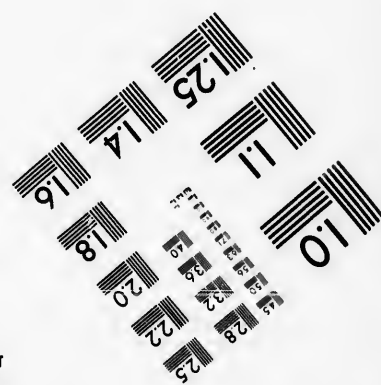
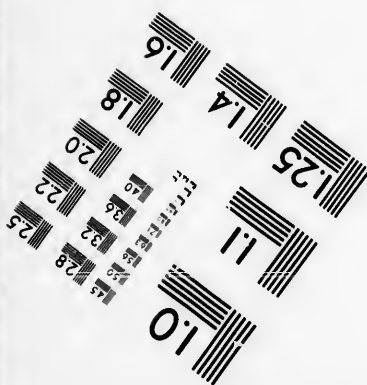
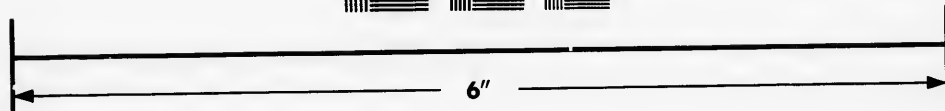
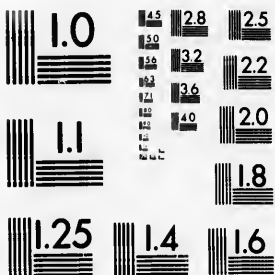


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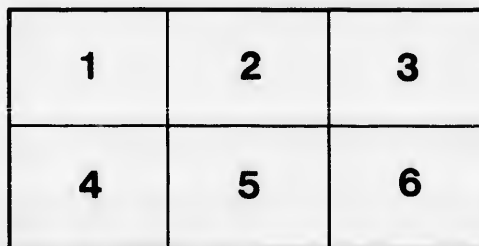
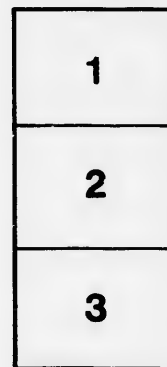
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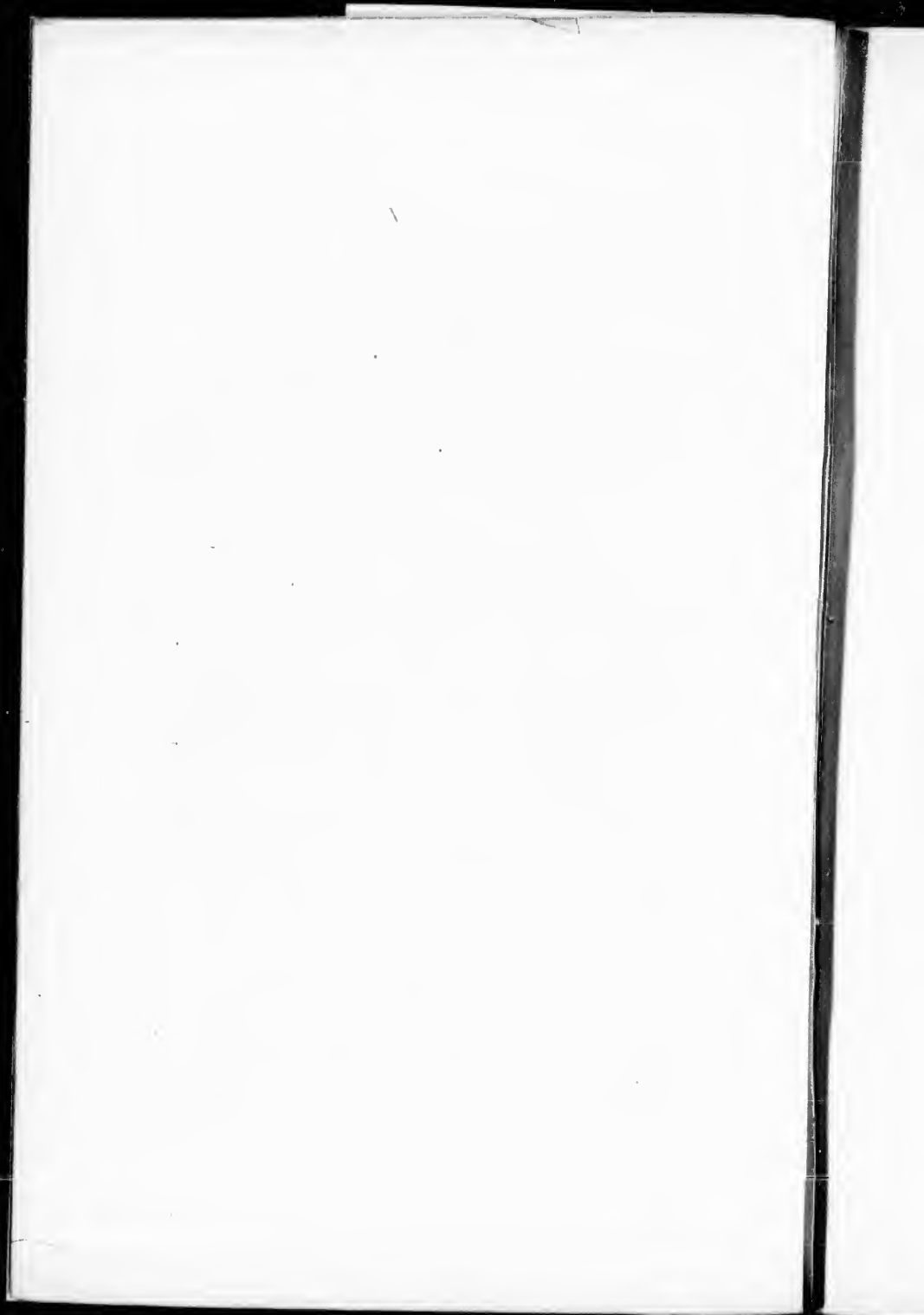
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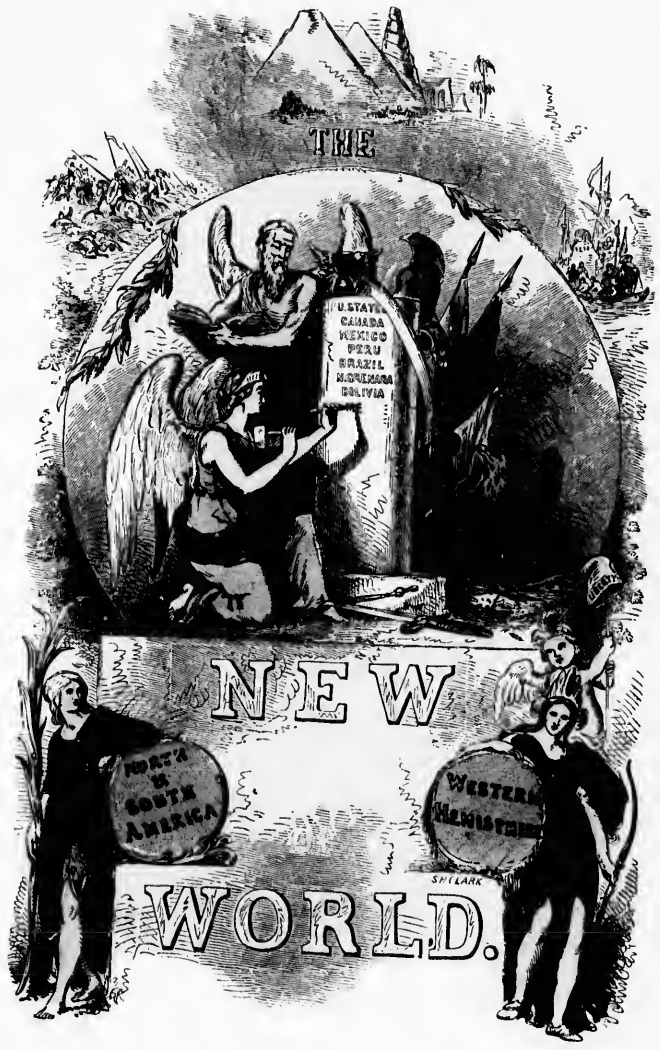
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PART I.

THE NORTHMEN IN AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT ABORIGINAL RACES.—THE SCANDINAVIAN VOYAGERS.
—DISCOVERY OF ICELAND.—EIREK THE RED.—DISCOVERY AND
SETTLEMENT OF GREENLAND.—NORTH AMERICA ACCIDENT-
ALLY DISCOVERED BY BIARNI HERIULFSON.—VOYAGE
OF LEIF EIREKSON.—AMERICA NAMED VINLAND.—
THE VOYAGE AND DISCOVERIES OF THORVALD.—
HIS DEATH.—ATTEMPT OF THORSTEIN.

THE history of those ancient races, which, before the coming of Europeans, for immemorial ages, inhabited our continent, is, for the most part, at this day dissolved in vague tradition, or locked up in inscrutable hieroglyphic. Excepting the two great semi-civilized empires of Mexico and Peru, (to be noticed in their appropriate place,) scarcely a record has survived of the nations, once so numerous and powerful, which, from limited but certain evidence, are known to have existed in the Western World. They "died and made no sign," beyond rude and massive erections, the character of which might assign them to almost any race, that, after partially climbing the steep of civilization, has, from gradual decay or sudden destruction, lapsed into barbarism or vanished altogether. Occasional glimpses, as we proceed, will be caught of the monuments and traditions of these long-vanished communities; but the true history of the American continent may be said to date from the first arrival on its shores of European discoverers.

That arrival, for several centuries strangely ignored by the historical world, was much earlier than has been commonly supposed. By

manuscripts of unquestioned authenticity, by the most perfect consistence and coincidence of details, and by a host of corroborative facts, it has been made evident that the American continent, five centuries before the memorable voyage of Columbus, was discovered and frequently visited by men of European race. Without delaying to cite authorities or adduce evidence on a matter so fully elucidated by others, we shall proceed briefly to present the facts as accepted by the most exact and scrupulous antiquarians of our day.

Nine hundred years ago, the mariners of the Scandinavian peninsula were the most daring, skilful, and successful of their age. Their voyages, distinguished by a strange mixture of commerce, piracy, and discovery, added no little to the geographical knowledge of their day. In the year 861, they discovered Iceland, and, fourteen years afterwards, planted a colony there. The main stepping-stone to America thus gained, a century elapsed before any further progress was made in a western direction. At the end of that time, a Norwegian named Thorvald, with his son, the famous Eirek the Red, flying their country on account of homicide, took refuge in Iceland. Here Thorvald died, and Eirek, his hands again imbued with blood, was forced again to take refuge on the high seas. He sailed westward, in quest of certain islands,* and ere long fell in with the shores of Greenland (982). Coasting to its southern extremity, he selected the site for a colony at a harbour which he called Eireksfjord (Eirek's creek). He then returned to Iceland, and by his inviting descriptions of the newly-found land, (which he called Greenland) induced great numbers to join him in his projected settlement. With twenty-five vessels, in 985, he again set sail, but on account of foul weather, only eleven reached the destined harbour. A flourishing colony was soon established, and as it increased in numbers, fresh explorations, rivalling, and, considering the means, surpassing modern enterprise, were made in the icy seas of the Arctic regions. The monuments of these ancient explorers have been found as far north as latitude 73°, and it is supposed that their surveys extended much farther.

One Heriulf, a person of consideration, had sailed with Eirek in his second expedition. His son, named Biarni, was absent in Norway at the time, and on his return to Iceland, found that his father had departed for the newly-discovered region. He was a man of great courage and enterprise, and, vowing that he would spend the

* "The rocks of Gunnbjorn"—lost, for nine hundred years, to geography, and only recovered by a recent expedition.

winter with his father, as he had always done, set forth to find the little settlement on the unknown shores of Greenland. A north-east gale sprung up, and for many days he was driven before it, without seeing land. At last he fell in with a coast in the west, wooded and somewhat hilly. No landing was made, and the anxious mariners, sailing for two days to the northward, found another land, low and level, and overgrown with woods. Not recognizing the mountains and the icebergs which he expected to find, Biarni, with a south-west wind, for three days more sailed northerly. He then came upon a great island, with high mountains and much ice, but made no attempt to land on its desolate and forbidding shores. Four days more, driven before a violent wind from the south-west, he continued his voyage to higher latitudes, and at the end of that time, by a piece of singular good fortune, chanced to light on the very location of the Icelandic settlement.

From the internal evidence afforded by the dates and the courses of this remarkable voyage, as well as from the corroboration of subsequent expeditions, it would appear that these tempest-driven mariners, long scudding before a north-east gale, yet heading to the westward as much as possible, finally brought up somewhere on the shores of New England. The first land seen, judging from the descriptions, was probably Nantucket or Cape Cod. 'Two-days' sailing would easily bring them to the level and forest-covered shores of Nova Scotia, and three more to the bleak and precipitous coast of Newfoundland. From that island to the southern extremity of Greenland, the distance is but six hundred miles, which a vessel, running before a favourable gale, might readily accomplish within the given time. To no other region of coast in the vicinity of Greenland will the dates and descriptions so accurately apply, and little doubt can exist that America, by this accidental voyage, was first laid open to men of European race.

About ten years afterwards, Biarni made a voyage to Norway, where the account of his discoveries excited much interest; and when Leif the son of Eric, four years later, went to the court of Olaf Tryggvason, king of that country, he heard the adventurer much blamed for neglecting to prosecute his discoveries. Stimulated by these conferences, he resolved to attempt a voyage in quest of the new lands; and having received baptism with all his crew, returned to Greenland, bearing with him the germ of northern Christianity, and the spirit of enterprise and discovery.

He bought the vessel of Biarni, and, with thirty-five men, some of whom may have been on the former voyage, in the year 1000, set sail in search of the desired region. He first came in sight of the mountainous and sterile coast last seen by Biarni, and landed, but found little or no traces of vegetation. Naming it Hellu-land—"the land of broad stones" (a name strikingly descriptive of the shores of Newfoundland), he proceeded southerly to the low and wooded coasts of Nova Scotia, which he called Markland—"the land of woods." Next he came to an island (probably Nantucket) lying opposite to a north-east projection of the main land. Between this island and the promontory he steered westward, remarking the shoals and currents which still render difficult the navigation of that passage.

Keeping westward, the voyagers "passed up a river, and thence into a lake." This channel, it would seem, was the Seaconnet river, the eastern outlet of Narragansett bay, and leading to the beautiful lake-like expanse of water now known as Mount Hope Bay. On the shores of this lake, they built habitations and passed the winter, fishing for salmon, which abounded, and charmed with the comparative mildness of the climate. On the shortest day, the sun remained above the horizon from half-past seven in the morning to half-past four in the afternoon—a circumstance indicating the latitude with almost absolute certainty, and, allowing for slight inaccuracy in their computation, corresponding to the situation of Mount Hope Bay.

In exploring the country on their arrival, one Tyrker, a German, stayed late, and the others went in search of him. They found him in ecstasies of joy at the discovery of a vine laden with fruit—the delicious flavor of which had so transported his thoughts to his native land (the land of the grape) that for some time he could answer them only in German. Great quantities of this pleasant fruit were found, and these natives of the chilling north, delighted at the unaccustomed luxury, filled their large boat with a plentiful supply. All the early voyagers to this coast, speak of the profusion of wild grapes with which it abounds. Martha's Vineyard and the Vineyard Sound, in the immediate vicinity, no doubt received their names from this circumstance. Leif, in joy at its delicious productions, bestowed on it the name of Vinland the Good—a name which it bears in all the ancient chronicles and geographies. In the spring of 1001, with his grapes and a freight of timber, he made his way back to Greenland, where, in commemoration of his enterprise and success, he was ever after called "Leif the Lucky." During the

ensuing winter, by the death of his father, Eirek, he succeeded to the chief authority in Greenland.

When spring came on (1002) Thorvald, his younger brother, a man of great courage and enterprise, with thirty companions, set sail for Vinland; but owing to his death on the return, few particulars of this voyage, perhaps the most interesting and important of his day, have survived. With his company, he arrived at Leifsbudir (Leif's booths), where his brother had encamped, and there passed the winter. The next spring (1003) he explored the coast in a south-west direction for a great distance, proceeding, it has been thought, as far as the Carolinas. The coast, it is correctly stated, was mostly wooded, with white, sandy shores.

During the summer (1004) Thorvald, with a part of his crew, passed around Cape Cod to the northward, in quest of fresh discoveries. Here his vessel was stranded and compelled to stop for repairs; and the adventurer, setting up the keel of his ship on the promontory, named it Kialar-ness (Keel Cape) in commemoration of the accident. Thence sailing west, he soon made land, somewhere, it would seem, not far from Boston. The Northmen landed on a pleasant promontory, and, meeting with several of the *Skrellings* or natives, killed them. To revenge this injury, the savages soon gathered in great numbers, and fiercely attacked the intruders. Thorvald was mortally wounded by an arrow, which, passing between his shield and the ship's side, struck him in the arm-pit. Feeling himself dying, he charged his comrades "to return home as quickly as possible; but me you shall carry to the promontory which seemed to me so pleasant a place to dwell in; perhaps the words which fell from me shall prove true, and I shall indeed abide there for a season. There bury me, and place a cross at my head, and another at my feet, and call that place for evermore Kross-a-ness" (Cape of the Crosses). He died, and his companions, having fulfilled his commands, returned to Leifsbudir, whence, with a cargo of dried grapes, the next spring (1005) they sailed, and arrived in safety at Eireksfiord. Such are the brief details which have survived of a voyage, no doubt the most extended and enterprising of any undertaken by the Northmen.

Thorstein, Eirek's third son, next assumed the adventure, desirous of achieving fresh discoveries, and of bringing home the body of his brother. But after tossing at sea a whole summer, with his wife Gudrid, uncertain of his whereabouts, in the autumn he made a

port on the eastern coast of Greenland, where, not long after, he died. Gudrid, his widow, famous for her beauty and discretion, went to dwell at Brattahlid, in the house of Leif, her brother-in-law.

CHAPTER II.

THE VOYAGE OF THORFINN KARLSEFNI.—WORSHIP OF THE GOD
THOR IN AMERICA.—TRANSIENT SETTLEMENTS.—FIGHT WITH
THE INDIANS.—RETURN.—NOBLE CONDUCT OF BIARNI GRÍ-
MOLFSON.—MENTION OF VINLAND IN MANY ANCIENT
CHRONICLES.—THE STORY OF BIORN ASBRANDSON.—
ICELANDIC REMAINS.—A CONJECTURED WELSH COLONY.

ANOTHER adventurous mariner, ere long, undertook the enterprise. Thorfinn Karlsefni, or *The Achiever*, an Icelander of wealth and family, in the autumn of 1006, sailed on a voyage of commerce with a large company in two ships for Greenland. They met with kind entertainment from Leif, and passed a merry winter, Thorfinn being married to Gudrid. Much talk was held concerning Vinland, and as spring came on, a fresh expedition was planned. Three vessels were prepared, aboard which went Thorfinn and his wife, with his friends, Snorri Thorbrandson, Biarni Grímolfson and others, Freydis, the daughter of Eirik, with her husband Thorvard, and many others, amounting in all to an hundred and sixty souls. A variety of live stock was taken on board, for the use of the projected colony; and in the spring of 1007, the little fleet set sail.

Touching at several points, the voyagers came to Hellu-land, with its vast flat stones, thence to Markland, and so to Kialar-ness, where they found the keel lately set up by the ill-fated Thorvald. Coasting along the desolate shores of Cape Cod (which they called Furdstrandir—"Long," or "Wonderful Shores,") they came to a bay, and put on shore two Scots, a man and a woman, whom King Olaf had given Leif, and who were "swift of foot," we are told, "than wild animals." These light-footed couriers ran a considerable distance inland, and returned with a bunch of grapes and an ear of corn.

Keeping along shore, the explorers came to a bay, with an island opposite which, on account of the strength of the current, they called

Straum-fjord, or Bay of Streams, and which, it is probable, was what is now known as Buzzard's Bay. Here, finding good pasturage for their cattle, they disembarked, and passed the winter. Soon after their landing, a son was born to Thorfinn and Gudrid. This child, Snorri Thorfinnson, probably the first born in America of European parents, became the founder of a long line of distinguished descendants. Among these may be mentioned the learned bishop Thorlak Runolfson, his grandson, who probably compiled the accounts of these voyages, and Thorwaldsen, the famous sculptor of our own day.

A singular incident illustrates the superstition of the age and the recency of the conversion of these people to Christianity. The god Thor, for the first and perhaps the last time, was worshipped in the Western Hemisphere. It happened in this wise. There had sailed in the expedition, says the ancient narrative, one "Thorhall, commonly called the Hunter, who had, for many years, been the huntsman of Eirek during the summer, and his steward during the winter. This Thorhall was a man of gigantic stature and of great strength, and swarthy in complexion; he was a man of very few words, and when he did speak, it was chiefly in a railing way; to Eirek he had ever given evil counsel; and he was besides a very indifferent Christian. He possessed, however, much knowledge of uninhabited lands."

The winter proving severe, the colonists endured much suffering from scarcity, and all their prayers appeared vain. In this time of famine, Thorhall disappeared, and for three days fruitless search was made for him. "On the morning of the fourth day," proceeds the narrative, "Thorfinn and Biarni Grinnolfson found him lying on the top of a rock. There he lay, stretched out, with his eyes open, blowing through his mouth and nose, and mumbling somewhat to himself. They asked him why he had gone there. He answered that it was no business of theirs—that he was old enough to take care of himself without their troubling themselves with his affairs. They asked him to return home with them, which he did. A short time after, a whale was cast ashore, and they all ran down eagerly to cut it up; but none knew what kind of whale it was; even Thorfinn, though well acquainted with whales, did not know it. The cooks dressed the whale, and they all eat of it, but were all taken sick immediately afterwards. Then said Thorhall, 'Now you see that Thor is more ready to give aid than your Christ. This food is the reward of a hymn which I composed to Thor, my god, who

rarely forsakes me.' When they heard this, none would eat any more; and so they threw all the remainder of the flesh from the rocks, commending themselves to God."

This Thorhall, in the spring of the following year (1008), set forth with a few companions to sail around Kialar-ness and make discoveries; but was driven to sea by westerly gales, and finally, it is said, reached the shores of Ireland. Thorfinn, with the remainder, in all an hundred and fifty-one, pursued his course westward, and came to Leifsbudir. The region in that vicinity was called by the Northmen, Hop. The Indian name was Houp, and the "lake" itself, to this day, is called Mount Hope Bay—perhaps a mere coincidence, but certainly a curious one. Here they had sight of numerous savages, who approached in their canoes, and, after landing and staring at the strangers with astonishment, embarked and retired beyond a promontory in the south-west. The summer and winter were passed at Leifsbudir, the latter season proving so temperate that the cattle remained in the open fields without shelter. The climate, it is probable, in that remote period, was somewhat milder in those regions, than it is at present.

In the spring of 1009, great numbers of the natives resorted to the colony for traffic—strips of red cloth being eagerly sought, and *milk porridge* affording them excessive delight. But the sudden appearance and bellowing of a bull frightened them all to their canoes. A few weeks afterwards they returned in great force, raising a shrill cry (probably the war whoop)* and giving signals of defiance. Thorfinn and his men raised the red shield (the northern emblem of war) and a fierce battle commenced. In the midst of the conflict, Freydis, the daughter of Eirek, seeing her countrymen give way, rushed out of her dwelling, and reproached them. The *Skrællings* pursued her, and being near her time, she could not run fast. "She saw," says the chronicle, "a man lying dead. This was Thorbrand the son of Snorri, in whose head a flat stone was sticking. His sword lay naked by his side. This she seized, and prepared to defend herself. The *Skrællings* came up with her. She struck her breast with the naked sword, which so astonished the *Skrællings*, that they fled back to their canoes, and rowed off as fast as possible." Many of the savages were killed, and it is worthy of remark that the English, on their first arrival in this part of the country, found among the Indians a very distinct tradition of this conflict, of the

* "*Skrælingi valde acute ululerunt*," says the Latin translation of the Norse MS.

ship of the invaders, &c., though, of course, at a loss to what period or what people to assign it.

