To the departure of Valdivia succeeded immediately the expedition to the Gulf, and the examination of the lands situated at its inner extremity. There lay the dominions of Dabaibe, of whose riches prodigious reports were spread, especially of an idol and of a temple, represented to be made entirely of gold. There Cernaco, and the Indians who followed him, had taken refuge, and had never lost either the wish or the hope of driving away the invading horde, who had usurped their country. Balboa, with 160 men, well armed, embarked in two brigantines, he and Colmenares commanding, and ascending the Gulf, reached the mouths of the river. The little knowledge the Spaniards possessed respecting the intersecting lands and limits of this mighty source of waters, led them to suppose that it was different from the Darien, and they gave it the name of the Great River of St Juan, from its magnitude, and the day on which they discovered it. However, the river which bathed the coast of Antigua was the same which they now entered, and which, rising 300 leagues from thence, behind the Cordillera of Anserma, on the southern border, rushes almost directly north, overwhelming every thing before it by the impetuosity of its course. It flows, united with the Cauca, till it reaches the rough and broken Sierras of

Antiochia, when, separated by them, the Cauca lose its name in the Magdalena, with which its waters join; while the Darien, enclosed by the nearest Cordilleras of the Abaibe, and enriched by their many waters, and those which are accumulated from the side of Panama, follows her course into the borders of the gulf. Here the river overflows the plains, forming swamps and lakes; and dividing into several mouths, some of greater, some of less magnitude, but all navigable by boats, disembogues by them into the sea, whose waters she freshens for the space of many leagues. Her waters are crystalline—the fish abundant, and wholesome. She was at first called the Darien, from the name of a chief, whom Bastidas or Ojeda encountered on first discovering it. The English and Dutch, in later times, have substituted that of the Atrato; and she is now indifferently mentioned, by historians and geographers, by the three different denominations of Darien, the Atrato, and St Juan.

Having proceeded thus far, Vasco Nuñez and Colmenares reconnoitered some of her branches, and the different people who inhabited the banks. The Indians who beheld their approach, escaped, or, offering a weak resistance, were easily overcome; yet the hope which animated the greedy Spaniard was not then satisfied, and some gold trinkets, and a little provision, were all the spoil obtained in this toilsome incursion. The most singular objects they beheld were the *Barbacoas*, of the tribe of Abebeiba. The earth in that quarter being completely inundated, the Indians had construct-

ed their dwellings upon the elevated palms which grew there, and this species of edifice excited much surprise in the Castilians. There was a nest of them, which occupied fifty or sixty palm trees, and in which 200 men might shelter. They were divided into different compartments, as bed-chamber, dining-room, and larder. Their wines they kept in the earth, at the foot of the tree, that they might not be injured by shaking. They ascended by ladders suspended from the trees, to the use of which they were so accustomed, that men, women, and children went up by them, laden with the utmost weight they could carry, with as much agility and despatch as on *terra firma*. They kept the canoes, in which they sallied forth to fish in their rivers, at the tree foot; and when they had drawn up their ladders, slept in security from wild beasts \* or other enemies.

When the Castilians discovered the barbacoa of Abebeiba, he was within it, and the ladders raised. They cried out to him to descend without fear; but he refused, saying, that he had in nothing offended them, and desired to be left in peace. They threatened to cut down with axes the tree of his house, or to set fire to it; and aiding the threat by the action, began attempting to strike splinters from the trunks of the palms. The Cacique then, with his wife and two sons descended, leaving the rest of his family above. They

\* The region was much infested by beasts of prey, especially tigers.



asked him if he possessed any gold; he replied, "No, I have no occasion for it;" and finding himself still importuned, told them he would go and explore some of the Sierras they saw at a distance, and seek for them what they required. He went, leaving as hostages his wife and sons, but did not return. Balboa, after reconnoitring many other populations, all abandoned by their masters, went in search of Colmenares, whom he had left behind, and in conjunction with him made sail for the Darien, leaving a garrison of thirty soldiers in the tribe of Abenomaguez, one of the conquered Caciques, to guard the district, and prevent the Indians from reassembling.

This undoubtedly was a very inadequate means of containing them, because the five chiefs, whose territories had been overrun and sacked, formed a confederacy, and prepared to fall with all their forces on the colony, when the Spaniards should be least on their guard. The conspiracy was carried on with the utmost secrecy, and the party from Antigna must have perished to a man, had not the danger been discovered by one of those incidents which seem to belong rather to the novelist than the historian, but which certainly have frequently happened in narratives concerning the New World. Balboa had an Indian, whose beauty and disposition attracted his affection, more than those of his other concubines. Her brother, disguised under the habit of those pacific Indians who brought provisions to our people, came to see her, and to attempt obtaining her liberty, and considering the destruction

of the Europeans as certain, told her one day to act cautiously, and take care of herself; that the princes of the country could no longer suffer the insolence of the invaders, and were resolved to fall upon them by sea and land. A hundred canoes, 5000 warriors, and abundance of provisions collected in the town of Tickiri, were preparations sufficient for the blow they meditated; and in this security they had already, in idea, divided the spoil, and singled out their captives. He told her on what day the assault would take place; and went away, advising her to retire to a secure place, that she might escape being confounded in the general slaughter.

No sooner did the girl find herself alone, than, impelled either by love or fear, she discovered all she had heard to Balboa. He commanded her to call back her brother, on pretence of wishing to go away with him. He came, was taken, and put to the torture, till he declared all he knew. The unhappy youth repeated what he had told his sister, adding, that some time ago Cemaco had plotted the death of Vasco Nuñez, and had, for this purpose, posted warriors in disguise among the labourers at work in the fields; but that, intimidated by the horse which the governor rode, and the lance which he carried, they had not found courage to fulfil their commission. Which failure had determined Cemaco to seek a surer means of vengeance, in his conspiracy with the other offended Caciques.

All being thus revealed, Balboa marched by land

with sixty men, and Colmenares went by water with as many more, to take the enemy by surprise. The former did not find Cemaco as he expected, and returned to the Darien with only one of that chief's relations, and a few other Indians. Colmenares was more fortunate, for he surprised the savages in Tichiri, collected there under the chief who was to head the enterprise, with other principal Indians, and a multitude of inferior people. The latter were pardoned, but Colmenares commanded the general to be shot with arrows in his presence, and sentenced the lords to be hung. And so terrified were the Indians by this example, that they never durst in future elevate their thoughts to independence.

It was now deliberated to send new deputies to Spain, to acquaint the King with the state of the colony, and on the road to touch at Hispaniola, to entreat for necessary aid, in case Valdivia might have perished on the voyage, which event had no doubt taken place. It is said that Balboa required this commission for himself, either ambitious of gaining favour at court, or apprehensive that the colony at Darien might inflict upon him the punishment due to usurpation; but his companions would not consent to his quitting them, alleging that, in losing him, they should feel deserted, and without a guide or governor; he only was respected, and followed willingly by the soldiers; and he only was feared by the Indians. They suspected that if they permitted his departure, he would never return to share those labours and troubles, which were from

time to time accumulating upon them, as had already happened with others. They elected Juan de Caicedo, the inspector, who had belonged to the armament of Nicuesa, and Rodrigo Enriquez de Colmenares, both men of weight, and expert in negotiation, and held in general esteem. They believed that these would execute their charge satisfactorily, and that both would return, because Caicedo would leave his wife behind him; and Colmenares had realized much property, and a farm in the Darien, pledges of confidence in, and adhesion to, the country. It being thus impossible for Balboa to proceed to Spain, in protection of his own interests, he manœuvred for gaining at least the good graces of the treasurer, Pasamonte; and probably it was on this occasion that he sent him the rich present of slaves, pieces of gold, and other valuable articles, of which the Licentiate Zuazo speaks in his letter to the Señor de Chiéves. At the same time, the new procurators took with them the fifth which belonged to the King, together with a donative made him by the colony; and, happier than their predecessors, they left the Darien in the end of October, and reached Spain the end of May, in the year following.

Soon after this departure, a slight disturbance happened, which, though at first it threatened to destroy the authority of Vasco Nuñez, served in fact to strengthen it. Under pretence that Bartolomé Hurtado abused the particular favour of the governor, Alonzo Perez de la Rua, and other unquiet spirits, raised a seditious tumult; their object was to seize ten

thousand pieces which yet remained entire, and divide them at their pleasure. After some contests, in which there were many arrests and a great display of animosity, the malecontents plotted to surprise Vasco Nuñez, and throw him into prison. He knew it, and quitted the town as if going to the chase, foreseeing that, when these turbulent men had obtained possession of the authority and the gold, they would so abuse the one and the other, that all the rational part of the community would be in haste to recall him; and thus it was; masters of the treasure, Rua and his friends showed so little decency in the partition, that the principal colonists, ashamed and disgusted, perceiving the immense distance that existed between Vasco Nuñez and these people, seized the heads of the sedition, secured them, and called back Balboa, whose authority and government they were anxious again to recognise.

In the interim, two vessels, laden with provisions, and carrying two hundred men, one hundred and fifty of whom were soldiers commanded by Cristoval Serrano, arrived from St Domingo. They were all sent by the Admiral, and Balboa received from the treasurer Pasamonte the title of governor of that land; that functionary conceiving himself authorized to confer such a power, and having become as favourable, as he had formerly been the reverse. Exulting in his title and his opportune success, and secure of the obedience of his people, Vasco Nuñez liberated his prisoners, and resolved to sally forth into

the environs, and to occupy his men in expeditions and discoveries ; but, while engaged in making his preparations, he received, to embitter his satisfaction, a letter from his friend Zamudio, informing him of the indignation which the charges of Enciso, and the first informations of the treasurer, had kindled against him at court. Instead of his services being appreciated he was accused as a usurper and intruder; he was made responsible for the injuries and prejudices, of which his accuser loudly complained ; and the founder and pacificator of the Darien, was to be prosecuted for the criminal charges brought against him.

This alloy, however, instead of subduing his spirit, animated him to new daring, and impelled him to higher enterprises. Should he permit another to profit by his toils, to discover the South Sea, and to ravish from him the wealth and glory, which were almost within his grasp? He did, indeed, still want the thousand men who were necessary to the projected expedition, but his enterprise, his experience, and his constancy, impelled him to undertake it even without them. He would, by so signal a service, blot out the crime of his primary usurpation, and if death should overtake him in the midst of his exertions, he should die, labouring for the prosperity and glory of his country, and free from the persecution which threatened him. Full of these thoughts, and resolved on following them, he discoursed with, and animated his companions, selected a hundred and ninety of the best armed and disposed, and, with a thousand Indians of

labour, a few bloodhounds, and sufficient provisions, he set sail in a brigantine with ten canoes.

He ascended first to the port and territory of Càreta, where he was received with demonstrations of regard and welcome, suitable to his relations with that Cacique, and leaving his squadron there, took his way by the Sierras towards the dominion of Ponca. That chief had fled, as at the first time, but Vasco Nuñez, who had adopted the policy most convenient to him, desired to bring him to an amicable agreement, and, to that end, despatched after him some Indians of peace, who advised him to return to his capital, and to fear nothing from the Spaniards. He was persuaded, and met with a kind reception; he presented some gold, and received in return some glass beads and other toys and trifles.

The Spanish Captain then solicited guides and men of labour, for his journey over the Sierras, which the Cacique bestowed willingly, adding provisions in great abundance, and they parted friends.

His passage into the domain of Quarequà was less pacific; whose chief, Torecha, jealous of this invasion, and terrified by the events which had occurred to his neighbours, was disposed and prepared to receive the Castilians with a warlike aspect. A swarm of ferocious Indians, armed in their usual manner, rushed into the road and began a wordy attack upon the strangers, asking them what brought them there, what they sought for, and threatening them with perdition if they advanced. The Spaniards, reckless of their bra-

vadoes, proceeded nevertheless, and then the chief placed himself in front of his tribe, dressed in a cotton mantle, and followed by the principal lords, and with more intrepidity than fortune, gave the signal for combat. The Indians commenced the assault with loud cries and great impetuosity, but soon terrified by the explosions of the cross-bows and muskets, they were easily destroyed or put to flight by the men and bloodhounds, who rushed upon them. The Regulus and six hundred men were left dead on the spot, and the Spaniards, having smoothed away that obstacle, entered the town, which they spoiled of all the gold and valuables it possessed. Here also they found a brother of the Cacique and other Indians, who were dedicated to the abominations before glanced at; fifty of these wretches were torn to pieces by the dogs, and not without the consent and approbation of the Indians. The district was, by these examples, rendered so pacific and submissive, that Balboa left all his sick there, dismissed the guides given him by Ponca, and taking fresh ones, pursued his road over the heights.

The tongue of land which divides the two Americas, is not, at its utmost width, above eighteen leagues, and, in some parts, becomes narrowed to little more than seven. And, although, from the Port of Careta to the point towards which the course of the Spaniards was directed, was only altogether six days' journey, yet they consumed upon it twenty; nor is this extraordinary. The great Cordillera of Sierras, which from north to south crosses the new Continent—a



bulwark against the impetuous assaults of the Pacific Ocean—crosses also the Isthmus of Darien, or, as may be more properly said, composes it wholly, from the wrecks of the rocky summits which have been detached from the adjacent lands ; and the discoverers, therefore, were obliged to open their way through difficulties and dangers, which men of iron alone could have fronted and overcome. Sometimes they had to penetrate through thick entangled woods, sometimes to cross lakes, where men and burdens perished miserably ; then a rugged hill presented itself before them ; and next, perhaps, a deep and yawning precipice to descend ; while, at every step, they were opposed by deep and rapid rivers, passable only by means of frail barks, or slight and trembling bridges : from time to time they had to make their way through opposing Indians, who, though always conquered, were always to be dreaded ; and, above all, came the failure of provisions, which formed an aggregate, with toil, anxiety, and danger, such as was sufficient to break down bodily strength and depress the mind.

At length the Quarequanos, who served as guides, showed them, at a distance, the height, from whose summit the desired sea might be discovered. Balboa immediately commanded his squadron to halt, and proceeded alone to the top of the mountain ; on reaching it he cast an anxious glance southward, and the Austral Ocean broke upon his sight. Overcome with joy and wonder, he fell on his knees, extending his arms towards the sea, and with tears of delight offered thanks

to Heaven for having destined him to this mighty discovery. He immediately made a sign to his companions to ascend, and pointing to the magnificent spectacle extended before them, again prostrated himself in fervent thanksgiving to God. The rest followed his example, while the astonished Indians were extremely puzzled to understand so sudden and general an effusion of wonder and gladness. Hannibal on the summit of the Alps, pointing out to his soldiers the delicious plains of Italy, did not appear, according to the ingenious comparison of a contemporary writer, either more transported or more arrogant than the Spanish chief; when, risen from the ground, he recovered the speech of which sudden joy had deprived him, and thus addressed his Castilians:—"You behold before you, friends, the object of all our desires, and the reward of all our labours. Before you roll the waves of the sea which has been announced to you, and which no doubt encloses the immense riches we have heard of. You are the first who have reached these shores, and these waves; yours are their treasures, yours alone the glory of reducing these immense and unknown regions to the dominion of our King, and to the light of the true religion. Follow me, then, faithful as hitherto, and I promise you that the world shall not hold your equals, in wealth and glory."

All embraced him joyfully, and all promised to follow whithersoever he should lead. They quickly cut down a great tree, and stripping it of its branches, formed a cross from it, which they fixed in a heap of

stones, found on the spot from whence they first descried the sea. The names of the monarchs of Castile were engraven on the trunks of the trees, and with shouts and acclamations, they descended the sierra, and entered the plain.

They arrived at some bohios, which formed the population of a chief called Chiapes, who had prepared to defend the pass with arms. The noise of the muskets, and the ferocity of the war-dogs, dispersed them in a moment, and they fled, leaving many captives; by these, and by their Quarequano guides, the Spaniards sent to offer Chiapes secure peace and friendship, if he would come to them, or otherwise, the ruin and extermination of his town and his fields. Persuaded by them, the Cacique came and placed himself in the hands of Balboa, who treated him with much kindness. He brought, and distributed gold, and received in exchange beads and toys, with which he was so diverted, that he no longer thought of any thing but contenting and conciliating the strangers. There Vasco Nuñez sent away the Quarequanos, and ordered that the sick, who had been left in their land, should come and join him. In the meanwhile, he sent Francisco Pizarro, Juan de Ezcarag, and Alonzo Martin, to reconnoitre the environs, and to discover the shortest roads by which the sea might be reached. It was the last of these who arrived first at the coast, and entering a canoe, which chanced to lie there, and pushing it into the waves, let it float a little while; and after

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pleasing himself with having been the first Spaniard who entered the South Sea, returned to seek Balboa.

Balboa, with twenty-six men, descended to the sea, and arrived at the coast early in the evening of the 29th of that month; they all seated themselves on the shore, and awaited the tide, which was at the time on the ebb. At length it returned in its violence to cover the spot where they were; then Balboa, in complete armour, lifting his sword in one hand, and in the other a banner, on which was painted an image of the Virgin Mary, with the arms of Castile at her feet, raised it, and began to march into the midst of the waves, which reached above his knees, saying in a loud voice, "Long live the high and mighty Sovereigns of Castile! Thus, in their names do I take possession of these seas and regions; and if any other Prince, whether Christian or infidel, pretends any right to them, I am ready and resolved to oppose him, and to assert the just claims of my Sovereigns."

The whole band replied with acclamations to the vow of their captain, and expressed themselves determined to defend, even to death, their acquisition, against all the potentates in the world; they caused this act to be confirmed in writing, by the notary of the expedition, Andres de Valderrábano; the anchorage in which it was solemnized was called the Gulf of St Miguel, the event happening on that day. Tasting the water of the sea, cutting down and barking trees, and engraving on others the sign of the cross, they felt satisfied that they had effectually made themselves masters of

those regions by these acts of possession, and retraced their way to the town of Chiapes.

Balboa next turned his attention to an examination of the neighbouring countries, and to commencing an intercourse with the Caciques who governed them; he crossed a great river in canoes, and bent his course to the lands of an Indian called Cuquera; he made show of resistance, but disheartened by the injury he received in the first encounter, though he fled quickly, he submitted to come and implore friendship and peace of the Spanish captain, persuaded to that step by some Chiapeans whom Balboa had purposely sent to him. He brought with him some gold; but the attention of the Spaniards was still more attracted by some pearls, of which, at the same time, he made them a present. They asked where he had found them; he replied, in one of the islands which they saw dispersed through the Gulf, and pointed it out with his hand. Vasco Nuñez resolved on examining it without delay, and sent to prepare canoes for the voyage. But the Indians, who better understood the nature of those seas, endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose, advising him to await a more benign season; they had reached the end of October, and nature, at that period, in those regions, always wore a fierce and alarming aspect. Deafening was the tumult of the infuriated winds and tempests, which strewed the earth with the frail materials of the huts of the Indians; the rivers, swollen by the rains, overflowed their banks, tearing away in their violent course rocks and trees; and the tempestuous sea roar-

ing horribly amongst the rocky islets and reefs, with which that Gulf is filled, broke its waves against them, menacing with inevitable shipwreck and destruction, those audacious mortals, who should endeavour to navigate it.

Nevertheless, the intrepid spirit of Balboa mocked these dangers, and his impatience permitted no delay. With sixty Castilians, as ardent as himself, he launched into the sea in some canoes, as did likewise Chiapes, who would not desert him; but scarcely had they entered the Gulf, than the wrathful element made them repent the rash impulse which they had obeyed. They assembled on an islet, where, by advice of the Indians, they tied their canoes together; the sea rose till it covered the isle, and they spent the night to the waist in water. In the morning, they found their barks, some of them dashed to pieces, some torn open, some full of water and sand, but entirely destitute of the provisions and necessaries, which they had left in them; they caulked their broken canoes, as well as they could, with grass and the bark of trees, and returned hungry and naked to the land.

The corner of the Gulf, into which they had ascended, was governed by Tumaco, a Cacique, who attempted resistance like the others, but met the same fate. He fled, and in his flight was overtaken by the Chiapeans, sent by Balboa, to persuade him to return in peace, and to explain to him how terrible the Spaniard was to his enemies, and how faithful and powerful a friend, to his friends. Tumaco refused, at first,

to confide his person to the promises of these emissaries, and sent one of his sons, whom Vasco Nuñez, having flattered and soothed him by presents, as a shirt from Castile, and other trifles, restored to his father. Then he became persuaded and repaired to the Spaniards, when, either moved by the good treatment he received, or by the counsel of Chiapes, he despatched one of his servants to his hut, to bring from thence, as a gift to the Spaniards, six hundred pieces of gold in different forms, and two hundred and forty large pearls, with a great number of smaller ones. The avaricious adventurers were struck dumb at the sight of such a treasure, and believed they had already reached the fulfilment of the hopes, which the son of Comogre had given them; they only regretted that the colour of the pearls had been somewhat injured by fire;\* however, this admitted of remedy, and the Cacique was so caressed for his generosity, that he sent his Indians to fish for more, who in a few days returned with twelve marcos † of them.

It was there that the Spaniards saw the heads of the oars of the canoes ornamented with pearls en-  
chased in the wood, which greatly excited their wonder, and, at the desire of Balboa, a record was made of the circumstance; for the sake, no doubt of establish-

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\* Herrera says, that the colour of the pearl was injured by the Indians putting the oyster in the fire, to open it, till the Spaniards taught them a better method.

† Marcos is a weight of eight oz.

ing the credit of what he should himself write to government, no less needy and covetous than the discoverers themselves, concerning the opulence of the new country. But all this, according to Tumaco and Chiapes, was nothing in comparison with the abundance and size of the pearls, which grew in an island, that might be descried, some five leagues from them, in the Gulf. The Indians gave it the name of Tre, or Terarequi, and the Castilians called it the rich Island. Balboa anxiously desired to reconnoitre and subdue it, but the fear of such a storm, as he had recently experienced, induced him to defer the enterprise, till a more auspicious season. Meanwhile, he dismissed Tumaco, who, pointing towards the east, told him that all that coast extended without limit, that the land was very rich, and that the natives used certain beasts to carry their burdens. That they might better comprehend him, he endeavoured to trace on the earth a rude figure of those animals. Some of the Spaniards supposed them to be the tapir, others took them for stags, but what the Indians attempted to describe was the llama, so common in Peru.

Here, they repeated all the same acts of possession as on the other coast, and called the territory of Tumaco, the province of San Lucas, from the day on which they entered it. Balboa resolved to return to the Darien, and took leave of the two Caciques; it is said that the Chiapes shed tears on the separation, and Vasco Nuñez, to prove his confidence in him, left in his care all the sick Castilians of his band, earnestly



charging him to be careful of them, till they should recover, and be able to follow them. With the remainder, and many baggage Indians, he set out by a different route from that which he had formerly held, for the sake of farther discovery. The first population he discovered was that of Techoan, whom Oviedo calls Theoaca, who caressed them much, and gave them a great quantity of gold and pearls, provisions in abundance, Indians necessary for burdens, and even his son to govern those people, and to act as guide. He led them to the territory of one of his enemies named Ponca, a powerful lord, and, according to the new allies, an insufferable tyrant to the whole neighbourhood. Ponca fled with his people to the mountains, but the discovery of three thousand pieces of gold in his town, so inflamed the avarice of his pursuers, that they resorted to every means for entrapping him into their hands, and forcing him to declare from whence he drew his wealth. Overcome at last by threats and terror, he put himself, in evil hour, into the hands of his enemies, who lost not a moment in completing his ruin. They enquired from whence he had his gold; he answered that his ancestors had left it to him, and that he knew no more. They put him to the torture; he maintained his silence, and he was then thrown to the blood-hounds, with three principal Indians who chose to share his fate. It is said that his limbs were deformed, his countenance frightful, his actions sanguinary, and his habits depraved. The guilt of his death

rests more with the Indians than the Castilians, yet *they* were not the judges of Ponca.

Meanwhile, the Spaniards who had remained with Chiapas, recovered from their fatigues, rejoined their captain. They passed through the country of the Cacique Bonouvama, who, not content with regaling, and detaining them to rest two days in his town, accompanied them to seek Vasco Nuñez, and, on arriving in his presence, he said, "Receive, valiant man, thy companions safe and uninjured, as when they entered my house. May He who gives us the fruits of the earth, and who makes the lightning and the thunder, preserve thee and them!" He uttered these words, and others which were not distinctly understood, though their import was unquestionably amicable, with his eyes fixed upon the heavens. Balboa received him very favourably, and arranged with him perpetual friendship and alliance, and having rested himself and his troops thirty days, he resumed his route.

Their way proved at every step more painful and difficult; they had to force their road through a rugged and sterile country, or to wade to the knees through marshes. The country was almost entirely depopulated, and if they occasionally met with a tribe, their poverty prevented them from affording the smallest succour to the adventurers. So great, in short, was their fatigue and their necessity, that some of the Tcochanese Indians died miserably on the road. As they marched on, thus harassed and disheartened, they

one day perceived some Indians on a rock, who made them signs to halt, which they did accordingly; the Indians then came to Balboa, and told him, that their lord, Chiorisa, sent them to salute him in his name, and to express the desire he felt to testify his affection for such valiant men; they invited him to visit the town of their Cacique, and assist him in punishing a powerful enemy, who was the possessor of much gold, which the Spaniards might appropriate; and to oblige him the more, they presented him on the part of Chiorisa, with gold to the amount of fourteen hundred pesos. The message was most welcome to Balboa, who gave the Indians beads, toys, and shirts, and promised that he would on another occasion come and visit Chiorisa. They departed content with their present, while the Spaniards, laden with gold, and wanting nourishment, pursued their melancholy way, cursing the riches which burdened, but could not feed them.

They soon entered the dominions of the Cacique Pocosora, with whom they contracted alliance, and next visited Tubanamà, a powerful chief, feared throughout the whole district, and the enemy of the tribe of Comogre. This Indian was warlike, and his subjugation was essential; but the people of Balboa, wasted and fatigued by the journey, were ill fitted to abide the conflict of a battle, and preferred surprise to open attack. He selected therefore sixty of his ablest men, made two journeys in one day, and fell, during the night, on Tubanamà, whom he surprised with all his

family, amongst whom were about eighty women. On the report of his imprisonment, many of the neighbouring chiefs flocked to accuse him, and to demand his punishment, as had been done in the case of Poncra. He replied that these were falsehoods; and that his accusers envied his power and fortune; and, on being threatened to be thrown to the dogs, or tied hand and foot and cast into the river, which ran near, he began to weep bitterly. He approached Balboa, and pointing to his sword,—“Who,” said he, “that had not lost his senses, would think of prevailing against that instrument, which can cleave a man at a stroke? Who would not rather caress than oppose such men? Kill me not, I implore you, and I will bring you all the gold I possess, and as much more as I can procure!” These, and other motives, urged in a tone so supplicatory, induced Balboa, who did not think it politic to deprive him of life, to set him at liberty. Tubanamà, in return, gave him about six thousand pesos of gold, and being asked where he obtained it, replied he did not know. He was suspected of speaking thus to induce the strangers to quit the country; therefore Balboa commanded that examination should be made, in every spot where there was the least appearance of that metal, which being done, he quitted the district of Tubanamà, taking with him the wives of that chief, and also his son, that he might learn the Spanish language, and serve in time as his interpreter.

Easter was already passed, the people were all weary

and infirm, and their chief himself was afflicted by a fever; he resolved, therefore, on hastening their return, and, borne in a litter on the shoulders of the Indians, reached the land of Comogre, where he found that the old chief was dead, and his eldest son governed in his place. There the Spaniards were received with the former manifestations of friendship and welcome, they gave and received presents, and, after having reposed there some days, Balboa set out for the Darien, by the way of Ponca, where he met four Castilians, who came to inform him that two vessels, well laden with provisions, from St Domingo, had come into port. This happy news made him accelerate his journey, and with twenty soldiers he advanced to the port of Careta; there he embarked and sailed to the Darien, which he reached on the 19th of January, 1514, four months and a half after he quitted it.

The whole population sallied out to meet him. Applauses, acclamations, and the most lively demonstrations of admiration and gratitude followed him from the port to his house,—and all appeared too little to do him honour. Conqueror of the Mountains, Pacificator of the Isthmus, and Discoverer of the Austral sea, and bringing with him more than forty thousand oz. of gold, innumerable cotton robes, and eight hundred Indians of service; possessor, in short, of all the secrets of the land, and full of auspicious hopes for the future, he was considered by the colonists of the Darien as a being privileged by Heaven and fortune; and congratulating themselves on be-

longing to such a chief, they conceived themselves invincible and happy, under his guidance and government. They compared the constant prosperity the colony had enjoyed, the splendid prospect before them, the certainty and success of his expeditions, with the unfortunate enterprises of Ojeda,<sup>o</sup> of Nicuesa, and even of Columbus, who could never gain a firm footing on the American continent ; and this glory was still enhanced, when the virtues and talents of him, who had obtained it, were taken into consideration. One would boast the intrepid spirit of his chief, another his constancy, another his promptitude and diligence ; some would magnify that invincible ardour of soul, which nothing could allay or depress ; next, they would praise the ability and dexterity, with which he conciliated the savages, tempering severity with gentleness ; and some would exalt his penetration and prudence, in extracting the secrets of the country, and preparing to open new sources of wealth and prosperity for his colony, and for the metropolis. Amongst all these eulogiums, none were so hearty as those which were given to his care and affection for his companions ; affecting no military discipline, but behaving more like their equal than their chief, he visited the sick and wounded individually, and condoled with them as a brother ; when any one sank on the road from fatigue, he was himself, instead of deserting him, the first to raise and encourage him. He would often go out with his crossbow in search of game, to appease the hunger of those, who were unable to seek food for themselves ; he

himself would carry it to them, and press it upon them, and by this care and kindness he so gained their hearts, that they would follow him willingly and confidently whithersoever he chose. The remembrance of these excellent qualities survived for many years; and the historian, Oviedo, who cannot be charged with lavishing his praises on the conquerors of Terra Firma, writes, in 1548, that in conciliating the love of the soldier, no captain of the Indies had hitherto done better, if any had ever done as well, as Vasco Nuñez.

Having assembled in the colony the companions of his expedition, he divided the spoil they had taken, having previously set apart the fifth, which belonged to the King. The most exact division was made between those who shared the enterprise, and those who remained in the town. Afterwards, Balboa resolved to send to Spain Pedro de Arbolancha, his great friend and his companion in the late expedition, to give an account of it, and to convey to the King a present of the finest and largest pearls they had taken, in his own name, and that of the colonists. When Arbolancha was departed, Vasco Nuñez applied himself to the preservation and prosperity of the establishment, fomenting the grain to prevent a recurrence of famine, and to avoid the necessity for harrowing the earth. Already they not only gathered in abundance the maize, and other productions of the soil, but had likewise grain from Europe, brought by adventurers, attracted from all parts by the fame of the wealth of the Darien. Balboa sent Andres Garabito to discover new roads

to the South Sea, and Diego Hurtado to repress the incursions of two Caciques who had risen. Each happily fulfilled his commission, and returned to Antigua, having given the necessary check to the provinces. All, in short, at this period proceeded happily in the Isthmus. The neighbourhood was pacific and tranquil, the colony improving, and the minds of men, rendered eager by the acquisition of fortune and property, turned ambitiously and impatiently towards the riches which they expected to find on the coasts of the newly discovered sea.

But these aspiring hopes were soon doomed to vanish. Enciso had filled the court of Castile with complaints of Balboa; and so much compassion was excited by the miserable fate of Nicuesa, that the Catholic King refused to listen to the exculpations of Zamudio, whose arrest he commanded, but who evaded it by flight or concealment. He condemned Vasco Nuñez for the evils and injuries inflicted on Enciso, and ordered that his prosecution might be made out, and that he should answer criminally for the things alleged against him, that his crimes might not escape without due punishment. In order to put an end at once to the disturbances of the Darien, it was determined by government to send thither a chief, who should exercise his authority with a degree of solemnity and dignity, as yet unknown in the newly discovered regions; and Pedrarias Dávila was named to the office; he was a knight of Segovia, who, for his grace and address in the chivalric games of the times,



was called in his youth the gallant, and the joustier. About the period of this election, arrived Caicedo and Colmenares as deputies from the colony, who brought with them specimens of the wealth of the country, and an account of the great hopes excited by the notices which had been given by the Indians of Comogre. "Caicedo soon died, with," says Oviedo, "his body swollen, and as yellow as the gold he sought." Nevertheless, the relation made by him and his companion of the utility of the establishment, was such, that it increased the king's estimation of the enterprise; and he now resolved on sending out a much larger armament, than he had meditated in the first instance. And as the adventurers who went to America dreamed of nothing but gold,—as gold alone was the object of their pursuit,—as it was gold which they took forcibly from the Indians,—and gold by which the latter purchased their friendship,—gold which resounded in their letters and despatches to court,—and gold which at court was become the sole subject of conversation and desire,—the Darien, which appeared so rich in this coveted metal, lost its first name of New Andalusia, and was commonly called, and even named in the despatches, the Golden Castile.

This was the juncture at which King Ferdinand disbanded the army, which had been raised to follow the Great Captain into Italy, to repair the disaster of Ravenna. Many of the nobles, who, stimulated by the fame of that celebrated chief, had pledged their property, that they might gather laurels under his banner in Italy,

flew to enlist in the expedition with Pedrarias, believing they might thus find amends for their disappointment, and acquire, in his company, not only glory, but wealth. The vulgar idea, that in Darien gold was gathered by nets, had excited such an excess of avarice, as annihilated all common sense, and calm judgment. The number of those who were to follow the new governor was fixed at 1200 men; yet, although many candidates were rejected, from the impossibility of conveying them, those who embarked amounted to 2000, chiefly youths of good family, brave, and well disposed, and all desirous of becoming rich in a short time, and of returning to their country, increased in wealth and honours.

Ferdinand expended on that armada above 54,000 ducats, an enormous sum for that period, sufficiently manifesting the interest and importance which he attached to the undertaking. It consisted of five ships, well provided with arms, ammunition, and victuals. The Licentiate, Gaspar de Espinosa, a youth, who had just passed the schools of Salamanca, went out as the *alcalde mayor*; as treasurer, Alonzo de la Puente; as inspector, Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, the historian; as principal *alguazil*, the bachelor Enciso. To these were added officers for the government of the establishment, and for the better administration of the royal interests. The title of City was given to the town of Santa Maria del Antigua, with other favours and prerogatives, demonstrative of the consideration, in which the monarch held the colonists; finally, for

the regulation and service of divine worship, brother Juan de Quevedo, of the Franciscan order, and preacher to his majesty, was consecrated Bishop of the Darien, and went out, accompanied by priests, and such others as were deemed requisite for the service of the church. Pedrarias received express and particular instructions as to his government, and was commanded to undertake nothing, without the advice of the bishop and of the royal officers; to treat the Indians kindly, and to abstain from making war upon them, unless provoked; and finally, recommending to him strongly the famous requisition, originating in the expedition of Alonzo de Ojeda, of which more will be said in the Life of Fra Bartolomè de Las Casas, being its more appropriate place.

They sailed from San Lucas on the 11th of April, 1514, touched at Dominica, and landed at Santa Martha; here Pedrarias had some encounters with those ferocious Indians, and sacked some of their villages; and without making any establishment, as had been agreed on, he descended at length into the Gulf of Urabà, and anchored before Darien on the 29th of June, in the same year. He immediately sent a messenger to apprise Balboa of his arrival. This emissary expected to find the governor of the Golden Castile seated on a splendid throne, giving laws to a crowd of slaves. What then must have been his astonishment, in finding him directing some Indians who were thatching his house with straw; his dress, a cotton shirt over one of linen, a pair of coarse drawers, and rough

hempen sandals on his feet; yet thus attired he received the message of Pedrarias with dignity, and replied that he rejoiced to hear of his arrival, and that he and all the inhabitants of Darien were ready to receive, and to serve, him. The news quickly ran through the whole population; and in proportion to the hopes and fears of each, was the event treated in their conversation. They debated the mode in which they should receive their new governor; some proposed that, as warriors, they should meet him armed; but Vasco Nuñez preferred the mode which was least likely to excite suspicion, and he and his colonists sallied forth as a body of council, and unarmed.

In spite of this, Pedrarias, doubting his intention, immediately on landing ordered his people to make all cautious preparation; he led by the hand his wife, Donna Isabel de Bobadilla, eldest sister to the Marchioness de Moya, who had been the favourite of the Catholic Queen, and was followed by 2000 men, completely armed. Shortly after he disembarked, he met Balboa and the colonists, who received him with great respect and reverence, and paid him due obedience. The strangers were lodged in the houses of the colonists, who provided them with bread, vegetables, and the fruit and water of the country; whilst the new comers, in their turn, distributed the provisions and other necessaries which they had brought from Spain. But this external harmony was of short duration; discords, misfortunes, and misunderstandings succeeded each other, and accumulated with the rapidity which might

be expected from the jarring elements, of which the establishment was composed.

On the day following his arrival, Pedrarias summoned Vasco Nuñez, and told him of the high appreciation in which his good services were held at court, and the charge he had received from the king, to treat him according to his merit, with all honour and favour. He next demanded from him an exact statement of the condition of the country, and the disposition of the Indians. Balboa replied, with thanks for the favour shown, and promised with all possible sincerity to furnish the governor with the amount of his knowledge. In the course of two days he presented his information in writing, comprehending a statement of what he had himself done during his government; a list of the rivers, ravines, and mountains, where he had discovered gold; the Caciques, with whom, in the course of these three years, he had made peace, (and they were upwards of twenty,) his journey from sea to sea, his discovery of the Austral Ocean, and of the rich Isle of Pearls; he published likewise a farther account of his government, which was laid before the alcalde Espinosa; but Pedrarias, having no confidence in that judge, owing to his youth, began on his part, by close interrogations, to obtain secret information against Vasco Nuñez. Thus was Espinosa offended, and still more the late governor, who saw in this perfidious and rancorous proceeding, the persecution which Pedrarias prepared for him. He had therefore to look to himself, and he resolved to oppose to

the authority of a governor, who was adverse to him, another and equal authority, which might favour and protect him.

To this end, he had recourse to the Bishop Quedo, with whom Pedrarias, according to the instructions he had received, was bound to consult on all affairs of importance; he showed him the utmost respect, and was most diligent and obsequious in offering him his services; he gave him a share of his plunder, his labours, and of his slaves; and the prelate, influenced by the love of gain, which was the predominant passion of all the Spaniards who came to India, and knowing besides, that nobody in Darien equalled Vasco Nuñez in capacity and intelligence, he expected to become rich by his industry, and placed all his speculations under his management. He did more, which was to interest Dona Isabel de Bobadilla in favour of Balboa; and the discoverer never ceased to mingle the costly presents which he lavished on that lady, with all the politeness and attentions of the most refined courtier.

Thus, the bishop was unwearied in his endeavours to exalt his character, and to magnify his services, saying publicly that the state was greatly his debtor. These praises were very disagreeable to Pedrarias, who probably was provoked that such consideration should have been merited by a new man, one sprung from the dust, and who, in Castile, would scarcely have dared to aspire to a place among his servants. The examination, meanwhile, proceeded; the alcalde

mayor, offended at the mistrust of the governor, looked with an equitable or indulgent eye upon the criminal charges alleged against Balboa, and declared him absolved from them; though he condemned him to satisfy the claims of individuals, who considered themselves wronged or prejudiced by him; and so rigorously were these satisfactions levied, that, possessing on the arrival of Pedrarias more than 10,000 ounces of gold, he now found himself in a state bordering on mendicancy. But the governor, not content with this severity, proposed sending him to Spain loaded with chains, that the king might punish him according to justice, for the fate of Nicuesa and other crimes, which, in the course of his secret examination, had been laid solely to his charge. The royal officers, who, in the Darien, as in the other parts of America, were always the enemies of the captains and discoverers, were of the same opinion; but the bishop, who was persuaded that his own hopes of wealth would disappear with Balboa, assured Pedrarias that in thus sending him to Castile, he was sending him to certain reward and triumph; that the recital of the services and actions performed by himself, and inspired by his presence, would infallibly attract the favour of the court; that he would return more than ever honoured and applauded, and with the government of whatever part of the Terra Firma he might prefer, which, with the practice and knowledge he possessed of the country, would no doubt be the richest and most abundant; that the most suitable plan for Pedrarias was, to keep him

necessitous, and involved in pleas and legal contests, amusing him with words and external demonstrations, whilst he took time to determine how he should finally dispose of him. The bishop was right: but the bitterest enemy of Balboa could not have imagined a more artful mode of accomplishing his ruin, than was contrived by his interested protector, for keeping him in Darien. Pedrarias was convinced: he restored to Vasco Nuñez the goods he had seized, and began to allow him, through the medium of the bishop, some part in the business of government. It was even conjectured that the principal authority might again devolve upon him, since Pedrarias, having fallen seriously ill soon after his arrival, had quitted the town to breathe a better air; and delegated his power, for the interval, to the bishop and the officers. He however quickly recovered, and his first act was to send out different captains to explore the land, giving a particular commission to Juan de Ayora, his second in command, to proceed with 400 men towards the South Sea, and to leave colonies in such spots as might seem to him eligible. This was supposed to be done with the intention of opposing whatever favours the court might meditate conferring on Vasco Nunez, as a reward for his discovery, under pretence that the land was first colonized by Pedrarias, and that Balboa had done nothing more than merely look upon it, and maltreat the Indians whom he found there.

But, independently of such a motive, the necessity for relieving the colony imperiously prescribed the



step. The provisions supplied by the fleet were already becoming scarce; a large hut, which had been erected near the sea as a storehouse, had been burned down, by which a great part of them was lost, much had been used, and there was but a small remainder. The rations were diminished; and want of food, difference of climate, and anxiety of mind, began to exercise their combined influence on the new colonists. They enquired when they should reach the place, where the gold was gathered in nets; and the men of Darien replied, that the nets for taking gold were labours, endurances and dangers; that thus they had gained what they possessed; and that, by like means, others must procure what they coveted. Disease now began to assail them, the king's ration was consumed, calamity increased upon them, and those who had left in Castile their property and their luxuries, in pursuit of Indian opulence, wandered about the streets of Darien, begging a miserable alms, and finding none to relieve them. They sold their rich ornaments and vestments for a piece of maize bread, or a Castile biscuit. Some became wood-cutters, and sold the result of their labours for a bit of bread, to sustain existence, while others fed, like the beasts, on the grass of the fields. A knight rushed into the street, crying aloud that he was dying of hunger, and, in sight of the whole population, fell, and rendered up his soul. So many perished daily, that it was impossible to preserve any order or ceremony in the funerals, and carts were used for carrying away the dead, as in time of pestilence.

The first colonists were not reduced to such extreme need, but the obduracy they showed towards the afflicted betrayed the adverse feelings which the latter had excited. In the course of a month 700 persons had perished; and flying from the scourge, many of the principal individuals, with permission from the governor, forsook the land, and returned to Castile, or took refuge in the islands.

The captains of Pedrarias departed to reconnoitre the country and to colonize;—Luis Carrillo to the River de los Anades, Juan de Ayora to the South Sea, Enciso to Zenu; others, in short, at different periods to different points. It is no part of my plan to furnish an account of their expeditions, to relate, in succession, the violences and vexations which they committed, or to detail how they robbed and destroyed, and captured men and women, making no distinction between friendly\* and hostile tribes. The Indians, who had been pacified and tranquillized by the good policy and management of Balboa, were now, by repeated injuries, provoked to revenge, and almost uni-

\* Juan de Ayora entered the port of Pocorosa, and went to the territory of the Cacique Ponca, who had voluntarily received Vasco Nuñez, and relied on that leader's assurance of peace and safety, as his people had accompanied him in his discovery of the South Sea. Feeling, therefore, secure, he went out to receive Juan de Ayora in peace. The Spaniards violently deprived him of all the gold they could find, and while searching his house, told him, insultingly, he should ask his friends to aid him. From him they went to Comogre, who had given Balboa so kind a reception, and had been the first to indicate the South Sea to him. On learning the approach of the Spaniards, the young Cacique met them with gold and provisions, and on their reaching his house, performed for them

versally rose in their own defence ; they attacked and put the Spaniards to flight, who were forced to return to the Darien, where, though the excesses they had committed were known, no attempt was made to punish them. Even Vasco Nuñez, who, in company with Luis Carrillo, had sallied forth on an expedition to the mouths of the river, and attacked the barbacoas of the Indians, participating in the inauspicious star which then reigned, was surprised by those savages in the water, and was placed in much jeopardy in the skirmish, so that he and Carrillo returned badly wounded to the Darien, and the latter died shortly after. The terror and dismay which these continued disasters excited, was such, that they had shut up in Darien the house used as a foundery, a strong symptom of the general anxiety. The trees of the Sierras, the high grass of the fields, the billows of the sea, were mistaken for Indians, who came to destroy the colony. The precautions of Pedrarias, all disconcerted, instead of giving confidence, served only to augment the terror and confusion ; while Balboa, mocking them, recalled the days when the colony, under his command, was tranquil within, and respected without, when she reigned Queen of the Isthmus, and gave laws to twenty nations.

Pedrarias, discontented with his situation, wrote to all the services in his power ; but neither his hospitality, nor the obligations of Vasco Nuñez, prevented their taking his wives from him by force. Herrera, Dec. 1, Book 10.

Pocorosa and Tubanamà met with similar treatment.

*Translator's Note.*

Castile, laying much to the charge of Vasco Nuñez, because he had not found in the country those riches and advantages, so boasted in the arrogant relations of that discoverer. The friends of Balboa, on the other hand, wrote that every thing was ruined by the ill government of Pedrarias, and the insolence of his captains; that the royal orders were unfulfilled; that no crime was punished; that at the period of the arrival of Pedrarias, the town was well ordered, more than 200 huts had been erected, the people were cheerful and happy, amusing themselves on their feast-days by jousting with canes; the soil was cultivated, and all the Caciques so pacific, that a single Castilian might cross from sea to sea, fearless of violence or insult; whereas, at present, several Spaniards were dead, the rest dismayed and broken-spirited, the country destroyed, and the Indians in insurrection. All this, it was added, has been caused by the process entered on against Balboa. Had he been allowed to proceed in his discoveries, the truth respecting the promised treasures of Dabaybe would ere this have been brought to the test; the Indians would have still been peaceable, the soil yielding its abundance, and the Castilians content. Vasco Nuñez wrote in the same terms to the king, bitterly and boldly accusing the governor and his officers of all the evil which had befallen the colony. Perhaps he acted with the more confidence, as the knowledge had reached him of the signal favour with which the court had distinguished the results of the voyage of Pedro de Arbolancha. Until the arrival

of Caiceda and Colmenares, the Castilians had held Balboa in very indifferent estimation. The Decades of Angleria show the dislike and contempt with which he was regarded. Assassin, mutineer, and even rebel, adventurer, and bandit, are the terms in which that writer invariably mentions him. But after the arrival of those deputies, even though Colmenares was not his friend, nor inclined to favour him in his relations, yet doubtless the picture they drew of the establishment, and of the chief who directed it, began to incline the public mind in his favour, and gave him consideration and value. They now called him a spirited and able chief; an intelligent leader, to whose prudence and valour Europe was indebted for the consolidation of her first colony on the Indian continent, a species of merit unattained by all anterior discoverers, and reserved for him alone. "He knows the secrets of the land! Who knows the advantage which a man of his zeal, experience, and fortune, may produce to his country?" To this change of opinion, the now favourable reports of the already gained Pasa-monte, no doubt efficaciously contributed; he wrote of Vasco Nuñez, as the best servant the king had on the Terra Firma, and the man who had laboured most diligently for the profit of his master. This was not, indeed, sufficient to reverse the orders for the expedition, already far advanced, nor to annul the command conferred on Pedrarias. Yet, subsequently, when Arbolancha arrived, bringing with him abundant treasures, and announcing the brilliant hopes which the

coasts of the Austral Sea had awakened ; when it was known that, with 190 men, things had been accomplished for which it was believed that 1000 were necessary, and that each of these had been effected with not more than sixty or seventy at a time ; that in so many encounters not one soldier had been lost ; that he had rendered friendly so many Caciques, acquired so many secrets ; when they heard of his religion and moderation, and considered the docility and reverence with which he failed not to pay to God and the king, the due tribute of acknowledgment and submission throughout all his prosperities ; he became the object of boundless gratitude and admiration. Even Angleria said that Goliath was converted into an Elisha, and the sacrilegious robber, Antæus, into a Hercules, the slayer of monsters and conqueror of tyrants. Even the old king, charmed with the tidings brought by Arbolancha, and with the pearls he held in his hands, quitted his constitutional indifference, and formally charged his ministers to reward Balboa, since he had served him so well. So that, had Arbolancha arrived before Pedrarias had sailed, Balboa might then have preserved his authority in the Darien, and results would have been very different ; but the evil star of Balboa already portended his ruin, and the rewards of the monarch arrived in the Darien too late to avail either the state or Vasco Nuñez ; they only served to embitter the jealousies and envies of the old and rancorous governor.