Convinced that this place was too perilous for his colony, Thorfinn now broke up his encampment, and returned to his former quarters at Straum-fiord. Abundant supplies were found, and he sailed round Kialar-ness in search of the missing Thorhall, but without success. In the spring of the following year (1010) the whole, or a considerable portion of the company, in the two remaining ships, set sail for Greenland. That of Thorfinn arrived safely at Eireksfiord; but the other, commanded by Biarni Grimolfson, was driven to sea, and being riddled with worms, began to sink. Biarni, with half the ship's company, gained by lot the privilege of taking to the boat; but seeing the distress of a young Icelander left on board, relinquished his place, going back into the ship and placing the other in the boat—"for I see," he said, quietly, "that you are foud of life." This generous action, and these few words, the key of a brave and meditative spirit, are all that survive of this old Northern chief, of whom one could wish to have known more. The boat arrived in safety, but Biarni and his companions doubtless perished in their foundered vessel.

Thorfinn and his wife, having attained much fame by their adventures, proceeded to Iceland, where they took up their residence, and where, as well as in Denmark, their descendants attained high honor and consideration.

In 1011 Freydis and her husband, with some Norway merchants, made another voyage to the same region. Indeed, to quote the language of the Norse MS., "Expeditions to Vinland became now very frequent matters of consideration, for that expedition was commonly esteemed both luerative and honorable." In these ancient records, for several centuries, repeated allusions are made to the country, whose existence appears to have been generally known to the nations of Northern Europe. In an old Faroese ballad, Holdan and Finn, two Swedish princes, are chronicled as crusaders into Vinland, for the love of Ingeborge, daughter of the king of Ireland. It is entered on the "Annals of Iceland," (a contemporaneous authority), that in 1121, Eirik, first bishop of Greenland, sailed from that country to Vinland—it may have been to exercise his spiritual offices in behalf of colonists settled there. In 1347, according to the same authority, a Greenland vessel, returning from Markland (Nova-Scotia) was driven by westerly gales to the shores of Iceland.

In 1285, Adalbrand and Thorvald, two brothers, whose names are well known in Icelandic chronicles, touched upon a coast which, from their description, seems to have been the Hellu-land of Leif; and the name of "Nyja-fundu-land," (Newfoundland) which they gave it, indicates that it was considered as a country already discovered. It bears the same name, in English, at the present day. Three years afterwards, Eirek of Norway, interested by the particulars of their cruise, sent another expedition in the same direction, the details of which have not survived. Many other voyages, casual or intentional, though unrecorded or lost to history, were undoubtedly made in the course of the four centuries during which Scandinavian colonies flourished in Greenland.

In the fate of those colonies was involved the history of Vinland, excepting the few particulars preserved in Iceland, most of which we have briefly stated. A vast barrier of ice, which, according to philosophers, at certain periods advances southward from the pole, early in the fifteenth century cut off all communication between the parent-country and its distant colonies of Greenland. When last heard of, these consisted of two hundred and eighty villages; but from the year 1406, for nearly three centuries, nothing was learned of their fate, and hardly a bark, except that of some adventurous whaler, approached the dreary shores of Greenland. Extensive ruins have since been discovered along the whole line of coast, but no record of the fate of their inhabitants has survived. Isolated from any succour from Iceland or Europe, and pinched by the increasing coldness of the seasons, they probably perished by degrees, and finally became extinct. Early in the last century, some colonies were again planted by Denmark in the same inhospitable region.

It is worthy of remark, that personages whose existence is well known to history, are occasionally described, in old Norse manuscripts, as having voyaged to Vinland and other lands lying west of the Atlantic. "To the South of habitable Greenland," says an ancient work on geography, "there are uninhabited and wild tracts, and enormous icebergs. The country of the Skroellings lies beyond these; Markland beyond this, and Vinland the Good beyond the last. Next to this, and something beyond it, lies Albania, that is, Huitramannaland, whither, formerly, vessels came from Ireland. There several Irishmen and Icelanders saw and recognized Ari, the son of Mar and Kotlu, of Reykianess, concerning whom nothing had been heard for a long time, and who had been made their chief

by the inhabitants of the land." This Ari Marson, it is elsewhere stated, in 983, was driven by tempests to a region lying far west of Ireland, and called Huitramannaland, or Irland it Mikla (Ireland the Great).

A most romantic account is given, in another chronicle, of the adventures and fate of Biorn Asbrandson, an Icelandic hero, noted for his exploits in Pomerania and Denmark. Returning to his native island, he fell in love with Thurid, wife of an insular magnate, and in the frays provoked by the jealousy of the latter, slew several of his assailants. Like Eirik the Red, he was compelled to betake himself to the ocean, and accordingly, about the year 998, set sail, says the narrative, "with a north-east wind, which wind prevailed for a great part of that summer. Of the fate of that ship nothing was for a long time heard." More than thirty years afterwards, one Gudleif Gudlaugson, a noted sea-rover, returning from Dublin to Iceland, "fell in," says another chronicle, "with north-east and east winds, and was driven far into the ocean towards the south-west and west, so that no land was seen, the summer being now far spent. Many prayers were offered by Gudleif and his men that they might escape their perils; and at length they saw land. It was of great extent, and they knew not what land it was."

Landing, they were seized by the natives, and were carried before a great assembly, that their fate might be decided. From this dangerous situation they were rescued by an aged man, to whom all present paid respect, and who, to their surprise, addressed them in the Icelandic tongue. He made many inquiries concerning the people of Iceland, and especially concerning Thurid. He sent a golden ring to her, and a sword to her son Kiartan, but refused to tell his name, and hastened the departure of his guests from the dangerous coast. In the autumn, they succeeded in reaching Ireland, and thence, in the following spring, sailed to their native country, where they delivered the ring to the aged Thurid and the sword to Kiartan, of whom Biorn had been commonly reputed the father. There can be little doubt that the giver was the long-lost Icelandic champion, and that the coast on which he and Gudleif were thrown, judging from the description, was somewhere on the Atlantic coast of America, probably below New England.

It only remains to be added that on the Assoonet or Taunton River, near Dighton, (Mass.) in the immediate vicinity of Mount Hope Bay, is a sculptured inscription, of great antiquity, commonly

called the "Written Rock," and recording, it seems more than probable, the visits of the ancient Northmen to this region. The greater portion consists of Indian hieroglyphics, but there is one genuine Icelandic fragment, representing, with little question, "one hundred and fifty-one men," the exact number, it may be remembered, with which Thorfinn, after the sailing of Thorhall and his eight companions, came to this spot. Other portions, among which sanguine antiquarians have imagined that they discovered the name of Thorfinn himself, remain undeciphered.

It has been thought probable by sagacious archaeologists that other colonies of European origin, from choice or accident, may have been founded in the New World, anterior to its discovery by Columbus. Mr. Catlin, the eminent Indian painter and historian, has, in an ingenious essay, made it evident, that the famous Mandan tribe, lately extinguished by the ravages of small-pox, may have been, in part, of Welsh origin, and perhaps descended from the adventurers, who early in the fourteenth century sailed westward, with Madoc, prince of Wales, and never regained their native land. The complexion of these people, though somewhat modified by intermixture with aboriginal blood, was light, and their hair and features resembled those of Europeans. Their language, in some respects, bore an extraordinary similitude to the Welsh, and their light boats, formed of hides stretched upon a frame, were almost identical in their construction with the "coracles" still used on the Severn and the Wye. This hypothesis, supported by much ingenious argument and illustration, is certainly coherent, and may, very likely, be correct.

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PART II.

THE SPANIARDS IN AMERICA.

The Discoveries of Columbus, and Settlement of the West Indies.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE OF COLUMBUS.—HIS EXPERIENCE AND ATTAINMENTS.—GENERAL PASSION FOR DISCOVERY.—FORMATION OF HIS SCHEME.—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE COURT OF PORTUGAL.—TREACHERY OF THE KING.—COLUMBUS IN SPAIN.—HIS POVERTY.—LA RABIDA.—APPLICATION TO THE COURT OF SPAIN.—DELAYS.—THE COUNCIL OF SALAMANCA.—IGNORANCE AND BIGOTRY OF ITS MEMBERS.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,* the most famous mariner of all time, had his birth in the city of Genoa, about the year 1435, of obscure, but respectable parentage. His early education was good, and, for a short time, he enjoyed the advantage of studying at the renowned university of Padua. At the age of fourteen, like most of the youth of his native city, he went to sea, and for many years only occasional glimpses are caught of the adventurous career which he pursued. He was engaged in commerce to the Levant, and in the naval warfare so long protracted in the Mediterranean among the rival nations inhabiting its shores. In the year 1470, already of middle age, and possessed of a great store of maritime knowledge, he betook himself to Portugal.

* His original name was Christofero Colombo—rendered, according to the Spanish idiom, Cristoval Colon—and latinized into Columbus.

That nation, justly entitled to the glory of the first revival of discovery and geography, was then borne on in the full tide of enterprise and success. Under the auspices of the adventurous and enlightened Prince Henry, much of the African coast had been explored, and the Azores and the Cape de Verd islands had been rescued from the oblivion of the ocean. His grand and arduous project, the circumnavigation of Africa, and a maritime intercourse with the shores of India, deferred by his death (1573), was afterwards, with brilliant success, completed by the sovereign who succeeded him.

The appearance of Columbus, at this time, is described as replete with dignity and courtesy. His hair was already quite white, and his demeanour was distinguished by grave and gentle authority. He was a devout Catholic, and strictly attached to all the offices of religion. Soon after his arrival, he married the daughter of one Palestrello, a navigator distinguished in the service of Prince Henry, and some time governor of Porto Santo, the lesser of the Madeiras. The charts and journals of the deceased mariner, delivered into his possession, awakened in his mind a strong interest in African discovery. He sailed occasionally to that coast, and, with his wife, resided for some time at Porto Santo. His means were narrow, and he gained precarious living, for the most part, by making maps and charts, an occupation for which, by his education, his extended experience and close observation, he was eminently qualified.

In this obscure and humble way of life, his mind was gradually and slowly elaborating a scheme the most grand and momentous which has ever been conceived by human genius, or carried out by human courage and perseverance. His occupation naturally incited his thoughts to conjecture and speculation concerning the vast tracts of ocean in which no sail had ever been spread, and of whose unknown shores no chart had ever been constructed. Again and again had mariners, driven westward a little beyond their accustomed course, told wondrous stories of mountainous islands, dimly looming on the western horizon, but still retreating before the bark of the explorer. Such accounts, delusive but inspiring, lent continual encouragement to the theory which he had formed and the vast design which he was projecting.

Though firmly believing in the sphericity of the earth, he had singularly underrated its size*—an error shared by many of the learned of his day. Toscanelli, a distinguished Florentine savant,

* "The world," he writes, "is little—far smaller than is commonly supposed."

to whom, in 1474, he announced his intention of sailing westward in search of Cathay (China), gave the opinion that the distance could not exceed four thousand miles; and the vast extent of the Orient, as described by Marco Polo, appeared to confirm this hypothesis.

"Still, all was uncertainty. The mysterious ocean intervening between the Asian and European shores might be of vast and innavigable extent, and filled with new and unheard of terrors. The sail might be spread for those unknown regions, but who could tell if it should ever retrace the hazardous way—if fearful seas and currents would not ingulph the audacious keel, or some fixed and awful law of nature forbid the possibility of return. These very doubts and marvels served, perhaps, only as new incentives to a mind alike daring, romantic, and practical. It is certain that from the time when the project of sailing westward to solve the grand problem of the earth first entered the mind of this obscure wanderer, there commenced a career of patience, perseverance, sagacity, and courage, such as the world, it is probable, had never witnessed. Though mistaken in the particulars of his geographical plan, he would seem, from the first, to have had a premonition of the vastness and real grandeur of his future discovery."

"When Columbus," says Mr. Irving, "had formed his theory, it is singular the firmness with which it became fixed in his mind, and the effect it produced upon his character and conduct. He never spoke with doubt or hesitation, but with as much certainty as if his eyes beheld the promised land. No trial or disappointment could afterwards divert him from the steady pursuit of his object. A deep religious sentiment mingled with his meditations, and gave them at times a tinge of superstition, but it was of a sublime and lofty kind. He looked upon himself as standing in the hand of Heaven, chosen from among men for the accomplishment of its high purpose. He read, as he supposed, his contemplated discovery foretold in Holy Writ, and shadowed forth darkly in the mystic revelations of the prophets. The ends of the earth were to be brought together, and all nations and tongues and languages united under the banner of the Redeemer."

But between the conception and the fulfilment of this glorious undertaking, a long and miserable interval of disappointment, vexation and delay, was destined to elapse. Unable, from his obscure position, to command the means of effecting discovery, he still eagerly sought for knowledge concerning the unknown ocean. In

1477, he voyaged an hundred leagues beyond Iceland, probably to the westward, and, it may be, wanted but a little of reviving the ancient discoveries of the Northmen, and tracking the steps of Thorfinn to the long-lost shores of Vinland.

With the accession of John II., in 1481, to the throne of Portugal, a new and brilliant era of enterprise commenced. That enlightened and ambitious sovereign had inherited from his predecessor, Prince Henry, the noble passion for discovery and maritime adventure. The scheme for circumnavigating Africa was resumed—a scheme, in due time crowned with the most brilliant and profitable success; and the invention of the astrolabe or quadrant—an invention undertaken directly in furtherance of naval adventure—rewarded the ingenuity of the men of science who surrounded him.

At this favourable epoch, Columbus, his project fully matured, presented himself before the sovereign, offering his services in exploring the quickest route to the long-coveted shores of India. He proposed to sail due westward, and expressed his confidence that a voyage of a thousand leagues would bring him to the island of Cipango or Japan, famed from the glowing descriptions of Marco Polo. The compensation which he demanded, in event of success, was of a princely and magnificent nature—the same, it is probable, which he afterwards obtained from the sovereigns of Spain, and of which penny, disappointment, and the weariness of hope long deferred never could force him to abate one jot or tittle.

John, whose ear was ever open to the voice of enterprise, referred the project to his learned men, by whom it was summarily condemned as chimerical. The king, unsatisfied, and stimulated by the advice of his unprincipled confessor, now had the meanness and perfidy to attempt defrauding the projector of the glory and reward of his magnificent invention. Having gained possession of the plans and charts of Columbus, he privately dispatched a vessel in the proposed direction. But those so hastily called on to undertake the tremendous adventure, were not upheld by the patient enthusiasm of its original author. The crew, meeting with stormy weather, became discouraged, and finally, in despair, put back into Lisbon. Indignant at this mean attempt to forestall his honours, the aggrieved projector, refusing to hearken to further overtures, quitted the court abruptly, taking with him his little son Diego (1484). Nothing, for some time, is known of his movements, but his reappearance was in distress and poverty

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COLUMBUS BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF SALAMANCA.

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Near the little sea-port of Palos, in Andalusia, stood and still stands an ancient convent, named Santa Maria de Rabida. One day a wearied foot-traveller, leading a boy, stopped at the gate, and requested of the porter a little bread and water for his child. The prior, Juan Perez, a man of attainments and of quick discernment, passing by chance, was struck with his demeanour, and still more with his conversation. On hearing the grand project of Columbus (for the way-farer was no other) he was filled with admiration. The wanderer was honourably entertained at the convent, and in the spring of 1486, fortified with a letter to Talavera, the queen's confessor, set forth to try his fortunes at the Spanish court.

In that court, the most brilliant, perhaps, in Europe, the cold and selfish policy of Ferdinand was relieved by the virtue and the more liberal spirit of his consort, the high-minded Isabella of Castile; and it was on her well-known love of science, literature, and enterprise, that the adventurer founded his chief hopes of success. Utter discouragement attended his first attempts. The confessor looked with no favour on his scheme. It was long before he could obtain an audience before the sovereigns, their whole attention engrossed with domestic warfare and foreign policy. During this time he patiently supported himself by his craft of map-making, and by his intelligence and enthusiasm, gradually acquired influential friends at court.

Through the good offices of these, the desired audience was finally obtained, and the sovereigns, moved by his statements, resolved to submit the project to a grand commission at the University of Salamanca. At that renowned seat of erudition were assembled the most learned and eminent scholars in the kingdom, mostly friars and church dignitaries, before whom the adventurer was commanded to unfold his projected undertaking. In a simple, modest, and eloquent speech, he stated the particulars of his scheme; but to his intense disappointment was encountered on all hands by the most unworthy objections. His reverend auditors, anxious to display their own learning and orthodoxy, set up all manner of frivolous dogmas, founded on classic philosophy or ecclesiastic subtlety. The unfortunate innovator was overwhelmed with a shower of quotations from Scripture—Psalms and prophecies, gospels and epistles. All the saints and fathers of the church were cited in opposition to his audacious—nay, heretical conception. The earth, it was urged by some, could not be otherwise than flat, instead of round, seeing that in both the Old

and New Testaments, the heavens were compared to a tent extended over its surface. Others, admitting the possibility of its sphericity, maintained that it was encircled by the torrid zone, an impassable barrier of heat, precluding all communication between the antipodes. Epicurus had affirmed that the southern hemisphere was a mere chaos, and Lactantius Firmianus had denied that there were antipodes at all. If there were, and if a ship could really slide in safety over the enormous round, how was she ever to get up hill again? In short, the majority of his learned auditors "entrenched themselves behind one dogged position; that after so many profound philosophers and cosmographers had been studying the form of the world, and so many able navigators had been sailing about it for several thousand years, it was great presumption in an ordinary man to suppose that there remained such a vast discovery for him to make." So great, in fine, were the prejudice, bigotry, and ignorance of a majority of the council, that, though a few of the more intelligent were convinced by his arguments or persuaded by his eloquence, the great body of the assembly, after several fruitless conferences, utterly refused to risk their reputation by any countenance to such an unheard-of innovation.

CHAPTER II.

DELAY AND DISAPPOINTMENT EXPERIENCED BY COLUMBUS.—HIS FINAL SUCCESS AND TREATY WITH THE COURT OF SPAIN.—OBSTACLES TO THE PROJECT.—THE PINZONS.—SAILING OF THE EXPEDITION.—PARTICULARS OF THE VOYAGE.—PERVERSANCE OF COLUMBUS.—DISCOVERY OF GUANAANI.—THE NATIVES.—ERRONEOUS EXPECTATIONS OF COLUMBUS.

YEARS passed by, and Columbus, the victim of hope deferred, still protracted his attendance at the Spanish court, gleaning a precarious support from his industry, and occasionally assisted by the liberality of his patrons. He fought against the Moors in the campaign of 1489, and, it is said, with distinguished courage; but was repeatedly disappointed in his hopes of obtaining a fresh interview with the sovereigns. Rejecting, from a stern remembrance of past

treachery, the renewed overtures of John II., he dispatched his brother Bartholomew to England, to seek the aid of Henry VII., in prosecution of his enterprise. He also made application to the powerful dukes of Medina Sidonia and Medina Cæli; but, after receiving some encouragement, was again thwarted in his wishes, and sick at heart, took his way back to the convent of Rabida.

The worthy prior, grieved and scandalized at his ill-success, again bestirred himself. Mounting his mule, he betook himself to court, and by his eloquence so wrought upon the queen (whose confessor he had formerly been) that she at once recalled Columbus to her presence. The sovereigns, with their army, were then encamped before Granada, the last stronghold of the unfortunate Moors; and he arrived in time to witness its memorable surrender. This long and exhausting contest finally decided, they found more leisure to listen to schemes of enterprise, and accordingly appointed agents (among them Talavera, archbishop of Granada) to confer with the persevering projector. At first all negotiation seemed fruitless, for these high dignitaries, offended at the conditions attached to his proposal, utterly refused acceding to terms which they considered presumptuous and arrogant in the extreme. Argument was in vain. He would yield absolutely nothing. Seven years had been wasted at the Spanish court, and he was now far advanced in life; yet this indefatigable man, on learning their adverse decision, forthwith mounted his beast, and set off, to carry his scheme and his services to the court of France.

At this unfortunate issue, the few friends of science and enterprise were overwhelmed with mortification. They hastened to the queen, and besought her that no unnecessary scruples should transfer to other hands a project so momentous to the interests of Spain and the extension of Christianity. Moved by their eloquence, she fully resolved in favour of the scheme, and with a generous and queenly enthusiasm, resolved that, if needful, the very jewels of her crown should be pledged to procure means for the expedition. An express was immediately dispatched after Columbus, and soon overtook him on the road to France. After hesitating a moment, reluctant to trust himself again to the mercies of the court, he turned the head of his mule, and journeyed back to Granada.

The interest and ambition of the sovereigns were now fully excited, and the terms demanded by the adventurer were at once acceded to. These were, indeed, of a princely and magnificent nature, and, had

good faith been observed by the crown, would have resulted in the foundation of family honours and authorities greater than any subject ever received at the hands of a sovereign. He and his heirs for ever were to enjoy the title of "High Admiral of the Ocean Sea" in all the lands and seas which he should discover, with the office of viceroy and governor-general, invested with almost absolute authority; and for the due support of these high dignities, were to receive an eighth of all profits accruing from the anticipated discoveries (April, 1492). To the honour of Columbus, it must be said, that with him these splendid offices and prospective emoluments were not, in themselves, the ultimate reward of his exertions; but only the means by which grander and more worthy schemes (to his view) were to be accomplished. The Grand Khan, with the immense regions under his sway, was to be converted to Christianity—perhaps brought under allegiance to their Most Catholic Majesties. The Holy Sepulchre, by the aid of the expected treasure, was to be rescued from the infidels, and the Faith was to triumph throughout the remotest regions of the earth.

The little sea-port of Palos, in consequence of some offence to the crown, had been condemned by the council to furnish, when required, two caravels, or small undecked vessels, for the public service. These little craft, with their crews, were now, by a royal order, placed at the disposition of Columbus. The mariners of that port were among the boldest and most skilful of any who ventured into the dreaded waters of the Atlantic, or coasted along the newly-explored shores of Africa; but when the nature of the proposed expedition was made known, a general thrill of horror ran through the whole community. To sail into an unknown, untraversed sea, with no certain land to steer to, seemed, even to the boldest, the enterprise of madness and a mere tempting of Providence. Every frightful contingency which ignorance and superstition could suggest, or ancient rumor confirm, was eagerly adduced against the audacious project. Neither vessels nor mariners, despite the peremptory orders of a despotic court, could be procured, and the enterprise seemed at a stand, when the wealth and influence of a single family came successfully to its aid.

Martin Alonzo Pinzon, one of the ablest navigators of the place, and his brother Vicente, persuaded by the arguments of Columbus, now came forward, and threw all their weight in favour of the undertaking. They furnished at least one vessel from their private means,

and by their influence and authority the work went rapidly forward. Every encouragement to those engaged in the project, even to an exemption from the consequences of crime, was afforded by the court, and by the beginning of August, 1492, three small vessels were ready for sea. Aboard the *Santa Maria*, the largest of these and the only one completely decked, Columbus hoisted his flag; another, the *Pinta*, which had been pressed into the service, was commanded by Alonzo Pinzon; and the third, a little caravel called the *Nina*, by his brother Vicente. The crews amounted to an hundred and twenty souls.

Letters were prepared by the sovereigns for delivery to the Grand Khan, on whose territories it was supposed the expedition would first light, and whose conversion, (an object of pious, but unrequited zeal, to many devout sovereigns,) it was now confidently expected, would be triumphantly brought about. Columbus, with all his people, performed the solemn rites of confession and communion, amid the lamentations of the whole community, most of whom had relations aboard, and regarded them as sailing, on a cruise of insanity, to assured destruction. On Friday, the 3d of August, 1492, at eight o'clock in the morning, this little squadron set sail, on an enterprise the most venturesome and momentous ever undertaken by man.

By the 9th of August, Columbus arrived at the Canary islands, where he remained three weeks to repair and to take in supplies, and whence, on the 6th of September, amid the tears and lamentations of his crews, he again set forth in quest of an undiscovered world. He steered due westward, charging the other commanders to keep in company with him, and, after sailing seven hundred leagues, to lay to at night, lest they should strike on the coast of India or Japan. Besides his accurate reckoning, he kept for inspection of the crew a fictitious record, in which a considerable distance was daily subtracted from the actual progress, lest they should become disheartened at seeing the entire tract of ocean which intervened between them and their homes.

After sailing two hundred leagues, a variation of the needle was observed, and excited much alarm among his people; but a plausible explanation allayed their fears. They were soon in the trade-winds, and for many days sped westward with a smooth and steady motion, which, almost imperceptibly, bore them hundreds of leagues directly on their course. The weather was delightfully mild and refreshing. Day after day passed by, and no land met the gaze of the eager and

anxious mariners. They began to fear that, in these unknown regions of the ocean, the wind might always blow from the eastward, and forbid the possibility of return. Great alarm was also excited by the appearance of vast meadows of floating sea-weed, through whose thick and tangled masses the ships with difficulty forced their way. Involved in these treacherous nets of the sea, or stranded on submerged rocks beneath, far from any firm land, they would never, they cried, be able to regain their homes.

The position of Columbus was now critical and perilous in the extreme. His ignorant followers, regarding him as a maniac, or as one whom ambition had made careless of life, were repeatedly on the verge of mutiny. A plan, it is said, was formed for throwing him into the sea, and alleging, on their return, that he had fallen overboard by chance while surveying the heavens and the altitudes of the stars. Nothing saved him but the calm and resolute authority which he maintained, cheering the timid by persuasive arguments, inciting the sanguine with promises, and awing the refractory with open threats. By the first of October he had sailed seven hundred leagues west of the Canaries, though his crew supposed the distance to be considerably less.

On the 7th he altered his course, and steered for three days south-west. No land appeared, and the crews, in a mutinous manner, clamored for return. It has been told, and often repeated, that, to appease their impatience, he promised, if no land appeared in three days, to turn his prows to the eastward; but this story appears to have been reported without sufficient ground. On the contrary, finding his persuasions ineffectual, he told them sternly that he had been sent to seek the Indies, and, till they were found, nothing should induce him to retrace his course. Overawed by his firmness and dignity, they yielded a sullen submission. On the evening of the 11th, the course was again altered to the westward.

Occasional specimens of fresh vegetation, and a staff artificially carved, had been lately picked up, and added greatly to the encouragement of their hopes. Every eye was now strained with eager expectation, and Columbus passed the night on the high cabin of his vessel, anxious to be the personal discoverer of the expected land. About ten o'clock, he saw a faintly gleaming and occasionally hidden light in the west, which he regarded as the certain indication of an inhabited land. At two in the following morning (October 12th,) the Pinta, which was ahead of the rest, fired a gun, the signal of

discovery, and all lay to, awaiting with intense expectation the approach of morning.

As the day slowly dawned, a green and beautiful island was seen stretching before them. Numbers of people, quite naked, were running on the beach, filled with amazement at the strange spectacle which the night had conjured up on their shores. The admiral, in full dress, bearing the royal standard, and gallantly attended, entered his boat, and rowed to shore. Kissing the earth, with tears of joy, he returned thanks to God. His people followed the example, and all, overwhelmed with joy, thronged around him, with embraces, kissing his hands, and, in the intoxication of the moment, almost adoring him. He proceeded to take a solemn and ceremonious possession of the island, in the name of the Spanish sovereigns, calling it San Salvador. Its native name was Guanahani, and it is one of that long chain of Bahamas extending from Florida to Hayti.

The natives, who at first, terrified by the armour and gorgeous array of the strangers, had fled into the woods, now ventured forth, and approached the Spaniards, with many prostrations and signs of adoration. They supposed that these wonderful beings had floated from some celestial region, and gazed, with eager curiosity, on their beards, their raiment, and the whiteness of their complexions. The islanders themselves were of a copper hue, nearly naked, and ornamented with fantastic paintings. Supposing himself near the eastern shore of Asia, Columbus gave these people the name of Indians—a term since applied to all the native races of the western hemisphere. Their disposition was singularly amiable and affectionate.

The admiral gave them little presents, such as coloured beads and hawk's-bells, the tinkling sound of which tickled their ears surprisingly, and which they received with rapture as gifts from the celestial land. They cried to each other, he says, "with loud voices, '*Come and see the men who have come from heaven. Bring them victuals and drink.*'" There came many of both sexes, every one bringing something, giving thanks to God, prostrating themselves on the earth and lifting up their hands to heaven." Great numbers came off in their canoes to the vessels, bringing tame parrots and balls of cotton yarn as offerings to the wonderful visitors.

Strong interest was excited among the Spaniards by the sight of small ornaments of gold, which the natives wore in their noses, and which they averred, by signs, was procured from the south-west. Columbus understood them as describing, in this vague species of

communication, a great prince, who was served on vessels of that precious substance; and his ardent imagination at once inferred that he must be in the neighbourhood of Cipango, and of its gorgeous potentate, described by Marco Polo.

CHAPTER III.

DISCOVERY OF OTHER BAHAMA ISLANDS.—CONTINUED EXPECTATIONS OF FINDING ASIA.—DISCOVERY OF CUBA.—DISCOVERY OF HAYTI, OR HISPANIOLA.—CHARACTER OF THE INHABITANTS.—THE CACIQUE GUACANAGARI.—THE SANTA MARIA WRECKED.—LA NAVIDAD FORTIFIED.—COLUMBUS SAILS FOR SPAIN.—FURTHER ADVENTURES WITH THE NATIVES.

ON the evening of the 14th of October, the admiral got under way, and left San Salvador, steering amid green and beautiful islands, which appeared innumerable. He at once concluded that he was in that great archipelago, reported by his favourite author as consisting of seven thousand four hundred and fifty-eight spice-bearing islands, and lying off the eastern coast of Asia. On the 16th he landed on, and took possession of another island, which he devoutly named "Santa Maria de la Concepcion," and where he found the natives friendly and confiding as before. At the island of Exuma, where he next went on shore, the inhabitants, as usual, thronged around him with their little offerings. The disposition of all these islanders appears to have been eminently simple, amiable and unsuspecting. "I am of opinion," says Columbus, in his journal, "that they would very readily become Christians, as they appear to have no religion."

In Exumeta, where, in search of his Japanese potentate, the admiral next touched, his soul, ever keenly sensitive to the beauties of nature, was filled with rapture at the loveliness of the scenery and the climate. In his communication to the sovereigns, he says, "It seems as if one would never desire to depart from hence. I know not where first to go, nor are my eyes ever weary of gazing on the beautiful verdure. * * * Here are large lakes, and the groves about them are marvellous, and here and in all the island

every thing is green, and the herbage as in April in Andalusia. The singing of the birds is such, that it seems as if one would never desire to depart hence. There are flocks of parrots which obscure the sun, and other birds, large and small, of so many kinds and so different from ours, that it is wonderful; and besides, there are trees of a thousand species, each having its particular fruit, and all of marvellous flavor, so that I am in the greatest trouble in the world not to know them, for I am very certain that they are each of great value. * * * As I arrived at this Cape, there came off a fragrance so good and soft of the flowers or trees of the land; that it was the sweetest thing in the world."

The Indians here told him, that in a great island named Cuba, to the southward, much gold abounded, and he understood them as describing large ships which came there to trade for spices and the precious metals. His sanguine imagination at once sprang to the exultant conclusion, that this was the desired Cipango; that the ships in question were those of the Grand Khan; and that the expected fruit of his expedition lay ripe before him. Forthwith he got under way (October 24th), resolved first to visit the island, and then to cross to the mainland, and deliver his letters to the Khan.

Three days he sailed south-west, and on the fourth, beheld the high and mountainous shores of Cuba stretching before him. The squadron anchored in a beautiful river, and the commander in his boat explored the country, delighted with its beauty. The most graceful of palms, differing from those of the Old World, every where met the eye; and he fancied that amid the varied perfumes of tropical vegetation, he could distinguish the flavour of oriental spices.

Coasting westward, the voyagers fell in with several villages, in which were found implements evincing considerable art and ingenuity. By another strange mistake, the result of imperfect communication with the natives, Columbus now concluded that he was on the mainland of India, and, by his interpreters, endeavoured to reassure the alarmed villagers, and to convince them that he had no connection with the Khan, whom he supposed the object of their especial terror. Encouraged by the friendly message, though part of it only was intelligible, they ventured, in great numbers, to the ships.

The admiral, supposing that the capital of Tartary, the seat of the Great Khan, could lie at no great distance in the interior, dispatched messengers in quest of it—among them a converted Jew, whom he had taken out expressly to further communication with that poten-

tate, and who was equipped with a knowledge of Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic. Penetrating the country for some distance, this embassy came upon a village of a thousand inhabitants, from whom they received great reverence and hospitality, but on whom the oriental learning of the interpreter was quite thrown away. These people smoked a fragrant herb, prepared in rolls, which they called *Tabacos*—a name since universally applied to the plant itself. Much cotton was cultivated by them, and manufactured into the simple articles which a tropical climate requires.

In the south-east, Columbus was now informed, was a land called *Babeque*, rich in gold, which the people there hammered into bars. From this, and from the name *Quisqueya*, which they occasionally used, he concluded at once that the latter could be no other than *Quisai*, the celestial city of the Khan, described, with such lavish ornament, by the enthusiastic Polo. Accordingly, turning from a course which would soon have taken him to the mainland of America, Columbus, on the 12th of October, retraced his way, sailing in quest of the ever-fleeting Land of Promise. During this voyage, rendered tedious by baffling winds, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, whose vessel, the *Pinta*, was the fleetest of the squadron, deserted him, and was soon lost to sight. The admiral slowly worked his way eastward along the shore, making fresh surveys, and falling in with new tribes of the natives. Their canoes, hollowed from the *Ceyba-tree*, were of gigantic size—some of them, he says, being capable of accommodating an hundred and fifty persons. It was not until the 5th of December, that the voyagers, having rounded the eastern extremity of Cuba, beheld a new land, high and mountainous, rising in the south-east.

It was the beautiful and unfortunate island of *Hayti*, on which Columbus, in honour of his adopted country, bestowed the name of *Hispaniola*, but which has since resumed its native appellation. On landing, a party was dispatched into the interior, and found a large village, the inhabitants of which fled at their approach. Encouraged by the assurances of an interpreter, they at length ventured back, to the number of two thousand, and with gestures of the deepest reverence and submission, received the mysterious strangers. Every tribute of simple hospitality was afforded them, and the Indians brought, among other offerings, great numbers of tame parrots, as presents for their guests. Some of these birds had yellow rings on their necks, a peculiarity which Pliny had remarked of the parrots

of India, and which confirmed the sanguine conviction of Columbus that he had arrived on some unknown shore of the Orient. The opinion was not confined to him. "The popiniays and many other things," afterwards writes the learned Peter Martyr, "doe declare that these Ilands *savour somewhat of India*, eyther being near vnto it, or else of the same nature."

The voyagers were enchanted at the beauty of the island, the delicious mildness of the climate, and the gentle manners of the kindly inhabitants. Seldom has the savage life been found in a form more happy, innocent, and alluring, than that depicted by the early voyagers to these fortunate shores. The continual struggle for shelter, warmth, and food, which in general forms the misery of an uncivilized people, was here almost entirely unknown. The mildness of the air and the exuberant fertility of the earth freed them from the first evils of barbarism, and their mild and gentle temperament of character allayed the usual ferocity of savage enmity. War was unfrequent and not sanguinary, and in general the various tribes mingled together throughout the islands in perfect confidence and friendliness. Columbus is warm in their praise. "They are a very loving race," he informs the sovereigns, "and without covetousness; they are adapted to any use, and I declare to your Highnesses that there is not a better country nor a better people in the world than these. They love their neighbours as they do themselves, and their language is the smoothest and sweetest in the world, being always uttered with smiles. They all, both men and women, go totally naked; but your Highnesses may be assured that they possess many commendable customs; their king is served with great reverence, and every thing is practised with such decency that it is highly pleasing to witness it." "They display," he says, elsewhere, "a frankness and liberality in their demeanour, which no one would believe without witnessing it. No request of any thing from them is ever refused, but they rather invite acceptance of what they possess, and manifest such a generosity, they would give away their own hearts." He set up crosses for their edification, and, from the readiness with which they imitated the Spaniards in making that holy sign, inferred, rather prematurely, that they were ripe and ready for conversion. They willingly gave their guests what gold they had, and still repeated the alluring accounts of islands, richer in the coveted ore, lying still beyond.

A cacique or native chief of high rank, named Guacanagari, had dispatched an embassy of welcome to the strangers, and had enter-

tained at his town, with great kindness and hospitality, the messengers sent in return. But while sailing to the residence of this friendly chief, a great misfortune befell the admiral, in the loss of his ship, which, owing to the carelessness of the mariners, ran on a shoal in the night, and by the force of the sea and current, was soon reduced to a wreck. The crews of both vessels were now crowded into the little caravel *Nina*, the only one remaining under his command.

The worthy cacique, with his people, did all he could to alleviate the misfortune. In their light canoes, the Indians unladed the shattered vessel, carrying its contents on shore, and religiously guarding them, even to the smallest article, though in their eyes of inestimable value, for the use of the owners. Guacanagari himself, shedding tears of sympathy, went on board, comforting the admiral for his loss, and generously offering all that he possessed. His people brought in considerable gold, which they readily exchanged for trifles; and the chief, observing the comforting effect of this circumstance on the minds of his guests, assured them that in the mountains abundance of that metal was to be found, at a place which he called *Cibao*, and which Columbus, as a matter of course, concluded could be no other than the long-sought *Cipango*.

So charmed were the crews with the gentleness and kindness of their entertainers, that a number now besought of the admiral permission to remain on the island, rather than voyage to Europe in the crowded caravel. This scheme was approved, and all hands, with the assistance of the natives, set eagerly to work at breaking up the wrecked vessel, and constructing a fortress of its materials. Guns were mounted for its defence, and the admiral bestowed on it the pious title of *La Navidad* or "The Nativity." Thirty-nine volunteers, under command of *Diego de Arana*, composed the garrison, and Columbus gave them strict directions for their conduct, especially enforcing the necessity of just and conciliatory treatment of the natives. The good cacique promised his assistance and protection, and with tears of regret took leave of his departing guests. The little caravel *Nina*, freighted with the momentous tidings of the discovery of a new world, on the 4th of January, 1493, set sail for the shores of the old.

Two days afterwards, while slowly coasting along against baffling winds, to the surprise of Columbus, he saw the *Pinta* coming before an easterly wind. The vessels joined company, and the admiral thought best to accept the excuses of *Pinzon*, who averred that acci-

dent alone had prevented his rejoining the squadron. But, in truth, he had sailed in quest of an island, which he supposed to abound in gold; and had lately been engaged in collecting that metal at Hayti and in kidnapping the Indians. These, however, the admiral compelled him to restore to their homes. In his own vessel, he carried six of the Indians, whom he had induced to accompany him, to instruct as interpreters, as well as for presentation at the court of Spain, as specimens of the inhabitants of the newly-discovered land.

Proceeding along the shore, the returning voyagers anchored in the gulf of Samana, and were presently engaged in combat with the Ciguayans—a bold and warlike race of mountaineers, whose arrows and heavy swords of palm-wood indeed proved of no avail against the steel and fire-arms of the Spaniards. They were put to flight and two of them were wounded—"and thus were spilt the first drops of that vast ocean of blood, which for three centuries has been poured out by the unhappy aborigines of all America, as a libation to the cruelty and avarice of the European races." Despite this untoward commencement of their acquaintance, peace and friendliness were speedily restored between the combatants; and the Indian chief, having visited the ship, pleased with his entertainment, presented to Columbus his coronet of gold—a token of royal generosity, with which Guacanagari had already complimented his visitor.

CHAPTER IV.

THE VOYAGE TO SPAIN.—PERIL FROM TEMPESTS.—REFLECTIONS OF COLUMBUS.—PERFIDIOUS CONDUCT OF A PORTUGUESE.—COLUMBUS ARRIVES AT LISBON.—MORTIFICATION OF KING JOHN.—THE ARRIVAL AT PALOS.—DEATH OF PINZON.—SPLENDID RECEPTION OF THE ADMIRAL AT COURT.—HONORS CONFERRED ON HIM.—HIS SECOND VOYAGE.—GREAT EXCITEMENT.—DISCOVERY OF DOMINICA, GUADALOUPE, PORTO RICO, ETC.—ADVENTURES WITH THE CANNIBALS.

On the 16th of January the vessels again set sail, but, until the commencement of the following month, were delayed by adverse winds. They then, for a time, made good headway, but on the 14th of February, in a tremendous storm, the Pinta was lost sight of, and all the nautical skill of Columbus, equal to that of any man of his day, was required to keep his little open craft alive in the tempestuous seas of the Atlantic. Many pious vows and penances were undertaken—one being that, at the first land they touched, the admiral and all the company, barefooted and in their shirts, should go to offer up prayers to the Holy Virgin. That the tidings of his grand discovery might by chance survive, if the vessel should founder, Columbus now wrote briefly two accounts of his voyage, one of which, imbedded in wax, he placed in a barrel and flung overboard—the other, secured in like manner, he placed on the stern, that it might float off, when the vessel should be engulfed by the waves.

His natural grief at the prospect of such an obscure and dreary end to his noble achievements and still grander anticipations, was heightened by the lamentations of his crew, and the remembrance, as he simply states, of the threats and menaces by which he had compelled them to complete the voyage. "I could have supported this evil fortune," he piously writes to his patrons, "with less grief, had my person alone been in jeopardy, since I am a debtor for my life to the Supreme Creator, and have at other times been within a step of death. But it was a cause of infinite sorrow and trouble to think that, after having been illuminated from on high with faith

and certainty to undertake this enterprise; after having victoriously achieved it, and when on the point of convincing my opponents, and securing to your highnesses great glory and vast increase of dominion, it should please the divine majesty to defeat all by my death.

* * * * * And although, on the one hand, I was comforted by a faith that the Deity would not permit a work of such great exaltation to his church, wrought through so many troubles and contradictions, to remain imperfect; yet, on the other hand, I reflected on my sins, for which he might intend as a punishment that I should be deprived of the glory which would redound to me in this world."

On the 15th, during the continuance of the gale, the tempest-tossed caravel finally made land; and, three days afterwards, was enabled to anchor under the lee of St. Mary's, the most southern of the Azore islands. Great curiosity was excited by her arrival, and the Portuguese governor dispatched presents and courteous messages to the admiral, though with treacherous and malignant intent. This presently appeared; for half the crew, while performing their pious vow in a chapel of the virgin, were set upon by a rabble route of the islanders, horse and foot, headed by that functionary himself, who, however, was grievously disappointed at not getting possession of the person of Columbus. It was not until the 23d that the latter could regain his men; and on the following day, wounded at this ungenerous reception at the hands of civilized men, (so different from that of his kindly entertainers the savage Haytians,) he again got under way, and steered for Spain.

On the 4th of March, 1493, the little craft, preserved amid so many perils, entered the mouth of the Tagus. The greatest curiosity and excitement immediately prevailed. The river was covered with boats; and King John, aware of the magnitude of the achievement, received the discoverer with high honours, though secretly devoured with chagrin at the remembrance of the perfidy by which he had forfeited his own claim to the splendid prize now rescued from the depth of the ocean. Rejecting a proposal for the assassination of Columbus, suggested by his more unprincipled advisers, he resolved forthwith to dispatch a powerful force to anticipate Spain in the seizure of the tempting lands just brought to light.

On the 15th, Columbus once more cast anchor in the port of Palos, whence a little more than seven months before he had taken his departure on this most eventful of voyages. The whole com-

munity was entranced with joy; the bells were rung, and a solemn procession was made to the church. In the midst of these rejoicings, the Pinta reëntered the harbour. Pinzon, who had touched at Bayonne, and thence, with the air of a great discoverer, had dispatched his tidings to the court, was filled with consternation when he beheld the vessel of his commander, which he had supposed swallowed up in the ocean, riding safely in the harbour. He kept in private, and in a few days died of a broken heart, his end being hastened by a reproachful letter which he received from the sovereigns. Such was the melancholy fate of a man whose daring, liberality, and enterprise so materially contributed to the discovery of the New World, but all whose high qualities, by treachery and insubordination, missed of the renown to which they would otherwise have been justly entitled.

The court of Spain, filled with exultation at the magnificent tidings, summoned the successful adventurer to Barcelona; and, having commenced his preparations for a second voyage, he journeyed thither through roads beset by crowds of curious and admiring gazers. A great multitude, headed by nobles and cavaliers, went forth from the city to meet him; and as he passed in triumphal procession through the streets, all gazed with intense curiosity on the trophies of the unknown world—on coronets and ornaments of gold, the gift of Indian kings—on the gay birds from the forests of the Antilles—on the tawny natives of the new land—and most eagerly on the majestic person of the great discoverer, already venerable with years, and of a presence and demeanour whose natural nobility seemed adequate to the magnitude and grandeur of his achievement.

The sovereigns, in a great public assembly, rose from their thrones to receive him—an honour, in that proud and punctilious court, accorded only to royal visitors. In an eloquent and touching narrative, he recounted his adventures, and all present, moved to tears by the extraordinary occasion, fell on their knees and returned thanks to God, while a thrilling *Te Deum*, chanted by the royal choir, went up to Heaven.

The most splendid acknowledgment of his services was now made by the grateful sovereigns to their long-neglected *protégé*. In addition to the high honours and dignities already acquired by his success, he was allowed to quarter the royal arms with his own, and to add a group of islands surrounded by the waves, with the magnificent legend:

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CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,

THE DISCOVERER OF AMERICA.

BORN NEAR GENOA ABOUT 1451; DISCOVERED THE WEST INDIES, OCTOBER 12, 1492;
DISCOVERED SOUTH AMERICA, AUGUST 1, 1498; DIED MAY 20, 1506.

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"POR CASTILLA Y POR LEON
NUEVO MUNDO HALLO COLON."*

Throughout Europe, the intelligence of his wonderful achievement was received with the highest rapture and exultation—nor could a spirit like his have desired a fitter reward than in the generous tears of joy and enthusiasm which men of learning and eminence are reported to have shed on hearing of the wonderful result. In England, says a contemporary, at the court of Henry VII., the whole affair was commonly considered "a thing rather divine than human." The real grandeur and importance of the discovery, indeed, as yet, were not even conjectured, and all this exultation appears to have been founded on the practical demonstration of the roundness of the earth, and the fact that its complete survey and connection were within the compass of the means of civilization.

The court of Spain exhibited unwonted eagerness and activity in the task of securing and extending its new possession. The pope, at the instance of his faithful allies, the Sovereigns, issued a bull, confirming to them full possession of all the territories which they might discover any where beyond a hundred leagues westward from the Azores. The Portuguese, by a previous instrument, were already invested with unlimited right of discovery and conquest to the eastward; and too persevering a search in the allotted directions, in due time, brought the rival nations into contact on the opposite side of the globe. John, indeed, at this very time, had fitted out a powerful armament, intended to anticipate Spain in the seizure of the new Indies; but negotiation finally appeared his better policy, and after an infinity of intrigue and attempted circumvention, the matter was settled for a time by removing the line of partition to three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Azores.