On Balboa was conferred the title of Governor of

the South Sea, and the government and captaincy-general of the provinces of Coiba and Panamá; he was, it is true, commanded to receive his orders from Pedrarias, who, on his part, was charged so to favour and advance the pretensions and enterprises of that chief, as might prove to him the esteem, in which the king held his person. The court intended thus to reconcile the respect due to the character and authority of the governor, with the gratitude and rewards earned by Balboa; however, that which was easy at court, was impossible in the Darien, where so many passions were in collision. The year 1515 was considerably advanced, when the despatches reached Pedraria he, jealous and mistrustful, was accustomed to detain the letters which came from Europe, even for private individuals, and he now detained the despatches of Balboa, in the resolution never to fulfil their directions. Nor was this step extraordinary. The provinces named in them, were the most promising, as well from their intrinsic riches, as from the talent of the chief to whom they were consigned, while those which remained subject to the authority of Pedrarias, were merely those contiguous to the Gulf, and the inhabitants of those to the east were fierce and intractable, while those to the west were already impoverished and exhausted.

The perfidy of the governor was not so well concealed, but that it reached the knowledge of Vasco Nuñez and the bishop. They immediately raised an outcry, and began loudly to exclaim at such tyranny,

especially the prelate, who threatened Pedrarias even from the pulpit, and declared he would give an account to the king of a transaction so contrary to his will and to his service. Pedrarias was alarmed, and called the royal officers and likewise the bishop into council, to determine what should be done in this case; when, it was the unanimous opinion, that the orders in the despatches should not be executed, till the king, being made acquainted with the examination of Balboa, and the votes of his council, should manifest his will. Nevertheless, the arguments with which the bishop opposed this determination, were so strong and so severe, he charged them with so heavy a load of responsibility, if, for the sake of indulging their own miserable passions, they should suspend the effect of favours, bestowed in reward of eminent and notorious services performed in the two worlds, that he struck terror into them all, and especially the governor, who resolved to let the despatches have their course. They summoned Vasco Nuñez, and gave him his titles, previously exacting his word, that he would neither use his authority, nor exercise his government, but with the permission of Pedrarias, to which he acceded, unconscious that he thereby pronounced sentence against himself; and he was now publicly denominated governor of the South Sea.

This new and acknowledged dignity did not protect him from an insult which he suffered shortly after. Seeing himself poor and persecuted in the Darien, and accustomed as he had ever been to command, he



anxiously sought some means to deliver himself from the pupilage and dependence in which he was at present held; and even prior to this period, he had sent to Cuba to his friend and comrade Andres Garabito, to supply him with some men, with whom, by the way of Nombre de Dios, he projected going to colonise in the South Sea. Garabito returned accordingly, with sixty men, and a provision of arms and other effects necessary to the expedition, soon after the royal despatches had been made public, and Balboa had received his titles. Garabito anchored at six leagues from Darien, and sent secret advices to his friend; not so secret, however, as to elude the vigilance of Pedrarias. Furious with vexation, and treating the transaction as criminal rebellion, he had Balboa arrested, and threatened to imprison him in a wooden cage, but that indignity was not put in execution. The governor yielded the liberty of Balboa to the representations of the bishop, and they became once more, in appearance, friends.

Nor did the indefatigable protector stop here. Pedrarias was, as we have already said, old, and much broken in constitution; he had, in Castile, two marriageable daughters, and the bishop now undertook to form between him and Balboa a tie, which might prove indissoluble; he told him, that by keeping the finest capacity in the land in idleness and obscurity, he injured none more than himself; thus losing the fruit, which the friendship of Balboa would produce to him. That there was no doubt Balboa would, in some way

or other, make known to the king the oppression and contumely in which he was held, to the defiance of the royal command, and the injury of his majesty's interests. He had better make him his own at once, marry him to one of his daughters, and aid him to pursue the brilliant career, to which in appearance he was destined. In the prime of life, of a good family, and already bearing the rank of governor, he would be a suitable match for his daughter, and he might thus enjoy repose in his old age, leaving to the robust hands of such a son-in-law, the cares and convulsions of war. By this means, the services performed by Balboa would belong, in a manner, to Pedrarias; those restless passions and lamentable contentions which divided the Darien into factions, and paralyzed the progress of their conquests and discovery, would thus at once be put an end to. To all this Donna Isabel de Bobadilla agreed, for, being more favourably affected to the discoverer, she allowed herself to be more easily persuaded, and at length inclined the governor to listen to the suggestion. The parties consulted on the preliminary arrangements, and Balboa became the son-in-law of Pedrarias, and the husband of his eldest daughter, Donna Maria.\*

By this time the bishop had returned to Castile,\*

\* The arrival of the bishop in Castile is not made clear to have happened till the year 1518; and certainly he did not show his friend proper or merited respect. In a dispute with Las Casas before the Emperor, he declared that the first governor of the Darien had been bad, and the second worse. Herrera, Decade 2d, Book 4th, chap. 4th.

satisfied in being the author of a measure, which must secure the fortune and dignity of his friend. Pedrarias called him his son, and outwardly treated him as such, writing of him with every appearance of approbation and satisfaction to the king and his ministers. In order to furnish him with employment, he sent him to the Port of Càreta, where he remained for a season, engaged in founding the city of Acla; anxious to accomplish that establishment, that he might there make suitable preparations for discoveries in the opposite sea. Having secured this first step, and settled the affairs of Acla, Balboa began to exert his utmost energy in the construction of brigantines, for this eagerly desired expedition. He cut down the necessary wood, which, as well as the anchors, rigging, &c. were all carried from sea to sea on men's shoulders, crossing the twenty-two leagues of wild and rugged Sierras, which form that part of the Isthmus. Indians, Negroes, and Spaniards laboured alike, and even Balboa frequently lent the assistance of his own Herculean arms. In virtue of such zeal and diligence, they soon saw the four necessary brigantines completed and armed; but the wood being so recently cut, was immediately eaten by worms, and rendered utterly unprofitable. The work was begun and completed anew, and again destroyed by an inundation. Balboa, with fresh auxiliaries, brought from Acla and Darien, recommenced his labours, and as soon as the brigantines were fit for service, he embarked with them on the Gulf, directed his course to the greater Pearl

Island, where he laid in a large quantity of provisions, and navigated some leagues to the eastward, in search of the rich regions, which the Indians had announced to them; he did not, however, pass the Port of Pines; and, partly from a mistrust of those unknown seas, partly from a wish more effectually to complete his preparations, he returned to the Isle, and gave himself up to the completion of the barks, which were still wanting.

Balboa had now attained the most flattering and brilliant period of his life; he had four ships and three hundred men under his command; the sea was his, and the road to the treasures of Peru lay open before him. Among his people was a Venetian called Micer Codro, a kind of philosopher, attracted to the New World by a wish to explore the natural secrets of the land, and probably, likewise, hoping to make his fortune, in following the track of the discoverer. Presuming on the character of an astrologer and diviner, he had told Balboa, that when a certain star should appear in such a part of the heavens, he was destined to run a great personal risk, but that if he escaped it, he would become the richest lord and most celebrated captain, that had ever visited the Indies. It happened that Vasco Nuñez descried this fatal star, and contemptuously observed to the astrologer, that "the man was womanish who gave credit to diviners; and above all to Micer Codro." If this anecdote be true, it only serves as an additional proof of the fact, that wherever there is power, or fortune, either in

possession or probability, there will imposture be busy in making its advantage of human vanity and ignorance.

Affairs were thus situated, when an order suddenly arrived from Pedrarias, that Balboa should come to Acla, to confer on some matters of importance, essential to his expedition. He obeyed instantly, unsuspecting of what was to follow, nor could he be deterred from proceeding by the advices he received on his road. Near Acla he met with Pizarro, who advanced, followed by armed men, to arrest him. "How is this, Francis Pizarro?" he exclaimed; "this is not the mode in which you have been accustomed to receive me!" Pizarro made no reply; many of the inhabitants of Acla assembled to witness this unexpected scene; and the governor, commanding that Balboa should be kept under guard in a private house, ordered the alcalde Espinosa to prepare a process against him, with the utmost rigour of justice.

It will be asked, what motive could have operated this unlooked for reverse. All that we can discover from the various relations which have reached us, with regard to this miserable affair, is, that the enemies of Balboa had once more revived the ill-smothered suspicions and rancours of Pedrarias, making him believe that his son-in-law, in so zealously preparing his expedition, meditated to separate himself, by its means, for ever from his obedience. A portion of the incidents which then occurred gave colour to this accusation; and it is said that Andres Garabito, the great

friend of Balboa, had had some dispute with the latter, on account of the Indian girl, the daughter of Càreta so much beloved by Vasco Nuñez ; and that offended by what had passed between them, and eager for revenge, he had, when Balboa sailed the last time for Acla, told Pedrarias, that his son-in-law had departed, in the intention to revolt, and of never more yielding him obedience. Yet it is certain, that of those who were compromised in this affair, Garabito alone was absolved. A letter written by Hernando de Arguello, from the Darien, to the governor of the South Sea, was intercepted, apprising him of the ill-will that was harboured against him, and advising him to commence his voyage as soon as possible, without caring what might be said or done by those who commanded in Antigua. Finally, it was already known that the government of the Terra Firma was given to Lopez de Sosa ; and Vasco Nuñez, fearing from him the same persecution he had endured from Pedrarias, had sent secretly to ascertain if he was arrived in the Darien, that he might, in such case, hoist sail, unperceived by the soldiers, and abandon himself to the tide of his fortune, and the prosecution of his discoveries. The emissaries sent for this purpose, and the plan projected by Balboa, reached the knowledge of his suspicious father-in-law, so coloured as to induce him to believe that an escape from his authority was the end proposed. The whole bitterness of his hatred was revived, being eagerly fomented by Balboa's enemies, the public officers ; so that now, giving the reins to his vengeance, he pre-

pared to surprise his victim, and sacrifice him to his own safety. He went, it is true, to see him in his prison, addressed him still as his son, and consoled him, praying him not to suffer his imprisonment to afflict him, since it was merely yielded to for the purpose of satisfying Alonzo de la Puente, and would only serve to render his fidelity more clear and conspicuous. But the moment he ascertained that the ground of the process was sufficiently strong, to flatter him with a hope of its terminating in the bloody catastrophe he meditated, he returned to visit the prisoner, and said with a hard and threatening countenance, "I have treated you as my son, because I gave you credit for fidelity to the king, and to me in his name. Since, however, I was mistaken, you have no longer to expect from me the conduct of a father, but of a judge and an enemy."—"If what is imputed to me were true," replied the unhappy prisoner, "holding at my command four ships, and three hundred men, by whom I was much beloved, I should have gone straight to sea without permitting any thing to impede my purpose. Safe in my innocence, I returned at your command, and little could I dream of being treated so rigorously, and with such enormous injustice." Pedrarias heard no more, but sent an order that the weight of his fetters should be increased. His accusers in the process, were Alonzo de la Puente and the other fiscal officers of the Darien; his judge was Espinosa, who coveted the command of the armada, which the ruin of Balboa would leave without a chief. The cause terminated,

and terminated in the sentence of death. In accumulation of the present charges, were brought forward the expulsion of Nicuesa, and the imprisonment and injuries of Enciso. Still, Espinosa, conscious of the enormity of such a proceeding towards such a man as Balboa, pleaded with Pedrarias, that, in consideration of his many services, the sentence of death should be remitted. "No," said the obdurate old man; "if he is guilty, let him die for it."

He was then sentenced to die, without being allowed the appeal he demanded to the Emperor and the Council of the Indies. He was brought from his prison, the crier announcing before him, that he was doomed to this punishment as a traitor, and a usurper of the lands of the crown. On hearing himself proclaimed traitor, he raised his eyes to heaven, and protested that he had never harboured any other thought, than that of augmenting the kingdoms and possessions of his king. Nor, indeed, was such a protestation deemed necessary by the spectators, who, full of horror and compassion, beheld the sentence executed, and the bleeding head afterwards stuck ignominiously upon a pole. With him, were likewise beheaded, Louis Botello, Andres de Valderrábano, Herman Muñoz, and Fernando de Argüello, all of whom had shared his voyages, his labours, and his destiny. Pedrarias witnessed the execution from behind some canes, which formed a palisade near his house, ten or twelve paces from the place of punishment. Night had fallen, and Argüello remained still to be executed, and the whole



multitude of the people entreated, with tears, that his life might be spared, since God had not given daylight for the execution of his sentence. "Rather would I die myself," said Pedrarias, "than permit one of them to escape unpunished." The unhappy victim was accordingly sacrificed like the others, followed by the compassion of all who witnessed the act, and by the indignation which such inhuman injustice was calculated to inspire.

Balboa, at the period of his death, was 42 years of age. His property was confiscated, and, with all his papers, taken possession of as a deposit, by the historian Oviedo, in virtue of a commission which he held to that effect from the Emperor. Some portion was subsequently restored to his brother Gonzalo Nuñez de Balboa, who, as well as Juan and Alvar Nuñez, likewise brothers of the discoverer, were favoured and recommended by the Spanish government, "in consideration," says the clause in the royal orders, "of the services of Vasco Nuñez, in discovering and colonizing that land." No explanation has been given with regard to Pedrarias, either in the public despatches, or in private relations. In all of them, he is described as hard, avaricious, and cruel; in all, we see him totally incapable of any thing great; in all, he is depicted as the depopulator and destroyer of the country, whither he was sent to be the preserver and bulwark; so that neither indulgence or doubt, however they may be warped for his justification and exculpation, can ever wash his abhorred name from the

stain and opprobrium which has obscured it for ever. For Balboa, on the contrary, no sooner were the mean and miserable passions, excited by his merit and his talents to pursue him to his ruin, silenced, than the records of office, private memoirs, and the voice of posterity, unanimously proclaim him one of the greatest Spaniards that ever explored the regions of America.

**THE LIFE**

**OF**

**FRANCISCO PIZARRO.**



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NONE of the Captains of the Darien were qualified to supply the vacuum, which the death of Balboa left in the affairs of America. The fatal axe which destroyed that celebrated discoverer, had cut off, at the same stroke, all those magnificent hopes, to which his designs had given birth. He had translated the Spanish colony to the other side of the Isthmus, to the site on which Panamá was founded: but neither this disposition, so much more favourable for discoveries to the east and south, nor the frequent reports they received from the rich regions, since known under the name of Peru, had availed to stimulate these men, audacious and active as they were, to attempt their investigation or conquest. None had resolution to risk the expenses, or confront the difficulties, in which this great enterprise must naturally involve them. Even the extraordinary man, who was destined to conquer them all, was ignorant of his own powers, and, which seldom happens with men of his temper of mind, Pizarro had already passed the meridian of life, without having been signalized by any act, which

might announce the destroyer of a great empire, and the rival of Hernan Cortès.

Not, that in strength, fortitude or diligence, he was overmatched by any, or even equalled by many, then employed on the Terra Firma. But, content with the limits assigned him as a subaltern, his character was apparently devoid of ambition and daring, and well satisfied in meriting the confidence of the governors, he either would not, or could not, compete with them in honours or fortune.

This circumspection might be derived from the timidity caused by the consciousness of his own low origin, if all was true which was then related on the subject, and which has since been repeated by different writers. A natural son of that Gonzalo Pizarro, so distinguished in the wars of Italy, in the time of the Great Captain, and who died subsequently in Navarre, a colonel of infantry ; born of a mother, whose name and circumstances are unknown, and, at his birth, exposed at the gate of a church in Truxillo, sustained in the first moments of life by the milk of a sow, the only creature near, to perform for him the maternal office, he was at length acknowledged by his father. But this was little to his advantage ; his father gave him no education, did not even teach him to read, and provided him with no other occupation, than that of following some herds of swine. By a fortunate stroke of destiny, it one day happened that, either by chance, or from his own neglect, the swine dispersed, and were lost ; he dared not return home, and joining some

travellers, went to Seville, from whence he embarked, to try his fortune in St Domingo, hoping that his lot, which had been so hard in his own country, might prove less adverse in the Indies. Adventures of this nature doubtless carry more the air of romance than of history. Gomara relates them, Herrera is silent respecting them, and Garcilaso contradicts them. Some of them are in opposition with the documents of the time, which represent him as serving in the wars of Italy in his earliest youth; and others are probably exaggerated. He was undoubtedly the natural son of Captain Pizarro, his mother was a native of Truxillo, named Francisca Gonzales, whose parents were known,\* and likewise of Truxillo. His education was, in reality, entirely neglected; it was generally believed that he could neither read nor write, but if, as others assert, he ever learned to read, it was very late in life, when his dignity and obligations rendered it matter of necessity. It is certain he never was able to write, or even to sign. As for the rest, it ought to be given and received, with such circumspection, as may leave a reservation in favour of the claims of truth; recollecting, that for Pizarro, or whomsoever else has risen by his own efforts to the pinnacle of power and fortune, the elevation is ever the more glorious, the lower the state from which the ascent began.

The first time we see him mentioned with distinction in history, is, at the period of the last expedition of Ojeda to Terra Firma, when Pizarro was already

\* Their names were Juan Mateos and Maria Alonzo.

more than thirty years old. With him he embarked, and in the disasters, labours, and dangers, which accumulated upon the Spaniards, in that unfortunate expedition, he made the apprenticeship of the difficult career, in which he afterwards signalized himself so gloriously. There can be no doubt that he then distinguished himself from his comrades, since Ojèda, after founding in Urabà the town of St Sebastian, and finding it necessary to return for aid to St Domingo, left him as his lieutenant in the colony, as the person to whom he might best confide its government and preservation.

In the life of Vasco Nuñez we have related the terrible disasters which there assailed the Spaniards; how they were compelled to abandon the town, disheartened and hopeless, and how they afterwards returned thither, under the authority of Enciso, who met them in the way. All these details, as well as the contentions and disgusts, which were afterwards fomented amongst the colonists of the Darien, do not belong to the life of Pizarro, who had no share in them. Contented to fulfil with fidelity and diligence the undertakings intrusted to him, he obtained the confidence of Balboa, as he had obtained that of Ojèda, and was afterwards trusted by Pedrarias, as he had been by Balboa. Each of them took him with them in their most important expeditions; Vasco Nuñez to the South Sea, and Pedrarias to Panamá. His sword and his counsels were of much utility to Captain Gaspar de Morales, in the voyage he made, by order



of the last governor, from the Darien to the Isle of Pearls, and were no less so to the Licenciata Espinosa, in the dangerous and obstinate wars, which the Spaniards were forced to maintain with the warlike tribes, situated to the east of Panamá. But as, from these skirmishes, many of them profitless, and the greater part inglorious, no discovery of consequence resulted, and as Pizarro did not hold the chief command in them, they have no claim on our attention, farther, than as they would contribute to augment the experience and capacity of that captain, and the credit and confidence which he held from the soldiers, who more than once entreated him from Pedrarias, and marched more confidently and cheerfully when he led, than with any other of their commanders.

Still, the ambition of Pizarro slumbered; and whilst many of the adventurers were enriched by these incursions with treasure, and slaves, in abundance, he, at the end of fourteen years of severe and perilous service, was one of the least wealthy inhabitants of Panamá. So that in the case of the famous contract for the discoveries in the south, whilst the ecclesiastic Hernando de Lucque placed on the speculation 20,000 oz. of gold, his own, or borrowed, Pizarro and Diego de Almagro, his two associates, had nothing to subscribe, but their personal industry and experience.

The project of this company was preceded by other attempts, which, if not outwardly striking or important, had at least sufficed for obtaining more positive traces of the existence of the regions proposed to be explored.

Already, in the year 1522, Pascual de Andagoya, by permission from Pedrarias, had sailed on a voyage of discovery for the south coast, in a large bark, and arriving at the mouth of a wide river, called Biruquete, entered it, and sometimes fighting, sometimes conferring with the Indians, gained from them some account of the people of Peru, of the power of their monarchs, and of the wars which they maintained, in lands far distant from thence. Fame had doubtlessly carried, although vaguely, some rumours of the expeditions of the Incas to Quito, and of the obstinate struggle which that warlike people held for the dominion of the country, to that spot. But to reach the theatre of war, it was, according to the Indians, necessary to pass over difficult roads and rocky sierras, and these obstacles, together with the suffering of Andagoya from his miserable health, caused them for the time to abandon the undertaking, and return to Panamá.

It happened, that shortly afterwards, died Captain Juan Basurto, to whom Pedrarias had granted a similar permission to that of Andagoya. Many of the inhabitants of Panamá would fain take their part in these hopes and projects, but were deterred by the difficulties, which to them seemed insurmountable, and of which they dared not make trial. But Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro, friends already from the Darien, and associated in whatever gain and profit each had acquired in the country, and whose souls were of more exalted temper, resolved on facing all cost and danger, and of exploring for themselves the regions which lie

towards the south. They purchased one of the barks, which had been constructed in the same view by Balboa, and having obtained the licence of Pedrarias, equipped it with eighty men and four horses, the whole force they could immediately assemble. Pizarro placed himself at their head, and sailed from the port of Panamá, the middle of November 1524, leaving Almagro to follow him with more men and provisions. The vessel directed her course to the equator, touched at the Isle of Pearls, and anchored in the Port de Piñas, the limit of former adventurers. Here the captain agreed to ascend the river of Biru, to demand a supply of necessaries, and to reconnoitre the land; it was the same river into which Pascual de Andagoya had entered, and who aided Pizarro, on his embarkation, with such advice and information, as he believed he would find useful, when he should arrive there.

However, neither the directions of Andagoya, nor the personal experience of Pizarro, in similar expeditions, could exempt the new discoverers from those disasters, which immediately fell upon them. They saw around them a mere desert; the few huts they perceived had been abandoned; the skies poured on them an incessant rain; the earth was in some parts hard and rugged; and in others, the way was rendered impracticable by trees and thorns; so that they could find no paths, but in the hollows left by brooks. There was no game, no fruit, no food in short; and they, loaded with armour, and the furniture of war, began to sink into a state of hopelessness and bewilderment.

Thus they remained three days, at the end of which time, fatigued and disheartened by so fruitless and forbidding a commencement, they went down to the sea, and re-embarked. They ran ten leagues farther, and found a port, where they took in wood and water, and again advanced a few leagues, when they returned to it, in hope of finding relief for the extreme necessity, to which they were reduced. Water had failed them, flesh they had none, and two spikes of maize, given daily to each soldier, was wretched sustenance for those robust bodies. It is said that, when they arrived at this port, they presented such miserable, disfigured skeletons, that they were terrified to look upon each other. And as the country showed them no other aspect than that of wild sierras, rugged rocks, lakes, marshes, and continued showers, with such sterility, that neither birds nor animals were seen, they lost all courage, and, in their desperation, clamorously demanded to return to Panamá. Their captain endeavoured to console them, by reminding them of the certain hope he cherished of bringing them to regions, where they would be abundantly repaid for the toil and hunger they now endured. Meanwhile, the evil was mortal and present, the hope, uncertain and distant; and although, with several of them, the arguments of Pizarro succeeded in rekindling their courage, and strengthening their fortitude, they were deemed by the others as the last struggles of a desperate man, who hardened himself against his evil destiny; and who was reckless whom he involved in his ruin.

Seeing at length that their victuals were entirely consumed, they agreed to separate, and that some of them should proceed in the ship to the Isle of Pearls, to seek a supply of provision ; and the others remain where they were, sustaining themselves as they could, till the return of the vessel. It fell to the lot of one Montenegro, and a few other Spaniards, to make this voyage, whose whole provision consisted of dried cows' hide, and some bitter palm buds, which, with much labour, they had collected on the beach. They pursued their course towards the Isles, while Pizarro, and those who remained, continued to struggle with the agonies of hunger, and the horrors of the climate.

Then it was that this discoverer was compelled to avail himself of the lessons and experience, which he had formerly gained under Balboa. He not only soothed the minds of the soldiers, by plausible and friendly reasonings, of which, when necessary, he could make admirable use, but he gained the affection and confidence of all, by the attentive kindness with which he endeavoured to alleviate their miseries. He himself diligently sought such nourishment as was requisite for the sick and enfeebled, and administered it with his own hand, and performed for them the offices, not of chief and captain, but of comrade and friend. These attentions, it is true, could not counteract the difficulties and necessities of the situation and country. As their sole aliment consisted of the few and noxious roots they met with, their bodies swelled, and already twenty-seven of them had fallen victims to famine and

fatigue. All, indeed, must have perished, had not Montenegro most opportunely returned, with a cargo of flesh, fruits, and maize.

Pizarro was not then at the Port. Knowing that a great light had been seen at a distance, and concluding it was caused by the fires of the Indians, he had taken that direction with some of his most able followers, and came, in effect, to some huts. The Indians fled at the approach of the Spaniards, and only two of them, less swift of foot than their companions, were secured; they found several cocoa nuts, and about a bushel of maize, which they divided amongst them. The poor prisoners put to their captors the same questions, as were asked in all parts of the New World on the first sight of the invaders. "Why do ye not sow? Why do ye not reap? Why do ye wander about, enduring so many difficulties, merely for the sake of robbing strangers of their necessary subsistence?" But these simple queries, dictated by common sense and natural equity, were listened to with the same contempt as ever, and the poor captives found they had only to submit to the arbitrement of force and necessity. One of them soon died of a wound, inflicted by a poisoned arrow, such as they use, whose venom was so active as to destroy life in four hours. Pizarro, on his return, met the messenger—who brought tidings of the arrival of Montenegro, and hastened forward to embrace him.

Having held a council what they should next do, they agreed to quit that Port, to which, in remem-

brance of the evils they had suffered there, they gave the name of the Port of Famine ; and they returned to sea, that they might continue to explore the coast. They sailed for a few days, at the end of which they made land, anchoring in a port, to which they gave the name of Candlemas, because they reached it on the day of that festivity. The land presented the same desert and sterile aspect, as that they had quitted ; the air was so humid, that their clothes rotted upon their bodies ; the skies appalled them by incessant thunder and lightnings ; the natives had fled or were concealed in the woods, so that no intercourse could be had with them. They, however, discovered some paths, and guided by them, after a walk of two leagues, they reached a village, but met not a single inhabitant, but they found a quantity of maize, roots, swine's flesh, and what, to them, was more satisfactory, a number of golden ornaments, whose amount was six hundred ounces. Their delight, however, was somewhat cooled, when on looking into a kettle, which was boiling on the fire, they saw human hands and feet, among the flesh therein preparing. Filled with horror, and thus instructed that the natives were cannibals, they, without examining farther, or delaying a moment, returned to their ship, and pursued their course of navigation. They arrived at a part of the coast which they called the Burnt Village, (Pueblo Quemado,) about twenty-five leagues from the Port of Pines ; so little advance had they made, after so many days of fatigue. There they disembarked, and perceiving, by

the track of the paths which they observed between the mangroves; that the land was inhabited, they began to reconnoitre, and were not long in discovering a village.

They found it however abandoned, though supplied abundantly with provisions, so that Pizarro, having considered its situation, a league from the sea, the strength of its position, standing on the brow of a mountain, and the land around less sterile and repulsive than the points they had recently visited, determined to remain there, and in the meanwhile to send the ship to Panamá, to be repaired. Hands were wanting to aid the mariners, so the captain consented that Montenegro, with the best disposed and most active soldiers, should make incursions into the land, and seize some Indians, who should be put on board the vessel, to assist in manœuvring her. The natives, meanwhile, kept closely united, watching in ambuscade the motions of the Castilians, and meditating how they should drive from their houses the vagabonds who, with so much insolence, came to deprive them of them; therefore, they no sooner saw them divided, than they rushed forth on Montenegro, showering upon him their missile weapons, with great exultation and loud outcries. The Spaniards received them with confidence, relying on their arms, their robust strength, and their valour, and all were necessary in a contest with these naked savages, who allowed them not a moment's breathing time, and always attacked the most formidable of their adversaries, so that three Cas-



tilians were killed, and many others wounded. When the Indians perceived that this body of men defended themselves better than they expected, they determined to retire from the field of battle, and, by concealed roads, come suddenly on the place, where they imagined the useless, the sick, or the cowardly, had remained. Thus did they, and Pizarro, at the sight of them, began to suspect that they had broken and destroyed Montenegro, but, without losing courage, he sallied forth to the encounter; the battle being fought here with no less ardour and animosity, than in the former instance. He animated his people with his voice and his example, and the Indians seeing him signalized from the rest by the tremendous blows he gave, fell upon him in such numbers, and pressed him so furiously, that he fell, and rolled down a declivity. They ran to him believing him dead, but once more on foot, with sword in hand, he killed two of them, kept the rest at bay, and gained time for some Castilians to come to his succour. The combat meanwhile continued, and the result was still in suspense, until the appearance of Montenegro completely disheartened the savages, who retired at length, leaving Pizarro and others of the Spaniards badly wounded.

They used the balsam they were accustomed to apply in similar emergencies, which was boiling oil laid upon their wounds; and, judging from the injury they had suffered, that it would be imprudent to remain there, they being so few, and the Indians numerous and daring, they resolved on returning to the

neighbourhood of Panamá. They arrived at Chicamà, from whence Pizarro despatched in the ship, Nicolas de Rivera, treasurer of the expedition, that he might take with him the gold they had gained, give an account of their success, and relate the hopes they cherished of finding the good land.

While, with so many disasters and such small advantage, Pizarro examined those melancholy regions, his companion Almagro, hastening the armament with which he was to follow, hoisted sail with sixty-four Spaniards, a few days previous to the arrival of Nicolas de Rivera at Panamá. He pursued the same course, conjecturing, from the signals he saw on the mountains, the road which those who preceded him had followed. He anchored in Pueblo Quemado, where the same Indians, who had so roughly treated Pizarro and Montenegro, valiantly resisted him also, and wounding him in an eye, deprived him of its use for ever. Yet, although in the end he gained the place, he did not remain there, but passed on in pursuit of his companion, without leaving a single port unexplored. In this manner he saw and reconnoitred the valley of Bæza, so called from a soldier who died there; the River of Melon, which received its name from one who was sent to it for a supply of water; that of the Fortresses, so called from the appearance of some Indian huts seen in the distance; and, finally, the river of St Juan, from the day on which they arrived there. They observed some indications of good land in these different points, and they also collected a portion of gold; but,

whatever gratification Almagro and his companions might receive from these circumstances, was converted into sadness, when they thought on their friends whom they believed lost ; so that, downcast and disheartened, they resolved to return to Panamá. However, on touching on the Isle of Pearls, and seeing the notices left by Rivera, of the point at which Pizarro remained, they turned the prow immediately, and set out to join him. They found him accordingly in Chicamà ; the two friends embraced, gave a reciprocal account of their adventures, danger, and disasters ; and having maturely concerted their future plans, it was agreed that Almagro should return to Panamá, to recruit their followers, and to repair the vessels. He found in arriving these new difficulties, which were calculated, most vexatiously, to thwart the designs of the two discoverers. Pedrarias, who had given them permission to undertake the expedition, was now as much opposed to it as he had originally shown himself favourable ; he was then meditating on going in person to punish his lieutenant, Francisco Hernandez, who had revolted in Nicaragua, and he did not wish to see the people, whom he reckoned upon, diminished in number, by the mania which possessed them for making discoveries in Peru. This was the true reason, but he alleged the unfavourable accounts brought by Nicolas de Rivera, and violently reprobated the obstinacy of Pizarro, to whose want of industry and great ignorance he imputed the loss of so many men ; he loudly declared, that

he would revoke the commission, and prohibit the same course from being followed in future. The arrival of Almagro, richer in hope than in plunder or information, served in no degree to soften this adverse resolution, and all would have been lost, but for the prayers and entreaties of the schoolmaster, Hernando de Lucque, the friend and auxiliary of Pizarro and Almagro, and most essentially interested in their discoveries;\* yet all his earnestness would have been perhaps of no avail, had he not made Pedrarias the offer of admitting him to a share in the advantages† of the enterprise, without his contributing any thing to its expenses; and by this concession to his avarice, he was induced to abandon his obstinacy, and to remove the prohibition he had issued. He insisted, as a condition, that Pizarro should be accompanied by an adjunct, with authority to check or direct him; and Lucque obtained that this adjunct should be Almagro, to whom, for the greater authority, was given the rank of captain. However, in spite of the good faith and sound intention with which this agreement was made, no sooner was it known by Pizarro, than he openly protested against such a nomination, as an insult to himself; and, ill-satisfied with the excuses made, resentment

\* Gaspar de Espinosa was the real third with Pizarro and Almagro, and not Lucque, who only lent his name and talents to the former.

† This association of Pedrarias with the company, was not of long duration. When the discoverers began to feel more confidence in the result of their enterprise, they contrived to elude the engagement.

took possession of his heart, and rankled there in secret ; we may look to this circumstance as the origin of all those bitternesses and envious feelings, which afterwards broke out, and led to such disastrous results.

It is probable that Pizarro did not choose to present himself in Panamá, till the departure of Pedrarias to Nicaragua, which was in the January of the year following. He endeavoured to procure funds for the continuation of the enterprise, as those of the two discoverers were exhausted, by the expenses of the first armament. The indefatigable Lucque managed the affair for them ; and then it was when the famous contract was arranged, in which the canon obliged himself to pay (which he did at the same time) 20,000 pieces of gold for the expenses of the expedition, while Pizarro and Almagro contributed the license they had received from the governor, and their own persons and industry ; it being agreed, that they should divide among them, in three equal parts, the lands, Indians, jewels, gold, or any other property they should accumulate and acquire, definitively, in the undertaking. And to augment the solemnity of this act of association, and to render it binding by the strongest and most sacred ties, Hernando de Lucque administered to them the sacrament, and dividing the consecrated host in three parts, took one for himself, and gave the others to his companions. The spectators, filled with respect and reverence, wept on beholding that sacred ceremony, never hitherto used in that part of the world, as the sanction of similar projects ; while some

there were, who thought that even this act would be insufficient to save the associates from the imputation of madness, which their rash speculation had acquired for them. In modern times this ceremony has been more rigorously treated; and the ratification, in the name of the God of peace, of a contract, whose objects were slaughter and plunder, has been deemed repugnant and impious.\* But perhaps those who formed this judgment, confined their view to the sad series of disasters and violences, which followed the discovery, without at the same time taking into consideration the predominant idea of the age, and that which principally animated the adventurers of America. To extend the Christian faith through unknown and immense regions, and to add them at the same time to the dominions of their king, were, for the Castilians, obligations so sacred, and services so heroic, that there is nothing strange, if they implored on their enterprise the blessing and favour of the Almighty. Never, so please God, shall the pen which traces these Memoirs lend itself, even in the most minute degree, to glossing over the just horror excited by the crimes of covetousness and ambition; but to be just is our first duty, and we must not impute to individuals the guilt, which belongs to the times† in which they live. We

\* "And thus, in the name of the God of peace, ratified a contract, of which plunder and bloodshed were the objects."—ROBERTSON'S *America*, vol. ii. book vi. p. 151.

† This is a dangerous, a fatal argument. Evil men and evil passions make evil times. It is miserable sophistry to say, because

modern Europeans are not so free, as we would willingly believe, from such repugnant contradictions; and not so unfrequently do we call on the God of peace to take part in our sanguinary conflicts, and to aid us in the wars we undertake, so little tending to the general good, and commonly so totally at variance with the dictates of justice, as to have acquired the right to pass sentence on our ancestors for similar inconsistencies.

With two ships and two canoes, laden with provisions and arms, and carrying with them the skilful pilot Bartolomè Ruiz, the two companions resumed their enterprise, and continuing the course which they had formerly pursued, arrived within a short distance of the river of San Juan, which had been already explored by Almagro. There they halted, because the land promised to prove richer, more populous, and less dangerous, than those hitherto visited. A village which they attacked, and where they discovered some gold and provisions, inspired these hopes, although the country, far and near, presented nothing to their view but lofty mountains, marshes, and rivers, so that they could not stir but through water. Pizarro remained there with the greater part of his people and the two canoes; while Almagro returned to Panamá, in one of the vessels, to enlist more men with the gold they had acquired; and in the other vessel

the multitude is corrupt, or violent, or dishonourable, or *sacrilegious*; that individuals must needs follow the multitude to do evil, or, in modern phrase, march with the times.—*Translator's Note.*

Bartolomè Ruiz reconnoitered the coast upward, for the purpose of ascertaining its extent.

The voyage of this pilot was the most advanced and important step, that had been hitherto taken towards reaching Peru. He discovered the Isle of Gallo, the Bay of San Mateo, the land of Coaque, and arrived as far as the point of Pasaos, under the line. He met in his course with a raft, skilfully constructed of canes, carrying about twenty Indians, eleven of whom, on beholding the approach of the ship, leaped into the water; the rest were taken; and the Spanish pilot having examined them, and the effects they had with them, gave them liberty to return to land, detaining only three of them, who seemed most likely to serve as interpreters, and to supply him with useful intelligence respecting the country. They were bound, as it should seem, on a voyage of traffic with the Indians of that coast, and had with them small scales for weighing gold, similar to those used by Europeans, which excited no small wonder in the Castilians. They had, besides, a variety of trinkets in gold and silver, worked with considerable industry, strings of beads, with some small emeralds and chalcedonies, mantles, robes, and shirts of cotton and linen, such as those which formed their dress; and, finally, the wool, both spun and unspun, of the flocks of the country. Such a rencontre was, for the Spaniards, a strange and delightful novelty; but still greater was the satisfaction they derived from the conversation of their



captives, and their account of the greatness and opulence of their king, Huayna Capac, and of the court of Cuzco. The Castilians could with difficulty credit what they heard, and suspected the Indians of exaggeration and falsehood; nevertheless Bartolomè took them with him, treating them very kindly, and from Pasaos returned to join Pizarro, doubting not the joy which that captain would feel, at the intelligence conveyed by the Indians.

Almost at the same time with himself arrived Almagro, with recruits from Panamá, and with arms, horses, clothing, victuals, and medicines. Fifty soldiers, newly arrived from Castile, had volunteered to follow him. Almagro related the caution with which he had entered the city, where Pedro de los Rios, the new governor, already commanded; and although he knew that, in virtue of the diligent representations of the schoolmaster, Lucque, he had been expressly ordered by government to favour and protect the covenant, entered into by the three associates; yet such was the discredit in which the enterprise was held in Panamá, that Almagro found an ill reception, and waited to ascertain the disposition of the governor. The latter, no doubt, felt the loss of so many Castilians,\* yet he continued to assure Hernando de Lucque

\* At this time the schoolmaster was never named but as Hernando the Madman, for the zeal with which he aided the chimerical projects of his two rash associates, and as he was supposed to have supplied the sum, which enabled them to commence their undertaking.

that he would favour him to the utmost of his power. Almagro, therefore, entered the port of Panamá, and the governor went forth to receive him, and do him honour, confirmed the sanctions given by his predecessor Pedrarias to his companion and himself, and permitted him to enlist men, and to make all necessary provision. These tidings, united to the reports of the Tumbecino Indians, somewhat raised the depressed spirits of the people; and the two friends, profiting by the present auspicious crisis, put to sea without delay, following the same course as had been pursued by Bartolomé Ruiz. They arrived first at the Isle of Gallo, where they remained, for rest and refreshment, fifteen days, and, continuing their voyage, next entered the Bay of San Mateo, where they resolved to disembark and establish themselves, until they could gain some authentic information, as to the regions they intended to explore; and this they hoped to accomplish by means of the Tumbecinos, whom, for this purpose, Pizarro had caused to be taught the Castilian language. Besides, the spot where they were, seemed to invite their stay, abounding in maize and nutritive herbs. . But the natives, quite as wild and untractable as any they had hitherto met, deprived them of all prospect of being able to maintain themselves there, at least unless they could recruit their numbers. They again began to deliberate what measures they should adopt: the majority were for returning to Panamá, and, at some future period, to resume the enterprise with a more efficient force. Almagro

rejected the idea, representing the disgrace of returning in poverty, and, without having done any thing of moment, to expose themselves to the laughter and mockery of their adversaries, and to the persecution and demands of their creditors. His advice was, to seek some spot abounding in the means of subsistence, there establish themselves, and send the ships to Panamá for a reinforcement. The tone in which Almagro supported his opinion, was perhaps less moderate and circumspect than suited with circumstances, for Pizarro, either yielding to a sentiment of weakness, which never, either previously or in his after life, seemed to belong to his character, or impelled by an impatience of temper, which cannot be excused, exclaimed with bitterness, that he wondered not at such being the opinion of a man who, accustomed to go and come to Panamá, under pretext of obtaining supplies of men and victuals, knew nothing of the miseries and fatigues, endured for so many months, by those who were left behind in rude and desert regions, without sufficient strength to assist each other. Almagro replied, that he was willing to remain, and that Pizarro should go to Panamá, if such was his inclination. The minds of these associates being irritated to a pitch, which placed them beyond the control of reason, they passed from personalities to threats, and at length seized their weapons, with hostile designs against each other. They were persuaded to lay them aside by the mediation of the pilot Ruiz, the treasurer Ribera, and other officers of consideration, who witnessed the

scene, and who succeeded in appeasing and allaying this unfortunate dispute, and in inducing them to embrace as friends. Happy had it been if, in that embrace, the door had been closed for ever against those unhappy and cruel resentments, which afterwards so fatally exploded!

Peace being thus re-established, Pizarro cheerfully offered to remain with the people, while Almagro, as formerly, should sail to Panamá for succours. They first, however, reconnoitred all the stations contiguous to the bay in which they were, and, undeceived in their hope that they might find among them a convenient resting place, they retraced their way to the Isle of Gallo, a place much more suitable to their purpose. Almagro then made sail for Panamá, and Pizarro, with eighty-five men, all that remained of so large a force, took his course to the island, and soon after sent the remaining vessel to be repaired at Panamá, and to return with Almagro.

These plans and dispositions of the two chiefs greatly embittered the minds of the soldiers, who, not secretly, but when assembled, and openly, broke out into loud murmurs against their hardness and inhumanity. "Is it not enough," said they, "that we have been duped and flattered through so many months, through famine, sickness, our bodies swollen, and our lives sacrificed! Have we not searched this cruel coast, inch by inch, without finding a spot upon it whence we were not repulsed with loss and disgrace? What dangers, worthy the Spanish name, have we faced? What

riches have we found to correspond with the magnificent hopes, which allured us hither? The little gold we have now and then gathered by plunder has been ostentatiously sent to Panamá, as an incentive to tempt more victims to destruction, while we continue wandering among these mangroves, with no better aliment than the insipid fruit of these melancholy trees, or the unwholesome roots of the earth, under a sky pouring down perpetual rains, naked, famished, perishing, dragging on a painful life, mortally tortured by musquittoes, pierced by the arrows of the Indians, or devoured by the alligators. We were in number eighty men when we first quitted Panamá, and now, after our many reinforcements, only eighty-five remain. Such a mortality ought to have sufficed them, without persisting in sacrificing our miserable remnant to their inhuman obstinacy and their insensate hopes. The rich land which they persevere in seeking, seems to retreat in proportion as we advance, and the Continent of America defends itself against them, with more rigour and resolution on this side, than it did even against the firm and valiant bands of Ojeda and Nicuesa. So much time lost, so many fruitless attempts, so many hardships, so many disasters, ought at last to convince them that the enterprise is impossible, or that it is at least madness to expect to accomplish it, by means so inadequate."

It was not easy to reply to these gloomy expressions of discouragement, and still less to silence them. The chiefs, apprehensive that the accounts despatched

to Panamá would become daily more unfavourable, to the utter discredit of the undertaking, agreed, that Almagro should intercept all the letters conveyed by the ships ; but this abuse of confidence produced then, as it must ever do, much indignation and small fruit. Necessity, more subtle than even suspicion, knew how to open itself, in despite of the two captains, a channel for the tidings wished to be conveyed. They wrote a full memorial, stating the disasters already experienced ; the many Castilians whose lives had been sacrificed ; the oppression and captivity under which the remainder groaned ; and concluding with the most vehement and pathetic supplication, that they might be sent for, and delivered from the fate which threatened them. This memorial was concealed in the centre of an immense ball of cotton, sent by a soldier, on pretence of having it woven into a cloak, and it arrived at Panamá with Almagro. It was concerted that the ball of cotton should fall into the hands of the governor's wife, who, in her examination of it, discovered the writing ; and the governor, convinced by its contents of the misery to which the men were reduced, resolved to send for them, and, as the past could not be remedied, to prevent at least the continuance of such evils. He was fortified in this resolution, by finding the allegations of the memorial confirmed by the accounts of some of those who had accompanied Almagro, and which were widely at variance with the views of their captain. In spite of the entreaties, reproaches, and even menaces, employed by the two as-

sociates in the enterprise, the governor was not to be moved from his purpose, but gave the commission to one Juan Tafur, his dependent, and a native of Cordova, to proceed with two vessels to collect those unhappy men, and return with them to Panamá.

They, meanwhile, remained in the Isle of Gallo, a prey to the same miseries as ever, except such as were caused by the hostilities of the natives; for the Indians, to avoid them, had abandoned the island, and assembled on the terra firma. When the two vessels arrived, and Tafur exhibited the order of the governor, such was the joy of the soldiers, that they embraced each other as if rescued from death to life, and blessed Pedro de los Rios as their father and liberator. Pizarro was now alone discontented. His two associates wrote, enjoining him, at all hazards, to stand firm, and on no account to throw obloquy on the expedition by returning to Panamá, assuring him that he should immediately receive succours of men and arms. Beholding the tumultuous conduct of the soldiers, and their manifest determination to abandon the enterprise, he thus addressed them:—"Return, then, to Panamá, ye who are so desirous to seek the labours, indigence, and contempt, which there will be your portion. I lament that ye should thus cast away the fruits of an heroic struggle, at the very moment when the land, announced to us by the Indians of Tumbez, awaits your appearance to load you with wealth and glory. Go, then, but never say that your captain was

not the first man who confronted all your perils and hardships, ever watchful of your safety, at the expense of his own."

Nor were they to be persuaded by this mode of reasoning. Pizarro then unsheathed his sword, and drew a deep line on the soil, from east to west, and pointing southward as *his* course, "This way," said he, "leads to Peru, and to wealth; the other to Panamá, and to poverty! Let those who are good Castilians make their choice."

Having said which, he passed the line, being followed only by thirteen\* of his people. This was a magnanimous action, and rendered, by the accompanying circumstances, peculiarly striking. The names of all these valiant Spaniards are preserved by history, but amongst the most memorable of them for talent and services, stand the pilot Bartolomé Ruiz, one Pedro de Candia, a Greek by nation, and a native of the island from which he derived his name, and who was destined to become more conspicuous in ensuing events, and Pedro Alcon, who in a short time lost his senses, and exhibited absurdities which, in the proper place, will be related.

With the remaining many, Tafur returned to Panamá, refusing to leave with Pizarro one of the ships, though he most earnestly implored it; scarcely con-

\* Their names were Bartolomé Ruiz, Christoval de Peralto, Pedro de Candia, Domingo de Soria Luce, Nicolas de Ribera, Francisco de Cuellar, Alonzo de Molina, Pedro Alcon, Garcia de Xeres, Antonio de Carrion, Alonzo Briceño Martin de Paz, and Juan de la Torse.



senting that he should retain with him the Indians of Tumbes, and, for his sole provision, leaving him a small portion of maize. Seeing himself left with so few people, he resolved to abandon the Isle of Gallo, where the natives might return and exterminate them, passing over to another island, situated six leagues from the coast, and at three degrees from the line, and which, not being inhabited, was unattended by the same danger.

This one advantage was all that could weigh against the other inconveniences of this infernal abode. To this place they gave the name of Gorgona, from the many swamps, rivers, and torrents of water, which foamed through the island. There never did they see the sun, the rain was unceasing; the precipitous mountains, the impenetrable woods, the intemperance of the heavens, and the hostility of the earth, formed an aggregate so savage and horrible, as rendered it only proper as the retreat of desperation. They constructed barracks for their shelter, they built a canoe for fishing in the open sea, and with the fish which they caught, and the game they killed, contrived to sustain themselves laboriously during the whole period they were awaiting succour, which was five months. Pizarro was, as usual, the principal provider; yet, with all his diligence and all his strength, he could not succeed in repelling the infirmities necessarily contracted in that insalubrious climate, nor the discouragement which attended them; since, however the hearts of these men might appear to be moulded of iron, they

were, nevertheless, hearts of flesh. Day after day passed, and still no succour! The distant breakers of the sea, the floating clouds in the horizon, every object was mistaken for the vessel they expected. Hope, so often deceived, was converted into impatience, and at length became desperation. Already they talked of building a raft, which might float them along the coast to Panamá, when they descried the expected ship, whose sails at first, though evident to their eyes, were scarcely recognised by their minds, so disheartened were they by long and repeated disappointment. It approached at last, and when all doubt was dissipated, they abandoned themselves to all the gladness inspired by the certainty of relief, and to the satisfaction of feeling that they should not lose the fruit of such long suffering.