Columbus, aided by a royal commission, was now intently engaged in fitting out a second expedition, on a scale commensurate with the importance of the discoveries already made, and the sanguine anticipation of achievements still more brilliant and successful. For this purpose, he was invested with almost unlimited control over the persons and property of the subjects. But this arbitrary enforcement, which had well-nigh proved fruitless, when the first grand enterprise depended on its efficiency, was now needless for the furtherance of

* "For Castile and for Leon
Columbus found a New World."

an undertaking already so prosperously begun. The only difficulty was in selecting from the host of ardent volunteers, who, moved by cupidity for wealth, ambition for fame, or zeal for conversion, thronged eagerly to join their fortunes to the enterprise. "Hereupon," says Galvano, "there grewe such a common desire of trauaille among the Spanyards that they were ready to leape into the sea to swim, if it had been possible, to those new found parts."

With remarkable promptitude, seventeen vessels were equipped, and loaded with materials for the foundation of a colony. Twelve pious ecclesiastics were provided for the conversion of the natives—an object deeply at heart with the benevolent Isabella. It had been intended that only a thousand persons should embark in the expedition; but by stealth, importunity, or favour, at least fifteen hundred got on board. The multitudes of disappointed applicants who thronged the shores and watched the departing sails, regarded them as the most fortunate of mortals. On the 25th of September, 1493, with all his honours confirmed and augmented, and with the happiest auspices of success, Columbus set sail, with favourable breezes from the harbour of Cadiz. The commencement of this voyage, and the busy days which preceded it, were undoubtedly the happiest of his life. For one brief interval, the brilliant sunshine of prosperity shone fairly on a life clouded, almost throughout its duration, by persecution, misfortune, or neglect.

At the Canary islands, with a provident forethought, which added greatly to the future wealth and comforts of the New World, the admiral took on board a variety of live stock, and a quantity of the most useful plants and seeds; and then, on the 13th of October, once more launched forth into the Atlantic, now by his genius and boldness for ever divested of its ancient imaginary terrors. The wind was propitious and the fleet sped rapidly westward—keeping a course, however, rather more to the southward than in the former voyage, with a view to effecting fresh discoveries on its way. On Sunday, the 3d of November, the lofty peaks of Dominica (so named in honour of its discovery on the Lord's Day,) were hailed with shouts of exultation. With a gentle breeze, the fleet swept onward into that splendid archipelago, whose summer islands unite every beauty and variety of tropical and mountainous scenery. One of these, at which the admiral touched, is still called Marigalante, after the name of his ship.

On the 4th, he landed at Guadaloupe, where the natives fled in alarm

from the footsteps of the white men, leaving their villages deserted. In their huts, which were neat and comfortable, the Spaniards found various ingenious implements, and to secure the good-will of the fugitives, bound hawk's-bells and other trinkets upon the children, which, in their hasty flight, had been left behind. The visitors, however, ere long, were horrified at discovering numerous human remains, such as skulls converted into drinking vessels and other domestic utensils. "Our men," says a contemporary, "found in their houses all kinds of earthen vessels, not much unlike unto ours. They found also in their kytchens, mans flesh, duckes flesh, & goose flesh, all in one pot, and other on the spits ready to be layd to the fire. Entering into their inner lodgings, they found faggottes of the bones of mens armes and legges, which they reserue to make heades for their arrowes, because they lack iron, the other bones they cast away when they have eaten the flesh. They found likewise the head of a yong man fastened to a post, and yet bleeding." These people were the Caribs, a fierce race of cannibals, of whom the Spaniards had heard on the former voyage, and from whom the islands and the adjacent sea still take their name. The accounts of their enormities were received with lively interest in Europe, as confirming the reality of cannibalism, which by many had been supposed a mere figment of poetry, engendered in the lively imaginations of the ancient Greek writers.

At this island the fleet was detained for several days, awaiting the return of nine mariners, who had straggled into the woods, and did not regain the ships until half starved. Weighing anchor on the 10th, the admiral stood for Hispaniola, discovering numerous islands on the way. At Santa Cruz, some of his people became engaged in a fight with a party of Caribs, who, in a canoe, defended themselves with the utmost desperation, killing one of their assailants. The chief person was an Indian queen, of extraordinary courage and fierceness, who, with her son, ("a young man strongly made, of a terrible and frowning countenance, and a Lion's face,") was finally made prisoner. "When they were brought into the admirall's shippe," proceeds the old narrative, "they did no more put off their fiercenes and cruell countenances than do the Lions of Lybia when they pereeue themselues to bec bound in chaynes. There is no man able to behold them, but he shall feele his bowells grate with a certayne horroure, nature hath endued them with so terrible menacing and cruell aspect."

CHAPTER V.

ARRIVAL OF THE FLEET AT HAYTI.—THE DESTRUCTION OF LA NAVIDAD.—CITY OF ISABELLA FOUNDED.—EXPEDITIONS TO THE INTERIOR.—SUFFERINGS AND DISCONTENT OF THE COLONISTS.—EXPEDITION OF COLUMBUS TO THE WEST.—DISCOVERY OF JAMAICA.—INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES.—TEDIOUS COASTING ALONG CUBA.—SUSPOSED TO BE A PORTION OF ASIA.—EXTRAORDINARY PROCESS.—THE RETURN VOYAGE.

STILL keeping north-west, the fleet discovered and touched at the beautiful island of Boriquen or Porto Rico, and after making further discoveries, by the 22d arrived at the eastern extremity of Hayti. The Indians came off to the ships with their accustomed confidence and friendliness; but terrible misgivings were soon awakened by the discovery of several bodies decaying on the shore, one of which, from its beard, was evidently that of a Spaniard. On the 27th, in the evening, the voyagers arrived off La Navidad, and fired cannon as a signal to their friends on shore. No salute was given in reply, and all on board remained in a state of grievous suspense, until the arrival of messengers from Guacanagari, during the night, confirmed their worst apprehensions.

After the departure of Columbus, it would appear, the turbulent and mutinous spirits, whom he had left behind, soon abandoned all restraint, quarrelled with each other, and maltreated the Indians. Eleven of them, athirst for the possession of treasure, had set out for the golden region of Cibao, a region ruled by the fierce Carib Caonabo, who had obtained the sovereignty of that province, and was an object of terror to all the surrounding chieftains. Jealous of the intrusion, he had massacred the adventurers, and then, joining his forces to those of a neighbouring cacique, had stealthily marched to the attack of the fortress. The garrison, surprised in the dead of night, after a vain resistance, were slaughtered to a man; and the village of Guacanagari, who faithfully stood by his guests, was burned to the ground. These disastrous tidings were confirmed by the scene, which the morning light revealed to the eyes of the Spaniards. The fortress lay in ruins, and the Indian village in ashes. Guacanagari was found

suffering from a wound received in the contest, and shed tears over the misfortunes of his allies and his people. Several of the latter were wounded, evidently by Indian weapons.

Despite these confirmatory circumstances, many of the Spaniards doubted the truth of the tale, and insisted that Guacanagari himself had shared in the destruction of his visitors. Father Boyl, the chief of the friars, advised his immediate execution. But Columbus, believing him innocent, exchanged presents with their accustomed friendliness and invited him aboard ship. The chieftain and his people were again filled with amazement at the new and marvellous productions of the old world, or, as they still supposed, of the distant realms of heaven; and gazed with especial wonder on the horses, now for the first time beheld by Indian eyes. But he saw that to many he was an object of suspicion and hostility, and by refusing to wear the cross, he increased the ill-will of the more fanatical. Soon afterwards, he retreated into the mountains, taking with him some Indian women, whom the Spaniards had captured on their way, and whom he succeeded in enticing from the ships.

Leaving this ill-omened neighbourhood, on the 7th of December, the governor weighed anchor, and proceeded in quest of a more favourable location for his settlement. About ten leagues east of the lofty promontory which he named Monte Christi, adverse winds compelled him to put into a harbor. The place presented great natural advantages, as well for building as fortification. Two rivers flowed into it, and the golden mountains of Cibao lay but a moderate distance in the interior. Here, therefore, he determined to lay the foundations of a city, and, in honour of his magnanimous patroness, to name it Isabella. All hands, accordingly, were speedily busied in the work of disembarking stores and materials for building; streets and squares were laid out; a church, a public magazine, and a house for the governor, were constructed of stone; and numerous wooden buildings, for the shelter of the settlers, were speedily erected.

But the change of climate and unaccustomed toil soon wrought their work on the frames of this over-sanguine multitude. Columbus himself was prostrated with illness; but in some measure to satisfy the disappointed expectants of immediate wealth, resolved to despatch an expedition to the interior, to survey its resources, and to lay open the way to the anticipated region of treasure. Alonzo de Ojeda, a young cavalier distinguished for daring and activity, was put in command of a small force, well armed and resolute, with

which, early in January, 1494, he set forth for the interior. The task of exploration proved difficult from the forests and mountains through which their course lay; but they were received, as usual, with much kindness at the Indian villages, and were elated at finding in the sands of the mountain torrents glittering particles of the coveted ore. Having been absent for a number of days, they returned with encouraging reports.

Reassured by these favourable tidings, Columbus now dispatched to Spain twelve of his vessels, with specimens of the gold and the natural productions of the island, and a number of Caribs whom he had captured in his cruise among the Cannibal Islands. These pagans, he requested, might be instructed in Spanish and Christianity, and thus become useful as missionaries and interpreters among their anthropophagan brethren. Further to promote the work of conversion, he proposed to establish a regular trade with the mother-country, by which live stock might be furnished to the colony in exchange for a regular supply of cannibals, duly to be caught and sent home for their spiritual good and the merely incidental value of their services as slaves. This notable scheme, (by which, it was believed, "a vast number of souls would be snatched from perdition and carried as it were by main force to heaven,") fell through, from the benevolent disapprobation of the queen.

Hardly had the vessels taken their departure, when the impatient colonists, dispirited by work and sickness, and disappointed in their golden hopes, began to exhibit signs of mutiny and a desire to abandon the settlement. A scheme for seizing the ships was detected by the vigilance of the governor. A slanderous memorial against him was found concealed in one of the buoys. The chief ringleader was sent home to Spain, and others were moderately punished; but enmities and resentments were awakened against the admiral, readily obnoxious as a foreigner, which were destined greatly to thwart and embarrass his future undertakings. On recovering from his illness, his energetic spirit at once found employment in the task of exploration. Leaving his brother Diego in command of the town, he set forth, on the 12th of March, with four hundred men, well armed and equipped, for the interior. Crossing the beautiful Vega Real, or Royal Plain, and every where received with wondering curiosity and unbounded hospitality by the Indians, the expedition finally entered the rugged passes of Cibao, or the "Region of Stones," through which the heavy armed soldiers toiled with difficulty, though con-

soled for the hardships of the way by the sight of golden particles glistening amid the sands of the streams. The most flattering accounts were given by the natives of treasures locked up still deeper in the recesses of the mountains—lumps of gold, they said, were to be found as big as an orange, or even as large as the head of a child.

Having marched eighteen leagues, mostly through a rugged and difficult country, Columbus halted his forces, dispatching a small party to make further exploration, and employing the remainder in the erection of a fortress. His scouts brought back favourable reports of the wealth of the country, and leaving fifty-six men, under command of Pedro Margarite, at the new post, he took his way to Isabella, where he arrived after an absence of seventeen days. Here, much to his satisfaction, he found the European plants, which he had committed to the earth, flourishing with remarkable exuberance. Wheat came to perfection in a little more than two months from the sowing, and the sugar canes, destined in these islands, at no distant day, to supply the markets of half the world, had thriven most kindly in the virgin soil and tropical climate of Hayti.

But the influences so benign and propitious to vegetation, were falling with deadly and withering effect on the frames of the colonists, as yet unacclimated to the dangerous atmosphere of the island. Fevers and other tropical maladies prevailed; and that malign disorder, the terror of licentiousness, contracted from the natives, filled the hearts of the Spaniards with a novel affright and dismay. Despite these unfavourable circumstances, the governor pushed on his plans; the work of building and cultivation went forward; but by compelling the hidalgos and cavaliers in his train to share in the labours of the infant settlement, he awakened enmities which exercised an unfavourable influence on his interests at court. Short allowance became necessary, and Father Boyl, with his ghostly confederates, was aggrieved and disgusted at being included in the general order for stinted rations. Many of the unfortunate colonists perished from diseases incident to the climate, aggravated by unaccustomed labour, and by change and insufficiency of diet.

The ill-conduct of the garrison of the inland fortress of St. Thomas soon provoked the enmity of the Indians, and tidings came that the fierce Caonabo was preparing another attack on the invaders of his country. To refresh the colonists by change of air, as well as to over-awe and conciliate the natives, Columbus now prepared a second grand expedition. Ojeda, with four hundred men, was sent to the

fortress, with directions to assume the command, while Margarite, with the army, was to make fresh surveys of the country, visiting the various caciques for the purpose of securing their good-will, as well as displaying the power of the Spaniards. Caonabo and his brothers were, if possible, to be secured, and any injuries committed by the Indians were to be summarily punished; but strict injunctions were given that the natives, in general, should be treated in the mildest and most conciliatory manner, and that no provisions should be taken from them without a proper compensation. But these just and politic instructions were little heeded by the rude spirits once freed from his personal control. The expedition, on the 9th of April, left Isabella.

Eager to pursue his more congenial vocation of maritime discovery, Columbus now delegated his authority as governor to his brother Diego, with a council, and on the 24th of April, 1494, with the *Nina* and two other small caravels, set forth on a new voyage of exploration. Steering to the westward, he soon fell in with Cuba and coasted along its southern shore, enjoying, wherever he landed, the most kind and hospitable treatment from the native inhabitants. A great island, they informed him, lying to the southward, was rich in gold; and therefore, on the 3d of May, he again turned his prow in quest of the ever-fleeting Babeque. The lofty summit of Jamaica soon rose above the horizon, and two days' sailing brought him to its shores. The people of this island, brave and warlike, at first opposed the landing of the strangers, assailing them from their canoes, and hurling their javelins, in great numbers, from the beach. They were put to flight, however, by the superiority of European weapons, and the admiral, landing, took possession of the island, which he named Santiago—a name, indeed, which has proved unable to supplant the beautiful original. The Indians, with their usual placability, were soon on good terms with the victors; and the little squadron, as it coasted along, was continually surrounded with their canoes. One of these, hollowed from a single tree, probably the Ceiba, was ninety-six feet in length, and eight in breadth. These people seemed more ingenious and industrious than any yet seen by the Europeans.

Finding no gold in Jamaica, Columbus again took his way to Cuba, where he found the curiosity and reverence of the natives highly excited by the reports of those who had already met the expedition. They knew of no end, they said, to the land in which they dwelt, and he therefore supposed it to be a portion of the main-

land of Asia. Proceeding westward, he pushed his way, with much danger and difficulty, through the intricate navigation of that beautiful archipelago, which he named the Queen's Garden, and which he supposed to be the same as that described by his favourite author. Finally, gaining the open sea, he again landed, on the 3d of June, and held intercourse with the natives. Their reports confirmed his error, and even inspired his mind with hopes that he was in the neighbourhood of that fabulous potentate, the renowned Prester John, with whom it had been the fruitless aim of so many sovereigns to communicate. With sanguine hopes, he pressed on, meeting the kindest reception from the inhabitants of the coast, who thronged with delight about his vessel. He supposed that by keeping along the shore, he should, ere long, arrive at the Gulf of the Ganges and the Arabian Sea, and thence pass to the straits of Babel-mandel. He even conceived the daring project, with his little fleet of open vessels, of coasting around Africa, triumphing over the rival Portuguese, and enrolling his name as the first circumnavigator of the globe.

But this splendid design, had his theory been correct, must have fallen through from the inefficient state of his command. The earavels were wretchedly leaky and sea-worn. His provisions had nearly given out. The navigation had again become perilous, and intricate in the extreme, the coast consisting of low swamps and vast thickets of mangroves, and being covered, far and near, with shoals and archipelagos of innumerable islands. The crews, worn out by toil and exposure, earnestly remonstrated against proceeding further. Columbus reluctantly admitted the necessity of return; but to authenticate his supposed ascertainment of the locality, took a singular precaution. Being, it is supposed, somewhere near the Bay of Philippina, all hands were solemnly questioned, before a notary public, as to their opinion of the coast they had surveyed. Prompted by a desire for return, and probably placing implicit faith in the judgment of their commander, the whole command, including several experienced geographers and navigators, unanimously concluded, that the land they had so long followed was no other than the coast of Asia; and the notary proclaimed grievous penalties against any who should afterwards recant his opinion.

At the time of this extraordinary process, Columbus was so near the western extremity of the island, that two or three days' sail would have brought him to the Gulf of Mexico. To the day of his death, he firmly

believed that Cuba was the eastern projection of the continent of Asia. On the 13th of June, he turned his prow to the eastward, and ere long discovered the Isle of Pines, which he named Evangelista. The return voyage, retarded by storms and contrary winds, occupied three months, during which much friendly intercourse was held with the natives of Cuba and Jamaica. It was not until the last of September that the squadron regained Isabella; Columbus, exhausted by five months of continual anxiety, watching and exposure, being carried ashore completely insensible, and apparently at the point of death.

CHAPTER VI.

MISCONDUCT OF THE SPANIARDS IN HAYTI.—HOSTILITIES OF THE INDIANS —THEIR DEFEAT AND ENSLAVEMENT.
—INJURIOUS TREATMENT OF COLUMBUS.—APPOINTMENT OF AGUADO.—THEIR RETURN TO SPAIN.

DURING the protracted absence of their commander, the mutinous colonists, relieved from the weight of his personal authority, had fallen into much license and anarchy. Margarite, instead of fulfilling the duties of his important mission, by visiting the caciques, conciliating the doubtful and overawing the inimical, had only sought the gratification of his own self-importance and licentiousness. His people were not slow to follow his example; and the natives, with alarm and disgust, beheld their provisions, their little stock of gold, and their women, forcibly wrested from them by those whom, so little time before, they had welcomed as visitors from the celestial regions. Diego Columbus, wanting sufficient energy, had been unable to repress these disorders; and finally Margarite and Father Boyl, having plunged the whole colony into trouble, seized certain of the ships, and, with their faction, dreading the return of the admiral, left hastily for Spain. The army, abandoned by its leader, roved through the country, committing all manner of outrages on the Indians, and exciting their implacable enmity against the Europeans.

The island of Hayti, at this time, was divided into five native principalities or kingdoms, each ruled by a separate cacique, to whom all inferior chieftains in his district paid submission. That of Marien,

in the northern part of the island, and surrounding the settlement of Isabella, was held by Guacanagari, the former friend of Columbus. Over the beautiful Vega Real, or Royal Plain, the richest portion of the island, ruled a powerful chief called Guarionex. The province of Xaragua, including the lake of that name, in the west, was governed by Behechio. Cotubanama held sway over the territory of Higüey, in the east, and the dreaded Caonabo ruled over Maguana, including the golden mountains of Cibao. The population of the island is said, perhaps with exaggeration, to have amounted to a million of souls.

Those people, though, for the most part, placable and unwarlike, now, offended by repeated injuries, had commenced reprisals; and though not venturing on any open attack, had cut off stragglers, in one instance to the number of ten, and otherwise harassed the intruders. Caonabo alone, deeming the time propitious, and remembering his triumph at La Navidad, ventured on overt warfare. He marched, with a great force, against the fortress of St. Thomas, where Ojeda was stationed with only fifty Spaniards; but the latter, strongly fortified, made a gallant defence, and after a siege lasting thirty days, the Indians, weary of the attempt, at last broke up and dispersed to their homes. Their indomitable cacique, still bent on the destruction of the invaders, now applied all his energies to form a general confederacy against the common enemy. All the caciques returned favourable answers, except Guacanagari, who remained faithful to his white allies, and who, in consequence, was exposed to fresh attack and depredation from the neighbouring powers.

Such was the condition of affairs, distracted by domestic sedition and menaced by native hostility, when Columbus, prostrated by dangerous illness, was borne into the harbour of Isabella. The worst consequences might have ensued, but for the circumstance that his brother Bartholomew, a man of stern and energetic character, for many years the sharer of his hopes and disappointments, during his absence, had arrived at the port, in command of a small squadron freighted with supplies. Incapacitated by illness from directing the affairs of the colony, Columbus conferred on this brother the office of Adelantado or lieutenant-governor—an office for which he was eminently qualified, and his appointment to which was clearly within the scope of the admiral's authority—but a measure regarded with deep distrust by the jealous Ferdinand, and doubtless injurious to his interests at the court of Spain.

The new deputy took vigorous measures for the defence of the colony and its restoration to order. A hostile force of the Indians was defeated, with much loss, and a new fortress was erected in the Vega. Cuonabo, the inveterate enemy of the whites, was secured by an extraordinary piece of craft and audacity practised by Ojeda. That redoubted cavalier, with only ten companions, marching for sixty leagues through the forests, suddenly presented himself at the court of the savage chieftain. The latter, charmed with his boldness, received him well, and even agreed to accompany him to the settlement. They set forth, accordingly, with a large force of warriors, and on the way, the wily Spaniard, under pretence of ornament, contrived to fasten on the wrists of his companion a pair of brilliant steel shackles. Having induced the fettered cacique to mount behind him, he gave spurs to his horse, and after a difficult march, succeeded in bringing his prize safely to the settlement. The fierce captive, undaunted by his misfortune, maintained a bold and haughty demeanour, even to the admiral, and boasted of the destruction of La Navidad. Ojeda, indeed, he treated with high respect, admiring, with true savage appreciation, the audacious trick by which he had been entrapped. One of his brothers, a brave and able warrior, resolved to effect his release, raised a force of several thousand men, with which he marched against the Spanish settlement; but these unclad and feebly-armed numbers were unable to withstand the unwonted terrors of cavalry and musketry, and were defeated, with much slaughter, by Ojeda.

In the autumn (1494), much to the relief of the colony, four vessels arrived from Spain, bringing supplies, and also a considerable number of mechanics and husbandmen. On their return, Columbus sent home a considerable quantity of gold, and, in accordance with the barbarous usage of the day, by which all infidels and pagans were held as proper subjects for oppression, five hundred Indian captives, for sale in the slave-market of Seville. To the honour of Isabella, on their arrival, she countermanded the order for their sale, and directed that they should be returned to their homes—dispatching at the same time, unhappily with little effect, strict orders for kind and conciliatory treatment toward the natives in general.

Indignant at the captivity of their fellow-sovereign, all the caciques, except Guacanagari, entered into a fresh and formidable confederacy against the Spaniards. In March, 1495, a great force, sufficient, it was thought, to overwhelm the feeble settlements of the whites,

mustered not far from Isabella. Columbus, now recovered from his illness, with Bartholomew, at the head of only two hundred men, the whole available force of the colony, marched forth to give them battle. The disparity of force was less than might be supposed, for his men were armed to the teeth, after the European fashion, and were provided with horses and bloodhounds—both objects of especial terror to the Indians. He fell in with the ill-arrayed and undisciplined masses of the enemy, near the site of the town of St. Jago; and by a skilful manoeuvre, at once succeeded in throwing them into confusion. A charge of cavalry had its usual effect; and the ferocious bloodhounds, the disgrace of Spanish warfare, springing in their midst, and tearing their half-clad bodies, completed the defeat. Many were slain, and many more made prisoners; and the Indian army, seized with a panic, broke up, and took refuge in the mountains. The power of the confederacy was completely overthrown. Guacanagari, who had taken part with the Spaniards, unable to endure the general hatred of his countrymen, betook himself to a solitary place, where he perished of mortification and remorse.

Nearly the whole island, after this decisive action, submitted to the victors; and Columbus, marching through the country, dictated conditions of peace to the vanquished caciques, severe in the extreme. Fortresses were erected in their several provinces; and to supply the heavy tribute demanded by the conqueror, their people, in effect, were reduced to complete slavery. Each native over the age of fourteen, was compelled to furnish, every three months, a hawk's-bell filled with gold dust—these tinkling toys, which, so little before, had charmed them as the gifts of heaven, being, by a pitiful coincidence, selected as the measure of their toil and enslavement. The admiration which we feel for the genius and the virtues of Columbus is most unpleasantly checked by the remembrance of his severities toward those who had welcomed him with such kindness to their shores, and whose feeble enmity had been excited only by repeated wrong and outrage. He was a man, undoubtedly, in advance of his time in liberality and humanity; but, desirous to substantiate the importance of his discoveries, and to keep up his credit with the court by the transmission of treasure, charged his conscience with the enslavement of a whole people—a light charge, he may have thought, in that day of intolerance and cruelty, when unbelievers were held to have no rights at all, or, if any, only to the dry exchange of their corporal services for the priceless opportunity of conversion.

The careless indolence and the genial dependence on propitious nature, which heretofore had made the happiness of these simple people, was now for ever at an end. Their slender frames, unaccustomed to toil, were exhausted by the weary task of searching the sands of their rivulets for a scanty pittance of gold, or of raising food and cotton for the use of their taskmasters. Vainly hoping, by neglecting these supplies, to induce their oppressors to depart, they finally abandoned their homes and plantations, and took refuge among the mountains. Thither their masters pursued them, to enforce a return to their labours. They wandered from one retreat to another, vainly attempting to elude the vigilance of their merciless pursuers. Many thousands perished of exposure and starvation, and the remainder, despairing of escape, returned, and once more submitted to the commands of their conquerors.

While these affairs were going on, the malcontents who had returned to Spain, filled the ears of the court with clamorous complaints or whispered slanders, fatal to the credit of Columbus. His rights were infringed by permitting others to fit out expeditions in the same direction, and a commissioner was appointed to investigate the affairs of Hispaniola. Juan Aguado, the person intrusted with this delicate mission, and a man whom Columbus had much obliged, set sail with four vessels, freighted with supplies, and in October, 1495, while the governor was absent in the interior, arrived at the port of Isabella. Mindless of former obligations, and eager to exercise his authority, he commenced with indecent haste his task of intermeddling—collecting every species of questionable evidence, and lending a ready ear to the voice of complaint or calumny. Columbus, to avert this hostile influence, prepared to return with the commissioner, to defend his character and his rights in person. Their departure was delayed by a terrific hurricane, which ravaged the island in a fearful manner, and destroyed every vessel in port, except the Nina. This delay was advantageous to the admiral, enabling him to return under the favourable auspices of a valuable discovery. A fugitive from the law, by the favour of an Indian woman, with whom he had taken refuge, discovered rich gold mines on the southern coast, and purchased his pardon with the intelligence. Columbus, having confirmed the truth of the tidings, at once concluded that these were no other than the mines of Ophir, so famous in the days of King Solomon.

The Nina was repaired and a new caravel was built; and on the

10th of March, 1496, Columbus and Aguado, with more than two hundred colonists, desirous of return, set sail in company for Spain. There were also thirty Indians, including Caonabo and his brother. The vessels, detained by head winds, were a whole month in getting to Guadaloupe. They left that island on the 20th of April, and for a month longer tediously beat against the trades. The over-crowded crews, beset by the danger of famine, were put on short allowance, and, but for the stern interposition of Columbus, would have thrown overboard or devoured their unhappy captives. The two chiefs "dyed by the way, for very pensiveness and anguish of minde," and the vessels, on the 10th of June, in miserable plight, entered the bay of Cadiz.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DECLINING FORTUNES OF COLUMBUS.—DIFFICULTY IN FITTING OUT AN EXPEDITION.—SAILS ON HIS THIRD VOYAGE.—THE DISCOVERY OF SOUTH AMERICA.—EXTRAORDINARY THEORY.—COLUMBUS ARRIVES AT HAYTI.—DISORDERS THERE.—THE REBELLION OF ROLDAN.—HOSTILITIES WITH THE INDIANS.—THEIR DEFEAT.

PUBLIC opinion, disappointed in the returns of treasure which it had expected, now, with its usual reaction, had turned against Columbus, and put an inferior estimate on his discoveries. Like a man disposed to humour the caprices of Fortune, or perhaps desirous to propitiate her by humiliation, he now appeared in the homely garb of a Franciscan, girt around with a cord, and his beard long and neglected. His patrons, despite the sinister report of Aguado, received him graciously, and promised that six ships, which he desired for the purpose of extending his explorations, should be placed at his disposal. But the intrigues of his enemies, and the engrossing interests of European ambition, in which the sovereigns were involved, subjected him to repeated disappointment and delay. The king, prejudiced by slanderous reports, and jealous of the great powers he had conferred, began to look coldly on him; but Isabella stood his firm friend, and, as far as she could, protected his interests

against the rapacity of rival aspirants. She even offered to create him duke, with an extensive principality in Hispaniola; but, fearing to excite fresh envy, he declined the tempting proposal.

The difficulty experienced in fitting out the desired expedition, and the reluctance of adventurers to embark, formed a striking contrast with the display of royal favour and popular enthusiasm, which had marked his last departure from the shores of Spain. The intrigues of Fouseca, the superintendent of Indian affairs, and his secret enemy, produced delays intolerable to his eager and adventurous spirit; and the alarm excited by the reports of the disappointed refugees, withheld volunteers from hastily embarking on a doubtful expedition. Arbitrary orders were finally issued for the impressment of vessels and their crews; and to supply the deficiency in the required number of colonists, resort was had to the miserable expedient of embarking convicts and other ill characters for the settlement of the islands. It was not until the 30th of May, 1498, that Columbus, with six vessels, set sail from the port of San Lucar, on his third voyage to the New World.

Touching at the Canaries, he dispatched three of his vessels, freighted with supplies, for the use of the colony, and with the remainder, on the 5th of June, again took his departure, steering south-west, that he might make the shores of Asia (as he supposed), in the neighbourhood of the equator. This course, ere long, led him into that terrible region of heat and dead atmosphere, extending for several degrees on both sides of the line, and known to navigators as "the calm latitudes." It seemed as if the old fables of the torrid zone were to be verified, for, (says an ancient writer) "hee was so vexed with maladies and heate, that his shippes were almost set on fire." The tar boiled from the seams, the casks shrank and fell to pieces, the provisions spoiled, and the crews were withered and prostrated by the heat. By the time he emerged from this baleful region into cooler waters and more favourable breezes, the squadron was in such a condition that it was necessary to seek land as speedily as possible. Accordingly, having steered westward a long time without seeing land, he headed more to the north in search of the Carribean islands. There was only a single cask of water in each vessel, when, on the 31st of July, land was seen from the mast-head.

The admiral had piously resolved to call the first land he should fall in with after the most Holy Trinity; and that before him con-

sisting of three mountainous summits, he regarded the coincidence as a special providence, and accordingly, with much solemnity, bestowed on it the title of La Trinidad—the title which it still retains. The voyagers coasted along this beautiful island, delighted with the scenery, the climate, and the rustic dwellings of men which they perceived on its shores. The natives, a fair and handsome race, came around the ships in their canoes, but could not be induced to venture on board. On the 1st of August, the explorers made what they supposed to be another island, lying south, but which was in reality a part of the South American continent. Passing the dangerous strait which separates the island from the main-land, and which he called "Boca de la Sierpe," (Mouth of the Serpent,) Columbus entered the Gulf of Paria.

As he advanced, the water grew fresher, and he justly concluded that streams so copious as to affect such an expanse of sea could only be the outpouring of a continent. An extraordinary theory now took possession of his mind. The climate, although in a latitude so near the equator, was mild and refreshing—a circumstance for which he could account only by supposing that his ships, under the steady and favourable influence of the trades, had gradually ascended an acclivity leading to a portion of the earth's surface elevated above the rest. The summit of this wonderful eminence approaching the purer region of the heavens, he concluded, could be no other than the original Garden of Eden, the Terrestrial Paradise, sought so long in vain by curious geographers and travellers; and the pure streams around him, freshening the ocean wave, had doubtless flowed from the River of Life, still springing from its fountain by the Tree of Knowledge. This extraordinary theory, (quite in accordance, however, with the genius of the age,) Columbus, in a long and elaborate disquisition, urged upon the court of Spain—fortifying his conclusion with copious extracts from the Scriptures, from the saints and fathers, from the writings of heathen philosophers, and of the learned of his own day.

Sailing westward, he found the sea shallower, and by a light expedition, verified the existence of a continent and of great rivers which it poured into the ocean. The natives, whom he encountered on the northern shore, were fair in appearance, and of a frank and martial demeanour. They received the Spaniards with profound reverence, and readily parted with their ornaments of pearl, which had attracted the cupidity of their visitors. Turning eastward, the admiral passed

out of the gulf by its northern outlet, a narrow and tumultuous strait, to which, on account of its perils, he gave the name of "Boca del Dragón," (Mouth of the Dragon). Soon after, he discovered the islands of Margarita and Cubagua, famous for their pearls, and would doubtless have prosecuted farther his search for the Terrestrial Paradise, but for a painful disease of the eyes, rendering him incapable of observation. Altering his course to the north-west, in five days' sailing, he made the island of Hispaniola, and by the 30th of August, came to the river Ozema, near the lately-discovered gold district. Age, exposure, and constant anxiety, as before, had done their work, and he came into port suffering grievously from a complication of maladies.

During the absence of the governor, his brother Bartholomew, whom he had left in command of the colony, had displayed great energy and judgment in conducting its affairs; but the disorderly elements of which, for the most part, it was composed, had proved too turbulent and refractory even for his vigorous rule. His administration, indeed, commenced auspiciously. He founded the city of St. Domingo, on the Ozema, near the new mines, and skilfully applied himself to developing the resources of the country. He made a visit to Behechio, the powerful cacique of Xaragua, who, with his subjects, received him with much kindness and hospitality. These kindly people left no means untried to cheer and divert their visitors, and for their amusement performed their national games and tournaments, fighting with such spirit, that numbers were slain or wounded. The cacique readily acknowledged the sovereignty of the Spanish authorities, and agreed to pay a large tribute of cotton and other valuable produce; for his country afforded no gold. "There is something exceedingly affecting in the cheerful and generous spirit which these gentle beings always evinced towards their visitors, until driven into resistance by oppression; and the readiness with which they yielded their simple allegiance to the evident superiority of this handful of strangers, proves the ease with which their happiness and the prosperity of the white men might have been reconciled by a humane and considerate policy."

But while the adelantado was absent on this visit, the brutal and rapacious colonists inflicted such oppressions on the unhappy natives, their serfs and tributaries, that, as we have already mentioned, great numbers took refuge in the mountains, hoping, by this abandonment of their labours, to starve the oppressors into departure. Considera-

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ble distress ensued, and Bartholemew, on his return, divided the malecontents among a chain of military posts which he had established, and also removed a considerable number to St. Domingo. Fresh difficulties were soon occasioned by the bigoted cruelty of the priests, who, to avenge the destruction of some images, in a chapel of the virgin, burned alive, after the merciless custom of their age and order, certain of the subjects of Guarionex. That powerful cacique, indignant at this atrocity, set on foot a fresh conspiracy. A general massacre of the Spaniards, to be effected on the day of tribute, was planned, and the Indians of the Vaga, to the number of several thousands, assembled in that beautiful plain. But the adelantado, advised of their scheme, marching by stealth, fell on their quarters in the dead of night, and carried off fourteen of the principal caciques. Two of these were executed, and the Indians, fearing for the others, hastened to submit. Guarionex, in consideration of the great injuries which he had received, was, with politic clemency, pardoned by the victor, and peace, for a time, was restored to the island.

It was much easier, indeed, for the shrewd and vigorous deputy to overawe and conciliate the natives than to maintain authority over the mutinous colonists, by whom he was envied as a foreigner, and to whom the wholesome strictness of his rule had rendered him doubly odious. One Francisco Roldan, a man whom, from the post of a menial in his kitchen, Columbus, discerning his abilities, had raised to the office of alcalde or judge of the island, was the chief mover of sedition. By promises and indulgence, he conciliated a large band of idlers and desperadoes, backed by whom, he set at naught the amiable but feeble rule of Diego, now governor of Isabella. Finally, these reprobates, having broken open the public warehouses of that city, and supplied themselves from the contents, took up their march for Xaragua, where, says an author of the day, with fitting indignation, "this filthy sinke of rebels liued in all kinde of mischiefe, robbing the people, spoyling the countrey, and rauishing both wyues and virgins." The adelantado, having vainly attempted to negotiate with the insurgents, proclaimed them traitors and rebels; but from the inefficiency of the force at his command, was unable to suppress the revolt.

A fresh conspiracy among the Indians, excited by these wretches, soon occupied his attention, and aroused all his energies. Guarionex, his plans disconcerted, took refuge with Mayonabex, chief of the Ciguayans, who joined him in carrying on a harassing and desultory

warfare against the whites. The indefatigable Bartholemew, with a small force, made his way into their almost inaccessible mountain fastnesses, defeating a large body of Indians, who opposed him at the passage of a ford, and who, what with paint and the war-whoop, seemed, says the chronicler, "so many devills incarnat newly broke out of hell." Despite this misfortune, the highland cacique refused to surrender his guest, and when threatened with all the terrors of fire and sword, in event of his obstinacy, replied to the messenger, "Tell the Spaniards that they are bad men, cruel and tyrannical; usurpers of the territory of others, and shedders of innocent blood; I have no desire of the friendship of such men. Guarionex is a good man, he is my friend, he is my guest, he has fled to me for refuge, I have promised to protect him, and I will keep my word." But after a long and harassing warfare, the unfortunate caciques, their villages destroyed by fire, were compelled to take refuge among the cliffs and caves, where, worn out with fatigue and hunger, they were finally captured. Their lives were spared, and the adelantado returned to St. Domingo.

There, after an absence of two years and a half, Columbus, wearied by toil and exhausted by illness, had just arrived. An infinitude of troubles immediately beset him. The vessels, which he had dispatched from the Canaries, touching at Xaragua, had afforded the rebels, by means of artifice, a large supply of arms and munitions, and many of the convicts had joined them. Anxious, at all events, to relieve the settlement of this crew of desperadoes, he offered a free passage to Spain to all who desired it, and invited Roldan, assuring him of safety, to a personal interview. But the latter dispatched an insolent answer; and so widely had disaffection spread, that the governor, on mustering his forces, found but a mere handful of men under his flag. He was therefore compelled to send off his ships without them, but wrote to the court, detailing his discoveries, sending specimens of gold and pearls, and entreating assistance and countenance. The rebels also forwarded a statement of their own, which, backed by men of influence, was highly injurious to his interests at court.

CHAPTER VIII.

TRIUMPH OF THE REBELS.—COLUMBUS RUINED AT COURT.—
 APPOINTMENT OF DOBADILLA.—HIS INSOLENT.—COLUM-
 BUS SENT TO SPAIN IN CHAINS.—SENSATION OF THE
 NATION.—VERBAL REDRESS.—APPOINTMENT OF OVA-
 DO.—FOURTH AND LAST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS TO
 THE NEW WORLD.—DESTRUCTION OF HIS ENEMIES
 BY TEMPEST.—HIS CRUISE ON THE COASTS OF
 HONDURAS, COSTA RICA, ETC.—SEARCH
 FOR A STRAIT.—HIS DISAPPOINTMENT.

PREJUDICED by the representations of his enemies, the sovereigns hesitated to confirm the authority of their governor against the insurgent faction; and he was accordingly compelled to make peace with the rebels on terms dishonourable to his office and to the crown which he represented. Roldan was reinstated in his post of alcalde, and he and his followers, to quiet their rapacity, received large grants of land, of Indian slaves, and other property and privileges. Columbus would now have returned to Spain, to plead in person his rights and interests, but for a vexatious incident arising from their fresh infringement. Alonzo de Ojeda, his former follower, inflamed by the accounts of his late voyage, had been allowed, by the favour of Fonseca, to fit out an expedition in the same direction. With him went Amerigo Vespucci, who by a fraudulent claim (made by himself or others in his name) afterwards succeeded in wresting from the true discoverer the glory of conferring a name on the western continent. This expedition, which sailed in May, 1499, guided by the charts of Columbus, had coasted along the shores of South America, and had discovered the Gulf of Venezuela. Touching at various islands, the rapacious commander had kidnapped a store of slaves, and finally, landing in Hispaniola, continued there the same atrocious pursuit. The craft and audacity of Roldan, whom the governor dispatched against the intruder, compelled him to quit the coast, and, turning his prows to the unprotected islands of the archipelago, he made up his living freight, and carried it to the slave-market of Cadiz.

Hardly was this vexatious affair disposed of, when a new conspir-

ney of the colonists, headed by one Adrian de Moxica, broke out. Columbus, with a few attendants, hastened to the scene, and, coming on the insurgents by night, seized the persons of the ringleaders. Moxica was ordered to be hanged on the summit of Fort Concepcion. Hoping, perhaps, to save his own life, he accused some innocent persons; on which the governor, in one of his rare but uncontrollable fits of anger, commanded him to be flung headlong from the battlements. The whole revolt was repressed with the utmost sternness and promptitude, and Columbus, a part of the insurgents crushed, and the rest conciliated, began to hope for an opportunity to establish the government on a more stable footing.

But numerous and powerful enemies, possessing the ear of the court, were continually undermining his reputation; and troops of discontented vagabonds, shipped from the colony, surrounded the palace, and annoyed its inmates by their clamours for pay, for redress, or for charity. By his pertinacity in enforcing the serfdom of the natives, he had alienated the favour of Isabella, who now ceased to protect his interests; and the jealous Ferdinand, long anxious for a pretext to resume the high dignities which he had unwarily granted, soon found the means to effect his purposes. Columbus had requested that a judge and an umpire, learned in the law, for the purpose of settling disputes, might be sent to the island; and the king, taking advantage of this suggestion, appointed one Francisco Bobadilla, a man of a passionate and vainglorious temper, to this office, providing him with a secret letter, to be produced if the culpability of Columbus should be proved, and conferring on him the supreme authority in the island.

On the 23d of August, 1500, he arrived at the port of St. Domingo, where, to his horror and indignation, he beheld the body of a Spaniard hanging to a gibbet on either bank of the river, being those of certain insurgents, executed by order of the governor. Many others were in prison, and on his entrance into the town, he demanded of Diego Columbus, then in command, that they should be delivered over to himself. The latter refusing, he proceeded to church, where, with prodigious pomposity, he read the secret missive of the sovereigns, and then, with a huge array of malcontents and loiterers, proceeded to the prison. Though no opposition was made, the doughty knight, provided with scaling-ladders and battering implements, made a ridiculous show of taking it by storm, and made seizure of the prisoners with great assumption of importance. He then took

possession of the house of the absent governor, and seized on all his property; "and, in short, conducted himself with all the insolence and rapacity which might be expected from a man of his character, whose elevation to office was dependent on his assertion of the guilt of his predecessor."

Columbus, on hearing of the arrival of Bobadilla, and of certain rash edicts, which, to secure popularity, the latter had issued, wrote a letter of caution to him, supposing that he was imprudently exceeding his powers. The intruder, in reply, asserted the authority he had received, and peremptorily ordered the deposed governor to appear before him. Travelling in a lonely manner, stung to the heart by the ingratitude of his patrons, the injured admiral obeyed; and on his arrival, the vile usurper of his rights, mindless of his age, his dignity, and his great name, ordered him to be ironed like a common felon. This outrage he endured with the calmness of a mind steeled by interior grief against any mere external manifestation of wrong. No word of impatience or resentment escaped him. "Columbus," says his biographer, "could not stoop to deprecate the arrogance of a weak and violent man like Bobadilla. He looked beyond this shallow agent and all his petty tyranny to the sovereigns who employed him. It was their injustice and their ingratitude alone that could wound his spirit; and he felt assured that when the truth came to be known, they would blush to find how greatly they had wronged him." His brothers were also arrested, and all were separately confined on board of different vessels, ignorant of the charges against them, while every species of slanderous complaint and corrupt evidence, afforded by such as had felt the strictness of his rule, was greedily received by the new governor.

In October, 1500, manacled like the vilest of culprits, the most faithful and eminent servant of the Spanish crown was sent home from the island which he had discovered and the city he had founded. The vessel once out at sea, the commander, a man of honour and feeling, would have taken off his irons; but the admiral refused to allow him. "Their majesties," he said, with sternness and gravity, "commanded me by letter to submit to whatever Bobadilla should order in their name; by their authority he has put upon me these chains; I will wear them until they shall order them to be taken off, and I will preserve them afterwards as relics and memorials of the reward of my services." It is said that afterwards they were always

seen hanging in his cabinet; and he charged that when he died they should be buried with him in the grave.*

The vessel came into Cadiz, and these disgraceful facts were soon universally known. The nation was shocked and indignant, and the court, eager to rescue itself from obloquy, wrote to Columbus at once, deploring the unhappy results of their mission (which, indeed, they had not anticipated), and inviting him honourably to court. Accordingly, he appeared, with much state and dignity, before the sovereigns at Granada, and was received with the highest consideration. Isabella was moved to tears, and on beholding them, his own fortitude, which unshaken had withstood such rude assaults, gave way, and he fell on his knees before her, speechless from weeping and emotion. Recovering himself, he entered on an eloquent vindication of his character, and the justice of his administration. He had already written to a friend at court, defending his past career and exposing the injustice of his treatment: "I have been much aggrieved," proceeds this forcible document, "that a person should be sent out to investigate my conduct, who knew that if the inquest sent home should be of a grave nature, he would remain in the government. * * * * * I have been judged as a governor who had been sent to take charge of a well-regulated city, under the dominion of long-established laws, where there was no danger of every thing running to disorder and ruin; but I ought to be judged as a captain, sent to subdue a numerous and hostile people, of manners and religion opposite to ours, living, not in regular towns, but in forests and mountains. It ought to be considered that I have brought all these under subjection to their majesties, giving them dominion over another world, by which Spain, heretofore poor, has suddenly become rich. Whatever errors I may have fallen into, they were not with an evil intention."

This forcible appeal was not without effect on the minds of the

* In a letter to the sovereigns, considered authentic, written from the scene of his shipwreck in Jamaica, he assigns a singular reason for this resolve. "Alas!" he exclaims, "piety and justice have retired to their habitations above, and it is a crime to have undertaken and performed too much. * * * O blessed Mother of God, that compassionates the miserable and oppressed, why did not cruel Bobadilla kill me when he robbed me and my brother of our dearly-purchased gold, and sent us to Spain in chains without trial, crime, or shadow of misconduct? These chains are all the treasures I have, and they shall be buried with me, if I chance to have a coffin or grave; for I would have the remembrance of so unjust an action perish with me, and for the glory of the Spanish name, be eternally forgotten."

sovereigns. They promised that Bobadilla should be dismissed from office, and that his honours and dignities, ere long, should be fully restored to Columbus. But this engagement, it is probable, Ferdinand, at least, never intended to fulfil.

The value of his discoveries, and the immense powers which their rule conferred on him, were becoming every day more apparent. Private expeditions, dispatched in infringement of his rights, had demonstrated the existence of immense territories lying in the western ocean. Nino, one of his pilots, in 1499, sailing in a small caravel, had voyaged along much of the northern coast of South America, and had brought home a rich treasure of pearls and gold. Vicente Pinzon, in January of the following year, had crossed the line, made further surveys, and had discovered the mighty river Amazon. Sebastian Cabot, in his voyage of 1497, had ascertained the existence of an extensive continent at the north; and the Portuguese Cabral, sailing for India by the easterly route, had accidentally fallen in with Brazil. All these regions, and those discovered by Columbus himself, were, however, still regarded as portions of the coast of Asia or its contiguous islands. The interests of Spain in this newly-found world were regarded by the jealous king, despite his solemn affirmations, as too vast to be entrusted to the fidelity of a single subject.

He promised the admiral that if he would wait for two years, until the troubles of the colony should be quieted by some officer acceptable to all, he should, at the end of that time, be fully reinstated in all his powers and dignities. With this deceitful assurance Columbus was compelled to appear satisfied; and Nicholas de Ovando, a man of agreeable manners and of some ability, but mean, rapacious, and cruel in the extreme, was appointed to the supreme command (already, by solemn contract, assured to Columbus) over all lands and islands discovered by Spanish subjects in the New World. It was trusted that by his prudence and authority, and the extraordinary outfit which was prepared, he might remedy the disorders produced by the mal-administration of Bobadilla, under whose brief but unprincipled rule, the licentious colonists had plunged in various excesses, and exercised the cruellest tyranny toward the unhappy natives. On the 13th of February, 1501, with thirty sail, carrying twenty-five hundred persons, many of them men of rank and distinction, and bearing the germ of negro slavery, (destined, at a future day, to be the ruin of the island,) Ovando sailed for Hispaniola.