But the succour was by no means so ample as they expected and merited: The vessel contained only the mariners necessary for working her; and brought back Bartolomé Ruiz, whom Pizarro had sent with Tafur to support, with his reputation and experience, the arguments which filled his letters to the governor and his associates; but his reasoning and pleading were less powerful with the former, than the pathetic complaints of the soldiery, which induced all the men whom Almagro had enlisted to disband. The governor, grieving for the loss of so many Castilians, and provoked by the tenacity of the discoverer, threatened to abandon him to his evil destiny, but, conquered at length by the entreaties of the two associates, he per-

mitted the vessel to go out, with an intimation, however, as precise as severe, that Pizarro must return within six months, to give an account of his discoveries.

Having heard these particulars, Pizarro at once resolved on taking the step best suited to his situation; and, leaving on the island two of his companions, whose sickness and infirmities prevented them from following him, he, with all the labouring Indians belonging to him, with the eleven remaining Spaniards, and with the Indians of Tumbez, embarked on board the ship, and followed the same course as the pilot Ruiz had formerly taken. In twenty days they descried and reconnoitred the island, afterwards called Santa Clara, lying between Puna and Tumbez. It was a desert spot, consecrated, however, to the religion of the country, where was an idol temple, containing many trinkets of gold and silver, representing hands and feet, resembling our *ex voto* offerings on miraculous altars, and presenting an encouraging symptom of the industry and wealth of the country, which the adventurers were seeking. On the following day, still pursuing their course of navigation, they met some rafts conveying Indians dressed in shirts and mantles, and armed in their usual manner. They were Tumbecinos, and going to make war on those of Puna. Pizarro compelled them all to join him, assuring them he meant them no ill, and only required them to accompany him to Tumbez. In the midst of the wonder and admiration which these mutual strangers excited

in each other, the business of reconnoitring the coast was continued ; being low and flat, and without mangroves or musquittoes, it appeared to the Castilians a land of promise, in comparison with those they had hitherto seen. The vessel at length anchored on the coast of Tumbes, and Pizarro gave the Indians from the rafts liberty to go on shore, the Spanish captain enjoining them to tell their chiefs, that, in visiting their country, he intended not to molest any one, but, on the contrary, to show himself the friend of all.

A multitude of Indians lined the shore, contemplating in utter astonishment the approach of this unknown machine, and beholding with increased surprise, their own countrymen descending from its sides, and leaping on the rafts. Their wonder and curiosity arrived at its climax, when those Indians landed, and, directing their course to the Curaca of the village, this being the appellation of their Caciques, gave him an account of all they had seen among the strangers, and of what had been related to them by the Indian interpreters, whom they brought with them. A desire for farther acquaintance with the strangers being thus excited, all the provisions that could be immediately collected were sent off, on ten or twelve rafts, to the ship. It happened that there was among them one of those noble Peruvians, to whom, from the deformity of their ears, and the ornaments they wore in them, the Spaniards gave the name of Orejones (long eared.) He requested to be of the party, proposing to make minute observations on the conduct

and habits of the strangers, and report the result to the king of the country. Pizarro, who received the present, and those who brought it, with the utmost affability and courtesy, could not but admire the composure and good sense of the Orejon, and the acuteness and intelligence indicated by the questions he asked. He replied, by giving the Peruvian some notion of the object of his voyage, of the greatness and power of the sovereigns of Castile, and of the essential points of the Catholic religion. All was listened to with surprised attention by the Peruvian, who, entertained by the novelties which he saw and heard, remained on board from morning till evening. He dined with the Castilians, praised their wines, which seemed to him better than those of his own country, and, on his departure, Pizarro presented him with some beads, three chalcedonies, and, what was infinitely more valued, an iron axe. To the Curaca he sent two pigs, male and female, with four hens and a cock. Thus amicably they took leave, and the Orejon entreated Pizarro to send some Castilians with him, that the Curaca might see them; and the captain permitted Alonzo de Molina and a negro to accompany him.

On their arrival at the village, the astonishment of the Indians exceeded all bounds, when they beheld with their own eyes what they had been told by the navigators of the rafts. They were breathless with surprise; the novelty of the animals, the shrill and arrogant crowing of the cock, and the two men, both

so different from themselves, yet so dissimilar to each other, all was wonderful. Some, when the cock crowed, enquired what it demanded; others wanted to wash the negro, and try to remove the colour which stained him; some felt the beard of Alonzo de Molina, and removed part of his clothes, to examine the whiteness of his skin. Men, women, and children crowded around them, and were more especially delighted with the gestures, laughter, and grimaces of the negro, while Molina replied to their questions, as well as he could, by signs; the women pressed on him their caresses and civilities, and even gave him to understand, that if he would remain with them, they would give him a pretty girl for his wife. But if the aspect of the strangers filled the Indians with wonder, what Molina beheld produced on him hardly less effect. To eyes accustomed for so many months only to rude sierras, mangroves, eternal swamps, naked and ferocious savages, and miserable huts, as much joy as amazement would naturally be excited by the sight of a village well ordered, and governed by some species of police, of men clothed, of habitations regularly constructed, a temple, a fortress, and at a distance cultivated fields, canals, flocks of sheep, and abundance of gold and silver, in ornaments and utensils.

On returning to the vessel, Molina related what he had seen with so much enthusiasm, that Pizarro, not venturing implicitly to believe him, despatched Pedro de Candia to the land, for farther information. Candia possessed more ability and knowledge of the

world than Molina: he was tall, athletic, of a happy disposition, and the resplendent armour in which he sallied forth on his mission, and which reflected the rays of the sun, rendered him in the eyes of the simple Peruvians an object of high respect and veneration, and as one highly favoured by his tutelar deity. He bore on his shoulders a gun,\* which they were induced, by the accounts of the Indians of the rafts, to request him to fire. He did so, pointing at a piece of wood which happened to be near, and which he pierced through, while some of the Indians dropped to the ground, from terror at the explosion, and others, by loud shouts, expressed the mixture of alarm and amazement they felt. Flattered and caressed as affectionately as Molina, though with somewhat less of surprise, he examined the fortress and visited the temple, on invitation of the virgins who served it. They were called Mamaconas, being consecrated to the sun; and their occupation, after fulfilling the ceremonies of worship, was the weaving of excessively fine wool. The caresses and affectionate expressions of those artless and innocent creatures, were infinitely less interesting to the curious stranger, than the plates of gold and silver which covered alternately the walls of the interior of the temple, and offered so vast a

\* "The Cacique borrowed the gun, when discharged, from Pedro de Candia, and poured several vases of wine into its barrel, saying, 'Drink, since thou hast made so much noise, and art like the th'nder of heaven.'"—HERRERA, book x. decade iii. chap. 5. p. 285.—*Translator's Note.*

prize to his avarice and that of his companions. Dismissed at length by the Curaca, and receiving a quantity of different provisions, among which were a sheep and a lamb \* of the country, they returned to the vessel, where they related what they had seen, with expressions more energetic and magnificent than those of Alonzo de Molina.

Then the Spanish captain doubted no longer of the grandeur and opulence of the land, which presented itself before him, and he thought in bitterness of the companions who had abandoned him, and whose desertion deprived him of the power to undertake any thing of consequence. Doubtless, in recompense of the hospitality he had received, he lamented that his diminutive force did not allow him to seize the village, to intrench himself in the fortress, or to plunder the inhabitants and their temple of the so much coveted riches. His good fortune for the time rescued him from the temptations of that evil thought. The divisions in the empire of the Incas had not then commenced. Huayna Capac still lived, and the combined strength of that great state, directed by a prince as able as determined, would quickly have exterminated that handful of adventurers, or would, at least, effectually have deprived them of the means of destroying the monarchy so much at pleasure as they afterwards did.

\* Two lamas. These animals are described by Herrera as small camels.—*Translator's Note.*



The information obtained in Tumbez did not entirely satisfy the desire of Pizarro, who resolved on proceeding, and making farther discoveries. His great anxiety was to obtain additional traces of Chinchá, a city of which the Indians related wonders. He then held his course along the coast, touched at and reconnoitred the coast of Payta, since so celebrated; that of Tangarala, the point de la Aguja, the port of Santa Cruz, the land of Colaques, where the cities of San Miguel and Truxilla were afterwards built; and, lastly, the port of Santa, in 9° of austral latitude. Having navigated and reconnoitred more than 200 leagues of coast, his companions entreated him to return to Panamá, since the object of their long toils and sufferings was at length accomplished, in the certain discovery of a country of such magnitude and wealth. Pizarro was of the same opinion; the prow of the vessel was turned westward, to retrace the same course as had brought them out.

As they came and as they returned, the Indians, stimulated by report, hastened from all quarters to meet them, manifesting no less their innocence and confidence than their curiosity. They admired the wonders of the ship in which they sailed, its figure, management, &c., and were struck with the immense advantages in strength and industry, which these strangers possessed over them. To use the words of the candid Herrera—"They then judged of them by what they had seen of them in Tumbez; and the liberality, welcome, feasting, and rejoicing, with which they

treated the Spaniards, were a consequence of the idea they held of their humanity and courtesy."

An Indian faithfully brought them a silver jar and a sword which they had mislaid; and these generous people presented them with whatever seemed agreeable or necessary to them—mantles and collars of beads, provisions, &c. Gold, indeed, they did not give them, for the Castilians, in obedience to the judicious orders of their captain, neither asked for nor received it, nor expressed any wish for it. Seeing the amicable disposition of the natives, and the abundance of the soil, Alonzo de Molina, and a mariner called Gines, requested leave to remain; which was granted by Pizarro, who strongly recommended them to the Indians, laying much stress on this act of confidence. Molina remained in Tumbez, and Gines at another point somewhat farther off. Already had Bocanegro, another mariner, escaped from the vessel to the coast of Colaque, to profit by the kindness of the people, and the advantages of the country; nor had the efforts of the captain been of any avail in inducing him to return. In short, as if to augment still farther the ties between them, Pizarro requested the Indians to give him some youths, to be instructed in the Castilian language, and to serve as interpreters, when he should revisit them. They gave him two, both of whom were baptized; and the one was called Don Martin, and the other Felipillo, sufficiently celebrated afterwards for the part attributed to them, in the death of the Inca Atahualpa. ◦

Yet, whatever conferences they held with the In-

dians, and whatever of flattering kindness they received from them, nothing equalled in elegance and courtesy, nor exceeded in interest, the mode in which an Indian chieftainess contrived to receive and entertain them, in a port near Santa Cruz. She was anxious to see and confer with those strangers, whom fame had depicted to her as so wonderful, so valiant, and so gentle. Pizarro, though apprised of her anxiety, and of her good will towards him, had not, in the first instance, been able to gratify it, but promised to visit her on his return; and now, that he was on his homeward voyage, he prepared to accomplish his word, and the rather as Alonzo de Molina, who happened to remain there for the whole of that time, had been treated by that lady with such unbounded kindness and attention, as he was never weary of describing. He showed them the point where they should meet the natives; and no sooner had the vessel reached it than it was surrounded by numerous rafts, bearing five head of cattle and other supplies from Capillana, which was the name of the Indian lady. She sent to signify, that, "in order to give more confidence to the strangers, she would first confide herself to the captain, and pay him a visit in his ship, and would leave with him sufficient pledges for his security on shore, as long as he might choose to stay." Pizarro, to correspond with this delicate attention, commanded the treasurer, Nicolas de Rivera, Pedro Alcon, and other Spaniards, to go immediately to land, with his salutations.

She received them with an urbanity consonant with her original demonstrations. She invited them to be seated, and made them dine with her, being herself their cup-bearer, and observing that such was the mode of treating guests in her country. She next expressed her intention of proceeding immediately to the vessel, to entreat the captain to come on shore, since he must be weary of the sea. They replied she would be heartily welcomed; and she set out without farther delay. On her arrival on board the ship, Pizarro received her with all courtesy and respect, and made her such presents as his means and situation could furnish, while the Castilians vied with each other in showing their good breeding towards the amiable Capillana. She, in conclusion, observed, that she, as a female, having been bold enough to enter the ship, the captain, being a man, might trust himself on land, and for his farther security she would leave on board five of her principal Indians. Pizarro replied, that having sent so many of his people before him, and having reserved to himself so small a company, he had not hitherto done so, but that now, having experienced her confidence and favour, he would very willingly go on shore, and that no pledges for his security were necessary. The Indian then returned to her house, there to prepare the solemnity, with which these much honoured guests were to be received.

Already, at break of day, the ship was surrounded by more than fifty rafts, waiting to convoy the captain. In one of them came twelve principal Indians, who,

on arriving on board, said they should remain there as security for the Spaniards, in which they persisted, in spite of Pizarro's pressing entreaty that they would return with him. He landed at length on the beach, followed by his companions; and Capillana, attended by a very numerous, yet well ordered, train of people, bearing in their hands green branches and spikes of maize, came to meet them. They led them into an extensive bower, where, at the upper end, seats were placed for the guests, and others for the Indians at some little distance; the banquet followed, composed of all the viands the country produced, variously dressed. The dance succeeded the banquet, and was performed by the Indians, male and female, whilst the admiration of the Spaniards increased every moment, on finding themselves amongst a people so civilized and amiable. Pizarro now took his turn, and, by means of his interpreters, expressed his gratitude for the honour he had received, and his sense of the obligation it laid him under; and, in demonstration thereof, he began to explain to them the falsehood of the religion they followed, the inhumanity and barbarity of their sacrifices, the nullity and absurdity of their gods; to set forth to them some of the fundamental principles of Christianity, in which he promised, that on his return, they should be instructed by persons he would bring with him for that purpose. And he concluded by intimating, that it was necessary they should obey the King of Castile, a most powerful Christian monarch, and by exhorting them to raise, in token of

obedience, the banner he put into their hands. Judging according to our present ideas, the time was not particularly apropos for this strange proposal. The Indians showed better breeding, for, without 'disputing on a preference of religion or king, they took the banner, and, to oblige their guest, raised it thrice, though they did it as a jest, not believing it in any way compromised them, and well convinced there was no king in the world so powerful as Huayna-Capac.

The Spaniards, thus caressed and honoured, returned to their vessel; when Pedro Alcon, seeing that all was prepared for departure, implored Pizarro to let him remain on shore. Alcon was one of those men, who hold their own persons in a sort of adoration, and who carried his mania in the adornment of his to such excess, as to have incurred for him the ridicule of his companions, who said he more resembled a gallant captain of Italy, than a weather-beaten discoverer among the mangroves. When he was first sent on land by Pizarro, to salute the Indian lady, he thought it a good opportunity for shining; he arrayed himself in his velvet doublet, black breeches, a gold net upon his head, with his cap ornamented by a medallion, and on each side, his sword and dagger. Thus attired, he went forth strutting like a peacock, and expecting to astonish the whole country by his figure. The presence of Capillana completed the turning of his brain, for, whether he was enchanted by her condescension, or that her courteous dignity captivated his fancy, it is certain that he no sooner beheld her, than he began to

sigh and ogle, and send forth symptoms of admiration, as improper as they were absurd. She did not seem to perceive or understand them, yet Alcon, having marked her for his conquest, and not choosing to have his flattering hopes destroyed, resolved to remain on land. This, Pizarro inflexibly denied, conscious of his want of discretion; and Alcon, seeing his air-built castle likely to fall to the ground, became suddenly deranged, and began with loud and violent shouts to insult his companions, and to endeavour to wound them with a broken sword, which he chanced to have in his hand; and although the cause of his insanity was love, that passion did not form the subject of his ravings; he called his companions "villainous usurpers of the land, which belonged to him and the king his brother;" from which it was plain, that ideas of ambition had fermented in his brain, with those of love and gallantry. To put an end to his insults and violence, he was at length confined by a chain, and placed under the deck, where he was no longer dangerous or troublesome to his companions. We do not know whether, in future, he was cured of his frenzy, but it is likely, as we see him comprehended in the favours and honours granted to the noble few, who remained at Gorgona. But for this unlucky incident, all would have been prosperous in this auspicious voyage. Pizarro, already impatient for its termination, did not wish to linger on the coast after he left Tumbez, and he directed his course to Gorgona, where he took up

one of the soldiers whom he had left behind, the other having died ; and, with him and the Indians who accompanied him, sailed for Panamá ; he entered that port, after having left it more than a year, having reconnoitred 200 leagues of coast, discovered a great and rich empire, the conqueror<sup>o</sup> of the elements, and the astonishment of mankind.

The three associates, undoubtedly, embraced in Panamá, with all the transport excited by the magnificent prospect of glory and riches now open to them ; yet, though the discovery of the new regions was accomplished, their conquest was still to be realized, an achievement still more arduous and costly. They were without funds, and their men were few. The governor, Pedro de los Rios, resolutely refused them both ; in Pedrarias they either could not, or wished not, to confide, and to depend on more distant agency, in an undertaking so important, was obviously to hazard the inconveniences which, in fact, they eventually experienced. They finally agreed to apply at court, to relate what had been done, to entreat competent title and authority for accomplishing, on their own account, what they had begun. Their next difficulty was, who should undertake this charge. Pizarro, either desirous of an interval of repose, or wanting sufficient confidence in himself for court negotiations, was not willing to perform the mission. Lucque, being acquainted with the character of his two companions, required that either the office should be performed by a third, or undertaken at once by both of



them. Almagro,\* more frank and unsuspecting, declared that no one ought to go but Pizarro; that it would be a shame if he, whose noble spirit had endured so long through unheard-of privations and dangers, should now shrink from going to Castile to ask of the king that government which he had earned. That he who had visited and explored these unknown regions, best knew how to describe and converse regarding them, and was best fitted to dispose the minds of others to grant the favour he went to solicit. Reason was evidently on the side of this disinterested opinion. Pizarro † yielded at length, and Lucque consented likewise, at the same time predicting what afterwards happened, in these prophetic words:—"Please God, my sons, you do not one steal the blessing from the other, as Jacob did from Esau! I cannot but wish that you had agreed to go both together."

It was, in conclusion, determined that the drift of

\* Thus does Robertson describe these two men; "Almagro had as little to boast of his descent as Pizarro. But like his companion in the camp, he yielded not to him in any of the soldierly qualities of intrepidity, valour, indefatigable activity, or insurmountable constancy, in enduring the hardships inseparable from military service in the New World. But in Almagro, these virtues were accompanied with the openness, generosity, and candour, natural to men whose profession is arms; in Pizarro they were united with the address, the craft, the dissimulation of a politician, with the art of concealing his own purposes, and with sagacity to penetrate those of other men."

† Pizarro had probably only feigned reluctance, the better to stifle any suspicions which might arise in the minds of his associates.—*Translator's Note.*

the negotiation was to obtain the government of the new region for Pizarro, the captaincy for Almagro, the bishopric for Lucque, the post of Alguacilazgo mayor (chief judge) for Bartolomè Ruiz, and various other charges and rewards for the other brave men who had remained on the Island of Gorgona ; and, having with much difficulty collected fifteen hundred pesos (ounces) of gold for this expedition, Pizarro took leave of his two associates, promising to negotiate faithfully in their favour ; and taking with him Pedro de Candia, and some Indians dressed in the habit of their country, with specimens of gold, silver, and Indian manufactures, he embarked at Nombre de Dios in 1528

Scarcely had he touched land, when he was arrested at the suit of the Bachelor Enciso, in virtue of an old sentence he had gained against the first inhabitants of the Darien, for debts and arrears. Such was the reception his country gave the man, who brought her such magnificent hopes ; and he who was destined shortly to eclipse in pomp and power the most exalted of his time, was shamefully imprisoned as a vagabond, and an embargo laid on all the effects he had brought with him. It is true his incarceration did not last long, for government, aware of his projects and discoveries, ordered that he should instantly be released, and his money restored, so that he might present himself in Toledo, where the court was at that period.

His appearance and discretion on this new theatre did not falsify the fame which preceded him. He was

tall, athletic, of fine proportions, and of a good countenance ; and although, according to Oviedo, he was generally taciturn, and little disposed to converse, his language was occasionally magnificent, and he had the gift of imparting deep interest to whatever he related. Such was the man who now presented himself before the emperor, and, in describing all he had suffered during those cruel years, when, for the extension of the Christian faith, and the augmentation of the Spanish monarchy, he had striven against desertion, famine, and all the persecutions of heaven and earth, combined against him, he expressed himself with an eloquence so natural and persuasive, that Charles was much affected, and receiving his memorials, with his characteristic grace and benignity, commanded that they should be laid before the Council of the Indies, that the favours might be granted, and the proper documents despatched. A more opportune occasion could not have presented itself ; Charles Vth, favoured by victory and fortune, saw himself on the pinnacle of glory. France humbled by the rout of her army at Pavia, and the imprisonment of her king ; having, by his severe treatment of Rome, placed Italy at his disposal ; the arbitrator, in short, of Europe, and on the eve of departure for Bologna, there to receive from the hands of the Pope the imperial crown ; and as if all these were too little, two Spaniards at his feet, the one having just conquered for him a grand and wealthy empire, and the other offering him a similar gift, not less vast and opulent.

In short, Hernan Cortes and Pizarro met on this occasion; their acquaintance had commenced at St Domingo, and it is said they were friends. Cortes came to contradict, by his presence, the doubts thrown upon his fidelity, and certain it is, that if any such really existed, they fled like shadows before the magnificence, gallantry, and intelligence, displayed by Cortes on this auspicious occasion. The brilliant honours he received from the emperor and court, might well serve as a noble and powerful stimulus to Pizarro, to animate him to deeds of equal grandeur. The money with which the conqueror of Mexico is said to have then aided the discoverer of Peru, was perhaps even less useful than his wise and skilful counsels. Useful also as a lesson was the ingratitude then experienced by Cortes, to whom, notwithstanding the honours and rewards lavished upon him, was not confided the political command of a kingdom, in the conquest of which he had presented an example of valour and talents, as sublime as extraordinary. Pizarro was present when his own contract was framed, constituting him Pacificator of the regions he had discovered, and, in which, he refused to admit of a superior or even of an equal.

The ambition hitherto dormant or suspended in his soul, was now roused into action, with a violence which impelled him to break through all the ties of honour, friendship, and gratitude. Not only did he cause himself to be named for life Governor and Captain-General of 200 leagues of coast in New Castile, the appellation

then given to Peru, but he claimed for himself the title of *Adelantado* or Captain, and that of *Alguacilazgo*, mayor or Chief Judge of that district; dignities, which, according to his compact, he was bound to procure, the one for Almagro, and the other for Bartolomè Ruiz. The government of the fortress of Tumbez, succession to the government in case of Pizarro's demise, letters of nobility, and the legitimation of a natural son, were honours and rewards insufficient to remove from the mind of Almagro a sense of the immense distance and superiority, to which, in relation to himself, his comrade had raised himself. Bartolomè Ruiz might naturally be more easily appeased with the title of First Pilot of the South Sea, and that of Chief Notary of the City of Tumbez for his son, when he should be of age to fill the post, since these were a more suitable recompense of his merits and services. Pedro de Candia was made Captain of the Artillery, which was to serve in the expedition; and of the famous band of Gorgona, all who were not previously gentlemen were now declared such, and those who already held that quality were made Knights of the Golden Spur. Fernan de Lucque alone had reason to remain satisfied with his share, and with the good faith of his associate. Happily for him, the ecclesiastical titles and dignities to which he aspired, in no way clashed with the pre-eminence and prerogatives of the new governor, and to this circumstance he obviously owed his election to the bishopric, about to be established in Tumbez, and being named, in the interval of the bulls

being prepared in Rome, Protector-General of the Indies in that region, with an annual stipend of one thousand ducats.

Pizarro likewise obtained for himself the habit of the order of St Jago, and, not content with his family arms, required new emblazonments with the symbols of his discoveries. The black eagle, embracing two columns, which was the device of the emperor; the city of Tumbez, walled and turreted, with a lion and tiger at its gates; and in the distance, on one side, the sea, with the rafts there used, and on the other, flocks of sheep and other animals of the country. Such was the new blazonry added to the arms of the Pizarros. The border had a scroll, thus inscribed: *Caroli Cæsaris auspicio, et labore, ingenio, ac impensâ Ducis Pizarro, inventa et pacata.* One is offended by the pride, and revolted by the ingratitude, exhibited in this legend; yet is there something imposing in the chivalric vaunt, so truly Spanish, with which Pizarro considers that which he was only about to undertake as already achieved, and a country as conquered and subjugated, which he had only just discovered. He had, by his compact with government, obliged himself to quit Spain for his expedition at the end of six months, and when arrived at Panamá, to begin his voyage for the newly discovered land, after an equal interval. It would have been desirable for him to have been allowed time, to profit by the means he possessed, but he was anxious that his success should as quickly as possible be made known in the Indies, lest any advantage

should be taken of his absence ; and therefore, as soon as he had collected a few people, he sent on before him about twenty men, who arrived, towards the end of the same year, at Nombre de Dios, and this diligence was most fortunate, for Pedrarias was preparing at Nicaragua to resent having been separated from the company, into which he had been at first admitted, and had resolved, with new associates, to take the enterprise upon himself ; nor was it without infinite difficulty, that Nicolas de Rivera and Bartolomé Ruiz found means to escape his fury ; they had been sent in a ship to Nicaragua by Almagro, for the purpose of publishing the wonders of Peru, and of exciting the minds of men to join the expedition immediately on the arrival of Pizarro.

He meanwhile remained in Seville, employed in preparing for his voyage. He had, in the interim, visited Truxillo, in the intention, no doubt, of embracing his parents, and of proving the satisfaction, so natural to mankind, of exhibiting themselves in splendour and prosperity in the native home, where the humility of their origin had caused them formerly to be despised. His family, who had probably never spared him a thought, during the long interval which had elapsed since his departure, would unquestionably then receive him with the caresses and respect, due to one who was become the honour and boast of them all. Four brothers, three by the father's side, and one by his mother, prepared to follow him, and share his labours and fortunes. With them he returned to Seville,

and with them, as soon as he found the preparations for his expedition sufficiently advanced, he embarked with the five ships which composed his armament.

He still wanted much to enable him to fulfil his promises to government; his means were so limited, and the enterprise in such discredit, in spite of his magnificent hopes, that he had not been able to complete the levy of 150 men, whom he was to have taken with him from Spain. The appointed term drew nigh; already the council of the Indies, jealous of his failure in the stipulated complement, or perhaps instigated by some enemy of Pizarro, talked of examining whether the vessels prepared for departure were provided with such men and stores, as the contract required. An order was despatched for examining the vessels, and for their detention in case of failure. Pizarro, apprehending this, and anxious to escape delay, set sail in his own vessel, in spite of contrary winds, leaving the charge of the remaining squadron to his brother Hernando Pizarro, and Pedro de Candia, warning them, in case they should be examined, and taxed with the number of men being incomplete, that they should say the remainder had sailed with Pizarro. Thus he who, on leaving India, had been seized and imprisoned for debt in Seville, was now, for want of means to incur the expenses to which he had pledged himself, obliged to quit Spain like a wretched fugitive.

The vessels were visited, and Hernando Pizarro, Pedro de Candia, and others, were judicially questioned as to the priests who accompanied the expedition,



and on some other points, which, being answered to the satisfaction of the inspectors, permission to sail was granted, and the remaining vessels followed the course of their captain, who awaited them at Gomera. There united, they prosperously continued their navigation to Santa Marta, where Pizarro allowed some refreshment to his people, which did not prevent some of them from disbanding, utterly disheartened by the melancholy accounts they received of the regions whither they were bound. He hastily quitted the place as an enemy's land, and sailed to Nombre de Dios, where he disembarked at last with only 125 soldiers.

At the news of his arrival, his two companions came, impatient to receive him, and the meeting between them was worthy of their ancient friendship, and the ties which united them. Not that Almagro forbore to express his discontent when alone with Pizarro. "It was certainly strange," he said, "that when all had been equal, he should find himself excluded from the favour of the court, and confined to the government of Tumbez, a reward, in fact, little proportioned to the ancient friendship which had existed between them, to the faith which had been sworn, to the toils he had suffered, and to the property he had wasted on the undertaking; and, what was still more grievous, for a man so anxious to be honoured by his king, was the slight he received in the eyes of the world, in being thus robbed of his just hopes, and treated with an indifference bordering upon contempt." Pizarro, on the other hand, asserted that he had done

him ample justice ; that the government could only be given to one ; that he himself had done no small service in opening the negotiation, since all, in future, would come easily to them : Peru was large enough for both ; and, finally, that as it was his intention that both should command as one, they should lay aside their suspicions, and remain satisfied.

Such an explanation, in truth, was very insufficient, yet the simple and pacific temper of Almagro would probably have smoothed all difficulties, if Pizarro had not brought his four brothers with him. How could it be presumed, after what had passed, that the governor would postpone their interests, for those of his old friend ? Nor, even supposing this, how, in the mean time, was the pride and arrogance of these new men, who thought every thing below their pretensions, to be restrained ? It must not be denied, that to the intrepidity and merit they afterwards evinced, many of the great things performed in the course of the conquest were attributable ; yet, it is no less certain, that to their pride, to their ambition, and to their turbulent passions, may be principally ascribed the civil wars which subsequently broke out, and that appalling whirlpool of disasters, scandals, and crimes, which devoured the whole of them.

Three of these men were, as we have already said, brothers by the father, Hernando being legitimate, and Juan and Gonzalo, the other two, born, as was the governor, out of wedlock ; Francisco Marin de Alcantara, the fourth, was his mother's brother. Of

these, the most distinguished and the most influential was Hernando, not so much from any superiority derived from his legitimacy and primogeniture, as from certain great and opposite qualities, which met in his person ; he was in countenance disagreeable, but of a fine and noble person, his manner was urbane and elegant, his conversation pleasing, his valour equal to all hazard, his activity indefatigable ; whatever sudden event might happen, however unforeseen, he saw, with the glance of an eagle, how it might be met, and with equal rapidity put his thought in execution. In Spain no courtier was more flexible, artful, and lavish ; in America, no Spaniard was more haughty and ambitious. He looked upon the court merely as the instrument of his views ; he considered men solely as a medium of his interests, or as the victims of his resentments. He was temperate and humane towards the Indians, but odious and terrible to the Castilians. He was crafty, dissembling, and false ; uncertain in his friendships ; implacable in his vengeance. His conspicuous qualities eclipsed those of his brother the governor, to whose elevation and dignity he would have sacrificed every other object, and he appeared in America as an evil genius, destined to vitiate the great enterprise, by the venom of his malice, and the impetuosity of his passions.

It was impossible, that a man, thus constituted, should consent to depend on Almagro, whose face, naturally plain, was much disfigured by the loss of an eye, who was mean in person, whose language was

rustic and simple, and who was greedy of honours, in proportion as he considered them unfairly withheld ; in short, he rather invited the contempt, than the esteem, of those who regarded only his exterior ; and only in that light, did the new comers, Hernando Pizarro and his brothers, look upon him, especially when they experienced the poor allowance he allotted them, and found him reduced to necessity, by the great expenses he had incurred. The inward contempt of their hearts soon betrayed itself in their manners, and even in their language. Almagro, at length provoked by their behaviour, became daily more cold and indifferent, as one who will no longer exert himself for the ungrateful ; and this mutual disposition was farther envenomed, by the rumours, suspicions, and suggestions, daily carried between them by friends, enemies, and partisans. The feelings of both parties had at length arrived at such a height, that Almagro began to contemplate bringing into the company two additional individuals, to support him against the Pizarros ; and the governor began to treat with Hernando Ponce and Hernando de Soto, rich inhabitants of Leon in Nicaragua, who, being proprietors of two vessels, and being soldiers experienced in Indian affairs, would aid him with their persons and property, so as abundantly to supply the defection of Diego de Almagro.

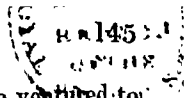
Meanwhile, the discontents, which seemed ripe for explosion, were at last appeased by the warnings and remonstrances of Hernando de Lucque and the Licen-

tiate Espinosa. The latter was, at this period, in Panamá, and, besides being the friend of each, held, as it afterwards appeared, a more considerable interest in the undertaking, than even Hernando de Lucque; each employed his mediation, and the differences were adjusted, by an agreement, whose principal conditions were, that Pizarro should bind himself, neither to ask, for himself, or his brothers, any favour of the king, until a government was conferred on Almagro, which should commence from the confines of his, and that all the effects, in gold, silver, jewels, slaves, in short, whatsoever goods were acquired by the conquest, should be divided into equal shares among the three original associates.

The minds of the adventurers being somewhat conciliated by this arrangement, the preparations advanced with more activity, and the first step towards the expedition could now be taken. Almagro remained, as at first, in Panamá, to complete the necessary provision and ammunition, and to receive the people who should be drawn, by the fame of the conquest, from Nicaragua, or other quarters; but Pizarro set sail, with three small vessels, well victualled and provided with warlike stores, and conveying under his orders 183 men. With this miserable armament, more fit for a pirate than a conqueror, he went forth to attack the largest and most civilized empire of the New World. There was, undeniably, in this undertaking, much perseverance, prodigious valour, and, at times, no small proof of skill and capacity; yet, must it be

confessed, that fortune was more powerful than all these; for, had they acquired more exact statements of the extent and force of the country, it is not to be believed that they would have proceeded on the adventure, with means so inadequate. But the Spaniards of that day informed themselves of the riches of a country, and not of its means of resistance. This, to their impetuosity, was of no importance. Thither they went, and, if fortune frowned, there they perished, or, if she was auspicious, crowned themselves with power and riches. In the one case, heroes,—in the other, madmen.

The first point at which the expedition landed, was the Bay of San Mateo; there it was determined that the major part of the men and horses should pursue their way along the shore, while the vessels continued coasting, so as to keep nearly in sight of each other. They conquered, with accustomed perseverance, the obstacles which met them in that part of the country, from the rivers and beds of sedges which they had perpetually to cross; and arrived at length in the village of Coaque, surrounded by mountains, and situated near the Line. The Indians beheld them without jealousy, as conscious of meriting no harm from those strangers; but the march was already become completely hostile, the village was forcibly entered, and the houses and inhabitants plundered of whatever could be found. The terrified Indians dispersed among their rocks and valleys. They discovered the Cacique concealed in his own house; and on being led before



the captain, he said, he should not have ventured to present himself, lest they should kill him, seeing how much against his will, and the will of his people, the Spaniards had entered his village. Pizarro encouraged him, saying he had no design to injure him, and that had he come out in peace to receive him, nothing would have been taken. He admonished him to recall his people to the place, and they shortly after returned, in obedience to their Cacique's command, and supplied the Castilians, for a time, with necessaries; but, observing with what little regard they were treated, they once more dispersed and disappeared, without its being possible to collect or allure them again.

The booty was considerable, since of pieces of gold and silver alone, they amassed as much as 20,000 ounces, without counting the quantity of emeralds,\* which amounted to a treasure. They made a heap of the whole, deducted the king's fifth, and then divided the rest in due proportion. The rule invariably observed in these sallies of plunder, was, that each one brought in his individual spoil, to add to the mass which was to be distributed, and it behoved them to

\* "Many of these emeralds were, it is said, injured by being tried with a hammer to distinguish them from other green stones which much resembled them. This had been done by advice of Reginaldo de Pedraza, a Dominican, who, with other friars of his order, accompanied the expedition, and who had assured the people that a genuine emerald was harder than steel. The soldiers in their murmurs did not spare the friar, but alleged that under this pretence he had procured for himself several of these precious stones." Herrera, Decade 4th, book 7th, chap. 9th.

be punctual, for an infraction of the rule was punished by death, and the vigilant avarice which guarded the whole, would not have pardoned the abstraction of a small part.

The two vessels sailed from thence, one for Nicaragua, the two others for Panamá, to exhibit the pieces of gold, and other rich and valuable property, and by their means to stimulate others to join the expedition. Pizarro related his good fortune to his friends, and entreated them to send out men and horses in the vessels; he, meanwhile, remained to await their arrival, in that land of Coaque, where the Spaniards again experienced all the miseries and trials of their anterior peregrinations. This seemed nature's last effort against them in defence of Peru, and it was most rigorous and grievous. They had arrived in health, but very soon some were swollen, some crippled, others dead. And as if this scourge were insufficient, the greater part of them were attacked by a disease, as painful as it was horrible, which covered their bodies and faces with large white pustules, which at once tortured and disfigured them, and for which they were ignorant of any means of cure; those who cut or punctured them, bled violently, and, in some instances, even to death; the others endured this pest, with what patience they could command; it was communicated from one to another, and, in each new case, seemed to increase in malignity. In the veterans all their ancient miseries and sufferings seemed



now renewed ; while the men from Nicaragua, recalled, with tears, the delights of the country they had left, and cursed the hour, in which, led by such treacherous hopes, they had rashly quitted it. Pizarro soothed them as well as he could, but time passed on, the vessels came not, and the people, disheartened and despairing, entreated with cries and groans to be conveyed to some less adverse region.

At the end of seven months a vessel appeared, bringing them necessaries and refreshments. In it arrived Alonzo de Riquelme, treasurer of the expedition, and the other royal officers who were not able to embark with Pizarro from Seville, from the haste and caution with which he began his voyage, but having at length arrived in the Indies, they came with some volunteers to join him. Cheered by this succour, and still more by the hope held out by Almagro, of his being assisted shortly by a large reinforcement, he determined to pass on, and by Pasao, the Carraccas, and other adjacent places inhabited by the Indians, reach at length Puerto Viejo, where, fronting the Isle of Puna, and near to Tumbez, they might consider themselves at the gates of Peru. In some places they were received peaceably, either from fear of their arms, or from a hope of getting rid easily of such troublesome guests ; in others, they encountered hostilities, which always ended in the destruction or injury of the natives, for the obstacles placed by them in the way of these audacious strangers, had little effect in checking their progress ; far more arduous

were those opposed to them by nature, and these they had already conquered.

The confidence of Pizarro was considerably increased by the arrival of thirty volunteers from Nicaragua, and among them Sebastian de Belalcazar, one of the captains afterwards most signalized in Peru. Some of them, wearied already by their voyage, proposed settling in Puerto Viejo, but the governor had different views; his design was to pass to the Isle of Puna and pacify it, either amicably or by force, and from thence proceed to Tumbez, and if that people should resist him, to subdue them by the aid of the islanders, for the ancient animosity still subsisted between these people; and upon it the conqueror founded his plan, which, in spite of the reasons which induced him to adopt it, had not the result he expected; since, after all, it did not obviate the inconvenience and danger of having them both at once for his enemies, and having two wars upon his hands instead of one.

The warfare with the islanders might have been avoided, by somewhat more of confidence on the part of the Spaniards, but their suspicions had been awakened too effectually by the former reports made by the interpreters to Pizarro, respecting the good faith of the inhabitants of Puna. The Castilians were conveyed to Puna on rafts, supplied by the Indians, under the security of Tomalà, the principal Cacique, who came to Terra Firma to dissipate the doubts of Pizarro, as to his good intentions, and the Spaniards were caressed, regaled, and amused by every species of friendly

demonstration. Nothing, however, was adequate to remove suspicion from minds so prejudiced, that they regarded these tokens of benevolence as mere treacheries, by which the Indians were compassing their destruction. Were these doubts just, or were they not? The decision is difficult, since we can only refer to the relation of the conquerors, partial, of necessity, and who would naturally so state the case, as to justify their own proceedings; and in this affair there are many motives for doubt, since the interpreters, who so much envenomed the Castilians, were Tumbecinos, the natural enemies of the islanders, and consequently inclined to procure them all possible evil, at the hands of these powerful visitors. However it might be, Pizarro being one day informed that the principal Cacique held an interview with sixteen others, and jealous lest the security of the Spaniards should be compromised in this conference, he sent to have them all secured, and on their being dragged into his presence, he bitterly reviled them, for the bad faith they kept with him. In conclusion, he commanded that, with reservation of Tomalà, the rest should be given up to the Tumbecinos, who had accompanied him to the island, under the shield and protection of the Castilians. No sooner did they see their victims in their power, than they threw themselves upon them like wild beasts, cutting off their heads from behind, as a butcher slaughters oxen.

The men of Puna seeing themselves thus massacred by the strangers, and sacrificed to their natural ene-

mies, their chief taken, and their Caciques beheaded, ran to arms, and, to the number of 500, attacked the Spaniards, not only in the camp which they had formed, but even in the ships, which, being forsaken, appeared more easy to assail; but they quickly learned the difference between the Spanish weapons and their own, and the comparative powers of Spanish and Indian warriors. What could those half-naked wretches do with their missile weapons, made from the palm, against bodies of iron, and swords of steel,—against the violent charge of horses,—and the noise and destruction of guns? They, nevertheless, maintained their courage, although repulsed on all sides with loss, and returned frequently to the attack with fresh fury, dispersing, in the intervals, to shelter themselves in the marshes, and among the mangroves of the country. This war, if such it may be called, lasted several days; but the Spaniards, excepting the trifling spoil picked up in the first encounters, gained only anxiety, fatigue, and occasionally wounds. Pizarro knew the disadvantage of all this, and therefore caused Tomalà to be brought before him, and told him, that he might already perceive the evil his Indians had drawn upon themselves, by their perfidy and double dealing; that it was his business as their chief to restrain them, and he now exhorted him to command them to lay down their arms, and return peaceably to their dwellings; when this command should be obeyed, the Castilians would desist from warfare. The Indian replied, that he had given no motive for their conduct, that which

had been imputed to him being false. That it was certainly very grievous for him to see his territory trampled on by his enemies, and his people massacred; nevertheless, to oblige him, he would issue the command he desired, and cause the Indians to lay down their arms; which he did repeatedly, but his people would not obey him, and, with furious cries, declared they would never keep peace with men, who had dealt so ill by them.

In this state of things arrived Hernando de Soto, from Nicaragua, with two ships, conveying some recruits of horse and foot. This captain was considered, from that period, as the second person in the army, although Hernando Pizarro already occupied the post of Lieutenant-General, which had been offered to Soto, in the conferences formerly held in Panamá. Soto dissembled his sense of this indignity, with the temperance and presence of mind that characterised him, and his address, capacity, and valour, conspicuous on every occasion of importance, quickly won for him the distinguished place, which he ever possessed in the esteem of both Indians and Spaniards. The succours he brought with him seemed sufficient to Pizarro for greater undertakings, with the more reason, as the Spaniards were already heartily tired of their fruitless war, many of them still suffering from the contagious disorder already described, and all eager to see themselves established elsewhere; these considerations determined him on quitting the Island, and passing to the Terra Firma.

If the war made by the people of Puna might be more than excused, that of Tumbez, on the contrary, could not have been foreseen. To appearance, all concurred to render any breach on the part of that people improbable; the treaty established between them and the Spaniards, on the first visit of the latter, the favourable opinion they then conceived of their guests, the good reception they gave those who had joined them, all these considerations were favourable to peace. They had accompanied the Spaniards to Puna, they had been permitted to trample and desolate the land of their enemies at their pleasure, they had been indulged in the ferocious satisfaction of slaughtering their Caciques; and 600 captives reserved at Puna, destined partly for sacrifice, and partly for the labours of the field, were set at liberty by Pizarro, as the fruit of his first victory, and sent, with all that appertained to them, to the continent. Such benefits ought to have secured the good-will and friendship of those natives, but undoubtedly they had failed to do so, for the Spaniards were received by the Tumbecinos with all the hollowness and treachery, that the most rancorous foe could have imagined or practised. The Spaniards, on finding themselves assaulted, had reason to feel as much surprise as indignation, and for the loudest accusations against those faithless barbarians. But the root of the matter was not in the Indians, but in themselves. When they first came, they were, from their novelty, objects of interest, they were amiable in their actions, courteous in their words, generous in

giving, grateful in receiving, indifferent to riches, and strict observers of hospitality. Now, armed and ferocious, ill-treating the poor Indians, plundering the rich, and exercising all the rigours of violence, they appeared in the eyes of the Indians, whom the fame of their actions at Coaque had reached, as cruel and perfidious banditti, not only unworthy of their homage and respect, but as deserving to be ensnared by any species of subtlety. In fact, the Spaniards had no right to complain of the Tumbecinos, whom the instinct of their own preservation would of course instigate to rid themselves of such odious aggressors, by any means in their power.

The passage from the Island to the Terra Firma was performed partly in the vessels, and partly on the rafts, which conveyed the horses and baggage. The rafts arrived first, and the Indians approached the three foremost, courteously aiding their passengers to land, and leading them away, as if to conduct them to their quarters in the town, which they no sooner reached, than they threw themselves upon them, tore out their eyes, hacked off their limbs, and threw them, still palpitating, into the great pots which were boiling on the fire. The other rafts continued advancing, some with more, some with less caution, and the Indians plundered them of all the effects they carried, the governor's equipage being involved in their spoil. The men who landed, seeing themselves without captain or guide, and thus suddenly assaulted, cried aloud for aid. At these outcries, and the sounds of tumult,

Hernando Pizarro, who, with his horse, had just landed at some little distance, rushed to their succour; his men followed him, and, at the sight of him, the Indians ventured not to maintain their ground, but fled before him, so that the people were enabled to descend in safety from their rafts, and soon after Pizarro arrived with the ships.

They found the town not only deserted, but completely ruined. The war with the people of Puna, newly inflamed by the divisions in the empire, had reduced it to a far different state from that, in which the Spaniards had found it on their first visit. They were greatly disheartened by the appearance of the ruins, and, most of all, those from Nicaragua, on comparing the fatiguing adventure they were embarked on, and the scene of desolation they beheld, with the delights of their own Paradise, for such was the name given to their beautiful province. An Indian in the meantime appeared, who implored Pizarro not to plunder and destroy his house, one of the few remaining. "I have been," he said, "in Cuzco, am acquainted with war, and doubt not but the land will soon all be yours." The governor immediately commanded that his habitation should be marked by a cross, that it might be respected, and pursued his way, listening to what the Indian related of Cuzco, of Vilcas, of Pachacamac, and of other towns of that region; of the greatness of their king, of the abundance of gold and silver, used not only in the meanest utensils, but in lining the walls of the palaces and temples.



Pizarro took care that this intelligence should be circulated among his Castilians, but they had become incredulous, and received it as an invention of their chief, meant to renew their ardour for the enterprise. The same idea had already been awakened in the Isle of Puna, by a paper found in the luggage of an Indian, who had belonged to the marine, Bocanegro, and supposed to have been written by him, containing these words,—“ Know you who visit this land, that it contains more gold and silver than there is iron in Biscay.” The artifice was in truth sufficiently gross, and had no effect but to close the belief and the ears of those on whom it was practised, against the surprising things which the Indian afterwards related, and which others who followed him repeated.

Pizarro enquired what had been the fate of the two Spaniards left at Tumbez on his first voyage, and was informed that a little previous to the arrival of his army, both had died, one at Tumbez and the other at Cinto. Of their death there was no doubt, since they never appeared ; but with regard to the scene and circumstances of this misfortune, the accounts varied according to the views or passions of the relater. Some said they were killed, for their insolent freedoms with the women of the country ; others, that accompanying the Tumbecinos to battle against the people of Puna, they had fallen by the lances of the Islanders ; and others again, that having been sent for to the presence of Huayna Capac, their conductors, learning on the way the death of that monarch, slew them both.

In whatever mode this evil had happened, and in spite of the cruelty and perfidy used by the Tumbecinos to the Castilians, on their landing from Puna, Pizarro found it convenient to grant their petition for peace, and to permit them to return, and inhabit their desolate town. He already resolved in his mind the idea of founding thereabouts a town, where he might leave his sick or wounded soldiers, and as the place was well situated for the entrance of succours from other parts of America, it would likewise be a secure place of refuge, in case of discomfiture. He resolved, therefore, on pacifying the neighbourhood, that he might not leave an enemy at his back. In this object, he not only made peace with the Indians of Tumbez, but went out himself with the bulk of his army to reconnoitre the plains, while he sent a portion of his force, under Hernando de Soto, to explore the Sierra. The Indians of the valleys were easily subdued, owing to the report which had reached them of the Castilian power and valour, and still more of the severities used by those strangers towards whomsoever they suspected, with or without reason, of attempting to oppose them. Soto met some resistance from the mountaineers, who despised his people as being few in number, but as soon as they tried their strength against them, they took to flight, and the Castilians followed them, till they discovered part of the royal road, which the Inca, Huayna Capac, had caused to be constructed over those heights. The spoils they acquired by their encounter with the Indians, and the traces of gold and

silver they discovered every where, excited the eagerness and the hopes of their companions, when they returned to head-quarters, so that the governor, observing this good disposition, determined to profit by it, and put his plans in execution.

He proceeded to lay the foundation of the city of San Miguel, in the Valley of Tangarala, at 30 leagues from Tumbes, 25 from the Port of Payta, and 120 from Quito! it was the first Spanish town in those regions, and proving unhealthy, was afterwards transferred from the original site, to the banks of the river Piura, from whence it took its name. Pizarro regulated with great exactness, according to the instructions he brought with him, the policy and rules of government of this new settlement, furnishing it with wise directions for its preservation and defence, in the midst of so many enemies, and which were suitable to the importance of a place, that was to serve him as a foundation and support, in all his future operations. At the same time he made a division of territory, as had been the custom of the Spaniards in all the other parts of the Indies. In this division Tumbes fell to Hernando de Soto; either, that the governor thought proper thus to indemnify that officer for the charge of second in command, which he had conferred upon his own brother, or that he took this method of proving his appreciation of Soto's person and services. He, at the same time, divided the gold which had been recently acquired, and, with the king's fifth, the general despatched to Panamá the vessels which were

at Payta, and wrote to his companion Almagro, to come to him as speedily as possible, with whatever force he could collect. Pizarro suspected him of preparing an armament and enlisting men, for the purpose of setting forth, on his own account, as a discoverer, and entreated him in his letters, by all of confidence that had formerly existed between them, to forget misunderstandings, cast aside his doubts, and come immediately to him. Having thus disposed his affairs, he was still, for a short time, detained by preparing his people. It was also necessary for him to obtain more extensive information, as to the strength, resources, and customs, of the people he had to contend with; and he hoped by some delay to give time for the arrival of new reinforcements, essential to the success of his enterprise, considering the inadequate numbers he had with him. But these reinforcements did not arrive, and, not choosing to lose reputation with the Indians by lingering longer, nor the opportunity offered him by the divisions of the two Incas, he at length moved from the Valley, and with only 167 soldiers, of whom 67 were mounted, he took his road over the heights, and marched towards Caxamalca.

The monarchy, now marked by the Spaniards for destruction, extended from north to south, along that coast of the new continent above 700 leagues; and its origin, according to the tradition of the Indians, ascended to an epoch of about four centuries. That country had been, time immemorial, inhabited by scattered, rude, and savage tribes, whose civilisation ori-

ginated from the austral regions, among the people who inhabited the vicinity of the great lake of Titicaca, in the district of Callao. These Indians were probably more warlike, active, and intelligent than their neighbours; and as there is scarcely any people, who do not, either from pride or superstition, trace themselves to a heavenly origin, so did the Peruvians relate, that there once suddenly appeared among them a man and woman, whose aspect, dress, and language, inspired them with wonder and veneration. He called himself Manco Capac, she Mama Oello, and they proclaimed themselves Children of the Sun, whose worship and adoration they inculcated; saying they had been instructed by their father in all the ways of good policy and of virtue, and came, by his order, to teach them upon earth. They assembled around them some of the wandering adjacent tribes, Manco teaching the men to cultivate the fields, and Oello instructing the women in the arts of spinning and weaving, and others proper to the sex. The submission and obedience they thus gained were correspondent to the benefits of which they were the source, and when they found themselves secure of dominion and influence, they founded a city on a mountainous site, at 80 leagues from the lake. This city was Cuzco, the future seat, and head of the empire of the Incas. There they built their palace, there they raised a temple to the Sun, there they worshipped him with the most imposing pomp and solemnity, and caused his laws to be administered with additional strictness and majesty. The kingdom remained in

the line of their descendants, who were ever regarded as the pure race of the Sun ; the princes marrying their sisters, and the offspring of these unions being alone eligible to the throne.

From Manco to Huayna Capac they counted a succession of twelve princes, who, partly by persuasion, and partly by arms, extended their religion, dominion, and laws, through the immense region which runs from Chili to the Equator, gaining or subduing all the people they encountered, either in the mountains of the Cordilleras, or on the plains of the coast. The Inca, who most extended the empire, was Topa Yupanqui, who carried his conquests southward as far as Chili, and on the north to Quito ; although, according to most authors, it was not he who conquered the latter province, but his son Huayna Capac, the most powerful, wealthy, and able of all the Peruvian princes. He defeated by his valour the designs of his rivals, who, on the death of his father, would have disputed the empire with him ; he suppressed and appeased the rebellion in some of the provinces, subdued others to his dominion, personally visited all, to secure the maintenance of good order, gave wise laws, corrected abuses in the habits of his people, and surrounded his throne with a degree of greatness and splendour unknown till his time, and he was more entirely the object of the veneration and respect of his subjects, than any of the monarchs his ancestors. In his reign were established, or greatly perfected, three grand mediums of communication, necessary to provinces so distant

and various,—the use of a general dialect, the establishment of posts for the prompt conveyance of intelligence, and lastly, the two great roads which extend from Cuzco to Quito, a distance of more than 500 leagues. Of these two roads, one passes over the sierras, the other crosses the plains, and both were provided, at proper and convenient distances, with lodgings or quarters, which were called *Tambos*, where the monarch, his court and army, even though amounting to 20 or 30,000 men, might find rest and refreshment, and even renew, if necessary, their arms and apparel. These were works truly royal, undertaken and executed by the Peruvians to the glory of their Inca; but that, which in the beginning was so serviceable, was destined to become, eventually, most prejudicial, by the facility it afforded to the march of the Spaniards, and their operations for the conquest of the country.

Huayna Capac died in Quito, leaving the empire to Huascar, his eldest son, born of the Coya or empress, his sister. But, as by his marriage with the daughter of the principal Cacique of Quito, he had likewise a son, whom he much cherished, called Atahualpa, a youth of great qualities and equal hopes, he left, as his heritage, the province which had belonged to his maternal ancestors, not foreseeing the sad effects consequent on such a partition. Some suppose that this dismemberment was not the act of Huayna Capac, but of Atahualpa, who, seeing himself beloved by his father's army, and having by flatteries and promises gained over the two principal generals, Quizquiz and

Chialiquichiana, endeavoured to become, by their means, lord of the country which had belonged to his ancestors. This difference in traditions regarding facts so recent, serves either to prove the Spaniards' lack of accurate information, or the influence of their passions over what they related, according as the narrator desired to exculpate or to criminate the resistance of Atahualpa to the will of his brother; who, resolutely determined to maintain the integrity of the empire, commanded the army to return to Cuzco, and Atahualpa, on pain of being treated as an enemy, to hasten to his presence, to pay his due homage, and to restore the wives, jewels, and treasures, of the late Inca.

The threats which enforced this command, instead of intimidating Atahualpa, only stimulated him to support by force his pretensions, or his rights; and being the first to hoist the standard of civil war, he marched out of Quito with his army, directing his course to the capital; in his progress he took military possession of the provinces, gaining his people over to his party, and augmenting his army as he advanced. He entertained a hope that his brother, who was younger than himself, and of a milder and more pacific temper, seeing his resolution, and fearing his power, would be induced to leave him in possession of what he now held, and to confederate with him. But Huascar sent an army to meet him, whose generals, reinforced by the people of some valleys who had deserted from Atahualpa, gave him battle near the Tambo of Tomebamba, and after three days of obstinate conflict, conquered



and made him prisoner. Carried to the Tambo, and there strictly guarded, his spirit did not abandon him. He watched his opportunity to profit by a relaxation in the vigilance of his guard, and while they were absorbed in the tumult and drunkenness of victory, he, by means of a bar of copper given him by a woman, broke the wall of his prison, and escaped to his people. In order to inspire them with courage to follow him and return to the combat, he made them believe that the Sun, his father, had liberated him, converting him into a lizard, to enable him to pass through a small hole, and that he promised him the victory if he should renew the combat. This cunning, and still more, his valour and perseverance, aided by his popularity, soon put him in a condition to attack his conquerors, and reverse the fortune of war. He attacked and defeated them, and such was the slaughter on both sides, that long years afterwards, the traveller who passed over the field of battle, could still trace the miserable relics of the multitude who there perished.

Thus victorious, Atahualpa profited by his advantage with the acuteness and intrepidity of a superior mind, and no longer allowed any limit to his pretensions or his desires. The *bórla*, or red tuft, the royal insignia of the Incas, with which he adorned his brow in Tomebamba, announced to the agitated Peruvians how important was the conflict between the brothers, and that, in their hatred, the fate of the whole empire was compromised. Atahualpa, by his birth, had no right to seat himself on a throne, which was the

sacred and exclusive inheritance of the legitimate sons of the Sun. He, however, supplied the defect of title by his arrogance and audacity, and his words and actions were better suited to an offended and irritated sovereign, than to an intriguing usurper. He threw a stain upon his victory and his good fortune, by the acts of severity, or rather of cruelty, which followed him throughout his march; he laid waste Tomébamba, punished the tribes which had deserted his party, and one of them, that of the Cannaries, against whom he had some additional pique, failed to appease him by every demonstration of humiliation and repentance. He commanded their men to be butchered by thousands, and their hearts to be strewed upon the fields, saying, "I should like to see what sort of fruit will spring from the hollow hearts of traitors." He now pursued his march to Cuzco, taking up his quarters at Caxamalca, from whence he might observe the motions of his competitor, and attend to the progress and views of the Castilians, whose entrance he was aware of, and who already began to cause him uneasiness.

It became indispensable for Huascar to assemble a new army, and to go forth in person for the defence of his throne. The forces of the two brothers were then nearly equal, though, neither in experience, quality, or confidence, could those of Cuzco compare with those of Quito. Atahualpa sent forward the greater part of his army under the command of his generals, Quizquiz and Chialiquichiana, and these proving more skilful, or more fortunate than the leaders of the enemy,

surprised a detachment, to which, unhappily, Huascar belonged, and made him prisoner. With this misfortune his troops dispersed and disbanded; the victors proceeded to occupy the capital, and Atahualpa, apprised of his success, ordered that his brother should be brought alive into his presence.

Meanwhile, Pizarro, at the head of his little squadron, advanced to meet him. The march was slow, owing to the difficulties of the road, and the circumspection necessary in passing through unknown people, whose good-will it was important to gain and secure, as well as their confidence and respect. Thus, though from San Miguel to Caxamalca the journey may be performed in twelve long days, the Spaniards were nearly two months in marching that distance, nor was that extraordinary, considering the obstacles they had to overcome. As they advanced, reports became louder of the strength and valour of the monarch whom they sought. If this intelligence served to stimulate the hopes and ambition of some, it awakened the misgivings of others, who reflected on their own weakness and deficiency in numbers. Pizarro was ready to meet this disposition, and with a resolution, truly brilliant and characteristic, he informed his soldiers that those of them who wished to return and settle in San Miguel, had his cheerful permission, and that he would appoint Indians to labour for them, as he had done for those who remained, since he had no desire to retain those who followed him with coolness or fickleness; confiding more in the valour of the few who adhered

to him with their whole heart, than in numbers of such, as were timid or wavering. Four horse and five infantry were all who availed themselves of this license, which appears, perhaps, to have been dictated by rashness rather than valour, to those who consider the value of every single man, in discoveries and conquests of such a nature, and how difficult it was to supply a vacancy.

The army being purged of these few cowards, the rest followed the lead of their captain, stoutly and willingly. Fortunately, they were received peaceably in all the towns; and if equivocal notices or sinister interpretations at any time excited their doubts, they were quickly dissipated by the friendly disposition of the Indians, and the hospitality observed towards them. They told Pizarro that, in a town called Caxas, there were some of Atahualpa's warriors awaiting the Castilians. He sent thither a captain with some soldiers to reconnoitre cautiously, and after another day's march, took up his quarters in the town of Zaran, there to await the results of the recognisance. The captain found in Caxas a collector of tribute, who received him frankly and amicably, and gave him much information as to the course taken by the king, and as to his mode of collecting his contributions, with other particulars of the customs of the country. The Spanish captain, who not only reconnoitred Caxa, but Guacabamba, a town near the former, and much larger, returned full of wonder at the great causeways which crossed that district, the bridges over the rivers, at

the canals, and the fortresses he had seen, at the stores of clothing and provision for the army, and, finally, at the manufactory of vestments established at Caxas, where multitudes of women and children spun and wove garments for the army of the Inca. He related likewise, that at the entrance of the town, he had seen some Indians hung up by the feet, in punishment for having behaved improperly with a female, and with the connivance of the porters who kept the gates. This rigorous justice, this authority and power, exercised by the laws with an obedience so punctual; these preparations for war, made with so much foresight and intelligence; an order and policy so well observed, and so different from any thing they had seen in the regions through which they had hitherto wandered, gave the Spaniards to understand that the nature of their enterprise was changed, that the people they were now to deal with were well worthy of respect, and that there was something awful in the power of the monarch; towards whose presence they were proceeding.

At this time an Indian arrived in the army, who said he came from Atahualpa, and brought a present to the Spanish general of two stone drinking vessels, skilfully carved, with a cargo of dried geese, with which, when ground to powder, he should perfume himself, according to the custom of the country. He added, that the Inca charged him to say, that he wished to be in friendship with him, and would await him in peace at Caxamalca. The quality and poverty of the present; from a monarch so powerful, might

have created misgivings in a mind less circumspect than that of Pizarro; yet he affected to receive it with esteem, and satisfaction, telling the Indian, that he was gratified by such a demonstration of friendship on the part of so great a prince, and charged him to assure his master, that having heard of the war he was engaged in with his enemies, he had hastened with his companions and brethren to serve him, and still more particularly to perform an embassy to him on the part of God's vicar on earth, and of the King of Castile, a great and powerful prince. In conclusion, he commanded that the Indian, and those who accompanied him, should be treated with every flattering mark of attention, adding, that if he chose to remain some days with his army, he would be cordially welcome. But as he desired to return immediately to his lord, he commanded them to give him a linen shirt and a cap, with knives, scissors, and other trifles, from Castile, with which the emissary seemed highly delighted. The vases, with a quantity of cotton and linen cloths, interwoven with gold or silver, collected in the different towns through which they had passed, were sent by Pizarro to San Miguel, the governor sending at the same time an account of the terms on which he was with the Inca, and charging the Spaniards to preserve peace with the neighbouring Indians at any cost.

Following his route through several towns, where he was peaceably received, Pizarro reached at length the banks of a noble river, thickly peopled on the

other side. Fearing some impediment, he ordered his brother Hernando to swim across with some soldiers, to make a diversion among the Indians, while he, in the meantime, should pass with the remainder of his people. The inhabitants of the towns took to flight the moment they perceived the Spaniards in the act of crossing the river; with difficulty, they overtook a few of the natives, whom Hernando Pizarro endeavoured to tranquillize; but as none of them would answer his interrogatories respecting Atahualpa, he caused one of them to be put to the torture, who confessed, that the mind of the Inca being hostile to the Castilians, he was resolved to make an end of them, and was awaiting their approach, having posted his warriors at three points, one at the foot of the sierra, the other on the summit, and the third at Caxamalca. He added, that not only had he heard this, but being himself a man of consequence, he knew it was authentic. The governor, on receiving this information, had some trees felled immediately, and passed on three pontoons with his people and artillery, leaving the horse to swim across. He halted in the fortress of one of the towns, and sent to summon a Cacique from the neighbourhood, who came to him, from whom he learned that Atahualpa was stationed a little beyond Caxamalca, at Guamachuco, with upwards of 50,000 warriors. This was the fact, so that the torture inflicted on the Indian was a very superfluous cruelty, as it had only elicited a falsehood.

Such various and conflicting intelligence perplexed

the mind of the governor, who, therefore, resolved to possess himself at once of the truth, to which end he employed a confidential Indian to spy out the station, forces, and movements, of Atahualpa; choosing for the occasion, a native of San Miguel, who, however, preferred being invested with the more ostensible office of messenger, alleging, that so he might converse with the Inca, and gain more adequate intelligence. Pizarro approved his advice, and ordered him to bear his salutations to the Inca, to assure him that he and his men were proceeding on their way without committing any violence, in the intention of kissing his hands, and of fulfilling their embassy, and likewise of assisting him in the war in which he was engaged, if he would accept their services. The Indian departed with his credentials, charged at the same time to send back advice by one of the companions he took with him, respecting the warlike preparations he might perceive.

After three days of easy unimpeded travelling, they reached the sierras, which intervened between them and Caxamalca; they were rugged and precipitate, and of difficult ascent, almost indeed impracticable,\*

\* "Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intentions so far removed all the Inca's fears, that he determined to give him a friendly reception. In consequence of this resolution, the Spaniards were allowed to march in tranquillity across the sandy desert between St Michael and Motupè, where the most feeble effort of an enemy, added to the unavoidable distresses which they had suffered in passing through that comfortless region, must have proved fatal to them."—ROBERTSON, p. 170, book 6th, vol. 2d.—*Translator's Note.*



if the pass was defended. To the right, lay the great road, which led without obstacle or interruption to Chíncha, and they were much inclined to take this direction, and abandon the idea of ascending the heights; but, the general, firmly convinced that the whole success of his expedition hung upon his holding a conference, as soon as possible, with the Inca, made them understand, how unsuitable it was to Spaniards to recoil in the face of difficulties, and thereby compromise their reputation. What would the Inca think of them, when he should learn that they had swerved from their road, after announcing that they were marching in a direct course to meet him? He would say they were afraid. Thus, they should become contemptible, and such contempt would be their ruin, since, if the people were not held in wonder at their valour, and in dread of their daring, it would be impossible to live among them. It was therefore necessary they should cross the mountain, since, on this occasion, the most arduous course was not only the most glorious, but also the safest. All, with one voice, replied, that wherever he led they would follow, boldly and cheerfully, and accomplish their duty, whereinsoever the occasion required. They were now at the foot of the sierra. Pizarro, with forty horse and sixty infantry, began the ascent, leaving behind the rest of his soldiers with the baggage, charging them to follow his steps leisurely, according to the orders and advices he should give them. It has been said that the ascent was difficult and rugged; the horses were led, for it

was impossible for them to pass mounted, and so steep was the path in some places, that they ascended as if by ladders; a fortress erected on a very sharp rock served as the point of their direction, and they reached it towards noon. It was built of stone, and placed on a foundation of hewn rock, except on the side by which the ascent was effected. They marvelled much, that Atahualpa had left this point forsaken, since a hundred resolute men might from thence have routed an army, by merely hurling stones upon them; but it was not extraordinary that the Inca, who, according to all appearance, expected them in peace, should not have guarded that precipice, nor obstructed their road.

The governor informed his rearguard that they might follow his march in all security, advancing himself in the evening towards another fortress a little farther on, situated on a spot almost entirely abandoned. There he passed the night, but ere the day closed, there arrived in his presence an Indian, sent by the messenger whom he had despatched to the Inca. He came with advice, that throughout the road no warriors had been visible, nor any other obstacle; that he had gone forward to fulfil his commission, and that he had been given to understand, that on the day following two envoys from Atahualpa would present themselves to the general. Pizarro, on hearing this, not wishing to be found by these ambassadors with so scanty a force, sent to order his rearguard to hasten to join him. Meanwhile, he advanced on his way, till he reached

the summit of the sierra, where he directed his tents to be pitched, that he might await his companions.

They arrived, and shortly afterwards the messengers of the Inca, who, in their sovereign's name, presented the Spanish leader with ten head of cattle, and requested to know the day on which he proposed to arrive at Caxamalca, that he might be supplied on his road with sufficient provisions. To these civilities Pizarro no less courteously replied, that he should go thither with all possible speed. He commanded that the messengers should be caressed and regaled, and questioned respecting the country, and the war which the Inca was maintaining. According to them, the Inca remained in Caxamalca without troops, since his army was employed against Cuzco; they related at large the differences of the two brothers, and the glories of their king, and among them his victory over Huascar, and the having made him prisoner by means of his captains, who were on their way with their captive, and the great riches he had possessed. To this, as if it had been said with an intention to intimidate him, the Castilian captain arrogantly replied, that the King, his master, numbered among his servants many greater lords than Atahualpa, and captains likewise who had won great battles, and subjected to him many more powerful kings. It was this monarch who had sent him to give the Inca and his vassals notice and knowledge of the true God, and such was the object which led him to seek his presence. That he desired to be his friend, and to serve him in his wars, if it should

be agreeable to him, and that he was willing to remain in his dominions, although it had been his purpose to accompany his companions to explore the other sea. In fine, that he desired peace, if peaceably received, but would not refuse war if offered.

These messengers being despatched, on the following night arrived the Indian who had first sought Pizarro on the part of the Inca, and had presented him with the stone vases; he now came with more authority; he had a considerable train, who bore vases of gold, in which he drank his wine\* to the health of the Castilians, telling them he was come to join them on their progress to Caxamalca. He likewise presented them with ten head of cattle, asked them various questions, and conversed as fluently as formerly, exalting to the skies the power of his master. After the Indian had been a few days with the Castilians, the messenger, who had been despatched by Pizarro, previous to the ascent of the sierra, returned; and no sooner entered the camp and perceived the other Indian, than he rushed furiously upon him and began to abuse him. The governor separated them immediately, and demanded of the new comer the cause of his audacity. "How can you expect," said he, "that I can, with patience, see you honouring and caressing a wretch, who is here but as a spy and a betrayer, whilst I, your ambassador, have neither seen the Inca, nor had food given me, and have hardly escaped with life, so ill have

\* Chicha.

'I been treated!' He related that he had found Caxamalca abandoned, and Atahualpa and his army encamped; that he was not allowed to see the Inca, on pretence that he was fasting, and absorbed in his devotions; that he had conversed with a relation of the Inca's, to whom he had described the greatness, valour, and power of the Spaniards, but that the Indian had expressed himself contemptuously, as despising them for their small number. To this the other Indian replied, that if Caxamalca was deserted, it was for the purpose of leaving the houses at liberty for the expected guests, and that, if the Inca was encamped, it was because such was his custom, so long as he was engaged in war. "Thou hast not been able to see him," he added, addressing himself to his adversary, "because he was fasting, and at such a time he never sees nor speaks to any one; but hadst thou waited, and informed him by whom thou wert sent, he would have received and heard thee, and commanded thee to be taken care of, since there is no doubt that his intentions are pacific."

Who was to be believed? The governor, following the bent of his character, more wary than confiding, inclined rather to credit the friendly Indian, than him who came as a messenger; he dissembled nevertheless, being a great master in that exercise, reprehended and checked his emissary, and continued his courteous proceedings to the other; and, without farther delay, rapidly pursued his journey towards Caxamalca, from whence he was not far distant. There arrived, at this

period, fresh messengers from Atahualpa, with provisions, for which Pizarro expressed much gratitude, and sent by them to solicit the friendship of the Inca, entreating him to act with good faith, and assuring him, that on his part, there should be no failure in an honourable correspondence.

A little farther on, they descried Caxamalca, with its well cultivated and abundant fields, its flocks feeding in the intervals, and still more distant, the army of the Inca, encamped on the brow of a mountain, in tents of cotton and with an accuracy of preparation as yet unknown to the Spaniards. About a league before he reached the city, the governor proclaimed a halt, that he might call in his people, whom he divided into three columns, assigning to each its captain; and resuming his march, he entered Caxamalca, at the hour of vespers, on the 15th of November 1532. He had, assuredly, small encouragement, when he found the place utterly deserted, except by a few women, who regarded the strangers with melancholy and ill-omened looks, as foreseeing their manifest destruction. Consequently, Pizarro, after having reconnoitred the town, and examined the different points which offered him the most security, fixed on the square, or Plaza, as the best military station, being entirely surrounded by a wall, of sufficient strength and height, with only two gates, which opened on the streets of the city; and the houses in the midst of this place, offered him the best possible position for guarding against any surprise, or defending himself in case of attack from the

numerous host of the Inca. If Pizarro, as would seem apparent, had instantly conceived the plan of drawing thither the Inca, to entrap his person, and get him at once, and wholly in his power, it must be confessed that his military talent was as prompt in conception, as his heart was hard and inexorable in execution.

- Seeing that Caxamalca was deserted, and that there was no sign of the Inca's arrival, he determined on dispatching Hernando de Soto with fifteen horse, and the interpreter Felipillo, with his salutations to the Indian sovereign, and to request him to make such arrangements as he might deem opportune, that he might come in person to kiss his hands, and discharge the commission entrusted to him by his master the King of Castile. Soto departed, and the general, contemplating the multitude of Indians by whom the Inca was surrounded, sent after him twenty more horse to support him, under the command of his brother Hernando, who had warned Pizarro of the danger in which Soto's party would be involved, should the professions of Atahualpa prove insincere. Each troop was enjoined to observe the utmost circumspection, and to strictly abstain from molesting or troubling any one on the way.

Hernando de Soto approached the encampment in sight of the Indians, who beheld with admiration the mixture of fierceness and docility displayed by the steed on which he rode. On his reaching the camp, and being asked who he was, he replied, "that he came on an embassy to the Inca from his friend and servant

the Governor of the Christians." Then the Inca came forth, nobly accompanied, and exhibiting in his whole appearance much gravity and majesty. He seated himself on a gorgeous throne, and sent to demand of the ambassador what he required. Soto alighted from his horse, and approaching with all reverence and respect, said, "that his captain, Don Francisco Pizarro, greatly desired to kiss his hands—to be admitted to his presence, and to give him an account of the causes which had brought him to that country, with other matters which it behoved his majesty to know; that his captain had, to this effect, sent him to bear his salutations to the Inca, and to entreat him to sup that night with him in Caxamalca, or to dine with him on the following day; since, though but a stranger in the land, he should leave nothing undone which might testify his respect and reverence for so great a prince." The Inca replied, through the medium of a principal Indian who stood by his side, "that he accepted the good-will of the Spanish captain, and that, as it was then late, he would proceed the next day to Caxamalca." Soto offered to be the bearer of any message he would send, and asked if he had any farther orders to commit to him. "I shall go," replied the Inca, "with my army in array, and under arms, but be under no alarm on that account." By this time Hernando Pizarro arrived, and repeated what had been already said by Hernando de Soto to Atahualpa; who, being informed that he who spoke was brother to the governor, raised his eyes, which hitherto, for the greater solemnity, had



been cast down, and said, "that Mayzabelica, one of his captains on the river Turicara, had informed him that he had killed three Castilians and a horse, for having ill treated the neighbouring Caciques." That, nevertheless, he was willing to show himself their friend, and would visit the general on the following day." To this the Spaniard arrogantly replied, "that Mayzabelica lied, since all the Indians of that valley were like women, and that a single horse could subdue the whole band, as the Inca would discover when he should see them combat;" but added, "that the governor was much his friend, and very desirous to aid him against whoever should make war against him."—"Four days from hence," replied the Inca, "are some very brave Indians, against whom you may go to the aid of my people."—"The governor," said Hernando, "will send ten horse, and they will be sufficient. Thy Indians will merely be required to hunt the enemy from their hiding-places." Atahualpa smiled, for ignorant as he was of the arms and strength of the Castilians, he could regard such language merely as a puerile vaunt.

Meantime arrived some women with vases of gold, containing the chicha, or wine made of maize, and by order of the Inca offered it to the Spaniards, who refused it, from a repugnance to that beverage. However, being pressed, and unwilling to appear uncourteous, they accepted it; and wishing to repay one civility by another, it being observed that the Inca had never taken his eyes from the horse of Hernando

Soto, that captain leaped upon the saddle, gave him the spur, and began to make him curvet in such a manner, that he was all in a foam. Atahualpa beheld with wonder and attention, but without the least appearance of fear or mistrust, even when Soto approached him so near, that the breath of his steed shook the threads of the royal borla ; and it is even said, that he reproved and punished some of his people, when, terrified by the animal, they fled at his approach. At length the ambassadors were despatched, and desired to tell their general, that the Inca would come next day to visit him, and that he and his people might take possession of three of the great apartments which were in the place, leaving for the Inca that in the midst.

Returned to Caxamalca, they gave an account of their mission, expatiating on the power and influence of the Inca, and the strength of his army, which they calculated amounted to 30,000 warriors. Their report much intimidated several of the soldiers, who considered that there were 200 Indians for each Castilian ; but their general, less alarmed by this apparent force, than delighted to see the Inca thus throw himself incautiously into his hands, told them not to dread that multitude, who, instead of profiting the Indians, would prove their destruction ; and that, if the Spaniards were but the men he had hitherto found them, he would answer to them for a happy victory.

The following day, Atahualpa having apprised the Spanish general that he was about to pay his prom-

misèd visit, and that, according to the example of the Castilians, who camè armed to his camp, he likewise would bring his people armed, gave the signal for march, and put his army in motion for Caxamalca. He divided his army in three bodies, according to the different arms borne by each. One, of about 12,000 men, formed the van, some armed with slings and the rest with small copper clubs, armed with acute points; another of about 5000 followed, who bore long spears called aillos, each prepared with a running noose, with which they were accustomed to entrap or entangle either men or wild beasts. A body of lancers were the last, or rear-guard, and with them came the baggage Indians, and the innumerable women who followed the camp. In the midst came the Inca, in his litter plated with gold, and adorned by beautiful plumes, and borne on the shoulders of the principal Indians; his seat was of gold, and upon it was a cushion of the finest wool, sprinkled with precious stones. All was magnificent, yet nothing shed over his person so much dignity, or rendered it so conspicuous, as the scarlet borla which drooped over his forehead, and covered his brows and temples, the august insignia of the successors of the Sun, vènerated and adored by that immense people. Three hundred men marched before the litters, to sweep from the road all stones, sticks, and every the most trifling obstacle. The Orejones were formed on each side of the monarch, and with them some superior Indians, likewise, for pomp's sake, borne on litters. It was a regularly

ordered march, to the sound of horns and drums, resembling a religious procession, and moved so deliberately that it was four hours in accomplishing the league which divided the camp from Caxamalca.

The evening began to close, when Pizarro, seeing the Indians halt about a quarter of a league from the city, and begin to spread their cotton tents, as if with an intention to encamp, became apprehensive lest all his plans and preparations should be frustrated; he therefore sent to entreat the Inca to hasten his march, so as to come to him before nightfall. To this petition Atahualpa\* condescended, and answered that he would set out on the instant, and likewise that he would come without arms. Leaving the bulk of his army on that spot, and taking with him from five to six thousand Indians of his vanguard, he pursued his way to the city, accompanied likewise by the greater part of his principal lords. In the interval, the Spanish chief gave the final instructions to his captains,

\* Herrera, who adopts the opinion that Atahualpa, confident in the disparity of numbers between his own forces and the Castilians, determined on the destruction of the latter, describes him as sending the following dissembling message to Pizarro, "that he should have arrived much earlier, but had been retarded by the great dread his people entertained of the horses and dogs, and therefore he entreated him, as a mark of his complaisance, to order that these animals should be tied up, and the people confined within their lodgings, that when he should reach Caxamalca his Peruvians might not be alarmed, since the nearer he approached the city, the more fear they exhibited; and that although he had commanded his followers to accompany him unarmed, it was impossible to prevent their being armed in some degree, and therefore he prayed Pizarro to restrain his people from giving them provocation."—*Translator's Note.*

and completed his arrangements for the accomplishment of his purpose with the least possible risk. He commanded that both infantry and cavalry should lie in wait; posted on an eminence, on one side of the place, some musketry, under Pedro de Candia; and a few crossbows, in a turret of one of the houses; the horses, with small bells hung from their breast leathers, for the purpose of adding to the noise, were divided in three bands of twenty each, under the command of Hernando Soto, Hernando Pizarro, and Sebastian de Belalcazar. Pizarro kept with himself twenty shield-bearers, men of great strength and address, and of approved valour, who were to follow and aid him in every exigence. He exhorted all to preserve the most scrupulous silence and quietness, until he should give the signal to the artillery. He then posted himself, with his twenty champions, within the houses opposite to the gate, to await the arrival of Atahualpa.

The Indians at length entered the place, arrayed after their manner, and the Inca, being in the midst of them, stood upright on his litter, as if examining the scene, and looking out for the strangers whom he came to meet. At this period the Dominican, Valverde, presented himself, attended by an interpreter, sent by the governor to bear his intimations and desires, in form. Valverde bore in one hand a cross, in the other a Bible; he paid his due reverence to the Peruvian monarch, and blessed him with the cross, after which he told the Inca that he was God's priest, whose office it was to preach and to teach what God

had caused to be written in that book, pointing to the Bible which he carried; and, as it is said, he added something in explanation of the mysteries of the Christian faith, of the donation of those regions made by the Pope to the Kings of Castile, and of the obligation the Inca lay under to obedience; concluding, by saying, that the governor was his friend, and requested peace with him, and offered the same to him, with the same good-will he had hitherto manifested. He, as a priest, counselled him to accept this offer, inasmuch as war was a great offence to God. He then invited Atahualpa to visit the governor in his apartment, who there waited to confer with him on these several points. Having spoken to this effect, he presented the Bible to the Inca, who received it, turned over a few leaves, and then flung it, with manifest impatience and displeasure, to the ground. Neither the book, nor the greater part of the priest's discourse, could have been in the slightest degree intelligible to him, even if they were well interpreted, which one cannot but doubt. That, however, which he did perfectly well understand, was the intimation of the pacific intentions of the strangers, since he exclaimed, as he hurled the book from him, "I am perfectly acquainted how you have behaved on the road, how you have treated my Caciques, and plundered the cottages." The priest endeavoured to exculpate his countrymen, throwing the blame on the Indians; but the Inca reiterated his accusation, threatening to make the Spaniards restore what they had taken; then, Valverde,

having recovered his book, returned to the governor<sup>1</sup> to report the bad success of his conference. Ancient records\* vary as to the spirit in which he did this, but all agree that the attack was no longer delayed, nor further dissimulation preserved. The Inca again rose from his seat and spoke to his followers, on which a murmuring sound, and some symptoms of commotion were observed among them, which was probably the immediate cause of precipitating the action, an action which has come down to posterity with its atrocious and revolting character.

Pizarro gave the signal, and Pedro de Candia instantly discharged his muskets; the crossbows were not idle, the drums and trumpets began to sound, and the horse rushed furiously on the barrier of naked men that surrounded the Inca, and broke through it in three places, while the infantry followed, making a merciless slaughter with their lances, crossbows, and swords. At this shock of arms, men, and horses, as overwhelming and terrible as it was sudden, the Indians felt as if the sky was falling upon them, and the earth trembling under them; and there did not remain among them a single unappalled heart, or arm which

\* According to Robertson, the Inca concluded a reply, couched in very temperate terms, by asking Valverde where he had learned things so extraordinary. "In this book," said Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The Inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, lifted it to his ear, "This," said he, "is silent, it tells me nothing;" and threw it with disdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out, "To arms, Christians, to arms! the Word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on these impious dogs!"—*Translator's Note.*

was not unnerved. All, distracted and amazed, either received their death in motionless terror, or confusedly sought a path for escape, and found none. The gates were guarded, the walls high. In their confusion and despair they trampled down and suffocated each other, while the Castilians destroyed and slaughtered them at will. It is impossible to give the name of battle to this carnage; flocks, butchered in their fold, would have made more resistance than these unhappy creatures, opposed to their blood-thirsty enemies. Such was the struggle and agony, such the force, with which these victims pressed upon each other, that at length the wall gave way on one side, opening a way for escape. Through this passage they fled, pursued by the Castilians, till night and heavy rain drove back the latter. The confusion and slaughter had raged most violently round the spot where the Inca was stationed. Pizarro, with his twenty shield-bearers, attacked that side, intent on seizing at all risk the person of that prince, well persuaded that on effecting this stroke the whole success of the affair would depend. There no one thought of flight; they continued immovably to support the litter of their monarch;—they were wounded and killed, but as one dropped, another filled his place with an intrepidity and contempt of danger which surprised and even fatigued the Spaniards. It is indeed strange that those poor Indians, capable of dying with such constancy, had not made the slightest attempt at resistance or self-defence. When Pizarro saw that some of his



"companions, ceasing to destroy the Indians, were pressing on the litter, he forbade them in a loud voice to kill the Inca, but ordered them to take him alive, while he himself rushed forward to seize his prey, and reaching the litter, he, with a vigorous hand, grasped the robe of the Inca, and brought him to the ground. This terminated the action; for the Indians thus losing the object of their respect and duty, all dispersed and fled. Two thousand of them were killed, while the Castilians lost not a single man, nor was one of them wounded, except Pizarro, who received a slight hurt in the hand accidentally from a Castilian, while he was eagerly extending his arm to seize Atahualpa.

The captive Prince was at first treated by his conquerors with all the consideration and respect due to his dignity. On the report of his being alive and unhurt, which was purposely spread by the Spaniards, several Indians assembled, to the number, it is said, of five thousand, to console and to serve him; and, as in the examination made, the day following the action, of the Indian encampment, among the rich spoil of gold and silver, webs of linen, and fine cotton, several principal women were found, some of whom were of the royal blood, and some Mamaconas, or virgins consecrated to the Sun, they were taken to Caxamalca for the service and aid of their Prince, and composed for him a species of court, which, considering his captivity, was not quite unsuitable to his ancient majesty and dignity. This was likewise enhanced by the respectful courtesy with which the governor treated him; he soothed and

condoled with him, making consolatory reflections on his reverse of fortune, offering to serve him in all things conformably to his greatness, and assuring him that should any of his wives have fallen captive to a Spaniard, he would seek for and restore her to him; and that he wished to be informed in every particular of his will, as it was his sincere desire to accomplish it. The Inca expressed himself gratified by these offers of Pizarro, and from the time he fell into the power of the Spaniards, in no instance, either in manner, language or conduct, did he lose sight of a dignified equanimity, or in the slightest degree depart from the gravity and decorum becoming to his character, frequently saying, when his misfortunes were alluded to, or when he witnessed the groans and sobs of his people, that nothing extraordinary had happened to him, "since it was a warrior's fate to conquer, or to be conquered."

The undissembled avarice of the Spaniards excited in him sanguine hopes of liberty; and, a few days after his capture, he began to treat of his ransom with his conquerors. He offered to cover the floor of his chamber, which was spacious, with gold and silver; and, when he saw his offer treated as a jest, and laughed at as a thing impossible, he stood upright, and, raising his arm as high as he could, made a mark in the wall, and said firmly, that he would not only cover the floor, but fill the chamber, up to that mark, with treasure. The chamber was twenty-two feet long, and sixteen wide, and the Inca had raised his arm to the height of

three yards. Then the governor, being unwilling to slight the immense offer of treasure placed at his option, and believing it necessary to flatter the hopes of the Inca, however falsely, in order to obtain possession of it, gave his word, with all the solemnity Atahualpa required, to set him free the moment he should fulfil his promise. The faith of each being thus exchanged, a red line was drawn round the wall of the apartment at the height indicated by the Inca, and messengers despatched to the different towns of his realm, commanding, that whatever gold and silver could be found in the temples and palaces, should be sent without delay, to Caxamalca, for the Inca's ransom. To this order was added another, no less essential, forbidding the Indians to make war on the Spaniards, with whom only peace was prudent, and that they were to be every where respected and obeyed as the Inca himself.

The manner in which the orders of the Inca were executed in the case of the three Spaniards, who, at his request, were sent to arrange and accelerate the arrival of these treasures, was a striking proof of the subordination and policy of the country. Pizarro acceded to this desire, with the double object of securing the immense booty, and of obtaining exact information respecting the capital. For this negotiation, he named three private soldiers, Pedro Moguer, Francisco Martinez de Zarate, and Martin Bueno, who, borne on the shoulders of the Indians, and stretched on hammocks, journeyed the two hundred leagues from Caxa-

malca to Cuzco, not only without danger, but attended by the homage and reverence of the whole country, and pampered and regaled with all that was rich and luxurious in the land. They expressed themselves astonished at the good sense of the Indians, the good order of their houses, and the neatness, convenience, and abundance of their roads. On arriving at Cuzco, their admiration was still farther excited, by the regularity maintained in that city, by the prodigious wealth of the temples, by the police and manufactures. Here they were met by an augmentation of flattery, applause and homage; they were regarded as superior beings; Sons of the Divinity, come to remedy all the evils of the state. The virgins of the temple served them, the priests humbled themselves before them, and the multitude worshipped them. And how did the conduct of these men correspond with the good faith, generosity, and high estimation, with which they were received? In what manner did they endeavour to preserve, for themselves and countrymen, this exalted opinion and respected name? They mocked and insulted the reverence this simple people paid them; they sacrificed the modesty of the virgins to their base and brutal passions; they seized on whatever their avarice coveted; they committed every species of sacrilege in the temples, and every outrage on the inhabitants, who soon discovered, that far from being Sons of the Deity, they were a new plague, sent to them as a scourge from heaven. They were only restrained, by respect to the mandate of Atahualpa, from avenging themselves

by the death of these men. However, they contrived to hasten as much as possible the stipulated accumulation of gold for Caxamalca, and thus delivered themselves from their abhorred oppressors. In contemplating this singular case of glaring insolence, rudeness, and temerity, one may ask which were the barbarians, the Europeans or the Indians, and the answer is easy. Pizarro's ill-judged selection of agents has been severely blamed, as it compromised so deeply the interests and honour of the Castilian nation; and, whether he was actuated by any confidence he reposed in these men, for the particular commission they bore, or that they were better versed in the language of the country, or, in short, whatever might be the motive for his choice, remains a mystery, and the accusation is unanswered, constituting an addition to the charges with which posterity loads the memory of this chief.

However that error happened to be committed, the immediate result of it was, that the Indians of Cuzco concealed all the gold they could collect, from hatred to the Castilians, and those of Pachacamac followed their example. The temple of that name was the richest in Peru, and the greediness to obtain it, sharpened by a fear lest the civil dissensions of the Empire might cause its wealth to be dissipated, instigated Pizarro to request it from Atahualpa. He consented, but, on condition, that the treasure brought from thence should be employed in filling up whatever void might remain in the original stipulation for his ransom. This being agreed, the governor ordered

his brother Hernando, with twenty horsemen and twelve muskets, to set forth on the expedition; at the same time he charged him to reconnoitre the land, and to discover if the reports of the hostile assemblages and intentions of the Indians were well grounded. This captain accordingly sallied forth, the beginning of the year 1533; and in the hundred leagues between Caxamalca and Pachacamac, he encountered only pacific Indians, or those who, in compliance with their chief's orders, were laden with gold and silver for Caxamalca; but before the Spaniards reached Pachacamac, intelligence had preceded them of the outrages and scandals committed at Cuzco; and the priests of the temple, to avoid suffering similar disorders, and to avert the spoliation of their ancient and venerable sanctuary, seized the treasure, hiding as much of it as they could. They likewise sent to a place of refuge all the virgins of the sun, to save them from the abominable violence of the insolent strangers. So that, on Hernando Pizarro's arrival, the temple was already divested of its most valuable effects. That, however, which it had been impossible to remove, was not so trifling, but that, with the presents made by the neighbouring Caciques, the Spaniards carried to Caxamalca twenty-six loads of gold, and two thousand marcos, or one thousand pound weight of silver.

Such a spoil might suffice to appease the most insatiable avarice, but the Spaniards would have been still better satisfied, by gaining over the warrior Chia-

liquichiana, the first of Atahualpa's generals, and from his valour, capacity, credit, and services, the second person in the Empire; he was in Xauxa, at the head of 25,000 war Indians, when Hernando Pizarro arrived in Pachacamac. His intentions were dubious, and the Spanish captain immediately felt the importance of reducing to obedience a man in such authority, and the necessity of having a constant eye upon him, and depriving him of the power to excite or accomplish new troubles and hostilities. Confiding in the pacific dispositions of the Inca, and still more in his own impetuous valour, he advanced with his little squadron forty leagues farther, to see and confer with the Indian chief. The Indian was at first suspicious, and for several days maintained his reserve; but such were the arts of Hernando Pizarro, such the promises and securities under which he scrupled not to bind himself, that Chialiquichiana at length joined him, bringing with him many loads of gold, which he had collected to send to Caxamalca. Borne on a litter, followed by the principal Indians, obsequious to his slightest will, the immense suite of his attendants, the wealth and ostentatious luxury which surrounded him, all clearly bespoke the honour and dignity to which he had risen in the monarchy. Yet, this proud satrap, on arriving at the gate of the city, which contained the captive Inca, would not enter it without uncovering his feet, and taking on his shoulders a moderate load, which he took from an Indian, a custom of that country, demonstrative of respect and submis-

sion ; and, when ushered into the presence of Atahualpa, he raised his hands to the Sun, as an action of thanksgiving for having been permitted to behold his prince, whom he approached with every expression of fervent attachment, kissing his face, hands, and feet, and weeping, and deploring bitterly the disastrous fate which had overtaken him. The Spaniards witnessed with wonder such marks of humble loyalty and affectionate devotion in so great a man, and still more were they surprised to see Atahualpa, never, for one moment, depart from his accustomed gravity and solemnity, majestically receiving this adoration, and without replying a single word, silently accepting the worship due from a mortal to a god.

Previous to the arrival of Hernandez, circumstances had occurred to change considerably the corresponding situation, in which the Inca and the Castilians stood, and contributed to cause, or accelerate, the tragical denouement which followed. One of these, was the death of the Inca Huascar, whom the generals of Atahualpa having conquered, sent alive to their lord, to decide upon his fate. He received the tidings of this victory, and of his brother's approach, shortly after his own route and imprisonment in Caxamalca, and said, he could hardly forbear laughing at the caprices of fortune, adding, that he had in one day been conquered and conqueror, captured and captor. But, on deliberating what course he should pursue in this emergency, and reflecting, that, if Huascar was brought to the Spaniards, he might, by exceeding



his promises, obtain their favour, and by the advantage his legitimacy, his youth, and his very inexperience gave him, complete his own destruction, he determined to remove this stumbling-block, and sacrificing nature to expediency, he sent an order for his brother's death. But, it is said, that he wished, before the execution of the sentence, to make trial of the manner in which Pizarro would take the death of that prince. He feigned great affliction, and being asked the cause, replied, that his captains, after having conquered and taken his brother, had killed him without his knowledge, a catastrophe which caused him much grief, since, although enemies and rivals in the Empire, still, they were brothers. The governor consoled him, saying, that these were vicissitudes of fortune incident to war; and betrayed no symptom of suspecting his captive of this transaction, although inwardly rejoicing at the stroke, which had thus delivered him from one of his enemies, even through the instrumentality of his own prisoner. Atahualpa, satisfied by this show of indifference, despatched the cruel order, and the unfortunate Huascar, imploring justice from heaven, and mercy from man, exclaiming with loud cries against the iniquity of his brother, and devoting him to the vengeance and punishment of the Spaniards, was drowned, by his brother's ministers, in the river Andamarca, and flung into a rapid current, that his corpse might not be discovered and buried. The manner of his death was the more deliberately cruel, as, according to the superstition of those people,

those who died by fire or water, and did not receive the rite of sepulture, were devoted to everlasting perdition. This prince, who had scarcely attained his twenty-fifth year, was worthy, clement, and liberal, and, therefore, much beloved by his adherents; but, inexperienced either in war or government, he was incapable of coping with a rival, who exceeded him in activity, valour, and talent, aided by the best generals of the country. Victory declared for Atahualpa, but it is not, at this period, possible to pronounce to which side reason and justice inclined, though the Spaniards of that day, with one accord, loudly declared in favour of the right of the Prince of Cuzco. And thus it was natural they should decide, who so shortly after his death, denounced it as a capital crime, in the process they afterwards fulminated against his ill-starred conqueror. Without dwelling on a question, at present of little interest, it is certain, that each paid dearly for their sanguinary discord, since the tragic end of both brothers, and the total ruin of the Peruvian Empire and religion, were the bitter fruits of their fatal quarrel, and of the error committed by their father, in the partition of the monarchy.

The other novelty which occurred at this juncture, was the arrival of Captain Almagro in Peru, and his speedy visit to Caxamalca. He came, dignified by the King with the title of Marshal, bringing with him four ships and 200 men, amongst whom were several excellent officers, who came from Nicaragua, with Francisco de Godoy, to serve in Peru, and who placed

themselves, on the road, under the orders of Almagro. It soon appeared evident, that the two ancient companions and mutual discoverers would not remain long together, without a renewal of half-smothered jealousies and rancours. Scarcely had Almagro opened a communication with the governor, than it was hinted to the latter, that his friend being stronger and better appointed than himself, had no thoughts of uniting with him, but meditated discoveries and conquests on his own account; to Almagro, on the other hand, it was insinuated, that the governor plotted to get rid of him, and that, if he were not strictly on his guard, he would fall into his snares. This once, however, each recollected what was due to his own character, and to mutual obligations. Pizarro sent messengers to Almagro, to welcome his arrival, and to pray him to hasten forward with the cavalry which accompanied him, and come to partake his good fortune. Almagro, discovering that these evil reports originated in one Rodrigo Perez, a scrivener by office, and who had served him as secretary, prosecuted him for the abuse of his charge, and he was hung for his malice and bad faith. Happy had the two associates been, had they continued to conduct themselves with similar frankness and resolution. Almagro and his soldiers pursued their march to Caxamalca, where they arrived, not only without encountering any impediment on the road, but well treated, served and caressed every where by the Indians. The governor sallied forth to receive him, and when they had exchanged such demonstra-

tions of friendship and affection as became their ancient brotherhood, they entered the city together, when Almagro went immediately to pay his homage to the Inca, and to offer himself to his orders. The Inca, although probably vexed at heart to see the number of his enemies augmented, received him with the same courteous manner as he practised with the other Castilians. Every thing for the moment wore a tranquil and flattering aspect, both for the Spaniards and the captive Prince;—confidence and hilarity reigned among them. The prisoner was happy in the hope of speedy liberation, his captors in the prospect of power and opulence.