In a terrible storm, which arose just after his departure, one of his ships, with an hundred and twenty souls, was swallowed up. The shores of Spain were strewed with articles thrown overboard by the rest; and the sovereigns, in anguish at the supposed loss of the expedition, shut themselves up for many days, incapable of consolation. But the remainder of the fleet, réassembling at the Canaries, held on their course, and in the month of April, arrived at St. Domingo.

The restless spirit of Columbus, defrauded, for a time, of its congenial career, endeavoured vainly to engage his patrons in a crusade for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre; and failing in this, turned to a scheme more honourable, useful, and suitable to his genius—a scheme for fresh and brilliant discovery. The Portuguese, after many futile attempts, had at last succeeded in reaching India, by doubling Africa, and the value and importance of the newly-opened channel of trade, excited emulation in all rival maritime nations. The admiral by this time, had come to the conclusion, that South America was a main-land by itself, lying off the shores of Asia, much in the same manner as the insular continent of Australia does in reality. Cuba he still firmly held to be a portion of the great Eastern Continent; and the impetuous current which flows between them, could issue, he considered, from no other source than the Indian Sea, which discharged its waters into the Atlantic by a strait somewhere in the neighbourhood of what is now known as the isthmus of Darien. This strait, opening, as he supposed, a direct communication with the golden shores of the Orient, he proposed to discover and explore; and the sovereigns, the precedent for infringing his grants now fully established, willingly lent their countenance to a project for extending their dominions and increasing their wealth, conducted by a man whom experience had shown them to be, of all others, most fitted to the undertaking. He was accordingly permitted to fit out an expedition, and take with him his son Fernando and his brother Bartholomew; and interpreters, learned in Arabic, were provided to assist in his expected negotiations with the Khan. But the intrigues of his enemies, and especially of Fonseca, as usual, greatly retarded his preparations; and it was not until the 9th of May, 1502, that, at the age of sixty-six, with a frame broken by hardship and exposure, and a mind depressed by ingratitude and persecution, he set sail from Cadiz, on the last of his voyages of discovery.

Four small caravels and one hundred and fifty men composed his

command. On the 25th he left the Canaries, and after touching at the Caribbee islands, arrived at St. Domingo, where he trusted to replace one of his vessels, which was nearly unfit for use. But the jealous Ovando, dreading his presence, and fulfilling the selfish commands of the sovereigns, ordered him out of the harbour. On this, Columbus, whose maritime experience foretold the approach of a hurricane, entreated the governor at least to delay the sailing of the fleet, which was ready to return to Spain. His warning was unheeded, and he hastened to take refuge in some lonely harbour of the coast. The fleet sailed, and a fearful tempest arose, in which many of the vessels were lost, including the principal ship, in which were Roldan and Bobadilla, with the captive Guarionex, and a great amount of treasure, extorted from the sufferings of the Indians. Only one vessel was able to continue the voyage to Spain.

Narrowly escaping shipwreck, the admiral, in July, resumed his voyage in search of the supposed strait, and steering south-west, on the 30th of that month discovered the small island of Guanaja, near the coast of Honduras. Here he fell in with an immense canoe, which had probably come from Yucatan, filled with Indians, who had many ingenious utensils of copper, &c., and who indicated to him a route, which, if followed, would soon have led him to the wealthy provinces lying westward of the Gulf of Mexico. Eager, however, to discover the supposed strait, he passed over to the continent, and doubling Cape Honduras, stood eastward along the coast, receiving from the natives much kindness and hospitality. For forty days a succession of storms and head-winds retarded the squadron, slowly struggling to the east, and it was not until the 14th of September that it rounded Cape Gracias a Dios (so named in gratitude for the final success of the attempt) and stood southward along the Mosquito coast.

Along this coast the admiral kept for sixty leagues, losing, by the conflict of stream and tide, a boats' crew in what he called "The River of Disaster," and on the 25th of September, anchored his little fleet, shattered by tempests, in a convenient harbour, between an island and the mainland. A friendly intercourse with the Indians at this place was interrupted by the superstition of both parties—the natives supposing that a notary public, who was ordered to take down their replies, was a magician weaving a spell against them; while a fragrant powder which they burned to dispel the supposed baneful effect of his incantations alarmed the Spaniards in turn, who

supposed themselves bewitched, and attributed all their ill luck and the storms they had encountered to some Indian enchantment. Columbus, in his dispatches, describes the people of this place (Cariari) as great enchanters, and particularly states that two girls, who came aboard his ship, had a magic powder concealed about their persons. This strange bit of prejudice was not confined to the age or the nation of Columbus and his people. A century later, we find honest John Davis, voyaging among the Esquimaux, thanking God that no harm had come of their diabolical spells; and later still, a similar apprehension prevailed among the settlers of New England.

Following the shore of Costa Rica, early in October, Columbus anchored in the great bay of Carnabaco, which he entered by a channel still called "Boca del Almirante," (Mouth of the Admiral). Abundance of gold, much of it in large plates, was found among the natives, and was readily yielded by them in exchange for European trifles. His people would gladly have remained to pursue this lucrative traffic, but the commander, intent on his projected discovery, kept on, sailing along the coast of Veragua, and finding gold plentiful, wherever he landed. Encouraged by the delusive and misunderstood reports of the Indians, he now fancied that he was on the long-eluding track to Asian civilization. A kingdom to the westward which they described in glowing terms, was probably the distant empire of Peru; but Columbus, who, for a man so practical, had certainly the greatest imagination of his time, understood them as specifying fleets, cavalry, and artillery, and confirming his faith in the vicinity of the Ganges and the everlasting Khan. On the 2d of November, he came to anchor in that beautiful harbour on which he bestowed the name of Porto Bello. Soon after, he made Cape Nombre de Dios, where adverse winds and tempestuous weather again forbade his advance. The crews were worn out with contending against continual storms, and the ships were so leaky, from the ravages of worms, that it seemed impossible to keep them afloat much longer. He felt compelled therefore, for the time, to relinquish the hope of effecting that grand discovery which should revive his fame and throw a halo around his old age and declining fortunes. The prows were turned for the golden shores of Veragua, and thus, in the elegant language of Mr. Irving, "ended the lofty anticipations which had elevated Columbus above all personal interests; which had made him regardless of hardships and perils; and had given a heroic character to the early part of his voyage. It is true he had

been in pursuit of a mere chimera, but it was the chimera of a splendid imagination and a penetrating judgment. If he was disappointed in his expectation of finding a strait through the isthmus of Darien, it was because nature herself had been disappointed; for she appears to have attempted to make one, but to have attempted in vain."

CHAPTER IX.

DISASTROUS ATTEMPT TO FOUND A SETTLEMENT.—HOSTILITIES WITH THE INDIANS.—THE VESSELS FINALLY STRANDED ON THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA.—EXTRAORDINARY DEVICE OF COLUMBUS.—MUTINY OF HIS FOLLOWERS.—TREACHERY OF OVANDO.—RESCUE OF THE CREWS.—ATROCITIES COMMITTED ON THE NATIVES OF HAYTI.—RETURN OF COLUMBUS TO SPAIN.—HIS TREATMENT.—HIS DEATH.—DISPOSAL OF HIS REMAINS.

INVOLVED in fresh tempests, the sea-worn squadron laboured back, and in January, 1503, arrived near the river of Veragua. Much gold was collected from the natives, and Bartholomew, with sixty-eight men, explored the country, which he reported to be rich in the precious metal. In this inviting region, which he supposed to be the Aurea Chersonesus of the ancients, Columbus resolved to found a settlement. The erection of a fortress and of dwellings was commenced with much energy, and eighty of the company were selected as colonists. This promising scheme, however, by the cunning of the natives, was presently disconcerted, with much loss and embarrassment.

Quibia, the cacique of the country, a brave, fierce, and powerful chieftain, had at first treated the intruders with civility, expecting their speedy departure. But on seeing these preparations for a permanent establishment in his territories, he resorted to hostilities, and, though once captured and twice defeated, succeeded in killing ten of the Spaniards, and holding the remainder of the settlement, for nine days, in a state of alarming siege and distress—the tempestuous weather, during that time, preventing the admiral from landing with

rëinforcements. The remainder of the colony, with much danger and difficulty, was finally rëembarked, and Columbus, leaving one of his caravels rotting in the river, put to sea with the others, and made his way to Porto Bello. There another, riddled by the worms, was abandoned, and with the crews crowded into the two remaining vessels, now little better than wrecks, he steered for Hispaniola. After long tossing about in renewed tempests, finding that they could not be kept afloat much longer, he ran for the nearest land, and on the 24th of June made a harbour of Jamaica, still called "Don Christopher's Cove." He ran the vessels aground, and they soon filled with water to the decks. Houses were built upon them as a shelter for the crews, and a defence against attack, and the neighbouring caïques were induced to promise a regular supply of provisions.

To escape, indeed, from this solitary isle of the sea, lying far from the track even of the few and unrequented voyages to Hispaniola, seemed almost an hopeless undertaking. But one Diego Mendez, a notary, who, by his courage and policy, had already rendered the most important services to the expedition, now volunteered on the desperate enterprise of gaining the port of St. Domingo. In an Indian canoe, manned by six natives, he boldly set forth, to cross forty leagues of sea, perilous from furious currents; and although, coasting along the shore, he was taken prisoner by the Indians, contrived to effect his escape, regained the ships, and with one Fiesco, a Genoese, with two canoes, again set forth on his adventurous undertaking. In a letter, which, by this precarious conveyance, Columbus dispatched to the sovereigns, he enthusiastically proffered his services as a missionary in converting the Grand Khan, whom, in his next voyage, he confidently expected to find—then, by a sudden revulsion of feeling, awaking to the forlorn reality of his condition, he exclaims, "Until now, I have wept for others; have pity upon me, Heaven, and weep for me, earth! In my temporal concerns, without a farthing to give in offering; in spiritual concerns, cast away here in the Indies; isolated in my misery, infirm, expecting each day will be my last; surrounded by cruel savages, separated from the holy sacraments of the church, so that my soul will be lost, if separated here from my body. * * * If it should please God to deliver me from hence, I humbly supplicate your majesties to permit me to repair to Rome, and perform other pilgrimages."

Many months passed by, and no succour came, nor any tidings of the fate of his dauntless messengers. A mutiny, headed by one

Francisco Porras, sprung up, which the admiral, enfeebled by old age, and crippled by the gout, was unable to suppress. In January, 1504, the malcontents, forty-eight in number, seized canoes, and put to sea; but a storm coming up, put back to Jamaica, having murdered eighteen Indians whom they had taken as rowers, by driving them overboard. They then commenced a system of plunder and depredation among the native villages.

The Jamaicans, provoked at these outrages, and, by degrees, satiated with European traffic, now discontinued their supplies, and the large body of men still under command of Columbus was threatened with the horrors of starvation. The cunning genius of their leader, by a most subtle device, rescued them from the anticipated evil. Knowing, from his observations, that an eclipse of the moon would speedily occur, he announced to the caciques, in a grand council, that the God of the Spaniards, enraged at the ill-treatment of his worshippers, intended to visit their island with pestilence—in token whereof, the moon, that very night, would grow dim, and leave her place in the heavens. At first they scoffed at the ominous intelligence, but as night drew on, watched with some anxiety for the predicted event. But when they perceived its actual occurrence, the whole multitude was seized with frantic and uncontrollable terror. The island resounded with howling and lamentation, and the chiefs, promising ready obedience for the future, besought the dreaded stranger to intercede with his God in their behalf. Accordingly, he retired to his cabin, and reappearing, after a decent interval, informed them that his suit was granted, and that the moon would presently be restored to her place in the heavens. Her reappearance was hailed with extravagant joy by the natives, who thenceforward supplied their visitors with an abundance of provisions.

Eight months having elapsed since the departure of Mendez and Fiesco, it was supposed, of course, that their slender barks had been swallowed up in the ocean. They had nevertheless succeeded, and after a voyage of fearful suffering, in which several of their Indians had died of thirst and fatigue, had gained the port of St. Domingo. But Ovando, one of the meanest, cruellest, and most unprincipled wretches that ever played the tyrant in a remote province, hoping that the great admiral, to whom the succession of his office had been promised, might perish obscurely among the savages, put off, under frivolous pretences, the sending of relief, and even had the baseness to prohibit Mendez from going, in person, to the assistance of his

shipwrecked companions. At length (perhaps to satisfy himself that Columbus was dead) he sent a small vessel, which, after a brief stoppage, returned without taking a single man from the wrecks.

The rebels ashore, headed by Porras, now resolved on plundering the vessels and seizing the person of their commander, but Don Bartholomew, with fifty men, equal to the number of the hostile faction, met them on the road, and routed them, seizing Porras, and killing several with his own hand. The defeated faction, with the most abject servility, now submitted, and took oath of allegiance on a cross and a missal, imprecating terrible penalties on their heads in case of any future misconduct—"that they might die without confession or absolution from the pope, or from any cardinal, archbishop, bishop, or any manner of priest; that they should be deprived of the holy sacraments; that their bodies should be cast into the fields as renegades and heretics; and, to make all sure, that they should take no benefit at their death from any bulls and indulgences."

It was not until a year after the shipwreck that the faithful Mendez could obtain permission to sail to the rescue of his suffering commander and shipmates. On the 28th of June, 1504, they embarked in two vessels, and, after a weary voyage of two months, reached St. Domingo, where the people, their prejudices abated, welcomed the great admiral with enthusiastic rejoicing. The base Ovando also paid many hypocritical attentions to the commander whom he had so lately injured and left to perish.

The administration of this man, during the brief interval since his appointment, had been marked by scenes hardly surpassed in horror and infamy by any even in the history of Spanish colonization. Misfortune attended its commencement in the death of more than a thousand of the eager adventurers whom he had brought over, and who, in their insane thirst for gold, exposed themselves recklessly to disease and famine. The Indians were held in the most intolerable slavery, and vast numbers perished under the tyranny of their new task-masters, rapacious of sudden wealth. On the vague report of a meditated conspiracy in Xaragua, the governor marched there with an army, and was received by the queen, Anacaona, the ancient friend of the whites, and by her caciques, with the utmost confidence and hospitality. For several days the crafty Spaniard, enjoying the games and other exhibitions provided for his amusement, dissembled his bloody purpose; then, without a word of warning, he let loose on the unarmed multitude his ferocious soldiery, which committed

a horrible massacre. The queen was hanged by his command, and forty caciques, after enduring the most cruel tortures, were burned alive by firing the palace in which they were confined. The whole province was ravaged with fire and sword, and the surviving inhabitants were reduced to the most wretched slavery.

Fresh cruelties soon provoked a war with Cotubanama, the gigantic chieftain of Higutey, a mountainous province, which, of all the native sovereignties, alone remained unenslaved. After a long and desperate contest, in which the brave cacique exhibited a most kingly resolution and magnanimity, he was taken and executed, and great numbers of his people were put to death with the most cruel tortures. The whole native race was now enslaved or exterminated. Columbus, on his arrival, wrote to the court, "I am informed that since I left this island, six parts out of seven of the natives are dead; all through ill-treatment and inhumanity; some by the sword, others by blows and cruel usage, others through hunger. The greater part have perished in the mountains and glens, whither they had fled, from not being able to support the labor imposed upon them." But the ample remittances of gold, the price of these iniquities, were, with Ferdinand, an ample apology for their perpetration; and though his consort, with her dying breath, gained his promise that Ovando should be displaced, he never gave himself the trouble to fulfil it.

Columbus, without power to repress these enormities, and perhaps not without remorse at the fruits of that enslavement which he had been the first to practice, hastened his departure. With all his funds exhausted in providing for his crews, (for whose rights and welfare he always had especial care,) he embarked for Spain, and after a tempestuous passage of two months, in November, 1504, arrived at San Lucar. Thence, enfeebled by old age and infirmities, he was borne to Seville, where the few remaining days of his life were mostly passed, while vainly attempting, by the intervention of his friends, to touch the honour or justice of the court. He was reduced to actual poverty, as appears by an affecting passage in a letter to his son. "Little have I profited," he writes, "by twenty years of service, with such toils and perils, since at present I do not own a roof in Spain. If I desire to eat or sleep, I have no resort but an inn, and for the most times, have no wherewithal to pay the bill." The death of Isabella, soon after his arrival, defeated his last hope of obtaining justice, and left him dependent on the ingratitude of the selfish Ferdinand.

By May, 1505, he was enabled to travel to court, where that false-hearted prince, as usual, received him with many shallow compliments and unmeaning professions, but studiously evaded the fulfilment of his promises, knowing that death would soon rid him of an applicant whose claims could neither be conveniently granted nor decently denied. The aged admiral felt his end approaching, but still besought the king so far to fulfil his agreements as to appoint Diego to the command which he would speedily, by solemn contract with the crown, inherit. "This," he said, "is a matter which touches my honour. As to the rest, do as your majesty thinks proper; give or withhold, as may be most for your interest, and I shall be content." But all was in vain; and with calm severity he writes from his death-bed—"It appears that his majesty does not think fit to fulfil that which he has promised me by word and seal, with the queen who is now in glory. For me to contend for the contrary would be to contend with the wind. I have done all that I could do. I leave the rest to God, whom I have ever found propitious to me in my necessities." He made his will, providing, with strict equity, for all claims on his justice or benevolence; and having received those consolations of the church which he valued so highly, murmured, "Into thy hands, oh Lord, I commend my spirit," and expired with great tranquillity, on the 20th of May, 1506, being about seventy years of age.

The remains of the great admiral have been destined to an extraordinary pilgrimage. They were first deposited in the convent of Franciscans at Valladolid, and seven years afterwards in that of the Carthusians at Seville. In 1536, with those of his son Diego, they were transported to the New World, and were appropriately enshrined in the Cathedral of St. Domingo, in the island of Hispaniola, always the most favourite region of his affections. "Even here, these precious relics, condemned to wander like their illustrious tenant, were not suffered to find their final resting place." For two hundred and sixty years they reposed in this cathedral, but in 1795, on the cession of that island to the French, with the most solemn and impressive ceremonies, were once more disinterred and conveyed to Havana in the island of Cuba. There they were received with all the distinction which official, military, and ecclesiastical pomp could confer, and were deposited with great ceremony in the wall of the cathedral, at the right of the grand altar, where, the object of deep and reverential interest, they still remain.

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CHAPTER X.

DISCOVERY AND SURVEY OF CUBA.—ITS CONQUEST BY VELASQUEZ.—MEMORABLE SPEECH OF AN INDIAN.—FOUNDATION OF HAVANA, ETC.—CONQUEST OF PORTO RICO BY PONCE DE LEON.—SINGULAR EXPERIMENT OF A CACIQUE.—ITS SUBJUGATION.—DISCOVERY OF JAMAICA.—ITS HUMANE CONQUEST BY JUAN DE ESQUIVEL.—SUBSEQUENT CRUELITIES OF THE SPANIARDS.—ACCOUNT OF AMERICUS VESPUCIUS.

It has been already mentioned that the island of Cuba, discovered by Columbus on his memorable first voyage, was regarded by him and by most of his contemporaries as a portion of the continent of Asia. In 1494, and again, in his last voyage of 1502, he made extensive surveys of its coasts, but, by a singular fatality, only confirmed his original opinion. No further exploration was made until the year 1508, when Nicolas Ovando, then governor of Hispaniola, obeying an order of the court, dispatched Sebastian Ocampo on a voyage of survey. That commander circumnavigated the supposed continent, proving it an island, and made considerable exploration, repairing his vessels in the beautiful harbour of Havana, which he first discovered, (naming it Puerto de Carenas,) the convenience of which, with other natural advantages of the island, he extolled in strong terms, recommending immediate colonization.

Nothing more was done, however, until the year 1511, when Diego Columbus (son of the admiral), who had succeeded in displacing Ovando in the rule of Hispaniola, prepared an expedition of three hundred men, under command of Diego Velasquez, for the conquest and colonization of the island. That officer disembarked at the harbour of Palmas, not without resistance from the natives, headed by Hatuey, a cacique of Hayti, who, on the subjugation of that island, had taken refuge in Cuba. But his forces, weak and unwarlike, were easily defeated, and the unfortunate chief, being captured, was sentenced by his ferocious conqueror to be burned alive. Being urged as usual, at the stake, to embrace Christianity, and secure the joys of heaven, he inquired if any Spaniards would be there; and being told that there would, made the ever-memorable

answer, "I will not be a Christian then; for I would not go again to a place where I must find men so cruel."

Thanks, however, to the good offices of Las Casas, the generous advocate of an oppressed race, who accompanied the forces, the conquest of Cuba was disgraced by comparatively few of these atrocities. Indeed, the gentle and unwarlike character of the natives induced them to submit, with very little resistance, to the assumed authority of the strangers, and to embrace the proffered religion with greater readiness than any others of their race. The town of Baracoa was first founded by the invaders, and by 1514, the whole island had been overrun and examined by the increasing numbers of emigrants. The towns of Santiago and Trinidad, on the southern shore, were founded, and those of Bayamo, Puerto Principe, and Santi-Espiritus, near the centre. Batabano, in the south, founded in July, 1515, at first, in honour of the illustrious discoverer, received the name of San Cristoval de la Havana—a name, however, transferred, in 1519, to the capital at present known under the last portion of the appellation. The advantages of this splendid site appear to have been first duly appreciated by Hernando de Soto, governor in 1538, who erected a fortress, still standing, and otherwise improved the Havana, just before his memorable and fatal expedition to Florida. So rapidly did it increase in importance, that ten years afterwards, it was adopted as a residence by the governors, and in 1589, was formally constituted by the crown as the capital of the island.

The beautiful island of Porto Rico (called Boriquen by the native inhabitants) was, like all the most important of the Antilles, discovered by Columbus, on his second voyage, in November, 1493. The natives were an ingenious and industrious people, living in greater comfort and civilization than any which the Spaniards had yet encountered.

On the subjugation of Hispaniola, Juan Ponce de Leon, a soldier experienced in Moorish warfare, and a companion of Columbus in his second expedition, received as the reward of his activity in quelling the refractory natives, the government of Higüey, a province lying directly opposite to the verdant mountains of Porto Rico. Attracted by its beauty, and the reports of its wealth, he made, in 1508, an expedition of reconnoissance; and the following year, having obtained from the crown an appointment as governor, made a settlement there. Oppression of the natives, as usual, provoked their hostility, but a belief that their invaders, of supernatural ori-

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gin, were invulnerable and incapable of death, deterred them for a while from resistance. A certain cacique, however, of an inquiring and analytic turn, resolved to institute experiments; and directed his people, who were charged to carry a young Spaniard across a stream, to hold their burden gently under water for a considerable time. Doubt being laid by the result, a general conspiracy was formed for the destruction of the Spaniards.

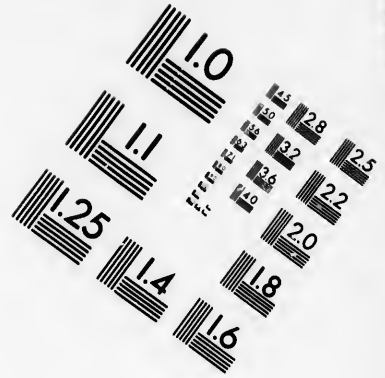
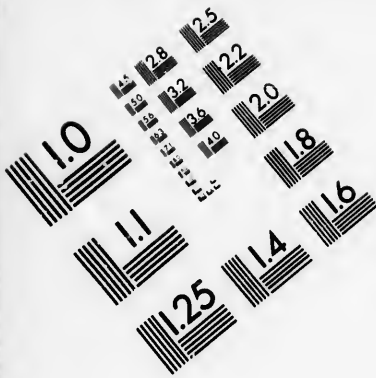
The latter, taken by surprise, at first sustained a complete defeat. All their villages were destroyed, an hundred of their number were slain, and the remainder were compelled to take refuge in the fortress of Caparra. But Juan Ponce, receiving reinforcements from Hispaniola, renewed the war with such vigour and success, that the whole island was completely subdued, and the natives reduced, as in Hispaniola, to a state of complete slavery and to final extermination. The singular subsequent career of the conqueror, and his romantic search for the Fountain of Youth, are mentioned in the account of the invasion of Florida.

"Jamaica," commences the grave historian of that island,* "had the honour of being discovered by Christopher Columbus, in his second expedition to the New World." Steering along the southern shore of Cuba, that commander, informed of a great island, lying in the south, turned his prows in that direction, and on the 5th of May, 1594, reached the shores of Jamaica. On the return from his last disastrous voyage, he was wrecked there, as we have mentioned, on the 24th of June, 1503, being compelled to run his sinking ships ashore, in a harbour still called, from the circumstance, Don Christopher's Cove. His miserable sojourn in this place, protracted for a year, and his final deliverance, have been already narrated.

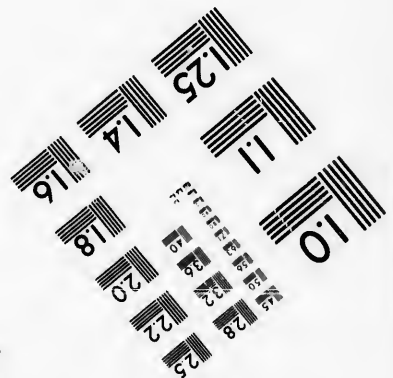
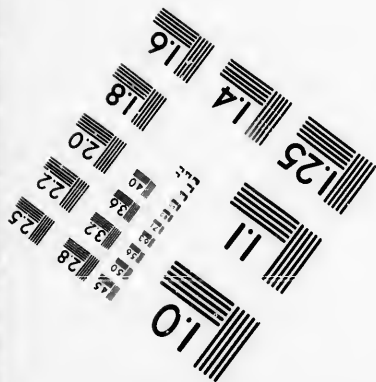
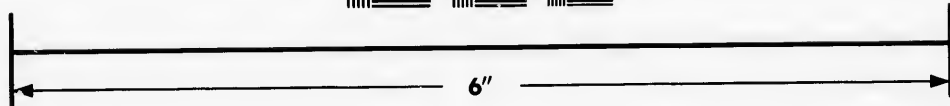
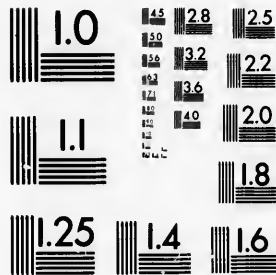
After the death of Columbus, his son Diego, unable to obtain justice from the crown, instituted his memorable suit before the council of the Indies for the restitution of his hereditary dignities and revenues. An illustrious marriage favoured his purpose, and that eminent body, after long and patient investigation, decided nearly every point in his favour. With this righteous decision Ferdinand only partially complied; but Diego, restored to the government of Hispaniola, proceeded thither, with a splendid retinue, in July, 1508, and entered on such of his rights as the injustice of the king had allowed. But finding that the island of Jamaica, manifestly within his own jurisdiction, had been granted by the crown

* Bryan Edwards, Esq.





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to Ojeda and Nicuesa (then busied with their schemes for the settlement of the main land), he determined to anticipate their movements.

Accordingly, in November, 1509, a force of seventy men was dispatched thither, under Juan de Esquivel, a gallant cavalier, and a man of humane and magnanimous temperament. To his eternal honour, the occupation of the island was disgraced by none of those atrocities which have left their indelible stain on the names of nearly all other early Spanish adventurers. Though the island produced no gold, a moderate and settled prosperity was the natural result. "The affairs of Jamaica," says a Spanish historian, "went on prosperously, because Juan de Esquivel having brought the natives to submission *without any effusion of blood*, they laboured in planting cotton, and raising other commodities which yielded great profit." This humane and honourable officer, however, having founded the town of New Seville, and established a flourishing colony, died within a few years of his appointment.

The settlement appears to have increased with surprising rapidity, for, in 1523, only thirteen years after the arrival of Esquivel, Francis de Garay, then holding the command, fitted out an expedition of eight hundred and fifty men, many of whom were cavalry, for the conquest of Panuco, a territory on the Gulf, which, however, Cortes had already secured to the Spanish crown. The customary scenes of cruelty and massacre followed hard on the death of the first governor, and so rapidly did the work of extermination proceed, that in little more than half a century, it is said, nearly the whole native population, consisting of sixty thousand, had perished. Many caves in the mountains, still thickly covered with human bones, attest the miserable end of these unfortunates, who, fleeing from the sword or lash of the oppressors, died from hunger in those dismal recesses.

Singular to state, the capital of New Seville, after attaining, in a few years, considerable size and importance, was abandoned—according to some accounts, by reason of a destructive attack of the natives, and to others, on account of the invasion of an innumerable swarm of ants. Neither of these legends are probable, but it is certain that the ruins of extensive buildings, some unfinished, yet remain, and that a new capital city, St. Jago de la Vega, or, as it is now called, Spanish Town, was founded at an early date in the history of the country. The subsequent annals of the island present comparatively little of interest until its capture by the English, under the active administration of Cromwell, in 1655—an act of hostility

much decried by some writers, but which appears to have been only a reasonable and moderate reprisal for numerous massacres and atrocities committed by the Spaniards of the West Indies on the inhabitants of all neighbouring colonies.

ACCOUNT OF AMERICUS VESPUCIUS.

The renown of the discovery of the Western Continent, and the eternal perpetuation of that renown by the adoption of a name, were certainly due to Christopher Columbus, whose grand genius and indefatigable industry laid open the pathway to its shores. The next claim, in justice, would be that of its first actual discoverer, Sebastian Cabot, who, through a long life-time of enterprise and perseverance, proved himself not unworthy of the high honour which chance accorded to his youth. But, singular to state, a claim founded on the most glaring imposture, and unrelieved either by original genius or great achievement, has resulted in the eternal commemoration of a name otherwise long since lapsed into obscurity—the name of Amerigo Vespucci.*

He was born at Florence on the 9th of March, 1451, of noble, though decayed parentage, and received a good education under the care of his uncle, an ecclesiastic. Renato, afterwards king of Sicily, was his fellow-pupil, and to their subsequent correspondence, or to a fabrication of a portion thereof, America is indebted for its present unsatisfactory name—a name representing no heroism of soul, no life-long devotedness to a great cause—but bearing in its every syllable the continual suggestion of fraud, usurpation and inaptitude.

For many years Vespucci was engaged successfully in commerce in his native city, but finally, meeting with reverses, was compelled, in 1493, to accept an agency in Spain. At Seville he became acquainted with Columbus, and was employed by the sovereigns in fitting out vessels for their exploring expeditions. He sailed with Alonzo de Ojeda in his voyage of 1499, infamous for treachery and cruelty committed on the Indians, and, with that daring but unprincipled commander, coasted along a great extent of the shores of South America. The appearance of this expedition on the coast of Hispaniola, and the uneasiness which it caused the admiral, have been mentioned.

* Latinized into Americus Vesputius.

In 1501, and again in 1503, the Florentine adventurer sailed to Brazil, in the Portuguese service; and from the interesting accounts which he gave of the new continent, it became fashionable to compliment him by giving it the title of America. In 1505, he returned to Spain, and we find him in friendly communication with Columbus, and offering to use his influence with the Spanish court in behalf of the rights of that injured commander—proof almost positive that no claim to the discovery of America had then been broached by him or by any one in his behalf. He received the office of Grand Pilot of Spain, which he held until his death in 1512.

“By a most extraordinary piece of imposture, if committed by himself, or of forgery, if committed by another, the claims of Vesputius to the glory of the discovery of the New World have now, for centuries, been seriously discussed—though, at the present day, few, except his Florentine countrymen, will allow them even the merit of plausibility, on grounds so utterly untenable. In a letter which he is said to have written to King Renato, and which was published in 1507, (only a few months after the death of the great admiral) an account is given of a voyage which he claims to have made to the coast of South America in 1497—a year before the memorable expedition of Columbus. No assertion ever stood more entirely unsupported. By the unanimous testimony of a host of witnesses, it has been proved that, except in this letter, none of his contemporaries, or of those familiar with the Spanish marine, had ever heard of any such voyage. His own conduct and the tenor of his numerous remaining letters are all directly opposed to the reality of any such exploit; and at this distance of time we are unable to decide whether the account is a forgery of some other person, or whether, actuated by a miserable vanity, he thought it possible, at least with his correspondent, to arrogate to himself the discovery of the continent. It is certainly more agreeable to suppose the former, than to admit that a man of the real reputation of Vesputius, and to whose good character Columbus himself has borne testimony, should have been capable of such unblushing impudence and falsehood.”*

* “Discoverers, &c., of America.”

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THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ISTHMUS, AND DISCOVERY OF THE PACIFIC.

CHAPTER I.

DISASTROUS ATTEMPTS TO FOUND A SETTLEMENT ON THE
ISTHMUS.—VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA.—THE SETTLEMENT OF
DARIEN.—DEALINGS WITH THE INDIANS.—RUMOURS OF
THE SOUTH SEA.—EXPEDITION OF BALBOA.—CONTESTS
WITH THE INDIANS.—DISCOVERY OF THE PACIFIC.

THE first attempts of the Spaniards to plant their footsteps on the shores of the American mainland, were attended with grievous suffering, loss and disappointment. A small settlement named San Sebastian was founded by Alonzo de Ojeda, in the year 1509, on the east side of the Gulf of Uraba; but, despite the impetuous bravery of the commander and the hardy endurance of his followers, the implacable enmity of the surrounding savages effected its destruction. Great numbers were slain, and the survivors were compelled to relinquish the undertaking. A similar attempt, under Diego de Nicuesa, at Nombre de Dios, resulted in equal suffering, mortality, and failure. Despite these misfortunes, or in ignorance of them, eager adventurers still turned their prows to a land which, more than any yet discovered, was supposed to teem with wealth of the precious metals. The name most memorable among these early settlers of the continent, both for brilliancy of discovery and natural high qualities, is that of Vasco Nunez de Balboa.

His early life, in common with most of the Spanish pioneers, had been of a roving, unsettled, and perhaps profligate character. To avoid arrest from his creditors in Hispaniola, where he had been unsuccessfully engaged in planting, he contrived to be smuggled in a cask on board the vessel of Martin Enciso, who was sailing to the Isthmus in search of the colony of Ojeda. After experiencing some

misfortunes, the adventurers, under the guidance of Balboa, who had before explored the coast, made their way to the Indian village of Darien, on the gulf of that name, where they found much plunder and established a settlement (1510). The active and intriguing genius of Balboa soon succeeded in wresting the chief command from Enciso; and desirous of propitiating the favour of the crown by remittances of gold, as usual, he dispatched Francisco Pizarro, afterwards so celebrated for the Conquest of Peru, with a small force on a tour of exploration. This attempt, from native hostility, proved a failure, but accident soon showed the way to profitable pillage.

Two Spanish refugees, who had been living on the hospitality of Careta, a wealthy cacique, were found by the new settlers, and treacherously suggested an attack on their late host. The governor, accordingly, with a considerable force, marched upon his town and plundered it, after the unscrupulous fashion of the age; but peace was restored by the marriage of the chief's daughter to the conqueror, and the latter made a campaign against the enemies of his father-in-law, from which he also reaped a considerable booty.

More profitable still than these unprincipled forays was a peaceable visit which he made to the great cacique of Comagre, who received him with much honour, and whose son, a prince of spirit and generosity, bestowed on him sixty slaves and four thousand ounces of gold. The royal share deducted, Balboa, less anxious for wealth than for renown and authority, commanded his followers to divide the remainder. They wrangled noisily around the scales, till the prince, moved with contempt, struck the instrument, and scattered the gold over the floor. "Why should you quarrel for such a trifle?" he said: "Behold those lofty mountains. Beyond them lies a mighty sea, which may be discerned from their summit. All the streams which flow down the southern side of those mountains into that sea, abound in gold; and the kings who reign upon its borders eat and drink out of golden vessels. Gold, in fact, is as common and plentiful among those people of the south, as iron is among you Spaniards." The way to this tempting region, he added, was difficult, and beset with savage tribes; but offered his services in a march thither. His guest listened with eager interest, and his heart beat high with the hope of achieving an exploit which should place his name high in the list of discoverers and conquerors.

On his return to Darien, he dispatched a large sum of gold, for the royal treasury, to Hispaniola, and entreated assistance from Diego

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Columbus, then viceroy of that island. He next set forth, with an hundred and seventy men, to search for the famous temple of Dobayba, whose walls, according to the native reports, shone with golden ornaments of inestimable value. He soon came upon a strange tract of marshes, interspersed with great trees, among whose spreading branches the people of that dismal region had their abodes. Under the palace of Abebeiba, their king, the Spanish marauders halted, calling on his majesty by their interpreters, and bidding him come down. "But hee denied," says the old chronicle, "that hee would come out of his house, desyring them to suffer him to lyve after his fashione. * * * When he hadde denyed them againe, they fell to hewing the tree with their axes. Abebeiba, seeing the chippes fall from the tree on every side, chaunged his purpose, and came downe, with onely two of his sons." Urged to produce his store of the precious metal, the simple monarch replied that "hee had no golde, and that hee neuer had any neede thereof, nor yet regarded it any more then stones." But seeing them "very instant with him," he promised to bring them some from the neighbouring mountains, and took his departure. Meanwhile, his unscrupulous guests refreshed themselves from the royal larder and cellar, which latter, that the "wine" (more probably maize-beer) might not be disturbed by the oscillations of the palace, was kept in a species of vault at the foot of the tree. They waited several days, but in vain, for the return of their host, with the expected store of gold. Perhaps he never returned to his airy habitation, for the narrative subsequently mentions "Abebeiba, the inhabitour of the tree, who had now likewise forsaken his cuntry for feare of our men, and wandered in the desolate mountaines and woodes."

Unable to find the desired temple, Balboa, having collected considerable plunder, returned to the town, where his energies were speedily called forth by sedition and Indian hostility. Both were suppressed with sternness and promptitude; and his authority was soon confirmed by a letter from the treasurer of Hispaniola.

Aware, however, that the influence of his enemies at court was great, he now resolved, by some notable exploit, to place his fortunes on a steadier foundation. To discover the great sea beyond the mountains, and turn its streams of gold into the Spanish treasury, would assure him fame and immunity. Accordingly, on the 1st of September, 1513, with an hundred and ninety companions, well armed and resolute, after a solemn religious ceremonial, he set out

to fight his way to the shores of the unexplored ocean. On the 20th he left the territories of Ponea, a chief whom he had defeated and conciliated, and was soon involved in a region perilous by its vast marshes and other natural obstacles. Quaraqua, the chief of this country, with a great army, set on him, while entangled in these difficulties; but the fire-arms and the ferocious blood-hounds of the invaders were too much for the undisciplined courage and inefficient weapons of the Indian multitudes; they were signally defeated, with a loss of six hundred, including their cacique. Several of the prisoners, with a cruelty habitual to the Spaniards, were given to be torn in pieces by the hounds; and considerable plunder, in gold and jewels, was found in the conquered villages.

By this time, from wounds, fatigue and illness, so many of the command had become disabled, that Balboa, with only sixty-seven companions, commenced the ascent of the mountains. On the 26th of September, 1513, as they approached the summit, the general halted his force, and ordered that no man should stir from his place. He ascended alone, and on gaining the highest point, beheld the distant Pacific, never before surveyed by European eyes, glittering in the south. Overcome with joy, he kneeled and returned fervent thanks to God. His people, with uncontrollable eagerness, hastened up. A solemn *Te Deum* was sung by all, and formal possession of the new ocean, with all its coasts and islands, was made by proclamation in the name of Castile. It is not a little singular that the first European settlement on the Western Continent should have been at the only spot from which the Great Western Ocean was accessible, and that a discovery of such importance should have followed so closely on a report of its possibility; but this very circumstance tended greatly to mislead future explorers, and to foster delusive hopes of reaching it as easily in other latitudes—as witness the attempt of La Salle by the St. Lawrence, and of Hudson by the North River, to gain the shores of China—the belief of the Virginian settlers that the Chesapeake led thither, and the confident expectation, so long entertained, of finding an easy passage to India by the north of America.

Leaving a cross and a pile of stones to mark the scene of his memorable discovery, Balboa hastened to the shore of the yet-distant ocean. He defeated many savages, and gained vast booty in gold on the way. Arrived at last on the sea-shore, he grasped a banner, and, plunging into the waves, took solemn possession in the name of the Spanish crown, vowing to maintain, against all chal-

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lengers, Christian or infidel, its "empire and dominion over these Indies, islands, and Terra Firma, northern and southern, with all their seas, both at the Arctic and Antarctic poles, on either side of the equinoctial line, whether within or without the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, both now and in all times, as long as the world endures, and until the final judgment of all mankind." Of all the vast regions of sea and land included in this swelling annunciation, what now remains to a nation whose conquests were stained with such hideous murder and cruelty, and whose government was marked by such oppression, rapacity, and illiberal exclusiveness!

CHAPTER II.

THE RETURN MARCH.—APPOINTMENT OF PEDRARIAS DAVILA.
 —HIS EXPEDITION.—HIS JEALOUSY OF BALBOA.—MISFORTUNES OF THE COLONY.—EXPEDITION OF MORALES AND PIZARRO.—RECONCILIATION OF PEDRARIAS AND BALBOA.
 —VESSELS CONVEYED OVERLAND TO THE PACIFIC.—
 SUDDEN ARREST, TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF BALBOA.

SEIZING some Indian canoes, which he found on the shore, Balboa, with sixty men, launched boldly forth into the unknown ocean. Storms, and the dangers of the coast, forbade any extensive voyage in these frail craft, but the adventurer learned of the natives enough to fire his highest ambition and to excite his utmost energies. The land, they assured him, had no end, and far in the south gold was to be found in abundance, and certain animals were used as beasts of burden. They moulded in clay the figure of a lama, in confirmation of their story, and readily furnished large quantities of gold and pearls to their rapacious visitors. Early in November, the expedition set out on its return, taking many Indians to assist in carrying the treasure, which had become too bulky for transportation by its owners. The march homeward was distinguished by extreme suffering and great cruelty inflicted on the native inhabitants. Numbers of the Indian porters, burdened with gold, not being permitted to carry sufficient food for their support, perished on the way; and the atrocities inflicted on the people of those districts through which

the Spaniards passed, may be inferred from the fact that, in a single instance, they "gave four Kings" (chiefs) "to be devoured by dogges." Nearly three months were consumed in this terrible return march, but the relics of the force finally reached Darien with a treasure in pearls and gold, which cast into the shade all booty acquired by previous marauders.

Meanwhile, the enemies of Balboa, possessing the ear of the court, had procured the appointment of Pedrarias Davila, a man of a cruel and treacherous character, as governor of Darien. The accounts already received of an ocean, and of wealthy kingdoms lying beyond the mountains, had inflamed the public mind with sanguine expectation; and accordingly, for the first time since the memorably-disastrous voyage of Ovando, cavaliers and speculators flocked in crowds to join an expedition to the New World. With fifteen sail, carrying two thousand impatient adventurers, the new governor, on the 12th of April, 1514, took his departure. Just afterwards, arrived a messenger from Balboa, announcing his splendid discovery, and bearing dazzling specimens of the wealth of the isthmus. Propitiated by these tidings, Ferdinand, regretting his precipitancy, at once dispatched fresh instructions, constituting the fortunate discoverer Lieutenant of the South Sea, and conferring on him the rule of important provinces in the adjoining region.

Pedrarias, on his arrival, found the colony, by the indefatigable exertions of his predecessor, in a state of considerable prosperity, Darien already containing five hundred European inhabitants, with thrice that number of natives. The deposed governor readily submitted to the authority of his rival, and the latter, with excessive meanness, having, by a pretended friendliness, gained full information of the late surveys and discoveries, began to attempt his ruin. On the arrival of the royal missive, he withheld it for a time, and finally, through the interposition of Quevedo, bishop of the province, only so far relaxed his injustice as to permit its acceptance on condition of the dependence of the Lieutenant on his own authority. His jealous and irritable temper was further inflamed by the arrival of a vessel from Cuba, with seventy hardy adventurers, who had come to accompany Balboa on a fresh expedition to the Pacific. He arbitrarily forbade the projected excursion, and it is said was with difficulty dissuaded from confining the object of his suspicion in a cage.

His own administration, from the commencement, was marked by ill-fortune and mismanagement. Of the rash and improvident mul-

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titude which he had brought over, seven hundred soon perished of disease and hunger; others took refuge in Cuba, and many, in miserable plight, returned to Spain. A force of four hundred men, which he dispatched to open a line of communication with the Pacific, failed, with much disaster, from the hostility of the Indians; and another, of two hundred, which, under Balboa and Luis Carillo, again set forth in quest of the temple of Dobayba, was compelled by the same cause to retreat to Darien, with the loss of more than half their number.

A more fortunate expedition was made by Gaspar Morales, a relative of the governor, who, accompanied by Francisco Pizarro, a spirit as fierce and cruel as himself, set forth, in command of sixty men, to cross the mountains. Arriving at the South Sea, (whither Pizarro had already journeyed with Balboa,) the two commanders, with a small force, in four canoes, embarked for the Pearl Islands, lying some distance from the coast. The chief cacique, after a spirited resistance, was defeated; and submitting with the best grace he could assume, conducted the victors to his palace, where he received baptism at their hands, and bestowed on them a basket of pearls, of more than a hundred weight, some of which were large as hazel-nuts. He took the leaders to the summit of a tower, whence he showed them the long line of coast stretching to the golden realms of the Incas—the destined prey of an obscure adventurer then standing beside him.

The return of this company, harassed by Indian hostilities, was marked by the most frightful scenes of massacre and cruelty. A native force, attacked by surprise, in the dead of night, was cut off to the number of seven hundred; and eighteen caciques, taken by stratagem, were devoured alive by blood-hounds. The Spaniards, worn out by repeated attacks, retreated slowly, killing their prisoners on the way, that the fierceness of the pursuit might be checked by the lamentations of their friends over the bodies; and one of the marauders, unable to keep up the march, hanged himself to a tree, rather than fall into the hands of the avenging natives. After extreme and well-deserved suffering, the relics of the expedition, with a vast hoard of ill-gotten treasure, arrived at Darien.

The enmity of the surrounding tribes, now thoroughly aroused, kept the settlers in a state of constant anxiety. An hundred and eighty men, well armed and supplied with artillery, attacked among tangled forests and morasses, were cut off to a man. The town itself was soon almost in a state of siege; and the governor was compelled

reluctantly to accept the services of his able and experienced rival, as the only means of preserving the colony. To cement the doubtful alliance, which was brought about by Quevedo, it was agreed that Balboa should receive in marriage a daughter of the governor, to be sent for from Spain (1516).

That active commander, permitted to resume his ambitious career, made strenuous exertions in preparing for a great expedition to the South Sea. He built two vessels on the shore of the Atlantic, which, with almost incredible labour, were carried piecemeal over the mountains, and put together on the shores of the Pacific. Numbers of the natives perished in this exhausting task, but it was observed that the Spaniards, and especially negroes, of hardier frame, endured the labour with less distress and mortality. Two brigantines, the first of European build that ever floated on the Pacific, were finally launched upon the River Balsas, and Balboa, with his companions, embarking, pushed with exultation into the waters of the unknown ocean. The course which he pursued, along the shore of the isthmus, would have brought him in time to the wealthy regions of Peru; but, after passing the great gulf of San Miguel, the winds proved so adverse that he was compelled to retrace his course. He landed on the mainland, where he defeated a large force of Indians, and then, proceeding to the Pearl Islands, set about building two additional vessels.