Soon afterwards arrived Hernando Pizarro \* with the treasure of the temple of Pachacamac, and with the Peruvian general. The governor and principal captains of the army went forth to meet him; but at the unexpected sight of Almagro, the haughty Hernando could no longer keep his long-nourished aversion in check, and allowed so much scope to his demonstrations of disgust, that he did not vouchsafe the least compliment or salutation. All were shocked at his rudeness, and especially the governor, who reproved his brother in private, and then led him to the apartment of the marshal, where Hernando apologized for his neglect, and Almagro accepted his excuses with his natural facility and sincerity; so that this misunderstanding vanished for the time, at least to appear-

\* May 25, 1533.

ance. These are, in themselves, trifling incidents, yet absolutely necessary to a faithful delineation of historical characters; and they are the more indispensable in the present narrative, since these disgusts, however slight in the beginning,\* were the sparks that kindled that fearful blaze, which at length consumed all the actors in this sad and sanguinary drama.

As the cargoes of the ransom arrived at Caxamalca, they were secured in a place destined to that purpose. The distances were large, the loads small, the chamber spacious, so that the treasure appeared of small bulk in the eyes of the covetous Castilians. They became impatient on finding the promised accumulation delayed, and feared lest the hopes which had sparkled before the eyes of their fancy should disperse in smoke. They were disposed to throw the blame of this delay upon the Inca; and suspecting him of wishing to gain time for an insurrection of his provinces, which should lead to the destruction of the Castilians before the arrival of the ransom, they proposed putting him to death, as the best means of averting whatever doubt and suspense they might yet have to contend with. From this danger Atahualpa was saved by Hernando Pizarro, who would not listen to the proposal.

The followers of Almagro signalized themselves in this impatience, as considering themselves entitled to a part of this rich booty; as did also the royal officers, who,\* having been prudently left by Pizarro in San Miguel, came with Almagro to Caxamalca, to enter

on their respective charges, and to be present at the division of the plunder. When the Castilians beheld the multitude of Indians who arrived laden with the treasures of Cuzco, making, with that already collected, a prodigious accumulation, so that the heap had suddenly reached almost to the level of their covetousness, they began to feel the most lively impatience for the moment of distribution, and although apparently the treasure had not yet filled up the stipulated space, they became anxious to receive their respective shares. Pizarro was willing to gratify this desire, which, perhaps, was felt in an equal degree by chiefs and soldiers; but it was necessary, in the first place, to remove the difficulty caused by the claims of Almagro's people, who expected to enter into this partition on the same footing with the first comers, who overthrew the Inca in Caxamalca. They could not certainly establish an *equal* right, but to have refused them *any* participation, would have been both discourteous and dangerous. The two generals at length held a council, with the principal chiefs of the army, when it was agreed that 100,000 ducats should be taken from the heap for Almagro's party, which satisfied them, and the distribution took place without farther obstacle.

This ceremony was performed with the most imposing solemnity. Pizarro judicially proved the power and authority he held by royal warrant, to superintend and regulate such divisions according to the services and merits of each individual, to the best

judgment of himself as governor ; and, solemnly praying the divine aid to enable him to do strict justice, he began the work. He caused the precious metals to be weighed and examined by founders and assayers ; he then set apart the royal fifths, and also the amount of an additional donative made to the king, including the jewel called *Escaño*, with others, which, from their workmanship or their rarity, were deemed meet to be exhibited at court ; the 100,000 ducats for the *Almagristas*, with the sums due to the founders, assayers, &c. for their different labours.\* The remainder was shared among the general, captains, and soldiers, in proportion to their different merits and rank, or to the conditions agreed to by each in his contract. There was not that equality in the portions which historians have asserted ; they, however, greatly differ in their relations ; but by the judicial act of repartition, we know, that, generally speaking, the portion of each horseman was about 9000 pesos (ounces) of gold, and 300 marcos † in silver, and that of each of the infantry about half the above. The distinguished captains and soldiers were rewarded in proportion. The share of Pizarro amounted to 57,220 pesos of gold, and 2350 marcos of silver, without reckoning the tablet of gold from the litter of the Inca, which

\* The spoil divided, after deducting 262,000,259 pesos of gold for the royal fifth, the rights of the assayers, founders, and markers, the 100,000 ducats of the *Almagristas*, the jewel called *Escaño*, and other remarkable jewels, amounted to 1,528,500 pesos of gold. See HERRERA, vol. v. book iii. decade v. chap. iii.

† A marco is 8 oz.

was generally valued at 25,000 pesos. An enormous booty ! and if we consider the small number of soldiers among whom this distribution was made, quite unexampled in the history of these plunderings and incursions, misnamed wars and conquests. If we consider such a reward as due to valour, constancy, activity, and enterprise, the Castilians no doubt deserved it, for of these qualities they had exhibited the most exalted proofs ; not indeed against men, for *they* were able to make little or no resistance, but against the soil, climate, and the elements, which had frequently put their fortitude and endurance to the most cruel proof. But public opinion, guided by reason and equity, in proportion as it honours and respects that opulence which is the offspring of application, talents and industry, has branded with the stamp of eternal reprobation, the precocious and bloody fruits of violence and rapine.\*

Pizarro had fulfilled the promise he had made his companions, that he would enrich them, even beyond any wish they had the power to form. He now became

\* In fact, the acquisition of gold and silver in such immense quantities did not much enrich them, at least those who remained in America. The things they desired rose in proportion to the abundance of the metals whereby they were to be obtained. A quire of paper cost ten pesos, a pair of boots thirty, a black cap 100, a horse 3000, 4000, sometimes 5000 ducats. The merchants were accustomed to buy gold of twenty carats at fourteen, and of fourteen at seven. Silver was valued in proportion. So that the possessors of this great wealth could hardly procure by its means those conveniences which elsewhere were within reach of the most moderate fortune.—*Author's Note.*



eager that this fact should be made manifest in America and Spain. He therefore determined on sending his brother, Hernando Pizarro, to the king, with his fifths, and the donative added by the army, with a relation of all that had happened, and of the state in which affairs then stood. He went likewise charged to obtain for the governor a fresh accession of honours, dignities, and favours. The Marshal Almagro also wrote to the king, representing his services, and petitioning, as their reward, that the government of the territory stretching beyond that which had been conferred on Pizarro should be given to him, with the title of Adelantado. From motives of courtesy and expediency, he openly committed this negotiation to Hernando Pizarro. Having, however, small confidence in the good-will or activity of such an agent, he at the same time secretly empowered his two friends, Cristoval de Mena and Juan de Sosa, to go to Spain and back his pretensions, in case Hernando Pizarro should neglect them. Hernando Pizarro set sail, in company with some captains and soldiers,\* who prudently resolved to return to their country, there to enjoy in tranquillity the wealth which fortune had showered upon them. They reached Panamá, from whence the tidings of the treasures of Peru were speedily spread over the Indies. On arriving at Seville, the magnificent amount of the king's fifths, the great wealth brought home by those who returned, and the im-

\* The number of these prudent men is stated to be sixty.

mense remittances sent by those who remained to their families, glutted, as Gomara says, Seville with money, and filled the whole world with wonder and emulation.

The treasures of the Inca being distributed, it was now time to deliberate respecting his person. He pleaded to be set at liberty, since his part of the compact between them had been fulfilled; but far other intentions were maturing in the mind of his obdurate and artful conqueror. It is undoubtedly true, that in the position in which the Spaniards then stood, and in the supposition that they had already irrevocably decreed the destruction of the empire, whatever plan they had pursued with regard to Atahualpa must have rendered them liable to serious inconveniences. To set him at liberty, was impolitic—to keep him prisoner, would have rendered him a source of continual embarrassment—to deprive him of life, was an odious cruelty and injustice. When, through their own fault, or that of others, the ambitious find themselves in such a predicament, it costs them little to force themselves a path, even though they trample down humanity and justice. Thus did Pizarro in the present emergency; and if he had not already in his heart condemned the Inca to death, certain it is that the sentence was passed from the moment that his first passion, that of gain, was appeased, and he could deliver himself wholly to the suggestions of ambition. Unfortunately, Atahualpa had already given the example, and led the way, leaving, by the sacrifice of

Huascar, only one victim, whose destruction would bring the enterprise of his adversaries to its completion. This resolution was at first kept secret, and in the mean time, as some apology for the deed, and to render it less hateful, reports were raised of seditions, of movements among the Indians, and of the projects of their generals to save the prisoner.\* The Indians

\* "The fears and suspicions of Pizarro were artfully increased by Filipillo, one of the Indians whom Pizarro had carried off from Tumbez in the year 1520, and whom he employed as an interpreter. The function which he performed admitting this man to familiar intercourse with the captive monarch, he presumed, notwithstanding the meanness of his birth, to raise his affections to a Coya, or descendant of the Sun, one of Atahualpa's wives; and seeing no prospect of gratifying that passion during the life of the monarch, he endeavoured to fill the ears of the Spaniards with such accounts of his secret designs and preparations as might awaken their jealousy, and excite them to cut him off. While Almagro and his followers openly demanded the life of the Inca, and Filipillo laboured to ruin him by private machinations, that unhappy prince inadvertently contributed to hasten his own fate. During his confinement he had attached himself with peculiar affection to Hernando Pizarro and Hernando Soto; who, as they were persons of superior birth and education to the rough adventurers with whom they served, were accustomed to behave with more decency and attention to the captive monarch. Soothed with this respect from persons of such high rank, he delighted in their society; but in the presence of the governor he was uneasy and overawed. This dread soon came to be mingled with contempt. Among all the European arts, what he admired most was that of reading and writing; and he long deliberated with himself, whether he should regard it as a natural or acquired talent. In order to determine this, he desired one of the soldiers who guarded him to write the name of God on the nail of his thumb. This he showed successively to several Spaniards, asking its meaning; and to his amazement, they all without hesitation returned the same answer. At length Pizarro entered, and on presenting it to him, he blushed, and with some confusion was obliged to acknowledge his ignorance. From that moment Atahualpa considered him as a mean

of service, or Yanaconas, gave colour to such rumours; for being, as it were, the refuse of the natives of the land, they hated their more fortunate countrymen, and saw only their own future benefit in the overthrow of the empire, and the destruction of its government. The Inca's guards were doubled, and the general, Chialiquichiana, was arrested as the fomentor of these inquietudes; and in spite of the firmness and truth with which he denied the charge, and demonstrated its falsehood, he would certainly have been burned by order of the governor, had not Hernandó Pizarro, not then departed for Spain, averted the sentence. Suspicions of war and rumours of insurrection increased; Almagro's soldiers sought the ruin of the Peruvian Prince, believing that while he lived they should never attain an equality with the people of Pizarro. The royal officers likewise eagerly desired his death, simply from fear, and conceiving that such a step would fill the Indians with terror, and completely smooth their road. Amongst these, the most factious, the most restless, and the most cruel, was Alonzo Riquelme, the treasurer, who, by his incessant and

person, less instructed than his own soldiers; and he had not address enough to conceal the sentiments with which this discovery inspired him. To be the object of a barbarian's scorn, not only mortified the pride of Pizarro, but excited such resentment in his breast, as added force to all the other considerations which prompted him to put the Inca to death."—ROBERTSON, vol. ii. book vi. p. 182.

Herrera says, that Hernando de Soto amused the Inca by teaching him chess and games of dice.

vehement exertions, aided by the authority of his office, appeared rather to demand than to advise it.

The governor had no other desire, for he earnestly wished to seem forced to an action which he conceived to be his interest; and as aggressors would always assume the appearance of justice, even to those whom they injure, Pizarro, in the midst of these rumours and jealousies, visited the Inca, and told him he wondered greatly, that, having been so well treated under the honour and good faith of the Castilians, he should manœuvre for destroying them, with the army which was publicly known to be marching on Caxamalca. Prince Atahualpa believed that the governor was joking, and entreated him not to practise those jests upon him; but perceiving, by the voice and countenance of Pizarro, the reality and continuance of his displeasure, seeing his imprisonment aggravated and his guards doubled, "I know not," said he to the Spaniards, "how you can believe me so devoid of sense, as, while in your hands, and laden with your chains, to commit treason against you, and command my troops to advance against you, knowing that, at the moment of their appearance, you would cut off my head. You are certainly unacquainted with my power, if you believe that my subjects would move against my will. If I do not give the order, neither the birds fly, nor do the leaves on the trees stir, in my land."

But, alas! such arguments, however sound and unanswerable, could not suffice to exculpate him with one already resolved on pronouncing him guilty; and

after that gloomy conference, followed as it was by unprecedented acts of rigour, the miserable Inca might too clearly predict the fate which was preparing for him. In vain did he remind Pizarro and the Castilians, that, after having taken his treasure under the seal of a solemnly pledged faith, they were offending, by their present conduct, against every rule of justice.

The governor affected to employ, in a transaction so serious, the utmost circumspection and deliberation, and sent Hernando de Soto, with another captain and some horse, to reconnoitre those parts of the country where the enemy was reported to be, and to act according to circumstances. After a diligent search, they encountered only Indians of service, going peaceably on their way to Caxamalca. Probably this expedition was arranged merely as a means of sending Soto to a distance, since he was the only support which the departure of Hernando Pizarro had left the Inca; for these two captains had especially won his good-will, he preferred their conversation, and they were the favourite associates of his amusements.

Soon after Soto left Caxamalca, there arose a great tumult among the Castilians, who clamorously asserted that the enemy approached, and that the danger was becoming imminent. By this time the plan was matured, and all ready for the commencement of a process, where the only jurisdiction was that of force. Atahualpa was accused of the murder of his sovereign and brother, Huascar, and of plots against the security of

the Spaniards ; and these charges being proved in a summary manner, the case was then laid before Fra Vicente Valverde, a man even less instructed in the formalities of justice, than in the divine maxims of the gospel. This priest averred that there was ample ground for the condemnation of the Inca, and offered to sign the sentence, if necessary. Thus supported, the two generals pronounced the doom of their prisoner, and adjudged the unhappy prince to be burned alive. On this atrocious fact being known in the army, many Spaniards nobly protested against it, appealing loudly to justice, equity, and gratitude, in favour of the royal captive.\* They were indignant that such an inhuman act should dim the lustre of their actions, and could not endure that so foul a stain should be eternally fixed on the Spanish name and character.

\* All historians unite in this opinion, and echo the same sentiments which animated the army. Herrera manifests very clearly, that if the death of the Inca was disculpable in a political view, it was not so in justice or morality. Gomara, after lamenting that he had not been sent to the Emperor, and ascribing his execution to the clamours of Almagro's party, says, " But we may cease to revile them for this deed, since time and their crimes have punished them, and all of them have met an evil end." Oviedo says, among other things, " It is notorious that the governor guaranteed his life ; and even had no such engagement existed, he ought to have respected it, since no captain, without the warrant of his king and lord, can dispose of the person of a prince whom he has taken. . . . These reports were raised by those who wished his death ; he was a victim to evil designs, and to the ill counsel of the governor ; the process was badly composed, and worse written ; the foremost in this transaction were a restless, worthless priest, and a scrivener without sense or conscience, and other such persons, who agreed in this crime."—*Author's Note.*

They chose a protector for the Inca, and appealed in form to the Emperor in his behalf, demanding that Atahualpa and his cause should be sent to Spain. Many were of this opinion, and at their head some of the most distinguished men in the army. Their honourable efforts were vain; they were threatened with the name and punishment of traitors, and so silenced. The sentence was intimated to the Inca, who prepared to die. At first he loudly exclaimed against the perfidy with which he was treated; then, his thoughts reverting to his family, he demanded, with tears, what crime he, his wives, or his children, had committed? The burst of natural feeling having subsided, he resigned himself nobly and firmly to his doom, requesting to be interred at Quito, with his ancestors of the maternal line. His executioners allowed the day to close, as though they would not permit the eye of day to look upon the consummation of their crime; and, two hours after nightfall, the Inca was brought forth for punishment, the Fra Valverde offering him his consolations by the way, piously anxious, no doubt, to assist at the last scene of a tragedy, to the commencement of which he had been in many ways instrumental. He persuaded Atahualpa to become a Christian, and to request baptism; adding, in aid of his persuasions, that in doing so he would escape *the flames*. The last argument was well understood by the poor Inca, who yielded, and baptism was administered, in such form as the time and circumstances would permit. This done, the successor of Manco Capac was delivered into the



hands of his executioners, and, being bound to a stake, he was immediately strangled.

Atahualpa was, at the time of his death, thirty years of age, and, according to Gomara, a contemporary writer, whose information must be derived from the witnesses, or even actors in these events, "he was well disposed, wise, courageous, frank, cleanly in person, and of good appearance." The idea left of him by the narratives of those times, is, in truth, highly favourable, in spite of the vices of dissimulation, cruelty, injustice, and tyranny, which have been laid to his charge. These odious qualities seem very inconsistent with the virtues and graces he manifested during his long imprisonment, and which gained him the affection and friendship of many Spaniards, who, as we have said above, loudly arraigned the sentence pronounced against him, as most iniquitous and barbarous. They agree equally ill with the eulogiums bestowed on him after his death, when he is seldom named but as *the Great Monarch, the Good King*, and other phrases, all of the same import. Finally, they have their strongest contradiction in the love and devotion impressed on the hearts of his Peruvians for his person and memory, who considering, that, more than any other of their princes, he had reflected the great gifts and virtue of his father, Huayna Capac, wept, in his deplorable death, the catastrophe of the empire. As soon as this event was known in Caxamalca, the wives of the Inca, the Indian women who served him, and his whole family, began to pierce the air with their

lamentations, and to invoke heaven with the most dismal cries. Those who were most attached to him rushed forth, frenzied and desperate, resolving to bury themselves with him; and as the Spaniards prevented them, they dispersed about the neighbourhood, and some with cords, some with their own hair, hung themselves to follow him. Thus they satisfied their adoration of their unhappy Prince, and many others would have perished in like manner, had not the soldiers followed and restrained them, by order of Pizarro.

The corpse was decently interred among other Christians, but in a few days secretly removed by the Indians, and carried either to Quito or to Cuzco. Its final destination could never be ascertained, though, from greediness of the treasure supposed to be buried with him, the most minute and diligent search was made in each of those places for the discovery of his sepulchre. When the mournful tidings reached the other provinces of Peru, the same loyalty and devoted affection were every where evinced; the Indians of both sexes putting themselves to death, that they might serve their idolized Inca in the other world. The sentiment, in short, was general throughout the empire; and when the constancy and good faith with which he had conducted himself in prison became known, and the positive and efficacious orders by which he had prohibited his people from taking up arms in his favour, and making war on the Castilians, they contrasted his behaviour with the iniquitous course pursued by the Europeans, and not only the friends

and partisans of Atahualpa, but those who had been otherwise, raised a cry of horror against the Castilians, envying the fate of those Incas, who had not lived to be overtaken by times so cruel and disastrous.

This act consummated the destruction of that great monarchy. From the moment of the Inca's imprisonment, and of the dispersion of his army, the captains who commanded it were scattered in different directions, and exercised a thousand oppressions and violences; all fear of authority was at an end; the harmony which had reigned in the state was broken; all ties of union burst at one stroke; the whole frame of order was disconcerted, and there remained no curb on the ambition of the great, nor on the license of the multitude. The stores and public property were plundered, private possessions invaded; all was confusion and disorder; and the work of civilisation, which had cost ages of wisdom and perseverance in completing, was destroyed in a moment. All religion was disregarded, all habits corrupted; even the virgins of the sun, so sacred and revered, now quitted their cloisters, and, abandoning themselves to libertinism, became the indiscriminate prey of their own countrymen or of the strangers, and the derision and contempt of both. Such mutation and confusion in that lately well-ordered state, and in that strict accord of laws divine and human, filled every good man's heart with grief for what he saw, and dread for the future, for small reason was there to hope that the evil would end here; and these misgivings were just, for no sooner was the Inca dead,

than disorders, scandals, and usurpations, reached the most fearful height ; the classes, so long kept in subjugation, rose against their superiors, and exercised retaliation and vengeance ; no province was at peace with the adjacent one, nor scarcely even any man with his neighbour ; and the keystone which sustained the edifice giving way, the whole structure fell with a tremendous shock, and became a ruin.

This rapid dissolution of the Empire was favourable to the designs of the conqueror, who thus saw a more easy entrance opened before him to the new monarchy he proposed to found ; but, if the death of Atahualpa smoothed the difficulties which might oppose themselves to his capacity, valour, and enterprise, there quickly arose others calculated to excite in the Castilians serious doubt and anxiety ; the accumulation of gold and silver, coming to Caxamalca for the ransom of the Inca, was now detained, the service of the Indians began to slacken, provisions to diminish, commands to be evaded, and threats of insurrections and hostilities were again heard : whatever contempt the Spaniards might nourish for a people who had suffered themselves to be easily overthrown, and their king taken and put to death, was surpassed by the abhorrence which the natives felt for them. The extent of country was immense, the Indians many, the Castilians very few. Pizarro, therefore, meditated the creation of a new Inca, who might serve as his principal instrument for the subjugation of the Indians, the central point of their interests and wills, and avert from

him and his followers those dissensions and wars which he could devise no other means to escape. He, therefore, summoned such of the Orejones as were on the spot, for this purpose, and gave them to understand, that it was not his intention to destroy the monarchy, and that he requested their counsel, as to the person whom they considered most worthy to assume the royal borla. These men, who had been promoted and dignified by Atahualpa, named a son of that prince, called Toparpa. His extreme youth and inexperience adapted him to the purposes and ends of the Spanish general, who expressed his approbation, and the son of Atahualpa was acknowledged, and crowned as king, with all accustomed ceremony, in Cuzco, though with less than former pomp and majesty. Thus, the barbarians who overran Italy in the latter times of the Roman Empire, used to create such pantomimic Cæsars; and Toparpa, by the side of Pizarro, was a lively representation of Avitus and Anthemius by the side of Ricimer, and of Julius Nepos and Augustulus by that of Orestes.

Pizarro resolved to pursue his march to the capital; but it was first necessary to secure San Miguel de Piura and its district, as it might be deemed the key to Peru. For this mission he made choice of Captain Sebastian de Belalcazar, who received his instructions, and departed immediately on his destined journey. This election did honour to the discernment and penetration of the Castilian general. Whether we contemplate Belalcazar as employed in the bloody and obsti-

nate wars maintained against the Indians of Quito, or undertaking new and bold discoveries in the equinoctial regions, or occasionally, performing a part in the events of Peru, he exhibited so acute a capacity, so correct a judgment, a spirit so intrepid and warlike, and such indefatigable activity, as left him without any superior, even among the most celebrated discoverers.

The Spaniards having at length completed a residence of seven months in Caxamalca, now directed their march to Cuzco by the royal road of the Incas; they had attained the number of 480 men, which, as they were become accustomed to the Indians, they considered a moderate army. They carried with them the new Inca, who was borne on a litter, and followed and served by such Orejones as were at the time of departure in Caxamalca. In this procession, the general Chialiquichiana, who was likewise carried on a litter, in demonstration of his consequence and authority, was very conspicuous. The governor, having no sufficient motive for depriving him of his liberty, had set him free, counselling him to continue quiet and tranquil. In such unbroken harmony, did the Spaniards and Indians proceed among the lovely valleys formed by the sierras, without meeting, for some days, any subject for jealousy on the road. All was peace. The Indians of the different villages by which they passed, came out to receive them with all submission and respect, and the Castilians marched forward, enriched, and satisfied with the past, and

joyous and animated by the hope of a yet more prosperous future.

But immediately on having passed the province of Guamachuco, and on reaching that of Andamarca, advice was received that a large body of Indians was posted with apparently hostile intentions, a little in advance. The Spanish general thought it expedient that a son of the Inca Huayna Capac should go forward, and endeavour to appease them; but those who accompanied him returned in affliction to announce, that, disregarding his birth, the enemy had put him to death, as a traitor to his country. This opened the eyes of the Castilians to the certainty that a desperate war was kindling against them, and that, in spite of all their precautions, they must open themselves a way to the capital, by force of arms.

The first effect of this event was the imprisonment of Chialiquichama, whom Pizarro, either for security or revenge, again loaded with fetters. At the same time the army began to march with more caution, and in better order; Almagro and Hernando de Soto leading the vanguard, while Pizarro followed with the remainder of the army and the baggage. But the Indians did not suffer themselves to be seen in arms, till the Castilians entered the village of Xauxa, sixty leagues from Caxamalca; there, conceiving themselves secure on the farther bank of the river, which runs through the midst of the valley, they began to insult and provoke their enemies: "What do you want in our country? Why return ye not to your own? Ye

ought to be satisfied with the injuries ye have already done us, and with the murder of Atahualpa !” The river, great in itself, and then swollen by the melted snows, which had carried away the bridge, was, in their opinion, a secure defence, behind which they might utter their reproaches and revilings with impunity ; but on seeing the Spaniards throw themselves boldly into the river, despising equally the fury of the current, and the clamours and threats which were poured upon them, and not possessing courage to await the attack of the horse, they took flight, some towards the north, others towards the west, sufficient numbers remaining on the field, to exercise, and even to weary, the swords of the Castilians.

With this sad affair, and the similar result of subsequent encounters, the valley was cleared of the Indians, and the Castilians took possession of the treasures of the temple belonging to the place ; a great number of webs of linen and cotton, and several beautiful women, amongst them two daughters of Huayna Capac. Here Pizarro resolved on founding a town, attracted by the fertile and lovely district, the large population which belonged to it, and the proportionate distance it held to all other important places. Previously to executing this idea, he sent Hernando de Soto with sixty horse, to make a rapid recognisance of the road from Cuzco. In pursuing his march, he descried in the distance, at Curibayo, a host of Indians armed in defence of the pass, of which he apprised the governor, and urged him to send forward the new



Inca to endeavour to pacify them by his presence ; but Toparpa, at this period, fell seriously ill, and his death quickly succeeded, leaving Pizarro discóncerted by his loss, and doubtful how he might repair it, having experienced the utility of his presence, although but a mock king, in removing all difficulties and obstacles which had arisen on the march.

Soto had no need of the aid he had required, for, on approaching the station of the Indians with his horse, he dispersed them easily, by the mere terror with which they regarded those animals. But not subdued, they determined to post themselves in a rude and difficult pass in the Sierra of Vilcacongá, seven leagues from Cuzco. There they reinforced themselves, and laid in provisions, fortifying themselves after their manner, and adding to the natural inaccessibility of the road ; making hidden holes, armed with pointed stakes, for disabling the cavalry. The Castilians supposing them in flight, followed the fugitives, passed Curambo, crossed the river Abancay, and by the royal way of Chinchasuyo, reached the point where the Indians awaited them. Seeing them entangled in this dangerous pass, the Barbarians, considering them already destroyed, raised their war cries, and attacking them fiercely with darts, slings, arrows, and wooden scimitars, shewed themselves in every part of the mountain, as if bent to conquer or die. The Spanish soldiers recoiled at the sight of this great multitude, in the formidable position they had had the sagacity to select, and struck, above all, by their appearance of

desperate resistance. Soto, seeing them thus uncertain, "It suits us not," said he, "to halt here, and still less to abandon the conquest. While we linger, the difficulty and danger increase momentarily, since the enemy will become emboldened, and will multiply in numbers. On the contrary, our victory smooths all difficulties from before us. Follow me." Having thus addressed his men, he rushed foremost upon the enemy, who received him and his people with a spirit equally resolute and animated. The combat was most obstinate on the part of the Indians. Those, who beheld them pierced through, and their throats cut like lambs, in Caxamalca, would hardly suppose that the lions, now so bravely standing at bay, could be of the same nation. It is true, that many of them fell, but many Spaniards and horses likewise perished; and in the immense disproportion of numbers between the two people, every drop of Castilian blood that was shed, seemed an irreparable loss. Night separated them. The Indians posted themselves near a fountain, and the Castilians on the borders of a rivulet; they were, nevertheless, within musket shot of each other, and the Peruvians were prepared for the attack, by day-break. Hernando de Soto, who, on mustering his people, found that he had lost five Spaniards, with eleven wounded, and two horses, with fourteen others wounded,—considering, moreover, how ill they were supplied with necessaries, and how few people were left him, and not being certain, in spite of the advices he had despatched of his situation, on his march,

whether he should receive succour in time, began to suffer intense anxiety with respect to the difficulty of his position, and to repent his improvident temerity. While his thoughts were thus painfully employed with doubts and misgivings, which the obscurity of the night augmented, the Castilian trumpet was heard at the foot of the mountain, announcing, by its echoes, the approach of aid and deliverance. The trumpet of the combatants responded from above, and, at its sound, the reinforcement, commanded by the Marshal Almagro, hastened to join the troops of Hernando de Soto. They embraced each other with such feelings of joyous welcome as we may well imagine, and awaited the dawn for the renewal of the conflict. The surprise and dismay of the Indians, on perceiving at daybreak that the enemy's force was doubled, and that the victory, of which they had felt so secure, was about to escape them, were great; yet they did not lose courage, but stood the first attack of the Castilians, who, being so greatly increased in numbers, and fighting with fresh ardour and confidence, easily routed and put them to flight. The camp being thus gained, the victors agreed to await there the rest of the army, which was marching rapidly to join them.

Meanwhile, Pizarro having left in Xauxa instructions for the formation of the new settlement he had there projected, he constituted the treasurer Riquelme his lieutenant, in order to rid himself of the presence of that turbulent, ungovernable man. At the same time he sent a detachment to the coast of Pachaca-

mac to examine the feasibility of erecting a town on that shore, and then passed to Vilcas, the central point of the Empire of the Incas, being placed at an equal distance between Quito and Chile. There, he had fresh cause to admire this magnificent monarchy; for Vilcas, with Cuzco and Pachacamac, was one of three favoured places, where the Incas had lavished, to the utmost excess, the proofs of their power and splendour, not only on the temple and adoratories, but on the royal apartments and houses of recreation, which they had erected in that delicious region. He went from thence, without any interruption, to meet the vanguard of his army, who expected him. But he, who from Caxamalca hitherto, could boast of having marched on with a decorum and gravity becoming a civilized conqueror, pacifying the natives, projecting settlements, and abstaining from all barbarous and unworthy conduct, gave, on arriving at Vilcaconga, fresh proof of the little reliance his justice and humanity merited, when he might lay them aside with opportunity and security. The hostile movements of the Indians, in the various encounters which had occurred with them, betrayed, by their order and consistency, that they were directed by some experienced head, well exercised in the art of war. It was known in the Spanish camp, that the multitude of insurgent Indians was led by Quizquiz, one of the ablest generals of Atahualpa, and joined with Chilibuichiana in the war against Huascar. A rumour was raised of secret communications between the two captains, and it was

even said that Chialiquichiana had sent advices to his friend, that the Castilian force was divided, and how he might best profit by that fortunate occasion. This intelligence was not sufficiently proved to justify the rigour afterwards exercised on the unfortunate general. The danger of Hernando de Soto and his sixty horse, had filled the minds of the Spaniards with as much wrath as anxiety. To this, we may add, that Chialiquichiana enjoyed the fame of having won five battles for his king, and the declaration of the Indians, that had been with Atahualpa in Caxamalca, the tragical scene there acted could not have taken place; and to sum up the causes which made him obnoxious to those who held him in their power, we may mention the talent and capacity, which, during their intercourse, his oppressors had noted in him. They feared the difficulties he might occasion them if he recovered his liberty, and even asserted that a great body of Indians were marching upon them, with the purpose of setting him free. All this was more than sufficient to render him culpable in the eyes of the jealous conqueror; and Pizarro, to rid himself at once of all doubt, doomed him to be immediately burned. Thus ended the sad series of injustices committed on this warrior, who probably owed his deplorable death to his high reputation. Chialiquichiana, at the stake to which they had fastened him, might triumph over his executioner, reproaching him with treachery, injustice, and shocking inhumanity, to one who had never given him the slightest pretence for his conduct.

Immediately after this rigorous act, the army began their march for Cuzco: the Indians, however, previously to witnessing the loss of their ancient capital, resolved to make trial of their fortune in a narrow pass of the valley of Xaquixaguama, through the hollow of a mountain which defends it on the eastern side. Here they awaited the Castilian vanguard, which, under Almagro, Soto, and Juan Pizarro, began to skirmish with them, and to push them hard, wounding several of them with their lances. They supported themselves, nevertheless, with tolerable firmness, animated by their injuries, and protected by the nature of the ground; when Mango Inca, one of the sons of Huayna Capac, who had sallied from the city with a good body of his people to join the combatants, suddenly despairing of the destiny of his country, went over to the Spaniards, and presented himself to the governor, who received him with every species of honours and flatteries. Then the Indians, losing all hope, quitted the combat, and rushed in fury and despair on Cuzco, determined to burn that emporium and conceal its treasures. Hernando de Soto and Juan Pizarro, flew, by order of the governor, to intercept them; but they could not hinder the complete sack of the Temple of the Sun, and the abstraction of its wealth; the removal of the sacred virgins who dwelt in it, nor the setting fire to several parts of the city. With equal rapidity the Peruvians escaped from the scene of ruin, conveying with them all the youth of both sexes, and leaving only the aged and useless behind them. Such was the state in which

the Spaniards found the capital of the empire, into which Pizarro made his entrance towards the end of November 1533, and took possession, with the usual formalities, in the name of the King of Castile.

The Spaniards having, at such small cost, gained possession of that opulent city, their first anxiety, after having quenched the flames which the Indians had kindled, was to search for the riches which had been there treasured up. Much had been carried away and concealed by the Peruvians, yet still abundance remained. They completely stripped the temples of the planks of gold which lined them, sacked the fort and palaces, and searched the houses, with a diligence inspired by the most greedy avarice. They next ransacked the sepulchres, and the bones of the dead were destined to be once more exposed to light, and to yield to the hands of those eager strangers the jewels which had been interred with them. The most anxious search was for the sepulchres of Huayna Capac, Atahualpa, and other Incas, whose treasures, exaggerated by report, increased the impatient desire of these covetous men. They entreated the Indians to guide them to them; but they, crafty and reserved, either replied with subterfuge, or made no answer. Hence arose insults and threats; these were followed by blows, and finally by torture; yet neither insolence nor cruelty could wrest information from them; from some because they were ignorant, and from others because they were stronger than their tormentors; and thus did those venerable monuments escape for ever the rapacity of the con-

querors. The produce of this plunder, added to the spoil collected on the way, and placed in one common mass, in pursuance of the established custom, was of greater amount than the booty of Caxamalca; there were, however, more to share it, so that it was divided into much smaller portions. It is said that when the King's fifth was subtracted, the remainder was divided into four hundred and eighty parts, and that each individual received 4000 pesos. This enormous mass of precious metal, put suddenly into traffic on one spot, and the want and scarcity of such comforts and commodities as might be exchanged for it, had the natural effect of depreciating it. The silver was neglected, as heavy and embarrassing, precious stones were abandoned to whomsoever would take them; so that these men, so greedy of gold and silver, seeing the vessel of their avarice burst from repletion, now learned that their coveted treasure served rather as a load and a vexation, than a satisfaction and a profit.

But in attending to these cares, proper to the leader and adventurer, Pizarro did not neglect the political and religious obligations incumbent on him, in his office of governor. He immediately regulated the city according to the form of Castilian policy, established a council, named judges, overthrew and destroyed the idols of the country, and marked out a spot for the erection of a temple for preaching the gospel, and the worthy celebration of divine worship. Yet in the midst of the peace and prosperity which reigned at this crisis, his satisfaction was embittered by the



tidings of an armament, preparing at Guatemala, for Peru, and the disquieting suspicion that these same Spaniards were destined to confound or trouble his measures, and bring his sovereignty into dispute.

The leader and governor, at that period, in Guatemala, was Pedro de Alvarado, one of the principal conquerors of New Spain, and perhaps, of all his companions, most beloved by Hernan Cortes. Few could dispute with him the palm of valour and perseverance, none that of urbanity and liberality; the Mexican Indians called him *Tonatio*, thus comparing him with the sun for his beauty; and he was distinguished by his own countrymen, for his elegance and the polish of his manners. His conduct and habits corresponded with the attractions of his person; he talked, it must be confessed, somewhat too volubly, yet his expressions were bland and gracious, and his flattery insinuating; he gave much, and promised more. Unfortunately, his heart contrasted widely with this seductive outside; vain, ungrateful, and even false, the Spaniards could not endure his arrogance, nor the Indians his oppressions; increasing age, and the affairs in which he was engaged, developed those vices of his character, which did not early betray themselves. He had tranquillized and subdued the province of Guatemala, whither he was sent by Cortes, put a close to the war of the capital, and having become powerful and celebrated by the renown and wealth acquired in this conquest, he went to Court, in the year 1527, to boast of his services, and demand the appropriate guerdon. The

good fortune which had accompanied him in the Indies, did not forsake him in Spain; his amiable exterior, and perhaps, likewise, his presents, won for him the favour of the Commendator Cobos, the Emperor's secretary. He returned to New Spain decorated with the habit of St Jago, and with the rank of leader (Adelantado) and captain-general of Guatemala, where he espoused a lady of good family\* and pretensions, who became subsequently celebrated for the idolatry of her affection for him; he was followed by a multitude of knights and distinguished men, whose hopes rested solely on his favour and fortunes. Hence arose such an excess of vanity and arrogance, as could scarcely be contained within the limits of the new world. His pretensions were lofty, his projects magnificent, and his preparations and armaments eclipsed, in ostentation and grandeur, those of Hernan Cortes himself.

He had promised in Spain to prepare an armament for discoveries in the South Sea, and to explore a new opening for the navigation of the Spice Islands, a project at that season much espoused by the Court. And, in effect, as soon as he arrived in his province in the year 1530, he began to take measures for realizing his offer, with an ardour becoming one whose word was pledged, proportioned to the hopes entertained at

\* Alvarado had engaged himself to wed Cecilia Vasquez, first cousin of Cortes, but on coming to Spain, and seeing himself in favour with Cobos the secretary, he forgot the promise made to his general, and espoused Donna Beatriz de la Cueva, a lady proposed to him by his protector. *Author's Note.*

Court, and to his own vanity and ambition. No expense, no effort, no oppression was spared, nothing omitted that might forward his enterprise; and, in an incredibly short space of time, he had eight sail ready, of different bulk, one of which was a galleon of 300 tons, which, compared with the other vessels then usual in those seas, must have appeared colossal, and was therefore called San Cristoval. The preparation of arms, horses, provisions, and all warlike supplies, was proportioned to the importance of this armament, the largest which had, at that period, been built and fitted out in the ports of the Indies. Great was the eagerness and anxiety of all classes and officers to be employed on this occasion. The great Cortes, now Marquis del Valle, wished to have a share in this enterprise; but this, Alvarado resolutely opposed, and after having in Spain rejected him for his relation, he now in the Indies refused him for his companion.

The preparations were now nearly completed, when the fame of the riches of Peru began to spread through America. Then the Adelantado, seeing himself master of so superior a force, as might, he thought, enable him to give the law wherever he appeared, changed his project, and abandoning the uncertain discoveries of the South Sea, publicly proclaimed his determination of steering for Peru. This proclamation greatly stimulated the eagerness and ardour of a multitude of adventurous spirits, who flew from all parts to seek a share in the golden hopes which were thereby excited. In vain did the royal officers oppose this change of

object, representing the unhappy effects likely to follow a step so unprincipled, so contrary to the orders of government, and so totally inconsistent with the obligations he had contracted; in vain did the Audiencia of Mexico send him order after order, commanding him to abstain from troubling the discoverers of Peru in their conquests and pacifications; and in vain did the city of Guatemala represent to him the deserted state in which that province would be left, without arms, without soldiers, and without himself; abandoned in helplessness to the warlike tribes, which threatened her within and without. Deaf to every remonstrance, he made no pause in his preparations. He replied to the royal officers, that his commission for the South Sea restricted him to no particular course or limit, that it left him at liberty to shape his own plan; he replied to the audience, that Don Francisco Pizarro lacked force sufficient to finish the enterprise he had commenced, and he went therefore to his aid; he informed the Junta of Guatemala, that, for the security of the province, he should carry away with him the principal Caciques and native lords, whom he had caused to be taken for that purpose; and lastly, he told those with whom he could converse without restraint, that he sought a richer and greater country, that of Guatemala being too narrow for his views.

About this time, the pilot, Juan Fernandez, who had partaken in the events of Caxamalca, arrived from Peru, and gave Alvarado a full account of the enormous treasures which had been shared, of the march

of Pizarro over the sierras upon Cuzco, and of the expedition to Quito, where were the treasures of Huayna Capac and of Atahualpa. All this lent spurs to the desires of the Adelantado, who, taking the pilot into his service, immediately set sail with his fleet, composed of twelve barks of all sizes, carrying 500 well armed soldiers, 227 horses, and a great body of Indians, some as hostages, others as auxiliaries, and the greater part as servants. This was expressly at variance with the orders, which strictly prohibited such translations of the natives; but at that period Alvarado owned no restraint of duty, obligation, or law. He was accompanied by several cavaliers and distinguished persons, principally of those who had followed him from Spain, to try their fortune in the Indies. Amongst these were conspicuous Gomez and Diego de Alvarado, Juan de Rada, the same who afterwards became remarkable for his part in the bloody tragedies which ensued, and Garcilaso de la Vega, father of the historian. More than two hundred men were compelled to remain behind, for want of vessels to convey them. On arriving in the Port of la Posesion, he was met by Captain Garcia Holguin, whom he had apprised of his expedition to Peru, and who now brought him complete information of the actual state of things there, and confirmed the intelligence of Juan Fernandez. The squadron again set sail, and on the way entered the harbour of Nicaragua; there, to supply his deficiency of vessels, he forcibly possessed himself of two which were at anchor. Captain Gabriel de Rojas had

kept them in readiness to carry two hundred men to the aid of his old friend Pizarro, who had urged him very earnestly to come and partake his fortunes. Neither the respect justly due to Rojas, nor his remonstrances, could avert this outrage; and that captain had no other resource left, but to set off immediately with a few Spaniards to join his friend in Peru, and give him an account of the indignity he had endured, and the loss he had sustained.

Alvarado, in the course of his voyage, reached the Caraccas, near Porto Vecchio, and there disembarked his men; it is asserted that at that period, and even previously, he had indicated an intention of coasting forward, and postponing the commencement of his discoveries till he arrived on the other side of Chincha, where he knew the government of Don Francisco Pizarro ended. But whether this was done from policy and to save appearances, or in sincerity, his army, by this time weary of navigation, and dreaming only of the opulence and grandeur that awaited them in Quito, unanimously besought their general to conduct them thither, and accordingly they directed their march towards Quito.

They soon had cause to repent the step they had taken. It is true that the first few days of their march all seemed to favour them, and in some of the Indian towns, which lay in their route, they had an opportunity of acquiring wealth, which might have contented minds less sick than theirs with the fever of avarice and ambition. But when they found themselves en-

tangled in those immense deserts, without guide or interpreter, beholding only rocks and rivers, and the plains even rendered nearly impervious by thorns and thickets, through which they could only hew themselves a way by force of iron and severe labour,—when weakened by hunger, their blood burned up by parching thirst, and attacked by fevers which proved fatal to their victims on the second day, or deprived them for a period of their senses, they then began to curse the hour and the impulse, which led them to agonize and perish in this horrible country. The general,\* himself seized by the fever, struggled ten days against its malignity, and only by dint of much care escaped with life. They at length reached a less rugged district, where they found some Indian tribes and settlements, divided and dispersed, without any mutual connexion or intelligence, of different language and manners; they had some gold, and of that the Spaniards possessed themselves. But having thus proceeded for the space of five months, heaven and earth, the climate and the soil, renewed their persecution, and began by the most implacable rigour to manifest the wrath of nature against these audacious invaders. The country seemed to close upon them, they were obliged to strive with the currents of broad and rapid rivers, or to force their irksome way over snow-capped sierras. The

\* Herrera says, that while suffering from this malady, Alvarado, in his delirium, rushed forth with his sword drawn, and among other acts of madness, killed a horse, at a time when that animal was worth, in Peru, three or four thousand pesos. *Translator's Note.*

army marched in three bodies ; the vanguard was led by Diego de Alvarado, the Adelantado followed with the second ; and the Licentiate Caldera, a lawyer, who enjoyed the principal favour and confidence of the general, brought up the rear with the baggage. When they began to penetrate into the recesses of the mountains, a violent wind arose, and the snow descended in broad thick flakes. The first Castilians, who accompanied Diego de Alvarado, being lighter, and capable of more expedition than the rest, succeeded, though with immense exertion, in accomplishing the six leagues which brought them through this appalling portion of their march, and they reached a town, seated on the plain, where they were able to take some rest and refreshment after the labours of their march. From thence, Diego de Alvarado sent to advertise his brother of the dangers of the pass, and of the necessity for crossing it, in order to arrive at that more hospitable region, which the vanguard had already attained. Having received this advice, and seeing he had no means of avoiding the rigours and perils of the pass, the Adelantado pursued his march. The wind continued to blow with even increased violence ; the mortality of the men, which had previously been considerable from their past miseries and fatigues, was now much enhanced by this cruel cold. The Spaniards being more robust, better clothed, and habituated to a variety of temperature, were best able to resist ; but the wretched Indians, natives of the gentle and temperate climes of Guatemala and Nicaragua, sank under



the severity of the storm ; some lost their sight, some their fingers, some their hands and feet, some were frozen to the spot ; all, in short, suffered horribly. Supporting themselves against the rocks, they called with lamentable cries on their masters for succour, till their voices were frozen, and their life extinguished by the frost. Thus, night found them, and their torments and consternation were augmented ; since, with the exception of a few tents, which the richest and most luxurious spread for their shelter, the remainder had to pass the interval, without fire, without protection, while nothing was heard but cries, groans, and maledictions. The Adelantado listened in anguish to these sounds, and already doubtful of the issue of the rash adventure into which his ambition had driven him, he trembled for the approach of that dawn, which would unveil the dreadful scene his imagination already depicted. Light, at length, came, and at the sight of such a multitude of frozen Indians and Negroes, all, without order or counsel, with the confusion of men routed in battle, turned blindly back upon the path which led them thither. Then Alvarado, disheartened and despairing, beholding his own ruin in this retrograde movement, ran from one to the other, telling them it was indispensable they should pass that sierra ; that they would have the same sufferings to endure from the cold, in retracing their road, as in marching forward ; that they ought not to be deterred by pusillanimity from advancing to that good region where the vanguard awaited them. To conciliate them, he told

them that such as wanted gold might supply themselves from the public aggregate, with no other condition than that they should pay the king's fifths ; but those who had already cast away their treasures, to rid themselves of their burden, knocked his offer, and were far from availing themselves of a bribe so unseasonably tendered.\* The rearguard under Caldera, which had suffered no less from the cold than their precursors, now joined them, and they so animated each other, that it was finally resolved they should march forward and seek an issue from this dreadful pass. That day, however, was more bitter than its predecessor, and, consequently, the agonies and disasters were even more terrible ; the horses began to be benumbed, several Spaniards died. A robust soldier dismounted to alter the bridle of his horse, and the man and the animal were immediately frozen. Gomez, the assayer, died with his horse, both being embarrassed by the great weight of emeralds he had accumulated, and of which his covetousness would not permit him to disburden himself ; thus he paid the penalty of his madness. But the piety of Huelmo merited a better fate ; he was already much in advance, when he heard the cries of his wife and two young daughters, and, flying to their succour, gave up all hope of safety, to remain and perish with them. Meanwhile, the storm of wind and snow continued to redouble in violence ; he who lagged behind, or strayed one moment from his com-

\* A Negro offered a Castilian a packet of gold. " Begone !" he exclaimed ; " the real gold is food !"

rades, was lost ; he who was of lightest weight succeeded best ; all, as if in emulation one of the other, threw away gold, arms, vestments, jewels, which lay scattered over the snow. That, which had cost so many sacrifices, and even crimes ; that very prize, for which all the horrors and dangers of that rash march had been undertaken, was despised, nay, even abhorred as vile and pernicious, so imperious is the influence which the occasions and necessities of the present moment hold over man ! Disheartened, subdued, half-dead, in short, the Spaniards at length quitted those snowy mountains, and reached the town of Pasipe, near Riobamba, leaving dead on their route eighty-five Castilians, six female Spaniards, many Negroes, two thousand Indians, almost all the rest disabled ; to say nothing of the mortality of the horses, nor the abandonment of arms and treasures ;—an immense loss, for which the survivors could only console themselves by the hopes of meeting with a rich country and more genial clime. These hopes, however, quickly vanished ; for scarcely had they become a little recovered from their fatigues, and resumed their march, when on arriving at the great road of the Incas, which crossed the country, the fresh track of horses which they suddenly perceived, gave them to understand that it had been recently travelled by other Spaniards. This was an overwhelming blow for the ambitious Alvarado, when, in the midst of such great calamities, he began to suppose that the country had already been discover-

ed, and overrun by other Castilians, and that he must either forego his enterprise, or maintain it by force.

He was not deceived in his sinister conjecture. The Marshal Almagro, who knew in Vilcas, through the medium of Gabriel de Rojas, the march and project of Alvarado, flew like lightning to intercept him; and reinforcing his little troop with some men from San Miguel de Piura, and the detachment under Belalcazar, whom he had immediately summoned to join him, posted himself at Riobamba, and sent out eight horse to reconnoitre the country. This party of scouts fell in with Diego de Alvarado, who, with a similar purpose, had gone out with a pretty considerable force. Almagro's people were few, and compelled to surrender themselves prisoners; but they were treated with the utmost courtesy and urbanity by Diego de Alvarado, and conducted to his brother, who received them equally well, saying that he came not out to seek dissensions, but to discover new territories for his king, whom they were equally bound to serve. They regaled and entertained them nobly, and afterwards sent them to the marshal with a letter, manifesting the same moderate sentiments, informing him that they would come and join him at Riobamba, where all should be arranged amicably, and to his satisfaction.

Almagro sent three messengers with his reply, offering his welcome to the new comers, expressing his sympathy for the distresses they had endured in the snowy ravines, and adding, that as he nothing doubted the good-will of so loyal a knight as Alvarado, he

begged to inform him that the greater part of those kingdoms appertained to the jurisdiction of Don Francisco Pizarro, and that he himself was in daily expectation of a patent, constituting him governor of all the country to the east of his friend's boundary. With this insinuation, let fall as if carelessly, did he close at once the door of both sovereignties against the designs of Alvarado; thus giving that leader to understand, that in like manner as he defended the government of his companion, would he defend that which he expected for himself. Alvarado, perplexed and doubting of the part which might now be most expedient for him, replied, that on his nearer approach to Riobamba, he would send proper messengers with his answer, and thither he pursued his march.

Hitherto, their communications carried an air of much courtesy; but, nevertheless, when the distance between the camps was diminished, the two parties practised that war of intrigue ever frequent in civil discords, even when the minds of the adversaries are least embittered by mutual rancour. Alvarado's party boasted its strength; that of Almagro, more cautiously, and with more effect, insinuated that the rich provinces of the government might still be shared, and that it would be wiser, by joining *them*, to partake peaceably in the distribution, than to follow their general, exploring unknown regions, and perhaps new snowy ravines and sierras, which would put a fatal and miserable end to their enterprise. Desertion now commenced. The interpreter Felipillo quitted Almagro to join

Alvarado, while Antonio Picado, secretary to the general of Guatemala, passed over to the marshal; the latter could not patiently endure this desertion, but immediately ordered the bulk of his army to march with banners spread, and approach Riobamba in order of battle; his inflamed spirit no longer capable of regarding appearances, he resolved to commence hostilities on the instant, unless his secretary was delivered up to him. Almagro, who had but a hundred and eighty men to oppose to the four hundred who were about to attack him, was not intimidated, but confiding in the resolution of his people, and in the intelligence he held with the enemy's camp, awaited his adversary, boldly animating his troops by his own confidence.

Yet, to prevent as far as possible the collision now threatened, the marshal, with the authority of a man who commanded in the country, sent to desire Alvarado to halt, and he would meet him with his vanguard; this was agreed to. Then the Adelantado demanded that his secretary should be given up to him. "Picado is free," replied Almagro, "and may go or remain; he shall be subjected to no force on either part." And in order to give the sanction of legal formalities to his own claims, he sent for the judge and notary of the new colony of Riobamba, which had just been founded, to confirm his primary possession. These officers judicially intimated to the Adelantado, that he should return to his own government of Guatemala, and forbear to usurp that of another; and, in case of non-compliance, they denounced

him as answerable for all the evils and miseries of the conflict which would ensue. "I am the King's Governor and Captain-General," replied Alvarado, "and may go and come at my pleasure, through all those parts of Peru, which have not been placed under the domination of some other governor. If the marshal has established a colony in Riobamba, I intend not to molest him, nor have I any other design than to purchase with my money such necessaries as are indispensable for my army."

Thus did Alvarado lower his tone; neither his arrogance, his vanity, nor his strength, could preserve him from a discouraging consciousness of his own rash folly. Against the unanimous opinion of his friends he had quitted Guatemala; in the face of general disapprobation he had marched to Peru. He found his people wavering, and doubtful, and averse to hostilities, while his adversaries were daring and inflexible, and did not exhibit the slightest symptom of weakness. In short, he yielded, and sent back two of his captains with Almagro's messengers, to confer with him and bring matters to an agreement, and on the day following an interview took place between the two generals in Riobamba, whither the Adelantado went, accompanied by a few horse.

The marshal received him with all possible honour and courtesy, and immediately on meeting, Alvarado thus expressed himself:—

"The great services I have rendered the crown are public throughout the Indies, and equally public are

the rewards and honours conferred on me by the King, Governor and Captain-General of so wealthy and powerful a kingdom as Guatemala, I might well be content to repose in the enjoyment of such high dignity and confidence ; but, to sit still in idleness, ill suits the temper and profession of a soldier, whose whole life has been spent in toil and danger, and who still feels himself fit for service. I desired to merit new honours from my King, and added celebrity from the world. Having his Majesty's license for making farther discoveries by sea, I changed my original intention of shaping my course to the Western Islands, tempted by the reports which had reached me of the wealth of these regions of the South. As I advanced within them, I was ignorant that I was trespassing within the limits of the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro. But as the decrees of God are not in accord with my intentions, and seeing that the land is already occupied, I, for my part, Señor Marshal, will create no disturbance, nor cause any disservice to my King."

Almagro, in a few words characteristic of his natural simplicity and brevity, applauded the conduct of Alvarado, observing, that he looked for no other resolution on the part of so brave and honourable a knight. Then Belalcazar and the other principal captains of Almagro joined them, and kissed the hands of the Adelantado, whose officers paid the same compliment to the marshal, and there was no contest any longer existing between them, but that of urbanity and knightly courtesies. Antonio Picado presented himself to his for-



mer general, and received his pardon, as did Felipillo that of the marshal.

The two parties now began to treat on the conduct they should mutually adopt; and by the counsel of the Licentiate Caldera, Lope Idiaquez, and other principal cavaliers of either band, it was agreed that the Adelantado should renounce all claim to that discovery and conquest, and leaving his men and his ships in Peru, should return to Guatémala, receiving for the expenses he had incurred, and for the vessels, 100,000 pesos of gold. This agreement was publicly and legally ratified by a formal instrument; and although this transaction was considered derogatory by some of the chiefs of Alvarado's army, who lost rank by it, the greater part of the soldiers rejoiced, as, by its means, they escaped a civil war, and remained in a rich land. An observation to this effect was made to them by their general, when he took leave of them, adding, with much grace and politeness, that they lost nothing in him but merely his person, gaining much in that of the marshal, whom he besought them to serve willingly and faithfully, as a chief whose valour and generosity he was convinced would deserve their zeal. This noble confidence was realized, and even exceeded, by the liberality of Almagro. The officers of Alvarado presented themselves to offer their homage and obedience to their new leader, who welcomed them with so much cordiality and affability, and subsequently evinced for them so much consideration and confidence, that he made them truly his own, not only

during life, but even after his death. We may be assured that this great train, and the court paid him by so many cavaliers, as from henceforth surrounded Almagro, were, from the measureless pretension they excited in him, and by the envy they produced in his rivals, a very principal cause of the evils which ensued, and which ended only in the ruin of both chief and captains. \*

The two generals sent advice of this treaty to the governor, who received the messengers with lively demonstrations of joy, and rewarded them splendidly for their intelligence. Almagro, on returning to the upper provinces, left Belalcazar as his deputy-governor in the lower ones, and with him several of the soldiers of Alvarado, leaving an order for transferring the colony, commenced in Riobamba, to the palace of the Incas in Quito. He sent a captain to colonize Porto Vecchio, with the purpose of protecting the district from the evils to which the arrival of new adventurers subjected it; and proceeding with Alvarado to

\* Alvarado himself, in the letter which he wrote to the Emperor from Guatemala, in the May of the year following, giving an account of his expedition, confesses the influence which the gifts and promises of Almagro held with his people; "So that," said he, "had I persevered in the prosecution of my conquests, not thirty men would have followed me." And he foresaw the event, when he adds, speaking of the men whom he left with the marshal, "whereby the condition of the marshal is so much changed, that I fear lest the arrival of Hernando Pizarro, with the dispatches which it is said he brings from your Majesty, may produce among them some great discord, which may involve the whole in ruin."—*Author's Note.*

San Miguel de Piura, passed from thence to the Valley of Chimo, where he left Miguel Estete, with directions to found a town, afterwards named Trujillo. These affairs being arranged, the marshal and the Adelantado pursued their way to Pachacamac, where Pizarro then was. Nothing could exceed the demonstrations of respect and regard, nor the bland and flattering courtesies exchanged by the three leaders, though there were not wanting some malignant spirits, who would fain have poisoned the mind of the governor by sinister hints and whispers, advising him to look to himself, as Almagro and Alvarado were conspiring to deprive him of his government and authority. He treated this absurd suggestion as it deserved, and received the apologies offered him by Alvarado with suavity and dignity; and on that general recommending to his protection certain of his officers and men, he replied that they should find him so heartily disposed to show them favour, as should amply satisfy both them and their late leader. They visited together the great temple of that valley, and, from the nails and other vestiges remaining about the walls, Alvarado might, even yet, form some idea of the riches which had adorned it. About this time arrived Hernando de Soto, charged with the conveyance of the hundred thousand pesos for Alvarado, who, having received them, took leave of Perú; rich, indeed, in gold and the magnificent presents of the governor and marshal, but he returned alone, without an army, without a fleet, and, it may be added, without honour. It is true that his expedition escaped

the disastrous result which might, from its temerity and madness, have been anticipated; yet he had quitted Guatemala with the arrogant ostentation of a mighty conqueror, and returned to it like a merchant laden with chests of gold.

These events occurred in the end of the year 1534, and the beginning of the year following; while Pizarro diligently employed himself in reconnoitring the different points of the adjacent country, proper for the site of a city, destined to be the capital of the new empire. The Valley of Limac, or Rimac (both these names having been given it by historians), offered him all the conveniences he could desire for this purpose; a central position among the provinces, proximity to the sea, a mild climate, fertility and amenity of soil, and the advantage of a good port. He resolved on fixing the great establishment he projected on this spot, and made choice of a site at two short leagues from the sea, and four from Pachacamac, near a river, which, though not large, was fresh and delightful. Hither he removed all the colonists of Xauxa, partitioned out the areas of the several houses, and celebrated the ceremony of the foundation, with all suitable solemnity, on the 18th of January, 1535. He gave the city the name of Los Reyes, probably because in seeking on the day of that festival for a place proper for his purpose, he discovered the site where the foundation was now laid. Yet the name of the river and valley where the city was built, has prevailed over the

first, and the capital of Spanish Peru has long been known by no other appellation than that of Lima.

Pizarro afterwards marched to the Valley of Chimo, to examine the colony there projected by Almagro, on his return from his last expedition, and with the management of which he had charged Miguel Estete. The governor highly approved of the site selected, confirmed all that had been done, and, as a tribute of respect to his native land, called it Trujillo. Here he occupied some time in regulating the state of the provinces; he confirmed Sebastian de Belalcazar in his charge, redivided the land, won the affection of all the neighbouring people, and endeavoured, by gentle means, to obtain peace with the Indians. Well did he know the use of such arts when he found them necessary; and now, especially, that, old and declining, he was less fitted for active and impetuous enterprises, he began to addict himself, by preference, to the business of founding towns, assigning limits, making laws, and distributing rewards; in short, taking upon himself the life of a prince, the object to which all his efforts and labours had been directed, from the hour on which his ambition was first awakened. Thus, the present period may be considered as the most fortunate of his life, if prosperity is to be weighed by satisfied ambition. It may likewise be deemed the most substantially glorious, as none can dispute that the fame acquired in preserving and constructing, is far more valuable than any which may be acquired by destroying. But this epoch was of short endurance; the

seeds of civil discord already sown, were beginning to produce those malignant fruits, which proved in the end so mortal to the partakers.

Pizarro was still in Trujillo, when an unknown youth appeared there, declaring himself charged with the royal warrant, constituting Don Diego de Almagro governor of the country beyond Chincha. On hearing this annunciation, Diego de Agüero, a captain who had served with Almagro in the expedition of Quito, flew instantly to secure the reward due to the bearer of such tidings, and overtook Almagro at the bridge of Abancay, near Cuzco ; and, without holding any order or commission to that effect, gave him the notice and congratulations, as from Don Francisco Pizarro. To this Almagro replied with his characteristic sincerity, " I thank you for the trouble you have taken, and am deeply grateful for the reward conferred on me by the King. I rejoice in it, chiefly as the means of preventing any adventurer from entering the land, which I and my companion have conquered. For the rest, I am already as much the governor as Don Francisco Pizarro, since my commands are never disobeyed." He gave Agüero a reward of 7000 pesos, and continued his way to Cuzco. There he went to reside, with ample powers from Pizarro, to act in his name, and, in his name, to assume the command in that district, with a warrant for discovering, for himself or others, as far as a place called Chiriguana to the south ; the expenses to be mutually borne. He was accompanied by the two brothers of Alvarado, and several of

the officers of that general's army, who had placed themselves at his disposal, reposing all their hopes in his friendship, offers and fortune. Consequently, for them the tidings of Agüero were no less joyful than for their leader, since they now saw him invested with power and authority to realize all his promises. He was received, on arriving at Cuzco, with all honour and respect, by Hernando de Soto, the two Pizarros, Juan and Gonzalo, and other principal people. Shortly afterwards, the above-mentioned youth arrived, with a single transcribed copy of the royal order, the original being in the hands of Hernando Pizarro; and the ill-judging marshal so forgot his interests as to decline using his powers; although, as Cuzco was not within the limits of the first government, but formed a part of that which was now conferred upon him, he was thereby throwing the authority which he had the King's warrant for assuming, into contempt. At that time Pizarro was well aware that Cuzco lay beyond the limits of his command. He complained, no doubt, of being thus deprived of the richest jewel of his conquest; he regretted not having previously secured it to himself by an anterior division of the land, and repined that another should carry away so rich and glorious a prize. Acting afterwards on the advice of friends, more attached to him than to the marshal, and still farther impelled perhaps by his ambition, and love of command, he retracted the powers which he had given to his companion, alleging in his letters, written as well to Almagro as to persons in the city, that

he withdrew them, merely on considering that they might be embarrassing to the marshal in the prosecution of his discoveries ; and that, besides, should the King's warrant arrive, containing the terms which were reported, it would not be well that Almagro should be found governing under his orders. He sent the governing powers to Juan Pizarro, with, however, an express order, that he should use them only in case Almagro should attempt to exercise those which he had been furnished with ; but otherwise to leave the command with Hernando de Soto, who had hitherto been intrusted with it. He sent this dispatch in all haste by Melchior Verdugo, who arrived at Cuzco long after the marshal, to whom he could not perform his mission, as he found him acting quite independently of the sanction of Pizarro, transacting business in his own name, conversing, disposing, and promising, as in full authority. The two Pizarros took offence ; the city was divided into factions ; the greater number followed the brothers ; but the principal and best of the officers and inhabitants, weary of their pride and insolence, inclined to the marshal. Provocations and sparks of discord flew from one to the other ; men's passions became inflamed ; and on one occasion, the two parties appeared in the market-place, ready to rush to arms, and disposed to steep their quarrel in Spanish blood. The prudence and presence of mind of Soto, aided by the moderation of Almagro, succeeded, for the time, in appeasing the tumult. Soto persuaded the Pizarros and their principal partisans to confine



themselves to their houses; while the marshal likewise remained within his own, the better to induce the others to obedience.

An account of these conflicts reached Lima, with all the exaggeration which evil tidings receive from distance, when related in the tone and language of resentment. Pizarro supposing the lives of his brothers in danger, resolved to go immediately to Cuzco, taking with him the Licentiate Caldera, and Antonio Picado, whom he had made his secretary. He had various intelligence on the road, receiving in the first place a message, brought by Luis Moscoso from Almagro, with an account of what had happened, and afterwards a letter from one Carrasca, urging him to hasten forward, if he wished to find his brothers alive. He became enraged, and sent for Moscoso, whom he severely rebuked for his departure from truth; but, on the other steadily maintaining that it was the letter which conveyed the falsehood, Pizarro sent him, with Antonio Picado, to procure some certain information of the state of things; and being satisfied that all was quiet, he marched forward to Cuzco. He declined being received with any sort of ceremony, and went straight to the church, where the marshal hastened to meet him. They embraced with tears, when Pizarro broke silence. "See," said he, "how thou hast forced me to cross these roads, without bed or tent, or other food than maize. Where was your judgment, when, having the means in your own hands for maintaining quiet, you must involve yourself in contentions with

my brothers, whom I have commanded to respect you as myself?" "There was no necessity for this haste," replied Almagro, "since I informed you on the instant of all that had passed. Your brothers have done ill in this case, not being able to conceal the displeasure which the honours conferred on me by the King has caused them." Hernando de Soto, with a train of cavaliers, now arrived to welcome Pizarro; and when he reached his own apartments, he upbraided his brothers for their conduct, who on their side excused themselves, by alleging that the marshal already considered himself governor of Cuzco, and prepared to divide the land among his friends, and that in such circumstances they had done no more than his honour and service demanded from them.\*

The behaviour of Pizarro at this period was not derogatory to his early friendship, nor to the decorum due to himself and to his ancient companion; not so that of the marshal, to whom, in fairness, we must attribute much lightness and inconsideration, and more especially a failure in the respect due to his governor and his friend. As no positive or weighty cause of offence had hitherto been given or received, and as each now hoped that the prize in dispute might

\* Herrera makes the following curious apology for dissimulation. "Pizarro embraced him as though forgetting the past; for dissimulation, which is of difficult use to the ignorant, partakes somewhat of prudence, the queen of all mortal virtues, and contains in itself a sort of apparent virtue; since men, not being all equally good, neither can nor ought to disclose their minds with equal openness, lest by so doing they might prejudice themselves and others."—*Translator's Note.*

become his, without farther contention or violence, they were mutually the more easily disposed to listen to the proposals for conciliation, interposed by the Licentiate Caldera and other mediators; so that the friendly companionship of the two generals was renewed and confirmed at the altar. Mass was afterwards celebrated before them; they divided the host between them adding many oaths and solemnities consonant with the religious act. They each denounced against themselves, in case of failure in sincerity and good faith, in the preservation and constancy of their friendship and co-operation, or in the equal partition of their profits, every evil due to perjury, either in this world or the next, as loss of property and honour, loss of life, and perdition of soul. For the honour of the religion of each of them, I am inclined to believe, in spite of the suspicions betrayed by historians, that they proceeded on both sides in good faith, and that they intended to fulfil the vows then made. It is truly to be deplored, that promises so sacred, and a friendship so repeatedly vowed and ratified, were doomed to be broken in a manner so cruel and sanguinary. But, alas! these religious acts, whatever of awe and reverence they may excite in the moment of celebration, have but too little effect in stifling the passions and the interests of men.\* The heart continues the same, and, on the slightest incentive, returns to its first dispositions,

\* If it be so; alas for those, who venture frequently and lightly to appeal to that authority, which being sacred, may not be shocked with impunity!

without meriting the charge of falseness or sacrilege; although it justly incurs the stain of perjury.

The march of the marshal for Chili was now publicly announced; he preferred taking that direction, both on account of the riches those provinces were reported to possess, and because they fell within the limits of his own allotted government. All those adventurers whose fortunes were not yet made, enlisted under his banners; and even some who had already been enriched, joined him, in the hope of improving their fortunes. His amiable temper and his unlimited generosity gained him all hearts, so that there were few who did not wish to follow him. A hundred and eighty loads of silver, and twenty of gold, were sent from his house, to be divided among the captains who lacked the means of equipping themselves, without his asking any farther pledge, than their promise to repay him out of the gains they should acquire, in the land whither they were bound, and even this repayment he left to the decision of their own will. From many even this promise was not received. This more than royal profusion, with which he prepared for his expedition, deprived him of the means for prosecuting his projects in Castile; he was negotiating the marriage of his son Don Diego with the daughter of a counsellor of the Indies, and also the purchase of an estate in Spain. He requested his companion to order him 100,000 pesos for his equipage, with which Pizarro willingly complied. Disembarrassed of this care, he began to hasten his

expedition; he named Rodrigo Orgoñez his lieutenant-general, and sent forward Paulo Topa, a principal Indian, of whom we shall speak hereafter, brother of the Inca Mango, and of the high priest, accompanied by three Castilians, to soothe and prepare the minds of the natives; and leaving proper instructions for the captains who remained in Cuzco and Lima, to assemble their troops, and hasten to follow him, he commenced his march.

In the farewell interview of the companions, Almagro told Pizarro, that loving him truly as a brother, and having no wish equal to that of the preservation of their mutual attachment and harmony, and that they should be placed beyond the risk of all interruption, he intreated him, as his brother, his friend, and his companion, to send back his brothers to Castile, giving them, from whatever belonged to himself, as much treasure as would satisfy their utmost desires. "In doing this," he said, "thou shalt gain universal applause, since there is not an individual exempt from the insults of these cavaliers, who shelter themselves under the impunity of their nearness to thee." To this, the governor replied, "that they loved him as their father, and would never give the slightest cause for offence."\* The counsel of Almagro sounded no doubt harsh in the ears of a brother, and difficult also

\* "Pizarro," says Herrera, "although crafty and reserved, yet in many instances betrayed a wavering and irresolute mind." Perhaps he could not influence the conduct of his brothers, in spite of the respect he attributed to them.—*Author's Note.*

to follow, when we consider the character of the governor; but it was honourable, prudent, and inspired by an instinctive dread of the torrent of misfortunes, of which those men were the destined cause.

No sooner had Almagro commenced his expedition, than the governor made a division of the lands of Cuzco, and, constituting his brother Juan his lieutenant in the city, returned to Lima, to animate the work he had there set on foot, which, at that time, seemed the favourite occupation of his thoughts, and his primary care. As at this epoch all was tranquil in Peru, the Indians peaceable, the Spaniards satisfied, the will of the general respected and obeyed as the supreme law; and as his will, in accordance with the serenity of the times, was neither hard nor severe, we may cite this as another honourable and fortunate period of his life, in which he enjoyed, without bitterness or alloy, the exalted fortunes to which he had raised himself. It was indeed a singular spectacle, to behold that man, whose education had been so utterly neglected, so devoid of all learning, disputing with artificers on the dimensions of the streets, the height and area of the temples, public edifices, and houses; defend, on principles based on policy, commerce, and salubrity, the plan and position of his projected emporium, and teach his companions and the new comers to enjoy and appreciate, by anticipation, the advantages of the paradise he was preparing for them. Nor did he forget the occasional distribution of gifts, which purchased him friends and opinion; and however

Almagro exceeded him in this particular, yet was not Pizarro considered niggardly,\* but, when expedient, he knew how to give with grace and magnificence. To the Licentiate Caldera, to the Priest Loaisa, to the two brothers Henriquez, to Luis and Tello de Guzman, and Hernando de Soto, on taking leave of the latter on his journey to Spain, and, in short, to many other knights and soldiers, did he make princely presents, with the unostentatious cheerfulness which became a great conqueror.

In Lima he found awaiting him the Bishop of Panamá, commissioned by the king to regulate the limits of the two governments, his own and that of Almagro; but as the original provisions, which were

\* He knew likewise how to give privately, with secrecy, and discretion, so as to avoid humbling by his gifts those whom he succoured. Of this virtue in him many traces remain, which reflect great honour upon him. He frequently played with the necessitous, allowing them purposely to win, so that they were at once relieved from distress, and had the pleasure of boasting that they played better than he. The circumstance of the wedge of gold, which he carried during a game at ball, for the purpose of relieving a soldier, is cited by all historians. The wedge was heavy, and he carried it in his bosom to give to the soldier, who did not appear; and another party offering to play at ball with him, he, without taking off his waistcoat, or disincumbering himself of the weight he bore, played, till at the end of three hours the soldier arrived, whom he called aside, and giving him the gold, said, he would rather have given him thrice as much, than have endured the fatigue his delay had caused him. But nothing that has been related in favour of his affability and kindness, does him more honour than the instance of his plunging into the river Barranca, and seizing one of his Yanacona Indians by the hair, who had fallen in accidentally, and was carried away by the torrent. His captains reproached him warmly for his temerity, to which he replied, that they did not know how to take proper care of a servant.—*Author's Note.*

to serve as the basis of this division, were in the hands of Hernando Pizarro, who was not yet arrived, nothing could as yet be done in this important arrangement. The bishop meanwhile insinuated, that his commission seemed to him almost superfluous, from the happy correspondence established between the two governors, in their late solemn act of concord. In fact, neither of the two parties desired it; and the bishop, dissatisfied with the harmony and good faith which at that time presided over affairs in the new country, made use of the pretext to return to his church, declining the noble present the governor would fain have made him, and receiving only an alms of 1000 pesos of gold for the hospitals of Panamá and Nicaragua.

It was likewise at this season that Pizarro intrusted Captain Alonzo de Alvarado with a commission to explore and pacificate the Chiachapoyas, a nation lying to the east; being desirous to extend the Spanish dominion, and the propagation of the gospel, still farther in that region. The various events which befell Alvarado in his expedition would be out of place here; suffice it to say, that he exhibited, throughout his enterprise, the prudence, temperance, and honour, which ever belonged to his character, and which he preserved even amid the fury of the civil wars.

At length Hernando Pizarro returned from Castile to Lima. In Castile he had been followed and admired with an eagerness proportioned to the immense wealth he had brought to the metropolis, and the dis-



coveries and conquests he announced. All Spain was roused by his arrival, almost as it was in the days when Columbus came to offer the New World to the Catholic sovereigns. Now, indeed, were the hopes then excited accomplished, perhaps even exceeded. The messenger, who had himself held so conspicuous a part in the scenes he described, was loaded with favours and honours, and rewarded by the court, even to the measure of his own desires. The prerogatives of a servant of the royal household, the order of St Jago, a patent for levying 120 Castilian soldiers, the distinction of admiral of the fleet in which he returned to the Indies; finally, the recommendation of his person, under an express charge issued to all governors, commandants, or other public functionaries, to arrange matters for his convenience, and the expediting the preparations for his return to Peru, were not considered favours in any way disproportioned to his merits. On his brother, the governor, the title of Marquis was conferred, with an extension of his government sixty leagues farther along the south coast. To the marshal, whose cause he at the same time pleaded, stimulated thereto by the zealous exertions making for the interests of that chief by the captains Mena and Sosa, was conceded, with the title of Adelantado, the government of 200 leagues of coast in a right line, east, west, north, and south, stretching from the limits of the jurisdiction of Don Francisco Pizarro, with the privilege of naming his own successor. In the despatches, the name of New Castile was given to

the territory subjected to Pizarro, and New Toledo to that of Almagro. But these names have not remained. The letters with which the king replied to the two discoverers were most gracious, and highly appreciatory of their services, promising to hold them ever in honour and consideration. Father Valverde was recompensed by the bishopric of Cuzco, to which he was presented by his Holiness. In short, as Hernando Pizarro promised mountains of gold, and as the court was in much need of it, he undertook to return speedily with all the gold he could amass, not only of the royal fifths, but also the product of an extraordinary service, which he pledged himself to obtain from the conquerors. Thus he returned to Peru, escorted by a considerable number of cavaliers and soldiers, willing to join him in acquiring honours and riches in the Indies. He reached Lima shortly after the return of his brother from Cuzco, and Almagro's departure for Chili.

It is alleged, that, on seeing the provisions made by the court, the governor experienced within himself a renewal of all that envy and emulation towards his companion, which had been for a time allayed; and that, jealous lest Cuzco should escape him, he reproached his brother for having consented that the government of New Toledo should be conferred on Almagro. To which Hernando replied, that so notorious at court were the marshal's services, that even this appeared to the king and council a reward short of his deserts; that, in fact, Cuzco would be compre-

hended in the seventy leagues now added to his government, and many other advantages, of a nature which ought fully to satisfy him. But the two brothers spared no industry in rendering these vast possessions more and more securely their own. In the first place, they delayed putting into the hands of Juan de Rada, Almagro's captain, the original despatches in favour of his general, which he repeatedly entreated from them, being eager to join his leader with the reinforcement he had remained in Lima to assemble. Hernando Pizarro refused them, under different pretexts, and at length told him he would give them up to him in Cuzco. Thus he gave time for the Adelantado to become more and more distant, and that the royal warrant might reach him at so remote a point, and probably find him so involved in difficulties and treaties, as to render it impossible for him to return. Meanwhile, the governor thought it expedient that Hernando should take on himself the government of Cuzco, which was at that season in the hands of Juan Pizarro, since, in case of contradiction on the part of Almagro, and supposing he should return with hostile intentions, he wished that the direction and authority over that district might be found in firm and capable hands.

While preparation was making for his departure, Hernando Pizarro, anxious to fulfil the promises he had made to the court, pressed the conquerors to grant the king an extraordinary contribution, to aid him against his enemies in the wars in which he was engaged in

Europe. They were far from lending a willing ear to his persuasions: they said they had done enough for the king, in sending him the large fifths gained by their blood and labour, while the king had in nothing assisted them; that they were not inclined to contribute more of their property, while he and his brother were alone the recipients of royal rewards and favours. How many rewards and honours had *they* been flattered with on setting forth? He, in reply, asked in what his brother and himself had been separately rewarded; for his part, all he had gained was the order of St Jago, and for his brother the title of marquis. He threatened to compel them to restore the ransom of Atahualpa, which, proceeding from a king, of right belonged to the king; and giving the reins to his proud and insolent temper, he railed on them as vile ungrateful men, unworthy the favours of fortune. This was delicate ground, and the governor now interposed, and, taking his part in the contest, defended his companions against his brother's insults, declaring, that they deserved as much as those who assisted Don Pelagio in the restoration of Spain; and adding, that as Castilian loyalty was incompatible with any opposition to the interests of the king, he entreated them to manifest theirs generously on the present occasion, flattering them, at the same time, that the Indies would be given up to them in perpetuity, whereas they now held them but as a deposit. These words, uttered with the affability ever at his command when it behoved him to use it, disposed the rich conquerors,

then in Lima, to generosity, so that they collected a great quantity of money for the offered service. Hernando Pizarro hastened his departure for Cuzco, from whose inhabitants he hoped to receive an equal donative, while he had, at the same time, an eye to general affairs.

Urgent, indeed, was the necessity for the superintendence of some spirit; combining activity and firmness, for, at that crisis, difficulties, dangers, and even disasters, crowded on each other with alarming rapidity. The brother of Pizarro believed, that his task would be confined to the defence of Cuzco against the uncertain pretensions of Almagro; but it appeared, that not Cuzco only, but all Peru, began to vacillate under the hands of the Spaniards; and a general insurrection of the natives, which burst forth almost at the same moment with the civil discord, placed all the wealth and dominion, which had cost so much labour in acquiring, in mortal peril. But to throw as much light as possible on the present state of things, we must recall the reader's attention to the Indians, of whom we have not for some time spoken.

Though the generals of the Inca beheld their master defeated, and a prisoner in Caxamalca, they did not despond, neither did they lose sight of what was due to him and to their country. Though unable to inspire the multitude they commanded with a greater degree of courage and steadiness, and though they could not prevail against the superior arms and discipline of their enemy, yet, so far as their own power

and efforts could avail, they perseveringly exerted themselves to maintain the liberty of their country. They fought bravely, wherever they met with soldiers, and all died free and independent, without acknowledging the yoke of any foreign lord. Irruminavi, who was in the army of Atahualpa when that prince was surprised, escaped to Quito with the 5000 men he commanded, and placed that province in such a state of defence, that sometimes conqueror, sometimes conquered, he succeeded for a considerable time in keeping Belalcazar at bay; he yielded, in truth, to the superior dexterity and means of his adversary, but deprived him effectually of the fruit of his victory, and disappointed him of the treasure to which he so eagerly aspired.\* The brave chief died amid torments, without betraying the slightest symptom of weakness. We have already seen how Chialiquichiana perished under the power of Pizarro, and his punishment was considered a proof of the dread of his name, valour, and influence, and of the hopelessness of the invaders to shake his fidelity.

Quizquiz covered and defended the upper provinces, frequently led his Indians to battle, and, when he witnessed the loss of Cuzco, caused himself to be

\* Irruminavi, on the dispersion of his followers, afflicted and dejected, concealed himself in a small hut, where he was recognised by a guide, and discovered to Valle, a captain of Sebastian de Belalcazar, who took him, without the Indian betraying the slightest weakness; and thus ended the war of Quito. Belalcazar, to wring from him the knowledge of hidden treasure, put him to the most cruel tortures, which he bore with unshrinking constancy, and died, leaving the avarice of his tormentor unappeased.

elected captain by the most valiant Mitimaes of the neighbouring country, who were the original Guamanconas of the provinces of Quito, and at their head once more tried the fortune of war—in the first instance, at the bridge of Apurima, near Cuzco, against the governor, and afterwards against the Castilians of Xauxa, commanded by Gabriel de Rojas, who was at that season in the valley. The latter combat was most obstinately fought: the Castilians conquered, but none of them escaped unwounded; one of them was killed, and likewise three horses, and sixty Yanaconas taken, whom Quizquiz had immediately put to death, as his most inveterate enemies. He then proceeded to Quito, whither he had offered to lead his Mitimaes. There he had an encounter with Belalcázar, where he was again conquered; and his captains then advised him to make peace with the Spaniards, since he might now perceive that they were invincible. He called them cowards; and the dispute for and against a surrender becoming violent, one of his principal officers struck him with a lance, and the others despatched him with their axes and clubs.

These bloody and terrible examples were calculated to repress the ardour of those patriots, who would fain have stood forth as the champions of Peruvian independence; and still more as the Spaniards, after the death of Toparpa, continued the farce of electing an Inca, to act as their principal slave, to command as king, and even to punish, in their name, the natives of the country. Danger however sprang up, as fre-

quently happens, from this very precaution. Don Francisco Pizarro, shortly after his arrival in Cuzco, had placed the royal tuft, with all the established Peruvian ceremonies, on the brow of that Mango Inca, who, on the encounter which preceded his entrance into the capital, had passed over to him so opportunely. As all agreed, that to him, as the son of Huayna Capac, the kingdom by legitimate claim belonged, his election gave general satisfaction. The Indians remained tranquil under his command, and the Inca so judiciously conducted himself, as to seem deserving of the dignity to which the governor had raised him. This tranquillity lasted, till the inflamed passions of the two Spanish generals exploded in Cuzco; then the Indians likewise divided, some following one party, some the other, and it appears extraordinary that the Inca Mango should adhere to the side of Almagro, rather than to that of his benefactor. In vain did the Spanish leaders, after their own reconciliation, endeavour to procure a reunion of the Indians likewise, since, even in an assembly of the most distinguished of them, persuasions, entreaties, or even authority, were of no avail in putting an end to their divisions. Nothing was gained, and the Inca and his relations remained at variance.\* Afterwards, when

\* A brother of the Inca, a mere boy, with great spirit rebuked some of the lords who were present at this junta, for not addressing the Inca on their knees, in conformity with custom, and expressed his displeasure so vehemently, that Don Francisco Pizarro resented it, and threatened the youth in very unmeasured language.  
—*Author's Note.*



Almagro set out on his expedition to Chili, he requested Mango to appoint two of his lords to accompany him. He granted him, as we have already said, his brother, Paulo Topa, and the Vilehoma, or High Priest; hinting, that he sent away the one from political jealousy, and the other, as he considered him of a restless character, and dangerous from his power and influence. This, however, was mere pretence, at least as regarded the high priest, who, before he departed, concerted with Mango the plan of an insurrection; and, the moment he heard of its commencement, returned in all haste to participate in and direct it.

When an opportune moment for his purpose arrived, the Inca secretly convoked the principal lords of the three neighbouring provinces; and having, according to the custom, performed many sacrifices and ceremonies, he commented on the present state of things, and required their counsel as to the most expedient measures for their deliverance from the subjection in which the strangers held them. He reminded them of the union of gentleness with justice, which had characterised the dominion of the Incas, his forefathers, and of the prosperity, which, under their rule, smiled upon all their affairs; he pointed out the disorder and confusion which had reigned throughout, since the arrival of the Castilians; the sacrilegious robbery of the temples, the corruption of manners, the prostitution of their sisters and daughters, the slavery of the men whom the Spaniards employed in

incessant search after the precious metals, and in the observance of their insolent caprices. The strangers had allied themselves with the Yanacunas, the vilest class in the land, and had excited them to insult their lords, and even to treat *him*\* with contempt; that several of the Mitimaes did the same, so that nothing was wanting but to deprive him of the royal borla. "What had Peru done, to provoke those arrogant men to enter the country in arms, to murder Atahualpa, Chialiquichiana, and others, who constituted the flower and splendour of the kingdom?" He warned them of the progressive and fearful augmentation in power and number of these oppressors, assuring them that if they now delayed finding some remedy for this calamity, it would soon be too late to think of it. A more opportune occasion than the present could not occur; the best and most valiant of the Spaniards were at a distance with Almagro, and it was probable might never return from Chili; the remainder, divided and separated by great distances, might be simultaneously attacked and overcome, so that one could not come to the relief of the other. It was therefore indispensable to profit by the conjuncture immediately, and risk every thing to compass the ruin and overthrow of beings, as unjust as they were cruel. They answered at first with tears and groans only, but after

\* It seems that Pizarro's Indian interpreter had permitted himself to treat the Inca with much insolence, and even used words of such menacing import, that Mango Capac had quitted his house, to take refuge in that of Almagro.

wards replied unanimously, that he was the son of Huayna Capac, and they would, to a man, die for him ; that he should deliver them from their bitter bondage, and that the Sun and the Gods smiled upon him. They next began to consult on the dispositions they ought to make ; and the first article on which they agreed, as the basis of the whole plan, was the removal with all possible caution of the Inca from Cuzco.

Their meetings were not so secret that at length the Yanacunas did not get scent of them, and expose them to the Spaniards. Thus, when Mango had twice contrived to escape from Cuzco, he was twice taken back, and the last time placed under a strong guard to prevent his repeating the attempt a third time. The Indians began to apprehend for him a catastrophe like that of Atahualpa ; but, happily, the Castilians neither respected nor feared him, and, besides, Juan Pizarro by no means held of his brother authority for so bold a measure. In this state of affairs Hernando arrived, and, whether instigated by compassion or contempt, by policy or avarice, as his enemies supposed, his first act was to set Mango at liberty. The Inca behaved with reserve and circumspection in the beginning ; he contrived to gain the ear of the new governor by his arts and flatteries ; his sympathy, by his sorrowful expressions ; and his confidence, by a bearing at once obsequious and ingenuous. But the main key which gave him admission to the favour of Hernando Pizarro, was an offer of treasure ; he dwelt particularly on a statue in gold of his late father, of the size of life.

Avarice is no less credulous than blind; Hernando Pizarro believed him, and actually permitted him willingly to go and fetch the statue. Mango therefore quitted Cuzco openly, being accompanied by several Indians, by two Castilians, and the commandant's interpreter. In the course of eight days Hernando discovered the error he had committed, and proceeded, with eighty horse, to seek the Inca in Calca, a place not far from the capital. On approaching it, he met the two Castilians, who acquainted him how they had been dismissed, Mango having ordered them to depart, as he had no need of them. Hernando, however, approached Calca, where he was attacked by the Indians, who kept him all night on the alert, and he found it expedient to retrace his steps to Cuzco the following morning, his march being incessantly harassed by the natives, till he nearly reached the city.

War was now openly declared, and the Indians behaved with equal spirit and perseverance. The conflict, though unequal, was less so than formerly; the natives were more habituated to the sight of the horses and the sound of the arms, they were less liable to sudden impulses of terror and surprise, and knew better how to supply the inequality of their arms, by the multitude of their people, and the want of robust frames, by ardour and impetuosity. They poured like a torrent on the approaches to Cuzco; they gained the great exterior fortress by a sudden assault, and likewise made themselves masters of a strong house in the Plaza, in which the Castilians had endeavoured to in-

trench themselves; they occupied the houses, barricaded the streets, and, making apertures in their walls, they communicated easily by these means, and seemed to multiply themselves. The Spaniards, reduced to two hundred, and a thousand Yanacunas, who fought among them, found no resource but that of assembling in the Plaza, and there, quartered in two houses and in their tents, defended themselves as well as they could, from the stones, arrows, and darts, which were showered upon them like the most pitiless hail-storm. Sometimes they ventured from their places of shelter, and still the Indians held the advantage, pursuing them through the streets, and overthrowing those they overtook, destroying their intrenchments, and forcing them to have again recourse to the refuge of their lurking-places, while the Indians, resuming their order, repeated their attacks and insults. The Castilians at length gained the strong house of the Plaza, and even succeeded in driving the enemy from the city, though but to a very short distance; and while the Indians retained the great exterior fortress in their power, they had the means to annoy them to much advantage. It therefore behoved them to gain that likewise, which at length they effected, but it cost the life of Juan Pizarro, whose head was mortally struck by a stone, when, for a moment's refreshment from the heat and fatigue of the conflict, he had laid aside his helmet. Of the four brothers he had the least pride and arrogance, and therefore his loss was regretted by all his companions in arms. Whilst the combat for the fortress lasted; there was

also a struggle in the city, and the Indians, rushing into it by throngs, set fire to it in several parts. The houses being, in the manner of the country, thatched with straw, blazed in a moment, and the Spaniards saw their dwellings and effects swallowed by the flames, while the smoke so blinded them, as to render it impossible for them to fight, with any effect, for their protection. Days, and even months, passed in this state of warfare; the hoped for aid came not. The barbarians threw at them the heads of the Christians they slew in different points of the country, and the imagination of the Spaniards, terrified and excited, began to figure the same strife and danger as having extended throughout the territory, with even more of bloodshed. There was heroism in their defence, though to continue in Cuzco seemed madness, and more than once were they on the eve of abandoning the city, and returning, by the plains, to Lima. The council inclined to this opinion, and even urged it; but Juan Pizarro, whose life paid for his intrepidity, his brother Gonzalo, Gabriel de Rojas, and Hernando de Ponca, all men of unyielding courage, opposed it vehemently, denouncing it as an act of baseness, and declaring that they would rather die than consent to it. This opinion prevailed, as was natural among men so valiant, and the preservation of Cuzco was attributable no doubt to the truly heroic resolution of those captains.

In this state of things, Hernando Pizarro judged it expedient to go and attack the Inca in the Tambo of the valley of Yucay, a point situated about six

leagues from Cuzco, where, in consideration of the strength of the station, Mango had fixed his residence. He himself undertook the expedition, and with seventy horse, some infantry, and a crowd of friendly Indians, he approached the Tambo, and put to flight different bodies of the enemy, who sallied forth to the encounter. But when they reached the wall of the Tambo, the thick cloud of stones which showered upon them, threw their horses into such disorder, that it was necessary for them to retire to the plain, which lay near the gate of the place, to recover themselves. Then, the Indians, regaining courage, rushed forth with loud shouts, with great intrepidity, and in such overwhelming numbers, that the Spaniards began to lose heart, and still more when they saw the river, which flowed near the Tambo, rush from its bed, rolling its waves upon them, and baffling and overthrowing their horses. Their confusion was augmented by the firing of muskets against them, whereby they were informed that the Indians were not only possessed of Castilian arms, but knew how to use them. On the close of night, the Spanish general ordered a retreat, which was accomplished with great difficulty and fatigue, their enemy, at every step, impeding and molesting them, and the road being covered with sharp thorns and strong penetrating reeds. The Indians had foreseen all, and the Spanish chief returned to Cuzco, not only with the disgrace of a fruitless enterprise, but with the gloomy conviction that the adversary were becoming, day by day, more resolute and terrible. He had still farther

experience of this in another sally, which he afterwards made with eighty horse and some infantry. The Indians had relaxed in their siege, and numbers of them had retired to their own districts; therefore, Hernando Pizarro supposed that it would now be an easy task to surprise the Inca in the Tambo, where he had already attacked him unsuccessfully. The force he commanded, the secrecy of his march, and its rapidity, were not sufficient to save him from a second defeat, as mortifying as the former one. He found himself suddenly confounded and stunned by a terrible sound of horns and drums, and the war-cry of more than 30,000 Indians, who awaited him near the wall of the Tambo, protected in some places by fossés, in others by ramparts and trenches, and likewise by a dam they had recently made in the river. Mango was seen at a distance mounted on horseback, with his lance in his hand, governing and marshalling his people in that inaccessible camp, while some of the Indians who were armed with swords, shields, and morions, taken from our soldiers, quitted their intrenchments, rushed upon our horses, and threw themselves furiously on the Castilian lances. Hernando was at length compelled, with a considerable loss of auxiliary Indians, to retire to the capital, where, in a few days, the Indians, under the direction of the Inca, came upon him unexpectedly, and attacked with such spirit, that the entrance was with great difficulty defended against them, and many Spaniards were wounded in the struggle. This ardour, audacity, and military tact, though as yet rude and



imperfect, bore testimony to what the Indians were capable of doing in their own defence, if headed by chiefs worthy of the spirit which animated them. But at that period their army wanted captains, as, in the commencement of the conquest, the captains wanted an army.

Lima suffered an attack at the same time as Cuzco ; not, in truth, so effectual, nor with so much peril and injury to the Spaniards, because the country, being more level, left to the horses, those objects of the dread of the Peruvians, their full power and scope, and the proximity to the port enabled the Spaniards to reinforce themselves with supplies of men and provisions. But the anxiety and alarm which the governor felt, neither for himself nor the colony, tormented him for Cuzco and his brothers. No one came to him from thence ; the Indians not only watched the roads, but also the whole country ; wherever the Castilians were met by them, alone, or few in number, they were put to death ; the different detachments sent out, either as scouts or for aid, shared the same fate, except some few who contrived to escape, breathless and terrified, to Lima, and some others who were reserved as slaves for the service of the Inca ; so that the number of Spaniards, who in this manner had been sacrificed to the safety or vengeance of the Indians, amounted to seven hundred. Then did the haughty conqueror begin to feel the temerity he had been guilty of, in extending his people over that immense country, and to fear lest the rich prize he had

acquired by such severe efforts should escape his hands. Almagro was far distant, and so likewise were the other establishments of Spanish America, and he dared not abandon the central and important position he held, to go to the succour of Cuzco. It was at length determined that Alonzo de Alvarado, whom he summoned from the Chiachapogas, should proceed with 500 men, horse and foot, to rescue the capital from danger; and the governor wrote at the same time to Panamá, Nicaragua, Guatemala, New Spain, and St Domingo, urging on them the risk in which the affairs of Peru were involved, and earnestly entreating for succour. By the strong expressions used in these letters, an idea may be formed of the doubt and agitation which possessed Pizarro. In writing to Alvarado, he told him, *that if he rescued the land, he would leave it to him, and retire himself to Panamá, or Spain.* From all quarters at once, arrived the reinforcements so eagerly expected. Hernan Cortes sent him two vessels, with arms, men, and horses, adding friendly presents to these necessaries; amongst them, canopies, tapestry, ornamental furniture for his house, white linen, costly clothing, and also a mantle of rich fur, in which, during the remainder of his life, Pizarro always appeared on days of ceremony. From Panamá the licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa sent him a considerable number of Spaniards, and among them a body of crossbows. In like manner arrived from other quarters reinforcements of equal or still greater magnitude. All this help reached Peru, at a time when

her conquerors had, by their own might, delivered themselves from danger; and the governor was even reflected on as pusillanimous, for believing himself so resourceless. But, assuredly, it was not the temper of a pusillanimous man which inspired him with the resolution, in the moment of greatest exigence, to send all the vessels from the port, thus at once shaking the pride and confidence of the Indians, and depriving his own people of their hope of escape by sea. He was under an obligation to defend and maintain the territory he had conquered and governed; and, viewing his precautions in this light, they were not unbecoming or uncalled for by his position, even though his words might savour too strongly of discouragement. However we may consider the matter, it was to this earnestness that Pizarro was indebted for seeing himself in a few days at the head of a numerous army, composed principally of veterans, and at the moment when he most needed them, not against the Peruvians, but against his compatriots, who were preparing to dispute the empire with him.

For nine months had this sharp struggle between the Spaniards and natives continued, when it was rumoured in Cuzco that the Adelantado was returning. The different events of his expedition to Chili have no immediate connexion with this memoir, besides that they bear too great a similitude to the labours and sufferings which have been invariably endured by the Castilians, in the prosecution of their discoveries and incursions through those unknown

regions. On their way, rugged roads, snowy ravines, cruel whirlwinds; in which Almagro and his men suffered no less, than did his rival Alvarado in the rocky passes of Quito, and where he left a fifth of his army frozen to the ground. On reaching the desired point, robust and ferocious Indians, who held them in incessant combat, and whom, if they could sometimes defeat them, it was not easy to subdue. There, too, they found sandy deserts, absolutely devoid of water, and with all the accompanying miseries which would have awaited them in the burning wastes of Arabia. On the other hand, no important discovery, no useful settlement. Chili, therefore, was reserved for the valour of Valdivia, and for the muse of Ercilla. That brilliant and flourishing army which quitted Cuzco, elate with the most animating hope, after having persevered in a march to the southward of three hundred leagues, and finding that the farther they advanced the more sterile and inhospitable the country became, and beholding around them unpeopled wastes, frozen sierras, little means of nourishment, and still less gold, grew disgusted with an enterprise, so laborious, painful, and profitless, and earnestly entreated to return. Those who commanded them partook their feelings; the easy acquisition of treasures, power, and renown, made by others, and even by themselves, in the fields of Mexico, Guatemala, and of Peru, made them look with discontent and disdain on any thing less than the surrender of empires, or the sack and plunder of temples and palaces. Almagro had in his Lands the

original provisions of his government, which Juan de Rada had brought him, having at length succeeded in obtaining them from Hernando Pizarro at Cuzco. He was thus powerfully stimulated to return, by his own impatience to take possession of his government, and by that of his captains to become wealthy and powerful beneath his shadow. One told him, that if he chanced to die where he was, nothing would remain to his son but the name of Don Diego. Others counselled him, that, being already effective governor of New Toledo, he should return thither instantly; that Cuzco was included in his limits, and that they all longed to go and settle in that city, and enjoy its abundance and its luxuries. With such, and similar arguments, the head of that man being already rendered giddy by the honours and rewards the court had conferred upon him; a father, too, who had idolized his son, and a general as condescending and facile as he was liberal to his officers, could not, in this emergency, stand firm against the suggestions of ambition;—he gave the order for retrogression, and the army set forth on their return to Cuzco.

Just as he passed the desert which divides Peru from the kingdom of Chili, he heard of the general insurrection of the Indians, and the dangers and disasters of the Spaniards. It appeared to him, that the state of affairs gave his return the colour of necessity, and he accelerated his march, in order to supply, on his part, such remedy and aid as the predicament required. As, previous to his departure on his expe-

dition, so close a connexion had existed between himself and the Inca, he sent him from Arequipa, where he halted a few days, a message, expressive of the astonishment which the news he had received had occasioned him; requesting to be informed of the cause of this change of affairs, and assuring him that he returned with every inclination to favour him, so far as he could with justice do so. Mango replied, that he rejoiced in his arrival; he threw the fault of the insurrection on the avarice of Hernando Pizarro, and, in testimony of his respect for Almagro, offered to suspend hostilities till he should have personally conferred with him; and so in fact he did.

This negotiation, which lasted some days, reached the knowledge of the Castilians of Cuzco, who learned almost at the same time the arrival of Almagro at Peru, and that there was an army in the valley of Xauxa: it was that of Alvarado, sent, as we have said above, by the governor for the protection of Cuzco, and which, for reasons to be afterwards explained, had lingered there for five months. Hernando Pizarro's first thought was, to destroy the good understanding which existed between Almagro and the Inca, doubtless instigated by a desire to deprive the Adelantado of the merit and glory of having appeased and subdued him. He sent a mulatto youth with a letter to Mangó, warning him not to make peace with Don Diego de Almagro, since not he, but Don Francisco Pizarro, was the governor. Mango gave the letter to two Castilians of Almagro's, who happened at the moment

of its arrival to be with him, replying, at the same time, that the intimation from Cuzco was a falsehood, since the true lord of that city was Almagro ; and he ordered that the messenger should be punished, as a liar, by the loss of his hand. The two Castilians earnestly interceded for him, and Mango at length contented himself with the amputation of a finger ; and with this mark of displeasure, and the Inca's reply, he returned to those who sent him.

The next endeavour of the commandant of Cuzco was to discover the design of the Adelantado, who had by this time reached Urcos, a place about six leagues from the city. He affirmed, and not without apparent reason, that, had the intentions of Don Diego been sound, he would, on entering Urcos, have apprised him of his arrival, or he would have marched forward amicably to the capital, to place it and its inhabitants in security, and there to hold friendly counsel on all important matters ; that his halting so near, and putting himself in communication with the enemy, rather than with his compatriots, was no good sign. It was then agreed, that he, with his brother Gonzalo, and other captains, accompanied by the greater part of the people, should march towards Urcos, and endeavour to investigate the designs of Almagro ; of which they became yet more suspicious, on observing the insolence, and hearing the shouts of the war Indians, who harassed and impeded their march, and cried aloud, that since Almagro was come they would soon massacre all the Castilians in Cuzco.

In fact, the Indians had the credulity to suppose, that the Adelantado would join the Inca in the destruction of the inhabitants of the capital. The Spanish general, through the medium of the frequent messages passing between himself and Mango, had invited the latter to a conference in the valley of Yacaz. For this interview Almagro quitted Urcos with half his people, leaving the other half with Juan de Saavedra, with an order that all should be kept quiet till his return ; but these projected interviews were frustrated, because the Indians who belonged to the two divisions of the Chilian army, remarked that there were frequent and friendly conferences between the Castilians of Cuzco and the new comers, not only free from all signs of mutual animosity, but, on the contrary, marked by many symptoms of mutual cordiality and good-will. On this ground they built their doubts of the sincerity of Almagro, and apprised the Inca of their observations ; who thereupon, instead of keeping his appointment, sent to declare war against both sides, but commenced his attack against the natives and the Spaniards of Chili.

Then Almagro, finding difficulties increase upon him,\* and that now, instead of one enemy, he had

\* Meanwhile Almagro, in the valley of Yucay, suffered no small anxiety, from learning that Captain Ruy Diaz, whom he had sent out some days ago to treat with Mango, and endeavour to soothe him, had been stripped by the Indians, who shaved off his beard and hair, and having dyed his whole body and face with arnotto, fastened him to a stake, and, amongst other mockeries and insults, shot fruit at him with their slings, forcing him and his companions to swallow large quantities of their wine.



two to contend with, turned directly towards Cuzco, and commanded Juan de Saavedra to join him. This captain had, in the interim, held a conference with Hernando Pizarro, when the latter sallied forth on the reconnoissance of which we have spoken above, without any positive result from the proposals made on either side; neither did they as yet venture to decide the matter by force of arms, though both parties eagerly desired the conflict. Saavedra restrained himself, in obedience to the orders left by his general; and Pizarro, to avoid the blame of being the aggressor. Meanwhile Almagro sent a message to Hernando Pizarro, with advice of his being arrived in the intention of succouring the Spaniards of Peru, and of aiding his friend the governor in his present difficulties; that he likewise meant to take possession of the government given him by the king, since he could do so without infringing the compacts and capitulations he had entered into with him and his brother, from whom he desired not to separate himself, but to maintain the friendship and companionship then existing between them. Lorenzo de Aldana and Vasco de Guevara, who bore this message, Hernando Pizarro implored, on the faith of countrymen and ancient friends, that they would disclose to him the real and secret intention of the Adelantado. They averred, in reply, that he was resolved truly never to separate himself from the company and friendship of his brother, nor to give occasion for tumults and disaffection. "If such be his intention,"

said Hernando, "we offer him our homage, and all shall be referred to his will." In short, it was agreed by the two Pizarros, to return for answer to the governor, that his lordship was welcome—that they feared no interruption of their mutual harmony—that they besought him to enter the city, where he would be joyfully received; and Hernando added, that he would give up the half of his apartments to Almagro.

Such a reply soothed, to appearance, all hostile feelings, leaving no room for doubt or displeasure: but all was hollow. The character held by Hernando for duplicity and falseness, and the contempt and mockery with which, even at that time, he spoke of the person of the Adelantado, and which, indeed, had been ever his custom, embittered his fair words and invalidated his smooth professions. For these reasons Almagro summoned Saavedra to join him; and the better to facilitate that movement, he directed his own march towards the camp of Las Salinas, where Saavedra met him; and the two divisions having formed a junction, marched for Cuzco in order of war, with pikes presented and banners displayed; and halting before the gates, without relaxing from the order of march, the Adelantado sent the royal warrant to the regency of the city, demanding that, in virtue of that instrument, he should be received in Cuzco as the governor.

He had with him 500 soldiers, all proved men, led by experienced and valiant captains—each greedy of honour and riches—faithful to the interests of their

chief, and determined to spend their lives in defending them. In the city, on the contrary, there were only 200 able men, and those divided in opinion; many of them inclined to Almagro, from his kind and liberal character; and almost all the principal men, wearied and offended by the pride and insolence of the Pizarros, and, consequently, little disposed to incur the risks of a civil war, for the sake of individuals so odious. Yet did not the two brothers suffer their spirits to droop; they betook themselves, with diligence and activity, to animating their valiant men by praises, to exciting the lukewarm, to confirming the wavering—they reminded them of the respect due to their brother—made promises to some, presents to others, in short, omitted nothing that diligence, skill, or effort, could contribute to the defence and security of the place they were now to dispute. When the commissioners reached Hernando Pizarro with the royal warrant, he referred them to the council, saying, it would be there decided what ought to be done. The poor counsellors were at a loss how to speak or act; within they had tyrants, whom it was very unsafe to offend; and without, they were awed by a power, as they conceived invincible. They declared, that the provisions with respect to the government of the Adelantado were clear, though not as regarded the city, of which no mention whatever was made; that they were not men of letters, or geographers, to pronounce whether or no Cuzco came within the limits. But as the question was important, it ought to be maturely examined; and that it

might be the more quietly debated, they proposed a few days' suspension of arms.

The Adelantado, to whom this declaration was conveyed through the medium of Gabriel de Rojas and the Licentiate Prado, deputed by the city to confer with him, at first declined the suspension of arms, and also the lodgings, to which he was invited within the city; but at length, as a mark of his respect for the commissioners, he acceded to the truce, on condition of remaining where he was, and that Hernando Pizarro should not attempt to advance upon the fortifications there situated. We may believe that this truce was agreed to in good faith by Almagro. Not so by the captains, whose unbridled passions dragged him towards the precipice, while the followers of the Pizarros equally endeavoured to stimulate their leaders to a crisis. Almagro's partisans judged, and not without reason, that the truce was proposed merely to gain time for the arrival of Alvarado, who had already, according to report, reached the bridge of Abancay; that it was essential to be beforehand with him, and availing themselves of the darkness of the night, to attack the city, and take the two brothers. This certainly could not be considered, by the strict rules of military honour, a justifiable step; but they had to deal with dangerous and insidious foes, who were little punctilious in adjusting such questions with their own pride or convenience. Almagro, almost in spite of himself, yielded to the arguments of his officers, and, perhaps against his inclination, gave the order for attack,

earnestly charging them to abstain from massacre, pillage, or any other violence towards the inhabitants.

The surprise was effected with the utmost facility, the night being dark and rainy, and scarce a sentinel on his post, all the soldiers of the garrison being fatigued by watching on the preceding nights, and out of humour from the existing differences. Only in the house of the two Pizarros were there twenty soldiers, and some muskets mounted at the gate. The Adelantado, with the greater part of his captains and people, proceeded to the church. Rodrigo de Orgoñez, with a sufficient band, took his course to the house of the Pizarros, while Juan de Saavedra and Vasco de Guevara occupied the ways which led to it, to prevent the arrival of succour. The two brothers, on hearing the noise, flew to arms, and, dividing their few soldiers between them, began to defend the doors and windows of the house, with an ardour and intrepidity worthy a better cause, and better success. Orgoñez advised Hernando Pizarro to yield, and offered him the kindest treatment. "I will never surrender myself to *such* soldiers," he replied, disdainfully, and continued the conflict. "You are but the deputy-governor of a city," said Orgoñez, "while I am the general of the kingdom of New Toledo. But this is wandering from the point in dispute. Will you surrender, or will you persevere in a vain defence?" He chose the latter alternative, and fought with all the fury of desperation. Then Orgoñez, deeming it disgraceful that the struggle should be so long in suspense, ordered his people to set fire

to the roof of the house, which, being of straw, blazed immediately. This act dismayed the adherents of Hernando, but not himself, whose ferocious countenance exhibited a resolution to die, even thus, rather than yield to the superior force of his enemy; he persisted in combating amidst the flames and suffocating smoke. Two large burning beams fell upon the combatants, the house was about to bury them in its blazing ruins. At length, all who defended it, rushed forth upon the enemy in one body, covered with their shields, and were immediately disarmed and taken, and the house was no sooner quitted, than it fell with a terrible crash to the ground.

If Almagro may be taxed with having betrayed much rashness and inconsiderateness since his return from Chili, it cannot be denied, that the noble and moderate manner in which he used his first advantage threw lustre on his character. He spared the two prisoners the humiliation of appearing in his presence; he ordered that their confinement should be alleviated by every consolation, and even indulgence; and when the junta had fulfilled the royal dispositions, and received and acknowledged him as governor, he announced his determination to abstain from all innovation alteration in the state of things, and named as his lieutenant in the city, Gabriel de Rojas, a knight and captain, who did not belong to his party, but who was highly esteemed and of great influence with all; thus proving that he did not intend to govern as the chief

of a faction, but as a public magistrate, and a lover of the commonwealth.

After the assault and possession of Cuzco followed the route and capture of Alonzo de Alvarado on the bridge of Abancay. This general, who, five months ago, had been sent by Pizarro to succour the menaced capital of the Indies, had remained during the whole of that period at Xauxa, appeasing the natives. He apologized for his procrastination, by averring that such were the orders of the governor; but his enemies, desirous to criminate him, allege, that he lingered there to promote the private interests of his friend Antonio Picado. Certain it is, that his succour was long on the road, that Cuzco delivered herself, without it, from the Indians, and fell, through his neglect, into the power of his adversary. On the notice of his approach, Almagro sent to him, by confidential messengers, to intimate, that as he was trespassing on the limits of his government, he should either pay due submission to him who ruled in that land, or return to the district of Don Francisco Pizarro's government. At the head of this embassy were the two Alvarados, brothers of the governor of Guatemala, and friends and high in the confidence of Almagro; by them, he wrote a friendly letter to Alonzo de Alvarado, inviting him to join him, and making him the most tempting offers. But the ambassadors could obtain nothing, although they were at first received with much courtesy and urbanity by the adverse general. Whether

their importunities provoked him, or that he feared their intrigues, or that he resolved on detaining them as hostages for the security of the two Pizarros, Alonzo de Alvarado forbade their making any proposal, and soon after caused them to be disarmed and thrown into prison, contrary to the laws of public faith, and of the character with which they were invested. Such an act could of course lead only to a new rupture ending in open hostilities.

When Almagro, having waited eight days for his friends, found that they did not return, he immediately suspected the fact, and called a council of his captains to deliberate what must be done in this predicament. All advised war, following the opinion of General Orgoñez, who resolutely proposed that they should, in the first place, put the two captive Pizarros to death, and then march against Alonzo de Alvarado, in whose army they had so many friends, who would, on seeing the banners of Almagro, pass over to them, and would aid them to set at liberty the two brave men, whom, being taken in Almagro's service, he was engaged by every honourable consideration to rescue from the enemy. Their chief, however, shrunk from the idea of bloodshed; and besides, a remembrance of his ancient ties to Francisco Pizarro had still much weight with him, though he utterly abhorred the two brothers, especially the insolent Hernando. For similar reasons, he would not hear of their death, saying, that greatness was better preserved by firm and moderate



counsels, than by vehement and violent ones.\* "Well," replied Orgoñez, "you may now applaud yourself on your mercy. But be assured, that if once Hernando Pizarro finds himself free, he will revenge himself on you to his full content, unrestrained by any emotions of pity or respect." Words, which foretold to Almagro the fate that awaited him, whenever he should fall into the hands of that inexorable spirit. Resolved on the combat, the Castilians quitted Cuzco, to meet Alvarado on the bridge of Abancay. The two armies were equal in numbers, though there was a great disparity between them in strength, the troops of Alvarado being disunited in opinion, and little disposed to fight. Pedro de Lerma, the officer of most reputation among them, held intelligence with Orgoñez; Alvarado, suspecting him, ordered him to be arrested, but he contrived to escape, cross the river, and gain the opposite army. The confidence of Almagro's troops was augmented by this circumstance, though they were previously in spirits from the credit which they were conscious of possessing for valour, and from their excellent equipment and discipline. Alvarado, according to the nature of the post he occupied, disposed his people judiciously. In his front lay the river; he placed at the bridge, and at the two frequented fords, such a number of men as he deemed sufficient for their defence, giving the charge of the bridge to

\* Let the reader keep his eye upon the gentleness, compunction, and humanity of Almagro's conduct, and then form an impartial judgment between him and the Pizarros.

Gomez de Tordoga, of the opposite ford to Juan Perez, de Guevara, and of the higher one to Garcilaso, whilst himself, with the remainder of his force, continued in reserve, to act where most required. When, Almagro reached the river, he would still have sent a message of peace to Alvarado, requesting the release of his two friends. But to this, his General Orgoñez would not consent, maintaining that in practising such futile ceremonies, not only time, but courage and credit, were lost. He then made his dispositions for passing the river, admonished the soldiers in a few words, that they had but the alternative of victory or death, that cold hearts were of little use in war, that they were not now to combat with the Indians, but with Spaniards as firm and valiant as themselves, and whom, they must redouble their efforts in order to conquer. This said, he threw himself into the river at the head of eighty of the best horse, and followed by the most renowned of the captains. It was night, and the river was deep and swollen, and the pass very dangerous, yet, in the midst of the darkness and the noise, the voice of this fearless man was heard crying, "Courage, cavaliers! On! Now is our time!" thus guiding and animating the soldiers who followed him. As the cavalry reached the opposite bank, they alighted, formed in order of battle, and using their lances as pikes, they closed upon the enemy, and the strife commenced. Little resistance was made, for Captain Guevara, who defended that post, was in the outset wounded in the thigh, and disabled. Almagro, who, with sixty

horse and some infantry, had waited for the proper moment to attack the bridge, on finding from the sound of the muskets, and the clash of the combatants, that Orgoñez was on the opposite bank, rushed to the attack with his wonted impetuosity, and sweeping all before him, gained the bridge, and joined his people. Alonzo de Alvarado, with his reserve, and all the men he could collect, restored the battle near the bridge, facing with great intrepidity the pikes and crossbows. It was still night; in the shouts of the one army the name of the king was heard, together with that of Almagro, while the war-cry of the other was Pizarro! And such echoes as might have belonged to peaceful rejoicings, were now used successfully as the stimulants to fury and desperation. Orgoñez was severely wounded by a stone in the mouth, yet, though the blow was violent, and destroyed his teeth, while the blood bubbled from his mouth, he, rendered only still more furious, waved his sword, exclaiming, "In this spot will I be buried or conquer!" Then, rushing into the midst of the enemy, he called to his men to cut down and slay without pity or intermission, since it was a shame those insolent Pizarros should be so long and valiantly supported. His soldiers, inflamed by these words, fought like lions, and the resistance of their adversaries began to weaken. Alvarado, who, at daybreak, beheld the disorder of his army, and perceived that many of his people were mixed with those of Almagro, was greatly dismayed, and disentangling himself from the mêlée, betook himself with a few

others to a rising ground, where he remained irresolute what step he should take. At length he determined to form a junction with Garcilaso, who defended the upper ford, and who had not yet taken part in the combat. But the indefatigable Orgoñez, whose attention was every where, darted upon him with his cavalry, cut off his passage, routed his people, and took him prisoner. At the same time the quarters of Alvarado's army were gained, without any resistance, by the captain sent to take them; and Garcilaso, informed of these events, came over to Almagro, so that, ere the sun declined, the camp was in the hands of that leader, and the victory decisive in his favour.

This was the first battle fought between these two parties, afterwards so irreconcilably embittered against each other. Happily much blood was not shed on this occasion, either by conquerors or the conquered, nor, after the action, was the mind shocked by those revengeful executions, too apt to be prescribed on these occasions, by inexorable reasons of state, or a rancorous thirst of blood. Almagro, as humane as he was generous, would not consent to the sentence of death, already fulminated by the fiery Orgoñez against the captive general, on his being led into Cuzco. He commanded, that whatever belonged to the vanquished should be restored, and that what could not be otherwise recovered, should be made good out of his own property; in short, such was his humanity and courtesy, that he attached many of them to him; and if many of them subsequently failed him, either from weakness or in-

constancy, yet they never lost the impression made on their affections, by his benign and noble disposition. When Diego de Alvarado, now liberated from his prison, came to embrace and give him joy of his victory, he entreated him, with a generosity highly creditable, on his part also, to suspend the terrible order of Orgoñez. "It is already done," said Almagro, in a tone of heartfelt satisfaction and enjoyment; sufficiently demonstrative of the goodness of his heart, and proving how little he was fitted for that wild crisis, on which ambition had thrown him. In the conference he held with Alonzo de Alvarado, his language was rather that of a man who justifies his proceedings, and explains the reasons which have actuated his conduct, than of an angry and haughty conqueror, in whose power it was to accuse and condemn. He rebuked him, but with great moderation, for the wrong he had done to his ambassadors, and he concluded by assuring Alvarado that he should be treated as became his merit; that, as to his future disposal of himself, he must make his own election; but that he might from henceforth number him amongst his friends, whatever his ultimate decision should be.

In spite of the benevolent disposition and expressions of Almagro, the implacable and resolute Orgoñez, in the council of war which was held after the battle, declared that it was expedient that the two Pizarros, General Alvarado, and the Captain Gomez de Tordoya, should lose their heads, and themselves march immediately on Lima to get rid of the governor,

and of the principal leaders of his party at the same time. "These," said he, "are in truth severe precautions, but the only ones from which we can hope for security, since experience has proved to us a thousand times, that in America, those only need aspire to command and distinction, who allow no weak scruples to interfere with their object, who are prompt in seizing, and tenacious in grasping their advantage. If, now that the Pizarros are in our power, we neglect our opportunity, they will not follow the example when Almagro and his friends shall be at their disposal." The prisoners were at that crisis in imminent danger. The authority of Orgoñez, the energy of his character, gave infinite effect to his words, flattering as they were to the pride of the captains, who were elated by their recent victory, while his arguments were powerfully aided by the odium, in which the objects of his wrath and his proscription were justly held. In short, opinions were almost unanimous in favour of this rigorous counsel, yet, influenced by the prayers and intercession of Diego de Alvarado and other mediators, Almagro refused to ratify the sentence, and the army returned to Cuzco fifteen days after the battle, having gathered no fruit from their victory.

Hernando Pizarro, meanwhile, upbraided his adverse fortune, believing that this rout had at least closed upon him the door of his prison for a considerable time, and left him to brood in vain impatience over his projects of vengeance. Diego de Alvarado went to visit and console him, with the courteous attentions

and amiable sympathies natural to that officer's character. They played to amuse the weary hour, and played for a large stake, as was then, and still is, usual in America. Alvarado lost, at different times, to the amount of eighty thousand pesos, which he sent to Hernando Pizarro; the latter returned the money, requesting his antagonist would use it himself. From that hour Alvarado exerted himself in his behalf with redoubled force and energy, now doing that from gratitude, which had hitherto been a mere impulse of compassion and gentleness of nature. He was the principal protection of the prisoner against the fierce and incessant suggestions of Orgoñez, and there is little doubt that, but for his interposition, Almagro, in spite of his own disinclination to severity, would have sooner or later acceded to the counsels of his general, and sacrificed his captives.

But it is now time to return to the Marquis Governor. He took indeed no part, personally or directly, in the events we have related, yet were his name, greatness, and fortune, ever in the midst of them, as the principal aim at which the efforts of the conquerors had been directed, both in Cuzco and at Abancay.

The first intelligence he received of the surprise of the capital and the imprisonment of his two brothers, was sent him by Alonzo de Alvarado, together with the result of his first communications with Almagro, and a request that he would furnish him with orders for the direction of his conduct. He received the letters of Alvarado in Guareo, at the head of four hundred Spa-

niards, the aggregate of the reinforcements which had been sent him from different parts of India. He was greatly shocked by these unexpected tidings, and could not dissemble his perturbation from the eyes of those around him ; but soon recovering himself, and reflecting that no blame could attach to him from this rupture, " I feel," said he, " naturally afflicted by the misfortunes of my brothers. Yet still more deeply do I lament, that two such old and dear friends should, in our old age, be involved in the miseries and violences of civil war, and the many evils of which it is the parent, to the disservice of God and the King." He gave his army an account of the advices he had received ; replied to Alvarado with thanks for his intelligence, adding, that although matters had arrived at this pitch of exasperation, he still hoped that the Almighty would restore peace between him and his friend, and that he (Alvarado) must await his arrival with as large a body of troops as he could collect ; and, in the interim, he charged him to abstain from coming to a rupture with the Adelantado. He then summoned the principal officers of his camp, and laying before them the injury done to the King by these disorders committed by his adversary, and saying that as to himself, as his Majesty's Lieutenant and Governor, belonged the task of suppressing and punishing those insurgents, who threw the land into confusion, and broke the peace of cities, he had now to ask their aid in the performance of this duty. He concluded by offering them all such services and advantages as he



was accustomed to grant, and they to experience. After this artful preamble, he called upon them as honourable cavaliers, and loyal servants to their King, to speak openly their opinions. The position of the greater part of these soldiers was, in truth, very delicate. They had been sent to defend the country against the insurrections of the Indians, and were scarcely arrived, when they found themselves about to be implicated in a civil war, and were invited to take up arms against their countrymen. Ignorant of the events and passions which agitated the Castilians of Peru, they had no means of judging on which side justice lay. It was natural that they should take their view of the subject from the colouring given to it by those with whom they were; all their information was derived from the first discoverer of the country, its principal conqueror, its governor by the King's warrant, and who, far from the spot in which the events in question had happened, was to be supposed guiltless of any share in the malice, which had given rise to them. They knew that a city inhabited by Castilians had been surprised and forcibly entered by a Castilian captain; that two individuals so important as the two Pizarros, had been thrown into prison, without any message, any proposal, any disculpation on the part of the aggressor. Thus reasoning, there was little doubt but they would take part in the troubles of the general who addressed them, and that their inclinations would lean to his service. Yet their reply savoured more of impartial reason than of personal zeal. They all pro-

posed, as the safest step, that messengers should be sent to the Adelantado, to bring about, if possible, a more peaceable state of things; that the letters should be couched in terms of friendly persuasion; while they, on their side, should send to Lima for men and arms, in case it should at length prove necessary to come to a rupture; nor were there wanting those, who proposed, that the first thing to be done was to ascertain whether Cuzco did *really* fall within the government of Don Almagro, since in that case there was no cause for dispute. This proposal struck home at the difficulty, but it at the same time grievously wounded self-interest and envious passions, and was treated with neglect.

The governor, wishing at once to make a show of following the opinion of his people, and to satisfy his own, sent on Nicolas de Ribera with a pacific message to Almagro, entreating him to release his brothers, and to suffer the limits of the two governments to be amicably ascertained and established. He, at the same time, prepared to follow the road over the mountain, to effect his junction with Alvarado. Meanwhile, however, the news arrived of the rout at Abancay, the imprisonment of that general, and the total dispersion of his army. Pizarro, disconcerted by this unlooked for disaster, found it necessary to change his plan, and to expect from time and manœuvring what he could no longer hope to attain by force. He feared every moment to see the conquering army fall upon him, and cut off for ever, by one decisive stroke, his

hopes and his designs. These apprehensions of Pizarro prove the soundness of the counsel of General Orgoñez, when he demanded that Almagro should march directly from Abancay to Lima, and so fall upon the adversary with promptitude and certainty. Pizarro, in this emergency, resolved to negotiate, thereby gaining time to recover himself, while, by fair words and apparent hopes, he should allay the ardour and enfeeble the power of his enemy, the more securely to struggle with him hereafter. He despatched an embassy to Cuzco, composed of the most distinguished persons of his camp, while he himself returned in all haste to Lima, to levy troops and form an army equal to that of his rival.

He sent, as the principal negotiator on this occasion, the Licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa, one of the most ancient and principal conquerors of Terra Firma, highly respected at Panamá, the old friend of the rival governors, and, according to subsequent proof, a companion likewise in the profits of their adventures. He believed that the respect and consideration in which he was held by each, would enable him to bring affairs to a favourable termination, with the more reason, when it became known that he and the other commissioners carried sufficient powers for fixing the limits of the two governments, and for obtaining the release of prisoners. On arriving at Cuzco, where they were affably and courteously received, Espinosa began to open his commission, and proposals were reciprocally exchanged. Almagro consulted with his people, and

the commissioners, on permission, with Hernando Pizarro, who eagerly agreed to the first conditions of Almagro, owing, as he said, to the necessity which obliged him, as soon as possible, to set off for Castile with the King's fifths. The Licentiate was not blinded by this apparent zeal and sudden acquiescence, but immediately replied, that if, as an aggrieved man, Hernando was merely smoothing the way at present to the recovery of his liberty, that he might afterwards kindle a new war for the indulgence of his own resentments, he had better seek other means for his purpose, though so the concord might be retarded; that there was nothing so unworthy as to give fuel and scope to such passions, nor so destructive to the interests of all, more especially those of the two governors. The prisoner was stung to the quick; but being, when it suited him, a deep dissembler, he expressed himself obliged by the good-will of the mediator, and placing the whole negotiation in his hands, declared and protested that he would, on his part, no way infringe on any agreement he might think meet to ratify.

Still Espinosa was able to communicate on more frank and ingenuous terms with the Adelantado. Almagro added proposal to proposal, in proportion as he found his demands were acquiesced in; then Espinosa implored him to reflect on the judgment the world would pass, when, after beholding him and Pizarro for so many years in such perfect amity and union, the scene should now change, and they should appear as the venomous foes of each other, the fomenters of

sedition and civil wars, staining and obscuring, by their blind and fatal ambition, the honours which their laudable and generous friendship had acquired for them. "But," he added, "setting apart the scandal you are inevitably incurring, where is your judgment, when you thus place in peril your authority, and your very existence? Do you believe that the King will behold with indifference the dangers and evils your discords will produce, and will he not, the moment he shall be apprised of the state of affairs, determine on the means of remedy? Do not deceive yourself. Sooner or later, he will send those, who, invested with his authority, shall compel you to peace, shall bring you to a strict account, and perhaps moreover to punishment; even though your judge be exempt from the ambition, pride, and covetousness, too common amongst those delegates of justice who are sent into these regions, still you will be compelled to endure investigations, prosecutions, and afflictions, from men of a different profession, who, according to their custom, will exaggerate your errors and the public disasters, to increase their own credit and services. God forbid that I should behold you in this miserable predicament, subjected to the caprice and will of a stranger, exposed to suffer, in your authority, in your property, and too probably even in your life, the rigorous degree of justice, or the blind and violent determination of the passions! Think well, I entreat you, on my words! Are not these regions wide enough to give sufficient exercise to your ambition, that for a few leagues, more or less, you would offend Heaven,

provoke the wrath of your King, and fill the world with scandal and violence?" To these words, which, as being uttered by a lawyer, were the more worthy of remark, Almagro replied that these arguments should have been first tried with Pizarro, whose government was more doubtful, according to the limits assigned by the royal provisions, and which included even Lima, to say nothing of Cuzco, the present point in dispute, and which most indubitably belonged to him, and with regard to which, in right of his just claim and warrant, he would lose his life rather than yield. "If so it be, Signor Adelantado," replied Espinosa, "I may say with our old Castilian proverb, '*the conquered conquers, and the conqueror loses.*'"

Almagro might have added, to justify his little inclination to agreement, that although Espinosa and his companions had been furnished with full powers to negotiate, yet one Hernan Gonzalez, who came with them, had secret instructions for revoking what they should do. This manœuvre, as unseasonable, as it was derogatory to the honour and sincerity, which should preside over the dealings of men who rank with the great and valiant, was detected by the friends and counsellors of Almagro; no wonder, then, if the knowledge of such a fact should chill and embitter all those benevolent feelings, which would have inclined him to peace.

It is far from improbable that the zeal and influence of Espinosa might have ultimately succeeded in preventing an explosion; but when they were on the point

of ratifying certain articles, respecting which each of the contending parties had come to an agreement, he fell dangerously ill, and died in the course of a few days. His loss was felt deeply by all those who sincerely desired peace, for in him they reposed all their hopes of obtaining it; it was regretted also by those, who had learned to appreciate him for his truly estimable qualities. But not so the soldiers who had fought under Balboa, who never forgot his having been an instrument in the iniquity of Pedrarias; twenty years of service, fatigues, and discoveries in Terra Firma, the prudence and moderation of his conduct, had never effaced, nor ever will efface, the stain left on his name by that unjust sentence.

On the death of Espinosa, Almagro despatched ambassadors to Francisco Pizarro, proposing, that in order to avoid revolts and dissensions, it would be most expedient to nominate conscientious persons, who might wisely and deliberately examine the cause pending between them, and declare what of right fell to each, while they, the principal parties, should solemnly oblige themselves to make restitution of all that did not appertain to them. He informed Pizarro, at the same time, that he was on the eve of setting out for the Lower Provinces, with the object of sending the King the gold for his fifths, and of pacifying the district in his progress. He then removed with his army to the coast, taking with him his prisoner Hernando Pizarro, and leaving in Cuzco, under the charge of Gabriel de Rojas, the deputy-governor of the city,

Gonzalo Pizarro, and the General Alvarado. This movement could not but strike the mind of his antagonist as a fresh provocation, while the pride and arrogance of his captains could not but tend to give additional colouring to the fact. Immeasurably elated by the surprise of Cuzco and the victory of Abancay, their most moderate boast was, that they were going to send the governor of New Castile to command in his territory of the Mangroves, and that there should no longer remain in Peru a single pizarra (slate) to stumble over. With these threats and bravadoes they descended to the plains, established their head-quarters in Chincha, and agreed on founding a city, which should secure the coast, and act as a point of shelter for the reception of the reinforcements of people and arms on their first arrival, for the royal despatches, and also for any necessaries which might be required for the Upper Provinces. This plan was immediately put in execution, the city was colonized and called Almagro, and from its locality, name, and all accompanying circumstances, seemed intended to outvie that of Lima, to insult and depreciate Pizarro, and to serve as a new ground for the pride and ostentation of its founders.

Meanwhile, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado found means to suborn their guards, and to escape from Cuzco, with a few Spaniards who chose to follow them; they took their way over the sierras, and, after braving some most discouraging difficulties, they reached Lima, and embraced the governor, whose joy at their deliverance was extreme. When these tidings



arrived in the camp at Chincha, they produced so disheartening an effect, that Almagro repented having rejected the rigorous counsels of Orgoñez, and became inclined to put them in execution on the person of Hernando Pizarro. Never was that captain in such imminent danger ; but Diego Alvarado still shielded him, and contrived to soothe and temper the irritation of the leader, and to invalidate the reasons urged for his destruction : he did still more in saving this fiery spirit from the fatal results, towards which his turbulent and restless temper were continually hurrying him. It happened one day that the Ensign-General of Almagro fell into a dispute with him, which rose to so high a pitch, that the former, losing all restraint over his passions, rushed upon him with his dagger, and would have struck him to the heart; had not Alvarado been in time to arrest the blow, and appease the conflict.

The governor gave ear to a proposal for placing the negotiation in the hands of an arbitrator, and the two contending parties agreed at length to refer their differences to the judgment of Father Francisco Bobadilla, provincial and commendator of the order of mercy, whom they each respected as a learned, just, and honourable man. Most unfortunately for himself, the first who thought of him was Almagro, in direct contradiction to the opinion of Orgoñez, who, seeing clearly on this point, as on all the rest, said, openly, that the Father Bobadilla was more attached to Don Francisco Pizarro than to Almagro, that the

decision of a case like the one in dispute, should not be confided to a privileged individual like this ecclesiastic, but to persons who had not only the fear of God, but that of men also, to restrain them; adding, in his frank and resolute manner, that true security did not consist in frivolous conventions, but in being so prepared against offence or injury, as to keep an enemy always in awe. To this, Almagro replied, that if he could not hope for justice from a man of such qualities as were ascribed to Father Bobadilla, he could hardly expect to find it upon earth. The event proved that Orgoñez did not deceive himself, and the good ecclesiastic grievously disappointed the hopes of the Adelantado.

It is true that he at first professed the greatest impartiality, and he began by insisting that the two competitors should meet and converse in his presence. This seemed the best mode of attacking the evil at the root, if there still existed the faintest vestige in their hearts of their mutual friendship; since, in meeting, conversing, and embracing, they might, by mutual explanation, have dissipated the suspicions and fatal effects of the calumnies, brought and carried between them by mischief-makers. These interviews were appointed at Mala, where the Provincial had fixed his residence, and established his tribunal; and where he caused all such oaths to be administered, and solemn forms to be observed, as were deemed necessary pledges for the security of each party; thus binding themselves, not only the governors, but also their

respective generals, that the troops should not move from the points they occupied, whilst the conference lasted. Rodrigo Orgoñez took this oath, but with an unwilling and misgiving heart, and deeply suspicious of the good faith of the enemy. "Señor Adelantado," said he to Almagro, uplifting his right hand, "I hate these meetings! Pray God they end better than I expect!" But he guessed on this occasion, with the same sagacity which had invariably marked his predictions; and only by something like a miracle, did the Adelantado escape the snare that had been laid for him.

The first of the two who presented himself in Mala, was Pizarro, followed, in observance of his obligation, by only twelve on horseback of his principal and most confidential friends. Shortly afterwards the Adelantado marched in, accompanied by an equal number of cavaliers, and on his arrival being known, Father Bobadilla, the governor, and several captains, came to the door of the house to meet him; he lighted and approached Pizarro with his hat in his hand, and made his obeisance, to which the other replied, by touching his helmet and coldly saluting him. In former times they had always embraced when meeting, and had often shed tears, either of pleasure or agitation; always, whether in their quarrels, or in their endearments, their mutual friendship was apparent. Now, falseness, resentment, and suspicion, had hardened their hearts, beyond all power to satisfy or appease them. Pizarro received the cavaliers who accom-

panied Almagro with somewhat more civility, and observing that they were unarmed, he asked them why they came; to which they courteously replied, for his service.

The Provincial requested the two governors to enter his house, which they did, and being placed at some little distance from each other, the conference was begun, by Pizarro breaking the silence, and demanding of the Adelantado, "Why did you seize upon the city of Cuzco, which I gained, and discovered by such severe exertions? Why have you removed from it its Indians and Yanaconas? Why, in short, not content with these injuries and oppressions, have you, to crown the whole, arrested and imprisoned my brothers?" "Consider what you say," replied the Adelantado, "and think well, ere you repeat that you, in your own person, gained the city of Cuzco! You well know who really gained it. I occupied Cuzco, because it is one of the cities of my government, according to the royal patent given in my favour. My intention was to have entered my city by virtue of that instrument, rather than by force of arms. Your brothers defended it, and I did myself justice by seizing them." "If my brothers, youths as they are, strove in its defence," interrupted Pizarro, "I will defend it against you more effectually." "For these causes," pursued Almagro, "I entered Cuzco, and caused myself to be received as governor." "These were very insufficient causes for your violence in seizing my brothers, and for your rupture with Don

Alonzo de Alvarado at Abancay. Now, therefore, restore me Cuzco, and liberate my brothers, or else consider well the calamities which will follow."—"Cuzco is mine," said Almagro; "it belongs to my government, and I will keep it, till the king commands me to restore it. With regard to the liberty of your brothers, you have lawyers here, and they may deliberate on the justice of the question, and I will be ruled by their sentence, on condition that they present themselves before the king with the process." "Agreed," replied Pizarro.

The altercation was thus pursued between the rival chiefs, when the friends of Almagro discovered that Gonzalo Pizarro had approached Mala; and it was even asserted that an ambuscade \* of crossbows was placed among some reeds, waiting till the signal of a trumpet should rouse them to their evil enterprise. Suddenly a horseman alighted before the door, and entering the house, Juan de Guzman, for it was he, went directly to the apartment where the conference was held, and contrived to warn Almagro of his danger. Almagro did not linger, but, descending the stairs, leaped on his steed, his friend following his example, and disappearing at full gallop. The governor despatched after him Francisco de Godoy, † to

\* Gonzalo Pizarro, with all secrecy, laid an ambuscade among some canes or reeds, close to Mala, consisting of a body of crossbows, under Captain Castro, and gave an order that two trumpets should sound a signal immediately on the Adelantado's arriving in Mala.—HERRERA, decade vi. book iii. chap. iv.

† It is said, that Francisco de Godoy, one of Pizarro's captains, shocked at the duplicity and bad faith exercised towards Almagro,

enquire the reason of such an abrupt retreat; but the tricks of the game were discovered, and the Adelantado, who, from the conversation of Francisco Godoy himself, was enabled to penetrate still farther the bad faith of his adversary, drily replied, "that the lawyers were sufficient to collect and present the papers, and hear the decision, and that his presence was unnecessary."

To this disgraceful plot succeeded the sentence of the compromising judge, who became daily more inveterate against the interests of the Adelantado. The Provincial having examined the writings, and heard the pilots, whose experience made them be considered as the most important evidence on both sides, he pronounced a sentence such as might have been dictated by Pizarro himself; for having, as he said, on the best and most mature deliberation, made a division of the territories and limits of each government, he commanded Don Diego de Almagro to restore the city of Cuzco to Don Francisco Pizarro, who was in peaceable possession thereof, when the former, who was neither its judge nor governor, had taken it by force of arms, manifestly against the will of the king; that,

having no other mode of warning him of the snare laid for him, on seeing him enter the house of the Provincial, began to sing these words of a Castilian ballad,—

"Time it is, oh cavalier,  
Time it is thou wert away."

The Adelantado understood him, and was therefore more prepared to quit the house, immediately on receiving the intimation of Juan de Gusman.

moreover, he must restore the gold and silver belonging to the king's fifths ; that within six days he must put into his hands the treasure, that it might be apparent that justice was to be done, and that the gold and silver might be sent to court. This was the principal, or rather the most essential, article in this partial sentence, which was, of course, highly lauded by Pizarro and his adherents ; while, on the contrary, Almagro's procurator interposed an appeal to the king, and his council of the Indies ; to which the judge replied, as might be expected, that there could be no appeal from his sentence, having been chosen arbitrator by both the parties interested.

But when the tidings of this decision reached the army, the excitement of the soldiers was indescribable, on thus seeing themselves stripped, at one blow, of all that had been acquired by such miseries, efforts, and dangers. At first they manifested their bitter and disappointed feelings by the deepest gloom and silence ; but speedily they roused to the recollection, that they still held in their hands those same arms by which these things had been conquered, and then, bursting into fury, they vowed they would resist the monstrous injustice of the ecclesiastic ; and next, turning their wrath against their own general, they loudly, and in crowds, inveighed against his imbecility and want of firmness. " To these," said they, " the Pizarros owe their triumph ; by these, they occupy the rich provinces of Peru, whilst we shall be sent to exist between the Charcas and Collas,

where we cannot even find wood for fuel. If we must needs lose Cuzco, would it not have been better to have crossed the river Maule, and have entered the provinces of the Straits of Magellan? Those, at least, would not have been disputed with us." Such was the tumult and confusion, that the Adelantado found it impossible to appease them, but, indeed, it was requisite he should begin by commanding himself. So confounded and irritated was he by his gross ill treatment, that, in a state bordering on distraction, he broke out into expressions derogatory to his character and dignity. "Can any one," he exclaimed, "be ignorant of the share I have had in the discovery of this New World, of the labours, peril, and expenditure, which, for thirty years, I have consumed in the service of the king, and upon this undertaking? They insultingly call me old and blind, but they ought to remember, that if this blind old man had not risked himself, with the firmness and ardour of which the whole world is witness, Pizarro must have returned, dejected and defeated in his projects, to Terra Firma; and now, a false and perfidious friar has beguiled me into a reference to his judgment, of an affair to which only lawyers and jurists are competent, that he may betray me, by an iniquitous sentence, into the hands of my enemy."

This indignation of the Adelantado could not excite surprise. Bobadilla had voluntarily remarked, that were he constituted judge of those differences, he would so settle the limits of the two governments, that Al-



magro's should commence with the new city bearing his name, and include half the territory from thence to Lima. The friar swore by the habit which he wore, to this assertion, and the good Almagro, believing him, would hear of no one else passing judgment in this negotiation. It is probable that Bobadilla was prompted in this case by Pizarro, and that the Adelantado had fallen simply into a trap, which his adversary had purposely laid for him. Orgoñez seeing his governor so afflicted, consoled him in his characteristic manner, telling him he ought not to take this transaction so much to heart, since he himself was to blame, for not having listened to the faithful counsels of his true friends; that, in this emergency, the remedy lay in cutting off the head of Hernando Pizarro, retiring upon Cuzco, and there fortifying himself. "Thus, you will openly show your enemy, that you renounce all peace with him. He may, it is true, follow us with his army; yet, powerful as it is, the roads are not so smooth, nor so well provided, but we may contrive, at one point or other, to discomfit him." This desperate measure was repugnant to Almagro, who hated bloodshed, and he replied to his general, that he would see if Bobadilla would consent to the appeal, as he would fain use every effort for the avoidance of civil war, and its torrent of evils.

Meanwhile, nothing stood in greater jeopardy than the life of Hernando Pizarro, threatened continually by the fury of the soldiers, and never for an instant secure against the operation of any sudden, fatal

impulse which might be awakened in the bosom of Almagro. Of all this his brother was uneasily conscious, and therefore, postponing the sentence of Bobadilla, he requested and proposed that some new means of concord might be sought, of which the liberty of the prisoner should form a principal condition. He desired to accomplish this at any cost, and with the more determination, from being internally resolved to accomplish not one of his promises, when he should by their means have gained this material point. And as the Adelantado, though quick in feeling an injury, and tenaciously ambitious, proceeded with good faith, and abhorred any violent or sanguinary deed, he at length gave ear to the proposed negotiation, now again set on foot, and which was carried on in the midst of difficulties and altercations, which it would be tedious to relate. All, however, was brought to a termination, by the mutual agreement of the rival governors, on certain important articles, whereby it was stipulated that Cuzco should remain in the power of Almagro, till the king should command otherwise, and Hernando Pizarro be set at liberty, having first solemnly pledged himself to depart immediately for Castile, in fulfilment of the charges he held from the court.

To the deliberations which took place on this matter, Orgoñez was not invited; he was present, however, when, in virtue of the articles agreed to, they were preparing to liberate Hernando Pizarro. The Adelantado excused himself for the reserve he had used towards him, and justified his determination by

his desire for peace. But Orgoñez, as ingenuous as faithful, could not help reminding him, that the man who had broken his word in Castile, was not likely to prove more punctilious in the Indies; that where there was an absence of confidence, no friendship could exist; that both being founded on truth and virtue, were inconsistent with such companions as fraud and malice. There was a time when arms might not have been necessary; but now it behoved them to put themselves in preparation, since the perfidious and perjured never lacked excuses for their breach of promises; and having, with his hand, imitated the act of decapitation, "Orgoñez, Orgoñez!" he exclaimed, "for the love of Almagro thou wilt be made thus much shorter!" Another valiant soldier cried, "Señor Adelantado, hitherto thou hast never trailed a pike, but, alas! thou shalt ere long trail one with two chains." All the camp was in commotion when the decision was published, for all, convinced of the perfidious, implacable, and revengeful character of Hernando Pizarro, re-echoed, as one man, the opinion of Orgoñez; and by anonymous scrawls and writings, all manifested their conviction, that, in this instance, peace had been bought at the cost of safety.

But the die was cast; Almagro was resolved, and all was now expectation. Almagro himself proceeded to the place of his captive's confinement, and commanded his release, and they embraced on meeting. The Adelantado prayed Hernando to forget the past, and to be content that peace and tranquillity should

henceforth reign among them. Hernando Pizarro replied, that he desired nothing more earnestly, and that from him the concord should suffer no interruption. He then took the oaths, to which, by the late compact, he was obliged; which ceremony complied with, Almagro took him to his house, and entertained him splendidly. There the captains and cavaliers of the army came to visit and converse with him, and, accompanied by Don Diego, son of the Adelantado, by the two Alvarados, and other knights, escorted him to his brother's camp. By him they were received with all the demonstrations of joy and welcome, suitable to the accomplishment of this desired event; he regaled them nobly, presented them, more especially the young Don Diego, with gifts and jewels, and took leave of them with the most gracious courtesy. They returned to their camp, where the greater part of the army suspected that the peace would not be of long duration; Almagro, on the contrary, persisted in his singular confidence, and felt confirmed in it, when he learned the flattering reception of his son by Pizarro.\* Full of these deceitful hopes, he marched his army to the valley of Zangalla, whither he translated the city he had begun to found at Chinchá, and employed himself wholly in collecting his fifts, for the purpose of sending them to the king.

Totally different were the dispositions of the oppo-

\* Almagro was a man of most invincible simplicity and credulity. The most outrageous and repeated breach of faith could not conquer his propensity to believe.

site camp. No sooner did the two brothers find themselves alone, than Hernando demanded of the governor, vengeance for the injuries done to them both—in the seizure of Cuzco, the spoliation of their property, his own tedious imprisonment, and other outrages of Almagro. He told him, it would be an impeachment of his honour to have borne all this without revenge, and that he ought to pursue and seize the Adelantado. The governor agreed in his reasons for complaint, and in the justice of the punishment he invoked, but he hesitated with regard to taking it upon himself. “I fear,” said he, “the displeasure of the king.”—“And did *he* fear it, who had the insolence to enter Cuzco by violence, and throw me into prison?” was the indignant reply of Hernando. It was no longer possible to restrain the bloodthirsty and vindictive spirit of this man, even had the intentions of the governor been really of a better complexion than his own, which one cannot for a moment suppose, when one reflects on the long and complicated chain of frauds and artifices by which the negotiations had been conducted, so as to bring matters to the point at which they were now arrived. The governor assembled his officers, and in their presence he pronounced a decree, qualifying as crimes all the operations of the Adelantado, from his return from Chili; constituted himself the avenger and castigator of these alleged evils, and commanded that his brother, Hernando Pizarro, should not quit the kingdom till the land was tranquillized, and this act of

justice performed, since he had need of his assistance, and could send the fifts to the king by another confidential officer. Hernando affected scruples with regard to the last clause of the sentence, alleging the especial order he had brought from court; and to complete this disgusting farce, which deceived no one, caused the command to be twice or thrice repeated; and was even threatened by his brother with his resentment, if he persisted in disobedience.

The governor then formally intimated to the Adelantado, that, in compliance with a royal decree, recently arrived, regarding the limits of the two governments, he should quit the district, which he (Pizarro) had conquered and colonized, to its rightful governor; otherwise, on him must rest the guilt of all the miseries and destruction which would result from his resistance. Though greatly perturbed by a blow so unexpected by him, Almagro replied, that, in compliance with the royal despatch, he should not stir from the spot which it had assigned to him; that it was that very instrument which constituted him governor, and that the responsibility would rest with those who interfered with him. This mutual defiance was, in fact, a declaration of war, for which both parties prepared, with all the animosity of inflamed passions, and a sense of reciprocal aggravation.

The two armies were unequal both in strength and confidence. Pizarro's host boasted double the number of Almagro's, and the men were well disciplined, led by experienced captains, all faithfully attached to

the cause for which they fought—some from a belief that it was the most legitimate, and others, seduced and fascinated by the magnificent promises of the governor, who, becoming with age more inflexible and obstinate in his purposes, redoubled his efforts in the vindication of his disputed authority, of which he grew more and more jealous.

Almagro, on the contrary, debilitated by age, and by the bodily sufferings which had of late assailed him, with a character infinitely less firm, though far more amiable, wearied and dispirited by fruitless negotiations, could no longer inspire his people with those hopes and ardours, which he possessed not himself. Orgoñez was endowed with those qualities of the mind which his chief wanted, and possessed them in an eminent degree; but *he*, again, lacked the authority and influence of a principal leader, the grand centre of operations and interests; and by a singular fatality, his opinions, which were ever the soundest and most secure, were invariably combated by Diego de Alvarada, who, more bland and gentle, and therefore more acceptable to Almagro, never failed to prevail in the end. The other captains, though brilliant in action, and of the most tried valour, had less subordination, and less unity of interests and views, than those of Pizarro; and, lastly, the soldiers, inferior in number, some intimidated by the imposing force of the enemy, and others gained by his artifices, and ready to abandon their colours when they should come to an action, did not compose a body so likely to act

with resolution and success, as those of the opposite army.

Who then can wonder, that all the operations of Almagro's troops, from the hour that war broke out, until the battle of Las Salinas brought it to a close, formed one series of errors and disasters? They lost the heights of the Sierra of Guaytara,\* where, with a handful of people, they might have defeated their adversaries, by whom, however, they allowed themselves to be surprised. They likewise lost an opportunity of routing them, when, entangled in a pass of the sierra, they saw the troops of Pizarro attacked by the intense and cruel cold of that region, frozen, agonizing, and striving with vertigoes and mortal convulsions, and presenting an easy victory to their too improvident enemy. They wanted spirit to adopt the suggestion of Orgoñez,† who, seeing that the Pizarros resolutely pursued the way towards Cuzco, proposed to return impetuously upon Lima, then deserted by the troops, there recruit and refresh the people, write

\* On this occasion, the shouts of Pizarro's army were scarcely heard, when Captains Francisco de Chaves and Salinas, with the Inca Paullo Topa, (brother of Mango Capac,) leaving behind them soldiers, arms, and horses, fled with the utmost speed.

† But Captain Vasco de Guevara, Christoval de Soto, and several others, urged Orgoñez to attack the Pizarros at the moment when they were entangled in the snowy defiles, and already conquered to his hands, by the inclemencies and sufferings of their march. "This good and secure counsel," says Herrera, "was rejected by Orgoñez; why, we know not, except it was through the influence of his evil star, for he was faithful, valiant, and experienced."



to Spain an exact narrative of the state of affairs, and restore things to an equilibrium by occupying the new capital of the empire, while the enemy became master of the old. This advice, which gave unquestionable evidence of the military skill and experience of Orgoñez, was perhaps the last remaining chance for Almagro. But, although some of the captains approved it, others opposed it, who, fearing they should lose the fruit of past exertions in the desertion of Cuzco, could not consent to abandon to their adversaries all the treasure of that city, nor remove to a distance from its luxuries and enjoyments. Most unhappily the opinion of the latter party prevailed; and they neither destroyed the bridges over the rivers, which lay in the line of march of their enemy, nor did they annoy or molest them, in any of the difficult passes and ravines. Finally, when returned to Cuzco, instead of labouring at such intrenchments and fortifications as were necessary for the defence of the few against the many, confident in their valour, or rather impelled by an evil destiny, they presented an open camp to the assault of an enemy, who, if somewhat inferior in cavalry, was greatly superior in crossbows and military order.

When Pizarro found that his people had driven the enemy from the heights of Guaytara, he led them to the valley of Ica, where they might rest and recover themselves, after the difficulties and sufferings of their march over the mountain. There he placed the army under the command of his brothers, committing the

destruction of his ancient friend, and now hated rival, to their hands. Hernando bore the rank of governor, superintendant, and head of the expedition; Gonzalo the title of Captain-general. The governor recommended them to the captains and soldiers, excusing himself, for not commanding them in person, on the plea of his old age and infirmities. He flattered and animated the host, with the hope of a secure victory over their adversaries, already, as he said, conquered and fugitive, and whose defeat ought less to be considered as a battle, than as a just punishment of men who were enemies of their king. They replied with loud shouts, announcing their ardour and unanimity; and in this cheerful disposition the signal was given to march, the army taking the road to Cuzco, and the governor that to Lima.

There were not wanting, even in this moment of extremity to which the affairs of the Spaniards of Peru were now arrived, some among those people, so apparently forgetful of all obligation, who yet found courage to represent to the two brothers, that enough of Spanish blood had been already shed in the commotions of the country, and in the prosecution of these unhappy quarrels. That they ought to think on what was due to God, to the king, and to their country, and suspend their preparations for war; pledging themselves that, by pacific means, all should be regulated according to the wishes and interests of the Pizarros. But it was too late for this ultimate and generous effort of humanity and reason, to find any acceptance

from those proud and revengeful men. Hernando Pizarro replied, that Don Diego Almagro commenced the war; that, as for himself, he was residing tranquil and unsuspecting in Cuzco, fearing no enmity, when the Adelantado, with banners spread and drums beating, declared himself the enemy of the Pizarros; it was then necessary to teach the Adelantado what sort of men he had offended, and for this purpose he was now fully resolved to seek his enemy, and let the fortune of arms decide on which side success was merited. The governor, less violent, but equally obdurate, also silenced these benevolent suggestions. He who boasted that "his jurisdiction reached to the Straits of Magellan," already grasped in imagination this immense command, and panted after the ruin of his adversary, that he might once behold himself the sole governor of these mighty regions. Such apprehensions of the displeasure of court, as might have checked the boldness of his measures, were despised as distant and uncertain; and the 600,000 pesos of gold he had amassed to send to the king, he doubted not would operate as sufficient exculpation and justification of whatsoever act he might commit; his desires, therefore, were utterly uncurbed, and his hopes unrebuked: ambition in him was a feverish thirst, more insatiable even than that of vengeance in the heart of his brother. This rancorous disposition in the chiefs, was farther stimulated by the officers and soldiers—the one anxious to wash off the affront received at Abancay—the others eager to possess the

wealth, and taste the delights, in which the soldiers of Almagro now revelled, and which were now promised to them, as the reward of their labours, dangers, and fidelity. The door, in short, was closed against all sound and virtuous counsel, and all rushed headlong on the horrors of civil war.\*

The fortunes of the rival governors came to a decision in the field of Las Salinas, half a league from Cuzco, where the two armies met. These American battles were considered in Europe as little more than slight skirmishes, yet on them hung results of infinite magnitude, and they exhibited scenes in which human passion was depicted with more distinctness and energy, than in our wise and scientific manœuvres and grand operations. Mass was performed very early in the camp of the Pizarros, as if that appearance of devotion could purify and sanctify their cause. After the ceremony, Hernando, armed at all points, in a rich surcoat of orange damask, and a magnificent white plume on the crest of his helmet, by which he could be distinguished afar, both by friends and enemies, led his troops to the charge, and crossing a river, and a swamp which lay beyond it, joined battle with the enemy. The forces were not equal; true it is, that Almagro had a superior number of cavalry and of auxiliary Indians,

\* On the march of Hernando Pizarro to Cuzco, that leader was congratulated by the different deserters from Almagro's camp, on the infirm and languishing condition of the Adelantado—"Almagro," said they, "is so ill, he must be nearly dead already."—"God," replied Hernando, "will not do me such a disfavour, as to let him die ere I have him in my hands."

but there were in the camp of the Pizarros, double the number of Spaniards, and a body of crossbows, just arrived from Europe, gave them, in that essential matter, great advantage, and determined the fate of the day. For as soon as they had succeeded in crossing the river and swamp which had opposed their advance, and found themselves within range of their foe, these dexterous marksmen, animated by Hernando Pizarro, who cried out to them to shoot at the grove of lances, immediately placed hors de combat fifty cavaliers of the first line of the adversary's army. The ground was unfavourable to the effective and impetuous advance of the horse, on which part of his troops Almagro especially depended: Orgoñez, fearful of being surrounded by the superior numbers of the enemy, had selected a position more proper for resistance than attack; in this perhaps he erred, and gave an opportunity for flight and dispersion, whereby that was lost which audacity might have saved. His troops, galled by that certain and well sustained fire, quickly began to give way. Some left their ranks and ran for refuge behind some ruined walls there were in the camp; others fled to the city; while several, without once drawing the sword, passed treacherously over to the enemy, following the base example set them by Pedro Hurtado, Almagro's Ensign-General. From the moment that the order of battle was lost, the contending forces became mixed and confused, and all that was now distinct in the conflict, were the personal efforts of the principal men. Pedro de Lerna, observing

Hernando Pizarro at a distance, rushed towards him, calling him loudly a perjured traitor, and encountered him so powerfully, as to throw Hernando's horse upon its knees, and would have undoubtedly killed the rider, but for his excellent armour. Others performed equally brilliant acts, showing themselves, in this already hopeless struggle, worthy of better fortune. Orgoñez, who forgot not any of the duties of a general, performed individually all that might be expected from his ardour and intrepidity; he killed with his lance two of the enemy's soldiers, and hearing a third cry, Victory, he instantly closed with him, and by a thrust in the breast with his dagger, laid him prostrate. Perceiving that some of his men were quitting the battle, he galloped after them to bring them back. Wounded in the forehead by a crossbow, and his horse killed under him, he still contrived to raise and disentangle himself, and to maintain a defensive combat against the multitude, who surrounded and called on him to surrender. He at length enquired if there was present any knight, into whose hands it was fit he should yield himself. One Fuentes, an adherent of Hernando Pizarro, replied in the affirmative, and that he might with propriety surrender to him. He did so; and the moment he was unarmed, having resigned his sword, Fuentes threw himself upon him, and stabbed him in the throat with his dagger. Thus died a man, deserving, by his valour and martial frankness, of a worthier strife and a better fortune. They killed him, it is true, under the faith of a surrender, which throws the more

obloquy and dishonour on the deed of his assassin ; but judging equitably, he met no worse fate than he himself had prepared for his conquerors, if they had fallen into his hands. He was a native of Oropesa, had fought in the wars of Italy, and was an ensign at the sack of Rome ; a little before his death, the King had conferred on him the title of Marshal of New Toledo.

Already, the Captains Salinas, Lerma, and Guevara, had fallen, being either dangerously wounded, or dead, and the troops of Almagro, weakened and disheartened by such a torrent of disasters, were thrown into irremediable consternation by the capture and death of their general. Victory declared for the Pizarros, the camp remained theirs, and the city was immediately entered by the conquerors. Filled with fury and arrogance, and breathing vengeance, nothing was to be hoped from them on the score of generosity or clemency. At the same moment that the head of Orgoñez was placed on a hook in the Plaza, the prisons were crowded by the most distinguished officers of the defeated army ; the soldiers sacked their houses, and some satiated their rancour, in cold blood, on the unhappy prisoners, who had no longer the means of defence ; thus, by a treacherous blow, fell Captain Ruy Diaz, whom a friend, in the hope of rescuing him, had placed behind him on his horse. Thus perished Pedro de Lerma, who, covered with wounds and half dead, was taken from the field by a friend, and carried to his house, but where he could not defend him from a treacherous barbarian, who stabbed him in the bed on

which he lay dying. The disgust and horror of this disastrous tragedy, were augmented by the openly expressed delight with which it was regarded by the Indians. They were seen crowding from all the adjacent districts, and standing upon the neighbouring heights, enjoying the bloody spectacle with which their oppressors regaled them : on the commencement of the battle, the sky was rent by their loud shouts of surprise and joy ; and when, after the combat had terminated, the camp remained silent and abandoned, they descended upon the scene of carnage in flocks, like flights of carrion birds, to strip the dead and despatch the wounded, and their insolence being increased by impunity, they even entered and plundered the camp of the conquerors.

And what, meanwhile, had become of the unhappy Adelantado? The day before the battle, as if endued with a prescience of his disastrous fate, after the review of his troops, at which, though unable to stand, he was present in his litter, he proposed to his general, even yet, to seek means of peace, and of avoiding the shedding of blood ; but, when his proposal was indignantly rejected by Orgoñez, he nobly animated the soldiers previous to the battle, and placed the royal standard in the hand of Gomez de Alvarado, reminding him of his friendship and obligations. Being rendered, by indisposition and weakness, incapable of assisting in the combat, he placed himself on a declivity, from whence he could behold the battle, and where, with unimaginable despair and agony he saw his friends



routed and overthrown, and himself abandoned to all the fury of an implacable foe. He fled for refuge to the fortress of Cuzco, where he was found after the battle, by Alonzo de Alvarado, and taken to the city, where he was consigned to the same prison in which his captor and the two Pizarros had formerly suffered confinement. A captain, who happened to be there, and who saw Almagro for the first time, being struck by his mean appearance and disagreeable aspect, raised his crossbow to kill him, saying, "This is for the man who has slain so many cavaliers!" The animosity of the soldier, had its course been allowed, would have had the effect of generosity, for, from how many bitter-nesses, sorrows, and humiliations, would that action have delivered him, had not Alonzo de Alvarado arrested the uplifted arm!

At first, on his entreaty, Hernando Pizarro went to visit him. He consoled him, gave him hopes of life, assured him that he expected his brother's arrival; that they were both of one mind, but if the governor delayed his coming, he would take care that Almagro should be conveyed where they might meet. He sent presents to him in his prison, advised him to be of good cheer, and he even sent to enquire in what mode he could most conveniently travel to meet his brother, and whether he preferred a litter or a chair. To which the prisoner replied, that he should be easier in a chair. And from these smooth words he hoped, from day to day, to find himself in a condition to treat of his affairs with his ancient friend and companion. But, in the

interim, they were forming against him a criminal process; every accusation which could tend to aggravate and add weight and colour to the cause, was admitted, and such a multitude of people presented themselves with charges against the prisoner, by way of paying homage to his persecutor, that the secretaries wanted hands to write, and the process covered two thousand pages. Thus given up to judicial enquiry, which, when built on ground like the present, is a far worse degradation than the punishment which is its final act, the miserable prisoner stood on the very borders of the grave, quite unconscious of his danger. Two months and a half were already passed since the battle, when the conqueror began to think it time to conclude a drama, as gross as it was cruel. He sealed the process, condemned the accused to death, and sent to inform him of the sentence which had been pronounced against him.

The anguish and consternation with which Almagro received these terrible tidings, were proportioned to the security and confidence in which his mind had reposed till that moment; and that man, who with such unshrinking intrepidity had confronted death, on the sea, from torrents, in the desert, and in the conflict, had not the heart to meet it from the hands of the executioner. When we have made every allowance for advanced age, his infirmities, the dejection into which his misfortunes had thrown him, for the solitude and cheerlessness of a tedious and rigorous imprisonment, still, we cannot contemplate, without a degree of shame and indignation, surpassing even our pity, that miserable

old man prostrated before his inexorable enemy, and entreating, for the love of God, that he would spare him, reminding him of his own forbearance, who had abstained from shedding the blood of any of the Pizarros, or of their friends and adherents, when he held them in his power ; and calling on him to reflect that it was chiefly through his means that his brother, Francisco Pizarro, had attained that pinnacle of wealth and honour on which he now stood ; he besought him to consider, that, aged, sick, and infirm, few days of wretched life would, in the course of nature, remain to him, and concluding by imploring to be permitted to languish out those few in prison, weeping over the remembrance of his sins. The tone of despair in which this prayer was uttered, might have softened stones ; though it touched not the heart of Hernando Pizarro, who, with an apathy and obduracy worthy his inhuman disposition, replied contemptuously, that he wondered to see a man of his character so afraid to die ; that he was neither the first man who had so finished his career, nor would he be the last. That it was natural to suppose, that a knight, and one who boasted his illustrious actions, would suffer magnanimously, and meet the fate, for which there was no remedy, with fortitude.

But Almagro, who had exhibited such pitiable pusillanimity in thus begging his life from his proud and bitter foe, once convinced of the fruitlessness of his humiliation, and finding death inevitable, composed himself to that event, with a calmness and decency

far more suited to his character than the previous weakness. Having devoted some time to the concerns of his soul, he executed a will, wherein he constituted the King, and his son Don Diego, his heirs, declaring that he possessed a large sum of money in the joint company of Don Francisco Pizarro : he entreated the King to show kindness to his son, and in virtue of the royal patent which he held, to name him governor of New Toledo, leaving, as administrator in that charge, until his son should be of age, his dear and faithful friend, Diego de Alvarado, who then performed for him all those offices which loyalty and affection could inspire.

When the unfortunate Almagro had accomplished these sad and solemn duties, he turned to Captain Alonzo de Toro, who was unquestionably one of his most inveterate enemies, and said, " Now, Toro, thou shalt be satisfied with my flesh." Almagro was strangled in his prison, from whence his corpse was brought into the market-place, and there beheaded. It was afterwards borne to the house of one of his friends, Captain Hernan Ponce de Leon, where it lay for a short time, and was then interred in the church, being followed to the grave by Hernando Pizarro, and all the captains and knights of Cuzco.

Almagro was a Manchegan, the son of humble and obscure parents, and at the period of his death had attained the age of sixty-three. He went to the Indies with Pedrarias Davila, and in Darien he attached and associated himself with Francisco Pizarro, with whom,

from that time, he lived in a community of gains and interests, which had its probable origin in some conformity of habit and character. His person and manners were such as they have been depicted in the course of this narrative. Indians and Spaniards, all alike, vied in weeping and deploring his end,—the former declared he never oppressed or ill-treated them; the latter lost a most generous chief, whom they followed yet more from inclination, than interest. There were some who loudly called his destroyer tyrant, and menaced him with vengeance. Even amongst the partisans of Hernando Pizarro, the execution was considered not only cruel, but unjust, and they shrank from it as the indication of a fierce and evil spirit. Then, in regretting Almagro, were forgotten his undignified manner, his puerile vanity, his rashness and imprudence, while memory dwelt only on his amiable disposition, his inexhaustible generosity, his facile clemency, and the affection with which his heart ever yearned towards his captains and soldiers. Nor can we refrain from sympathizing in the grief of this grateful multitude. Yet whatever affection the amiable qualities of the Adelantado, and compassion for his melancholy fate are calculated to inspire, we must still render their strict dues to reason and equity; and while we shed tears of sorrow over his disastrous death, we are constrained to confess, that in the commencement of the civil war he was undoubtedly the aggressor. Even had Cuzco fallen under the limits of his government, which is far from certain, he ought to have

shunned the extremity of redressing himself by force of arms. He imprudently referred this disputed right to the arbitration and decision of force, because at the moment he was the strongest ;—he became the weakest in his turn, and then force overwhelmed him.

The odium of this execution fell, in the first instance, entirely on the head of Hernando Pizarro, as its actual and visible minister, but subsequently fixed itself with redoubled rancour on the governor, as the principal author of that tragedy, performed in his name, and under his authority, and which, during the whole time employed on the process, he never made the slightest effort to avert. Immediately on receiving notice of the victory of Las Salinas, he began his march towards Cuzco, there to enjoy his triumph, and display his power. On quitting Lima, he assured those who urged on him moderation and clemency, that they need not fear him on that score, that Almagro should live, and that they should return to their ancient mutual friendship. He made similar professions to the young Don Diego, who humbly besought him to spare the life of his father, when the captains, by command of Hernando, conveyed him to Xauxa ; and to the gracious words in which his promise was couched, he added consolatory expressions, giving orders, on taking leave of him, that he should be supplied with whatever he might want, and be treated in his house with the same observance and respect as his own son, Don Gonzalo. Worthy and laudable demonstrations, had the effect and sincerity

held any correspondence with them, and if, at the same time, the fatal process had not been in uninterrupted progress towards its barbarous result. He remained in Xauxa, for the space of time which he calculated would be required for ridding him of his competitor, the tidings of whose death reached him, after he had resumed his march, and arrived near the Bridge of Abancay. His friends relate that he remained for some time with his eyes fixed on the ground, and shedding tears. Others declare, that when the process was closed, his brother sent it to him, requesting to know his will upon the subject, to which he replied, that Hernando must so act, as to render it impossible for the Adelantado to excite any more tumults. At all events, the two facts but little contradict each other;—those great actors, whom we call politicians, have always a supply of tears at need.

On entering Cuzco, he was received with all the pomp and applause which his power placed at his command. The changes which the favours of fortune can produce in a man's conduct, were then conspicuous; the Indians, whom he had hitherto received with indulgence and kindness, he now treated with harshness and asperity; and in answer to the complaints they made of the outrages they suffered from the Castilians, told them they were liars. He wore the same threatening aspect, and showed himself even yet more unfavourably disposed towards the soldiers of Chili, as the partisans of Almagro, forgetting the great services they had done the king; treating

their wants and necessities with neglect and contempt. Diego de Alvarado presented himself before him, as the executor of his friend, the Adelantado, and requested him to command that the province of New Toledo should be cleared, in order that the nomination made by the Adelantado, in favour of his son, might be carried into effect. Alvarado, in making this demand, behaved with all the politeness and urbanity which were habitual to him, taking, at the same time, occasion to observe, that for the present he waived any part in the dispute relative to the city of Cuzco, until the king's pleasure should be known. But neither the circumspection, nor the mild yet manly conduct of Alvarado, prevented his meeting with an insolent and unbecoming reception. The reply was, "My government has no limit, but extends from the straits of Magellan to Flanders." Thus, intimating the boundless ambition, and showing that excessive prosperity had entirely annihilated that prudence and happy constitution of mind, for which he had formerly been remarkable.

So jealous was he of command, that having been told that Belalcazar had solicited, at the Court, the right of governing all the Lower Provinces, he instantly vowed a hatred against him, which ended only in death. Neither the services of Belalcazar, nor the respect and reverence he had ever experienced from him, nor the submission with which he sent to exculpate himself from the imputation, were sufficient to erase from the mind of Pizarro the suspicions and



anxieties to which the report had given birth. At the time it reached him, he had no army to send against Belalcazar, his own being then employed against Almagro, but he commissioned Lorenzo de Aldana, one of his captains, to proceed to Quito, and cautiously deprive Belalcazar of the authority which had been delegated to him, for the government of that country, and, above all, to secure the person of that officer, and send him, well guarded, to Lima. His desire at that moment was, that the King should confer the government of the Lower Provinces on his brother, Gonzalo, and herein lay the weight of Belalcazar's crime. It happened that this indefatigable and adventurous soldier was then engrossed by conquests and discoveries on the other side of the Equator, unaware of the disgrace his ancient commander had prepared for him at Quito, so that Aldana established himself there, without the slightest opposition, and maintained the district under the subjection of its first discoverer.

When Pizarro arrived in Cuzco, he was not met by his brothers, who were engaged in the province of Callao, quelling Indians and seeking mines. But as Hernando now felt the necessity of returning to Castile, to fulfil his promises, and the charge which the court had given him, he hastened his journey, and collected as much gold and silver as he could, by fair or foul means, for himself and for the king; for he well knew that an accumulation of treasure would be received at court, as the most effective apology for his deeds. On taking leave of the governor, he advised

him to send the son of Almagro to Castile, lest he should become the head and rallying point of the soldiers of Chili, and induce them to some sinister attempt upon his person; that he would do ill to permit those resentful and warlike men to assemble in parties, and that he ought to prohibit more than ten of them inhabiting the same place. Above all, that he should look to himself, and be always well escorted. The Marquis ridiculed his counsels, and told him to mind his own affairs, and banish such apprehensions, since the heads of those men were pledged for the safety of his. Time discovered how well founded were the doubts of Hernando, and that his advice to send the youth, Don Diego, to Castile, was that of a far-sighted man. Hernando departed, and the mass of gold he carried with him could not enable him to defy the disquietude which had arisen from his proceedings in the civil war. He dared not touch at Panamá, fearing that the government there would exact an account of his conduct and arrest him, for which, in fact, they were prepared. He sailed towards New Spain, and disembarking at Guatulco, was taken near Guaxaca, and carried to Mexico. But the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, who had received no orders respecting his person, and possessed no clear intelligence of his crimes, allowed him to prosecute his way to Castile, where the justice of the charges imputed to him might be fully examined. He embarked at Vera Cruz, but when arrived at the Azores, would not have ventured farther, till he had

consulted his friends if he might proceed securely. They replied in the affirmative, and in this confidence he found courage to enter Spain, and to present himself at court.

He did not immediately receive the punishment he merited, nor the welcome which his friends had led him to expect. The fame of his violences had preceded him, and already that same Diego de Alvarado, once so constant in protecting him, and now with equal determination bent upon his ruin, was denouncing his crime, and demanding justice. It was this man, the dearest friend of the unhappy Almagro, who had received into his bosom the inmost thoughts and last breath of that old and persecuted soldier, who had promised to be the guardian of his son, and to whom he had confided the hopes he still nourished for that dear object of his dying affection, and perhaps also the interests of his revenge. The desperation of Alvarado, on finding all the efforts and supplications he had employed to save Almagro were useless, was equal to the confidence he had built on the ground of his former more successful offices in behalf of the conqueror. He now reproached himself as the murderer of his friend, by the persevering opposition he had made to the rigorous counsels of Orgoñez ; he wept his own blindness, and loudly denounced Hernando Pizarro as an ungrateful tyrant, saying, that in reward for having preserved his life, he had robbed him of his friend. Never would he admit of consolation in his poignant affliction. After having in vain exerted him-

self to obtain from the governor a recognition of the claims of the young Almagro, he came to Spain to solicit an acknowledgment of their validity from the King, leaving every where throughout his journey that just odium on the conduct of the Fizarros, which was due to their cruelty and iniquity. When Hernando arrived at court, the war was at first carried on by demands, denials, accusations, and legal prosecutions. Such proceedings agreed ill with the vehement impatience of Alvarado, and not choosing to risk his hope of avenging his dead friend on a course so prolix and uncertain, he appealed to arms, and challenged Pizarro to single combat, obliging himself to prove by his good sword, that Hernando Pizarro, in his treatment of the Adelantado Almagro, had acted with cruelty and ingratitude; that he was a bad servant to his king, and an unworthy knight. Hernando's reply has not transpired, but the brave and noble Alvarado died of an acute illness five days subsequent to the challenge; and a death so opportune, the dark character of his adversary being considered, could hardly be unattended by suspicion. Thus fell, a victim to his friendship and exalted sentiments, this amiable and faithful man, so affectionate and steady in his attachments, so frank and noble in his hatred, and whose character, in the midst of the perfidies and atrocities committed around him, relieves the disgusted mind by *one* object of consoling contemplation, and reconciles us with human nature.

His fierce and arrogant opponent was not destined

long to profit by the security and tranquillity which this death promised him. The judges of the process decreed his arrest, and he was consigned to the tower of Madrid; afterwards, on the removal of the court to Valladolid, he was confined in the castle of La Mota de Medina, where, till the year 1560, as though buried and forgotten, remained that man, whose name, from his immense wealth and turbulent passions, had resounded through both worlds.

But the principal victim demanded by the manes of Atahualpa and Almagro was yet to be sacrificed, and the imprudent confidence of Pizarro, the offspring of his pride and arrogance, was momentarily pushing him on the point of the sword which was whetted for him. After the death of his competitor, all apparently smiled on the ambition which governed him, and in the ninety leagues of territory, stretching from the Charcas to Popayan, no will save his was acknowledged. The court continued to treat him with the most marked respect, making him Marquis de los Charcas, and granting him a patent to collect 16,000 vassals for his estate. His brothers, one in Spain, was averting from him the shafts of animosity and vengeance; while the other, sent by him to Quito as governor, secured him on that side, and even prepared to exalt his name and extend his dominion through the rich territory, as they were then supposed, of Quito and of Canela. He, meanwhile, broken and infirm from age and toil, became absorbed by his favourite occupation of founding and colonizing, and

the results of these later labours of his life are the foundation of La Plata, of Arequipa, of Pasto, and of Leon Guanuco. The war of the Inca Mango, which was not terminated, caused him some little vexation, as he naturally wished to behold the whole country pacified and submissive; yet did it not excite in him any serious anxiety, from the little strength of the native prince, whose hardihood was much checked by the defeats he had suffered in anterior combats with the Castilians. In short, even when he received information that a minister of the king was on his way to Peru, to enquire into the late events, his friends wrote to assure him that, in the despatches with which that commissioner was charged, the highest consideration was expressed for his person, and that he need suffer no disquietude on this occasion, since this mission was rather designed to honour and favour him, than for any other purpose.

These boasts, propagated by himself or by his partisans, with more of vanity than prudence, served only to precipitate his fall, since they filled with bitterness, even to overflowing, the already irritated minds of the captains and soldiers of Chili. In fact, one cannot reflect, without pain and indignation, on the misery and abandonment to which, from the period of their chief's death, these brave men were consigned. The soldiers, famished and naked, wandered through the Indian villages soliciting alms. Many of the officers, attracted by love for the young Almagro, went to Lima, looking to this youth for remedy and hope. But he, depriv-

ved of his inheritance, driven by Pizarro from his house, and cast off by others, in pledge of their adulation for the ruling powers, was at length received by two old friends of his father's, who risked every thing to serve him; thus was he supplied with the means of a barely decent subsistence; but the relief was individual, and he could not repay the good-will and constancy of the poor cavaliers, who clung to his fortunes, by any alleviation of their necessities,—necessities such as could hardly be exceeded. They were destitute of food, of shelter, of fuel, subsisting miserably on casual charity; amongst twelve of the principal men there was but one cloak, of which they availed themselves alternately. Such was the state to which those proud conquerors, once masters of the treasures of Cuzco, were reduced, and who, in the repletion of their opulence, held in scorn the rich territories of the Charcas and of Chili. The bitter comparison they now drew between the prosperity and luxury in which others revelled, whose valour and services were so inferior to their own, with the misery into which they had fallen, so exasperated the sense of their own evils as to render them quite insupportable. The fury of passion, and the blindness of an arrogant spirit, can alone explain this want of common prudence and caution, in a brain so sagacious as that of the Marquis. When in civil discords one party declines, and by the loss of its chief loses also its order and direction, it becomes the interest of the conqueror to calm the perturbed spirits, to conciliate

enmities, and to throw, as much as in him lies, oblivion on the past, and to remove every opportunity of awakening remembrance by partial disputes and tumults. Persecution, prolonged after victory, has no other effect than the feeding of angry passions, and eternizing the spirit of party. Pizarro should have sent Don Diego to Spain, and separated the followers of his father, by giving them, according to his brother's counsel, commissions sufficient for their support. He might then have accomplished the number of his days in peace, and in all the lustre of power and glory to which his destiny had raised him.

He acted otherwise, and fell; and that unfortunate country fell with him, being for three years a prey to the flames of civil war, for which he alone was to blame.

Sometimes, it is true, he lent a thought to the evils endured by these Castilians, and even meditated devising some remedy for them. To this end he projected the colony of Leon de Guanuco, and gave the charge of completing this establishment to Gomez de Alvarado, intending to grant allotments there to the people of Almagro; but the jealousy of the inhabitants of Lima almost wholly frustrated that wise design. On another occasion, he sent to intimate to Juan de Saavedra, Cristoval de Sotelo, and Francisco de Chaves, that he would give them some Indians for their support; but they, already goaded almost to madness by their sufferings, replied they would sooner perish than accept relief from him. They had heard



of the arrival of Vaca de Castro, the king's minister, and resolved that two of them should go to meet him in St Miguel de Piya, and, presenting themselves to him in mourning habits, should pray for justice on the cruelties practised by the Pizarros on their old commander, and on themselves. For this commission they selected a worthy knight, called Don Alonzo de Montemayor, and they agreed, that having taken this step, all should remain quiet, until the appearance of Vaca de Castro. But the rash animosity of some amongst them, defied restraint, and if not with open and avowed hostility, they at least kept up a warfare of ill dissembled affronts and insults. One morning three halts were seen hanging from the gibbet, one directed to the Marquis, the other to his secretary Picado, and the third to the chief judge, Doctor Velasquez. This insolence was attributed to the Chilians. The Marquis being stimulated by his people to punish and persecute the supposed delinquents, replied that they had already a sufficiently evil portion, being poor, conquered, and destitute; but the secretary, Antonio Picado, felt disposed to no such forbearance. A few days subsequent to the above-mentioned insult, he rode through the street in which Don Diego Almagro resided, in a French embroidered habit, making his horse curvet, and acting in a conspicuously contemptuous manner, still more provoking on the part of a man, who was suspected of being constantly inflaming the evil passions of the governor against the Chilians. By this bravado, and other simi-

lar demonstrations, they were induced to believe, that, after all their labours and sufferings, their destruction had been resolved on, and that they should either be doomed to death, or exile ; and as it was about this time that reports began to circulate through Lima of the favourable inclination, entertained by the judge who was expected, to the interests of the Marquis, and to which the real or assumed satisfaction of Pizarro and his people lent confirmation, they considered themselves as called on to act, for their own preservation, with resolution and promptitude, and to appeal to that which alone remained to them, their own valour and desperation.

They began to arm themselves, each as he could, and to go in bodies. Don Diego, and Juan de Rada, his principal guardian and counsellor, were now always followed by a determined and valiant escort. Juan de Rada was a native of Navarre, one of the ancient captains of the Adelantado, and he was the man, who, as well from the distinguished qualities of valour and capacity which his deeds had proved, as from the implicit confidence reposed in him by the young Almagro, obtained the chief authority among those men of iron. It was known that he had purchased a coat of mail, and that he wore it constantly, a fact that was much and suspiciously remarked, and coming naturally under the notice of the friends of the Marquis, they apprised him of it, urging him to be upon his guard, and never to go out unaccompanied. He however, for the time, contented himself with

summoning Juan de Rada, who, although somewhat disturbed by the unexpected order, obeyed it, refusing the escort which many of his friends earnestly pressed upon him. He presented himself before the Marquis, who was then in his garden looking at some orange trees, and, as soon as he was informed who he was, for the shortness of his sight prevented him from recognising him immediately, he said, "How is this, Juan de Rada? I hear thou hast purchased arms to assassinate me."—"It is certainly true, my lord, that I have procured two breastplates and a coat of mail for my own protection."—"But what cause have you for requiring such protection at this particular period?"—"Because we are publicly told, that your lordship has collected lances for the purpose of destroying us all. Your lordship may do well to complete your work. Having begun with the head, why should you respect the feet? It is said likewise, that your lordship intends putting the judge to death, who is coming on the King's authority. If such be your resolutions, and you have decreed the annihilation of the Chilians, I at least plead for an exception; put Don Diego on board a vessel, and banish him, for he is innocent of offence, and I will follow his fortunes whithersoever they may lead."

The Marquis, vexed and agitated by the words of De Rada, replied, with much vehemence, "Who can have imbued thy mind with this vile and traitorous calumny? Never have I harboured such thoughts, and, far more than yourselves, do I desire the arrival of

the judge. With regard to arms, know that when I went forth the other day to the chace, there was not a single lance amongst the whole number of my followers. I therefore sent my servants to buy one, and they purchased four. Please God, Juan de Rada, to send us the judge, that there may be an end of these things! And may God declare for the just!"—"By heaven," replied Juan de Rada, somewhat appeased, "I have spent more than five hundred pesos on the purchase of arms, in the notion that you meditated destroying us."—"No, God knows, Juan de Rada, I had no such intention." The captain was then departing, when an idiot, whom the Marquis kept for his amusement, said, "Why do you not give him some of these oranges?" They were then highly appreciated, being the first known in Peru. "Thou sayest well," replied the Marquis, and gathering six from the nearest tree, presented them to De Rada, saying in his ear, that if he was in need he would give him assistance. De Rada thereupon kissed his hands, and returned to his friends and relieved them from the intolerable anxiety his absence caused them.

This scene, in which each party seemed to explain himself ingenuously, and which concluded in a mode so pacific and amicable, produced no other effect but to prolong the confidence of the governor, and to animate the conspirators to hasten the catastrophe they meditated. They still feared to be destroyed whenever the Marquis should relapse into his animosity and his suspicions; while he, on the contrary, satis-

rying himself that they no longer thought of any thing beyond self-defence, and having ceased to harbour any ill design against them, held himself in perfect security. Hints and warnings of the machinations of the conspirators poured in upon him, especially on the two days preceding the catastrophe. Twice was he warned by a priest, to whom one of the Chilians had unbosomed himself. He replied, that these were idle and groundless fears, raised and circulated by the Indians, or of some one desirous of gaining a horse by his information. He was supping at the time in the house of Francisco Martinez, his brother, yet he returned to table without farther enquiry, although it is true he did not swallow another morsel. That same night, as he was preparing to retire to rest, one of his pages told him that it was reported through the city that the soldiers of Chili would assassinate him the following day. Greatly incensed, he said, "Begone with thy rapacity! These things are no business of thine." The next morning, the morning of his last day, the warning which the page had given him was urgently repeated to him; yet he contented himself with coolly ordering his chief judge, Dr Juan Velasquez, to arrest the chiefs of the Chilians. He had, on another occasion, given a similar order, and with the same indifference, as though it were matter of slight moment, and not involving his personal safety. The doctor, who had frequently assured him that while the staff of justice, which he bore in his hand, was intrusted to him, he need harbour no apprehension, now

repeated his assurances of security, and promised to furnish himself with all necessary information. It is a fact worthy of remark, that while he treated this business with so much apathy, neither his brother Martinez de Alcantara, nor his secretary Picado, to both of whom his existence was so essential, nor his other friends, conscious as they must have been of these rumours, should have united to accompany him, and to form such a guard around his person, as might have frustrated the designs of his determined enemies. But, no doubt, the blind confidence which he manifested, infected others, and he persisted in closing his ears against all the representations of prudence, as if it were a blot or degradation to greatness, to suppose that danger could approach it. Thus, in many cases, have valiant men been the instruments of their own destruction, from an excess of arrogance, and, on the other hand, the pusillanimous, by the excess of their fears, are wont to precipitate their own fate.

Meanwhile the conspirators, though firmly resolved on the governor's death, had neither fixed on the hour nor the day. On that morning, the principal men among them were together in the house of Don Diego, Juan de Rada being still asleep, when Pedro de Milan entered, exclaiming, "What are you about? In the course of two hours from this time we shall all be cut in quarters. This has been declared by the treasurer Riquelme."

Juan de Rada instantly leaped from his bed and seized his arms, the rest following his example. He

animated those around them by a few words, amounting to them, that the action on which they had resolved, as suitable to their views and to their vengeance, was now become indispensable to their preservation from imminent danger. All replied according to his desire, and rushed precipitately into the street. Already floated from several windows of the house the white flag, at whose signal the more distant conspirators were to arm, and join their companions. They entered the Plaza, when one of them, Gomez Perez, turned aside to avoid plunging his feet in a pool of water, caused by the overflow of a channel! Juan de Rada instantly entered the pool, and turning to him angrily, said, "How shalt thou dip thy hands in human blood, who feared to moisten thy feet in water? Begone! Return! Thou art not fit for us." And listening to no remonstrance, he urged Gomez to retire, who had therefore no share in the catastrophe. The deed of these men was, without doubt, atrocious and criminal, but not base or perfidious. At noon-day, and with deafening shouts, of Long live the King! Death to tyrants! they crossed the Plaza, and rushed upon the house of their enemy, like those, who, with banners spread, drums beating, and every open demonstration of war, assault some place of strength. None sallied forth to obstruct their progress; and whether it was from indifference, or dislike to the ruling government of those who were in the Plaza, and perhaps there were upwards of a thousand, not one opposed their design, but looked upon



them and permitted them to proceed, coldly remarking one to the other, "Those men are going to kill either Picado or the Marquis."

A considerable number of the friends and dependants of the governor were at that period paying their court to him. One of the pages, that happened to be in the Plaza, seeing the conspirators, and recognising Juan de Rada, flew to the house of the Marquis, which he entered, crying, "To arms! to arms! The men of Chili are coming to murder my Lord Marquis!" On this outcry, they all hurried, in great alarm, to the first landing of the staircase, to enquire the cause; when the conspirators, who had already entered the inner court, repeated their appalling shouts. The Marquis, indismayed, turned into his chamber to arm himself, and taking off the scarlet robe of ceremony in which he had been arrayed, put on a breastplate, and took up some weapons he found at hand; by his side remained his brother Francisco Martinez de Alcantara, a knight called Don Gomez de Luna, and two pages; all the rest, some by one means, some by another, had disappeared, while only Captain Francisco de Chavez, with two of his servants, still continued in the hall, the door of which was barred; and had it so remained, as the Marquis had commanded, the deed now about to be done would have been more difficult. Already the assassins ascended the staircase, led by Juan de Rada, who, exalted to enthusiasm by seeing himself arrived at that day, and on the point of accomplishing that act, to which he had long been so keenly



stimulated, at once by friendship and by hatred, repeated the name of the dead Almagro, in echoes of ferocious triumph. They began to batter the door, when Chaves, either stunned or terrified, caused it to be opened, and they then entered the hall, looking eagerly for their victim. Chaves exclaimed, "What are you about, señors? Would you involve yourselves and me in the displeasure of the Marquis? I was ever your friend—Beware how you ruin yourselves!" He was silenced by a mortal stroke, and his two pages perished with him.

They passed on, and reached the door of the governor's chamber, who, with the few that remained with him, stood prepared to defend it; in truth a most unequal combat: on the one side, an old man, more than sixty years of age,\* two men, and two youths; on the other, nineteen robust and valiant soldiers, in whom fury and desperation augmented their strength and daring. The Marquis, nevertheless, defended himself, and repulsed their entrance, with a vigour and dexterity worthy of his best days, and of his ancient prowess. "What outrage is this? What brings you here, assassins? Down with the traitors!" he exclaimed, while they cried, "Die then! and let us not waste our time!" Thus mutually wounding and threatening each other, the deadly struggle continued, without either side giving ground. At length, Juan de Rada pushed forward his comrade Narváez, who was before

\* Historians differ as to his age at the time of his death. Herrera says he was 60, others 65.

him, and throw him on Pizarro, that he and his people might be prevented, by this embarrassment, from keeping the door, and longer preventing their entrance. This manoeuvre enabled him to gain the doorway, and from that moment it was impossible the fate of the combat could hang many minutes in suspense. Martínez de Alcantara fell dead, the pages also were both killed, and Don Gómez lay on the ground severely wounded. The Marquis, though alone, and having to make front against all sides, yet kept up the mortal struggle a short time longer; when, bleeding, breathless, and exhausted, scarcely able to lift his sword, a desperate wound in the throat brought him at length to the ground. He still breathed, and desired to confess, when one of his assassins, happening to have in his hand a pitcher of water, threw it rudely in his face, and the violence of this disgraceful outrage dismissed the soul of the Conqueror of Peru.

Not content with his deplorable end, some of the conspirators prepared to drag him through the market-place, and expose his remains to the last contumely of the gibbet. The entreaties of the bishop rescued him from this extremity of outrage; and the corpse, wrapped in a white winding-sheet, was borne to the church in haste and secrecy by his servants. There they dug a hole, to which, without pomp or ceremony, they consigned him, fearing every moment lest the Chilians should come to take away his head, and hang it on the malefactors' hook. His houses and rich wardrobe were plundered of treasure, appoint-

ing to 100,000 pesos. His two infant children,\* who had fled, terrified and bewildered, during the horrors of the assassination, were sought for and placed in safety, by the same faithful adherents who had performed the last sad duties to the corpse of the father. His death remained, for a season, unresented and unavenged. Some of his captains had armed, on hearing the tumult, with the intention of protecting him; but, on reaching the market-place, were told that he was dead, and retired to their houses. All then subsided into a melancholy quietude; and while Lima was still

\* He had no legitimate children; the most distinguished of his concubines was Donna Inca de Huaylla Nusta, daughter of Huayna Capac, and sister of Atahualpa; by her he left two children, Don Gonzalo and Donna Francisca, who are termed legitimate in the testaments of their father. Gonzalo died young, whereby the succession and rights of the conqueror passed to Donna Francisca, who some years afterwards, was brought to Spain at the King's command, by Martin Ampuero, an inhabitant of Lima, who, after the death of Pizarro, had married Donna Inca. On her arrival she received some honours from the Court, from respect to her father; and she subsequently espoused her uncle, Hernando Pizarro, and became the companion and consolation of his captivity. From this marriage sprung three sons and a daughter, in whose descendance the family of the discoverer and conqueror of Peru still exists, and is now known in Trujillo by the title of Marqueses de la Conquista.

..... It is not known when Donna Inca died. It is related of her, that at the period when the revolted Indians were threatening Cuzco, she plotted to escape to them, and to carry with her a chest full of ornaments, collars, and ornaments of gold, which she had possessed from the time of her father Huayna Capac. The Marquis being informed of this, summoned and questioned her. She declared that she had no intention to escape herself, but that one of her coyas, named Asaparin, intended to let her join her brother, who was among the besiegers. Pizarro pardoned Inca, but sent for the coya, whom he caused to be immediately strangled.—*Author.*

absorbed in silent terror, Juan de Rada solemnly proclaimed his young pupil's accession to the government, who went immediately to the palace of the late Marquis, as the seat of authority.

Then, could the old Almagro have raised his head from the grave, to behold his son seated on that throne, and shadowed by that canopy, a few gleams of satisfaction and triumph might have visited his melancholy tomb. But how short the duration! how bitter the reverse! he would have seen him at the head of a furious party, without talent to direct, or vigour to restrain them; his ferocious captains, divided into factions, disastrously destroying each other, while he was powerless to appease them; instigated by them to raise the standard of rebellion, and to enter on a criminal strife with the troops of his king, and finally, defeated and a captive, expiate under the hands of the executioner the rashness and errors of his misguided youth. He was buried, at his own desire, in his father's sepulchre; and from their mingled dust an admonitory whisper seems still to remind mankind, how precarious is that power which has guilt for its basis.\*

\* Who can contemplate the end of the bold, persevering, talented men, who have figured in these pages, and derive no useful moral from their history? We are apt to exclaim, with a sigh, "and was such, then, the fate reserved for an unchallenged merit, such brilliant intrepidity, such ~~unshakable~~ endurance, such unequalled services!" It is indeed a grave and striking lesson, and well illustrates the righteousness of the Most High with his solemn exclamation, "Are not *our* ways equal?" Balboa, the Pizarros, the Almagros, were all men of violence—a cruel, insolent, oppressive, and



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