In the midst of his ardent and ambitious projects, sudden ruin and destruction overtook the discoverer and intended explorer of the Pacific. The falsehood and treachery of one Garabito, his secret enemy, whom he had dispatched on business to the settlement, so worked on the jealous mind of Pedrarias, that, supposing his rival to aspire to a kingdom of his own, he resolved on his immediate overthrow. The unsuspecting commander, by a friendly message, requesting an interview, was induced to cross the mountains; and was met on the way by an armed force under Pizarro, who put him in chains, and conveyed him to the town of Acla. He was immediately put on trial for treason, and though the evidence against him was little more than the perjury of Garabito, the alcalde, overawed by the governor, gave reluctantly a judgment of conviction. The latter, with sanguinary haste, ordered his immediate execution, and that of four of his associates. The unfortunate man, after confessing and partaking of the sacrament, laid his head, with his accustomed courage, on the fatal block, and, at a single stroke, amid the lamentations of the people, it was severed from his body (1517).

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Thus perished, at the age of forty-two, one of the boldest, most sagacious, and, for a brief time, most fortunate, of the early Spanish adventurers. How confident were his hopes, and how ardent his zeal for enterprise, appears in the indignant vindication of his conduct to the implacable governor. "I had four ships," he says, "ready for sea, three hundred men at my command, and an open sea before me. What had I to do but to set sail and press forward? There was no doubt of finding a land, whether rich or poor, enough for me and mine, far beyond your control." That his life, if spared a few years longer, would have received fresh illustration from new and grand discoveries, can hardly be doubted; and it is probable that, but for this sudden and tragic occurrence, the career of Pizarro would have been anticipated, and that the discoverer of the Pacific would also have been the conqueror of the wealthiest kingdoms lying on its shores.

CHAPTER III.

FERNANDO MAGELLAN.—HIS VOYAGE TO THE SOUTH-WEST.—
WINTERS AT PORT ST. JULIAN.—THE PATAGONIANS.—DIS-
COVERY AND PASSAGE OF THE STRAITS OF MAGELLAN.—
VOYAGE THROUGH THE PACIFIC TO THE PHILIPPINE
ISLES.—RASHNESS AND DEATH OF MAGELLAN.—
THE WORLD CIRCUMNAVIGATED

THE brilliant exploit of Balboa in attaining the Pacific by an overland route, was in a few years followed up by the extraordinary voyage of Magellan, who first reached it by sea, and to whom is justly due the credit of first circumnavigating the globe. The hope of finding a westerly passage to the fragrant seas of India, so long the favourite object of Columbus and other enterprising voyagers, had been gradually relinquished, as the vast extent of the American continent became apparent. Spain, however, jealously disputing with Portugal her title, under the Papal grant, to the Moluccas or Spice islands, was constantly on the alert to take advantage of any opportunity which might give her priority of possession; and Fernando Magellan, a subject of the rival power, disappointed in his

hopes of promotion for service in India, carried his brilliant talents, his splendid courage, and invincible perseverance to the court of Charles V. There he strongly urged the feasibility of an attempt once more to reach India from the west, and Ximenes, the enlightened minister of that monarch, favoured his proposals. With five small vessels and two hundred and thirty men, on the 20th of September, 1519, he set sail from the port of San Lucar.

Coasting southerly along the shores of Brazil, he found a convenient harbour, which he named Port St. Julian, in about the fiftieth degree of south latitude. Here he anchored his squadron, and passed the winter of 1520, which, extending from May to September, proved exceedingly severe. A formidable mutiny, which broke out at this place, was suppressed by Magellan with great promptness and severity; two of the ringleaders being put to death, and a third set on shore to perish. For two months none of the natives were seen, but one day a man of gigantic stature, nearly naked, was seen dancing violently on the beach, and throwing dust on his head, in token of friendship or submission. Numbers of these people, all of great size, soon appeared, "marvelling vastly to see such large ships and such little men." From the uncouth covering of their feet, rudely shaped from the hide of the guanaco, the Spaniards gave them the name of Patagones, or "clumsy-hoofed"—a name by which they have ever since been known. One of them learned to repeat the Lord's Prayer, on which signal evidence of conversion he was baptized under the name of Juan Gigante ("John Giant"). Two of these poor savages were treacherously seized, as curiosities; but a vile stratagem to get possession of some of the women (to propagate a breed of giants in Spain) was deservedly defeated, and resulted in the death of one of the invaders.

The Spring came on, and Magellan, getting his little squadron under way, again stood southward. In the latter part of October, to his great exultation, he beheld an opening in the westward through the iron-bound coast which had hitherto seemed interminable. Into this famous strait, which still bears his name, favoured by a strong current, the dauntless discoverer, with three ships, boldly pushed his way—though his crews, disheartened, were clamorous for return. He would press onward, he assured them, even if they were reduced to eat the hides from the ships' rigging—an anticipation of famine literally fulfilled; and reminding them of the fate of the late mutineers, sternly repressed all opposition. For thirty-seven days, amid

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storms and foul weather, the little squadron struggled westward through this perilous and intricate passage. On the 28th of November, the open sea was seen stretching illimitably before them. Magellan burst into tears of joy, and ordered a public thanksgiving for the memorable event.

Having stood northward awhile, to gain a more genial climate, the little fleet for four months was wafted along by breezes so gentle and propitious, that the name of the "Pacific," which Magellan gave to the great ocean he was exploring, seemed aptly enough bestowed. But famine pressed terribly on the adventurous mariners, so long secluded from the possibility of obtaining supplies; and when, on the 16th of March, 1521, they arrived at the Philippine Isles, twenty of their number were dead, and the remainder were in a forlorn condition of suffering and emaciation. Singular to state, only two islands had been passed in this long and remarkable voyage, and those so lonely and forbidding in their appearance as to receive the name of *Desventuradas*, or the Unfortunate. On the 5th of April, the ships arrived at the town and harbour of Zebu, with the prince of which island Magellan soon formed an apparently friendly alliance. With the eustomary zeal for conversion, he immediately commenced propagating the faith, and by a mixture of force and friendship, soon gained great numbers of proselytes. This promising career was cut short by an extraordinary piece of rashness and hardihood. The sovereign of Matan, a neighbouring island, was at feud with the king of Zebu, and to the demand of Magellan that he should yield tribute and allegiance to Spain, returned a haughty refusal. Naturally fierce and irritable, and now flushed with success and ambition, the fiery Portuguese determined to end all opposition with the sword. With forty-nine of his bravest men, clad in complete armour, he made a landing on the refractory island, and was soon engaged in desperate conflict with a force of three thousand natives. The battle was obstinately contested for many hours, but the Spaniards, overpowered by numbers, were at last compelled to give way. Magellan, though wounded by a poisoned arrow, and with his helmet struck off, continued to fight with desperation, until, his sword arm disabled, he was beaten to the ground, and perished under a shower of javelins. Eight of his men were killed, and twenty-two wounded. The survivors, with difficulty, regained their boats. In this obscure skirmish perished the boldest, firmest, and, but for his rashness, the most fortunate of that brilliant line of navigators who succeeded to the

honours of Columbus. At the time of his death, he had nearly completed the circumnavigation of the globe, having in a former voyage, sailed far to the eastward.

The king of Zebu, seeing the misfortune of his allies, took advantage to commit a treacherous massacre on a number of them, whom he had enticed into his palace, and the remainder of the Spaniards, in precipitate alarm, hastened their departure from the island. Only one vessel of the fleet, the *Vitoria*, a little bark of sixty tons, succeeded in completing this extraordinary voyage. After a cruise of three years, during which she traversed fifty thousand miles of ocean, this slender craft, with the mere remnant of a crew, on the 6th of September, 1522, arrived at San Lucar. She was drawn ashore, and remained for many years a monument of the most remarkable achievement of the century. Her commander, Sebastian del Cano, inheriting, as survivor, the honours due to the unfortunate Magellan, was ennobled by the emperor, and received for his arms the device of a globe, with the memorable legend:

"PRIMUS ME CIRCUMDEDISTI,"

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CONQUEST AND HISTORY OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

PROGRESS OF SPANISH CONQUEST.—DISCOVERY OF YUCATAN.
—OF MEXICO.—HERNANDO CORTES.—HIS EXPEDITION.
—ASCENT OF THE RIO DE TABASCO.—CONTESTS WITH
THE INDIANS.—ARRIVAL AT SAN JUAN DE ULUA.

THE singular compound of crusading fanaticism and of practical rapacity which distinguished the Spaniards in their conquest of the New World, as well as the wonderfully-rapid successes which those traits, so repulsively mingled, insured them, are hardly to be paralleled, except in the early career of Mahometanism. With the sword in one hand and the missal in the other, leaving crosses and stakes the tokens of his march, the Spaniard pressed on to plunder, to conquest, and conversion, with a fierceness and inflexibility which, to this day, have left their withering traces on the entire scene of action. The feeble and unwarlike races of the archipelago had fallen an easy prey before the invader; his footsteps were firmly planted on the main-land; and in rapid succession the two great native empires of the Northern and Southern Continents—empires strong in ancient rule, and far advanced in civilization—were destined to vanish from the earth with a suddenness and a horror which, at this day, must surprise and appal the historical spectator.

The island of Cuba, first colonized in 1511, had been settled with extraordinary rapidity, and the ever-restless adventurers began soon to look around for wider fields of conquest, and richer objects of plunder. Hernandez de Cordova, in 1517, sailing to the Bahamas in quest of slaves to replace the half-depopulated tribes of that island, was driven westward by gales, and finally made land at Cape Catoche, in Yucatan. Massive buildings, and other evidences of civilization,

were observed, but the discoverers, every where fiercely withstood by the natives, were compelled to quit the coast, and, after losing more than half their number, regained the shores of Cuba. In the following year (May 1st, 1518) Velasquez, the Cuban governor, dispatched four vessels, under his nephew, Juan de Grijalva, in the same direction. That officer, after touching at the island of Cozumel, coasted along the great southern peninsula, meeting, wherever he landed, a fierce and determined resistance from the inhabitants. Keeping westward, he arrived on the shores of Mexico, and engaged in friendly traffic with the people of that country. Gold and jewels were obtained in abundance, and after a voyage of six months, in which a large extent of the main-land coast had been explored, the squadron returned to Cuba. Stimulated by this success, and by the flattering accounts of Grijalva, the governor proceeded to fit out an expedition on a more extensive scale.

Hernando Cortes, to whom he had resolved to entrust the command, was a native of Medellin, in Estramadura, and was, at this time, thirty-three years of age. From boyhood, he had been of a reckless, adventurous disposition, and, at the age of nineteen, had sailed for Hispaniola to seek his fortune. Arrived there, he was kindly received by the governor, Ovando, who offered him a tract of land. "I came to get gold," replied the haughty and rapacious youth, "not to till the soil like a peasant." He accepted the grant, however, with its accustomed quota of Indian slaves, and was frequently engaged, under Velasquez, in the defeat and enslavement of the insurgent natives. He accompanied that commander, in 1512, on the conquest of Cuba, and acquired, by mining and planting, considerable property. During his residence on that island, he was alternately under the favour and displeasure of his chief, who, at one time, it is said, was so enraged against him as to have been on the point of ordering his execution. They became reconciled, however, Cortes embarking all his means in the projected enterprise, and Velasquez, acquainted with his courage and abilities, assuring him of the command. Under the stimulus of ambition and opportunity, his character, marked before by levity, sensuality, and rashness, underwent a marked change; and all the extraordinary faculties of energy, policy, and perseverance, hitherto latent, took the complete ascendancy.

So splendid appeared the anticipated prize, that the colonists of the island, though hardly settled in their new possessions, flocked in

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great numbers to his standard. Three hundred volunteers were soon assembled in the town of St. Jago, and preparations were made with great eagerness and abandonment. "Nothing was to be seen," says one of the company, "or spoken of, but selling lands to purchase arms and horses, quilting coats of mail, making bread, and salting pork, for sea-stores." Instructions were made out by the governor, enjoining the conversion of the natives and the furtherance of traffic with them. They were also to be invited to give in their allegiance to his Most Catholic Majesty, "and to manifest it by regaling him with such comfortable presents of gold, pearls, and precious stones, as by showing their own good will, would secure his favor and protection."

But, when all was ready, Velasquez, of an irritable and jealous disposition, was seized with a sudden distrust of his officer, and resolved to deprive him of the command. Cortes, apprized of his intention, with all haste got his squadron under way, and set sail at midnight, the enraged governor arriving on the shore just in time to witness his departure. He touched at several points on the coast, strengthening his forces and equipment, and on the 10th of February, 1519, sailed from Havana for Cape San Antonio. There he was joined by fresh reinforcements, the whole command consisting of eleven vessels, manned by six hundred and sixty-three men. He had ten cannon and sixteen horses, the last of inestimable value in warfare with the feebly-armed and half-naked tribes of America. On the 18th of February, the whole fleet laid its course for Yucatan.

At the island of Cozumel, where they first arrived, the Spaniards found several temples, massively constructed of stone and lime. The Indians proved friendly, and two reverend friars, attached to the expedition, addressed them, with little effect, on the merits of Christianity; and Cortes, to their amazement, tumbled down their most venerated idol, and replaced it with a statue of the Virgin. On the 4th of March, the fleet again set sail, and soon arrived at the Rio de Tabasco, near the southern extremity of the gulf. This river Cortes, with a part of his army, ascended in boats, and, on the second day, was encountered by a great body of Indians, drawn up on the bank to oppose his passage and defend their town of Tabasco. A notary public made solemn proclamation that the expedition was "on God's service and the King's," and invoked on the heads of the natives the responsibility of a contest—"all which," says Captain

Diaz,* "being duly explained to them, produced no effect; they seemed as determined to oppose us as they were before." They were defeated, after a pretty sharp resistance, by the novel terror of firearms, and the town was taken by the victors; but to their great disgust, all the treasure had been removed before their arrival. Cortes, with much form, took possession of the country, drawing his sword and giving three cuts upon a great Ceiba-tree, and vowing to defend the claim of the Spanish monarch against all opponents.

Learning that a great force of Indians was assembled on the neighbouring plain of Ceutla, he resolved, by striking the first blow, to inspire terror through the country. Horses and artillery were accordingly landed, and, on the 25th of March, he set forth against the hostile camp. The main body, defiling over a long causeway, engaged the enemy in front, while Cortes, with the slender squadron of cavalry, drew a circuit to attack them in the rear. The Indians fought with desperation for more than an hour, to the rude and discordant music of conchs, flutes of cane, and drums hollowed from the trunks of trees; and flung clouds of dust into the air to conceal the havoc which the cannon made in their crowded ranks. But when taken in the rear by the novel and terrible apparition of armed horsemen, sheathed in glittering steel, charging among them, a general panic seized the whole multitude. The infantry renewed their exertions, and the unwieldy mass of the Indian army was soon compelled to a flight which it was considered imprudent to follow. This signal victory was ascribed by some contemporary historians to the personal exertions of St. Jago, the patron of Spanish conquest. Others held that the achievement was due to St. Peter; but honest Diaz, who was present, says, "it might be the case, and I, sinner as I am, was not worthy to be permitted to see it. * * But although I, unworthy sinner that I am, was unfit to behold either of those Holy Apostles—upwards of four hundred of us were present; let their testimony be taken."

Ere long, the caciques of the vanquished nation, completely overawed, presented themselves at the camp, bearing propitiatory offerings, and tendering the submission of their people. They were filled with wonder at all which they beheld—the strange persons and accoutrements of the invaders, the terrible power of the cavalry, and the mystic celebration of Catholic ceremony. To the inquisitive

* A soldier distinguished in the Wars of the Conquest. His Memoirs are among the most valuable, as well as amusing, of all original histories.

demands of the Spaniards concerning the region of gold, they answered, pointing to the west, "Culehua" and "Mexico"—a name destined to a wide and unhappy celebrity.

Coasting westward, after this triumph, the expedition arrived at the island of San Juan de Ulua, opposite the present site of Vera Cruz. With the natives of this place, who, conciliated by the former visit of Grijalva, came off in numbers to the ships, Cortes was enabled to communicate by the double interpretation of a Spaniard once resident with the Indians of the South, and of Donna Marina, a Mexican female, who had been given him by the caeiques of Tabasco. She was young and beautiful, and of remarkable intelligence, soon acquiring such a knowledge of Castilian as to spare the necessity of a second interpreter. She became the mistress of Cortes, to whom she bore a son, and in all the eventful scenes which distinguished the conquest, bore a conspicuous part, as his interpreter and companion. But before proceeding to a narration of those scenes, it is proper to give some account of that singular nation, the first, and, with one other exception, the only people encountered by Europeans in the New World, possessed of regular government, illustrated by national history, and adorned with the arts of civilization.

CHAPTER II.

THE MEXICAN ABORIGINES.—THEIR ORIGIN AND APPEARANCE.—THEIR GOVERNMENT, THEOLOGY, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

The original inhabitants of ancient Mexico were so unlike the timid and unsophisticated islanders with whom the Spanish discoverers of America first held intercourse, that the early historians of the Conquest, themselves partakers in the enterprise, were at a loss for language in which to express their admiration. The dim and uncertain records and traditions of the natives throw little light upon the question of their origin, and of the rise and progress of their civilization. It appears that, at a remote period, the nation of the Toltecs migrated from some unknown northern region to the beautiful Valley of Mexico; and that, after a period of power and

prosperity, they became reduced by pestilence and other causes, and were succeeded or driven off by the barbarous Chichimecas. These, in turn, gave place to the seven tribes of the Nahuatlacas, to which nation belonged the tribe of the Aztecs, the possessors of the country at the period of European discovery. The foundation of their capital upon the lake was commenced, according to their chronology, in the year 1325.

The Aztecs, like their predecessors, came originally from the north, and in their gradual progress southward formed many temporary settlements upon the route—at least the character of the ruins still to be seen between the Valley and the borders of Upper California appears to corroborate the national tradition of the migration.

Of their general physical conformation, the following brief description, given by Pritchard, in his *Natural History of Man*, from Clavigero, will suffice: "The Mexicans are of a good stature, generally rather exceeding than falling short of the middle size, and well proportioned in all their limbs. They have good complexions, narrow foreheads, black eyes, clean, firm, regular white teeth; thick, black, coarse, glossy hair; thin beards, and generally no hair upon their legs, thighs, and arms: their skin is of an olive colour.

"There is scarcely a nation upon earth in which there are fewer persons deformed; and it would be more difficult to find a single hump-backed, lame, or squint-eyed man among a thousand Mexicans than among a hundred of any other nation. Among the young women of Mexico, there are many very beautiful and fair; whose beauty is rendered more attractive by the sweetness and natural modesty of their behaviour."

Their mental capacity was, without doubt, greatly superior to that of the wilder races of North America. Their architectural skill and their proficiency in the mechanic arts gave proof of no small measure of ingenuity, industry, and enterprise, and notwithstanding the ferocious cruelty and loathsome cannibalism attendant upon their strange system of religion, they evinced, in many respects, a refinement, a moral purity, and an intuitive perception of the proprieties of life, superior to that of their European contemporaries. A general idea of the national character and customs can be gathered from the detail of the events of the conquest.

The succession to the crown was not entirely hereditary, but depended upon the decision of four electors, from among the nobles, who were to decide which of the deceased monarch's brothers, or

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nephews should be elevated to the vacant office; a peculiarity, so far as regards the exclusion of lineal descendants, singularly uniform among the aborigines of America.

There appears to have existed a body of powerful nobles, each despotic within his own district, who held their estates or offices by a feudal tenure of military service. The king originated all laws, but the chief magistrates, or judges to whom was confided their administration, although appointed by the crown, held office for life, and from their decision there was no appeal. The criminal code was severe, and severely enforced; many offences generally considered as venial being punishable by death. As far as can be gathered from the uncertain accounts of the old historians, an established order and system was observable in the whole machinery of government, in the collection of revenue, and the administration of the laws.

The splendour of the monarch's court, with the punctilious etiquette and wearisome ceremonial by which he maintained his dignity, are described at great length in the early accounts of Mexico. No prince ever exacted or received more obsequious homage from his nobles and attendants; and, as may well be supposed, these subordinates were not behind-hand in ostentation and parade in the presence of their inferiors.

In the Mexican system of religion and religious ceremonial were seen the strangest incongruities and contradictions. In several particulars most striking coincidences appeared between their form of worship and their code of morals, and those of the Christian religion, in hideous contrast to which stands out their horrible custom of human sacrifice and cannibalism. The extent to which this was practiced cannot now be correctly ascertained: early computations present such remarkable discrepancies that we are at a loss in arriving at the truth, but it is generally agreed that the annual number of victims, about the time of the conquest, must be computed by thousands. These were, for the most part, prisoners taken in war or exacted from some subordinate kingdom or province, as an atonement for national offences.

At the celebration of any great occurrence, as the demise of the crown, or the dedication of a temple, immense numbers of prisoners were slaughtered, and their remains were piled in order as ghastly memorials of the event. It is true that in some instances the Spanish invaders may have mistaken an ordinary cemetery for a place of deposit devoted exclusively to the victims of sacrifice. A great

variety of ceremonials preceded the ordinary performance of this religious rite, but the mode of death was commonly the same. At the summit of the pyramidal temple, where was enshrined the image of the deity to which it was devoted, the victim was stretched upon a large block of stone, and there held by the assistant priests, while the chief official cut open his breast with a sharp stone, and tore out the heart.

The body was afterwards prepared for food, and devoured with much ceremony at a grand entertainment. "This was not," says Prescott, "the coarse repast of famished cannibals, but a banquet teeming with delicious beverages and delicate viands, prepared with art and attended by both sexes, who, as we shall see hereafter, conducted themselves with all the decorum of civilized life. Surely, never were refinement and the extreme of barbarism brought so closely in contact with each other!" De Solis speaks of the "Rites and Ceremonies of these miserable Heathens," as "shocking and horrible both to Reason and Nature—incongruous, stupid Absurdities, which seemed altogether incompatible with the Regularity and admirable Oeconomy which was observed in the other parts of that government; and would scarce be believed, were not Histories full of Examples of the like Weaknesses and Errors of Human Capacities in other Nations, who are no less blind, tho' in Parts of the World where they have the Means of being more enlighten'd."

The Aztecs had no system of writing, except by the hieroglyphic paintings and symbols so generally adopted by a semi-barbarous people. These were executed upon skins, cotton cloth, or a species of paper; and great numbers of books and rolls containing the records of the empire were carefully preserved, until they were mostly involved in the universal destruction consequent upon the success of the Spaniards. Those which still exist have been subjected to careful and critical investigation, and although the key to most of them is lost, probably beyond hope of recovery, some light has been thrown upon Mexican history and civilization by the rude devices whose meaning has been partially deciphered.

The astronomical attainments of the natives were extremely limited; so much so as to excite surprise when compared with the wonderful accuracy of their chronological cycles. They had devised a system of computation by which the length of the year was so precisely defined that, according to Prescott, "more than five centuries must elapse before the loss of an entire day. Such was the astonishing

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precision displayed by the Aztecs, or, perhaps, by their more polished Toltec predecessors, in these computations, so difficult as to have baffled, till a comparatively recent period, the most enlightened nations of Christendom."

In the mechanic arts they had made great proficiency; labouring under the disadvantage of entire ignorance of the use of iron, and compelled to resort to an alloy of copper, tin, &c., they erected such massive edifices of hewn stone as to astonish those familiar with the magnificent monuments of the old world. Enormous masses of rock were transported from quarries many miles distant from the edifices for whose construction they were prepared, and this without the aid of beasts of burden. To the skill of the Mexican goldsmiths and lapidaries the contemporary artisans of Europe bore witness, confessing their own inferiority in certain branches of the profession. The extraordinary beauty of workmanship which enhanced the value of their plundered treasures, excited admiration even at the court of Spain.

Although polygamy was allowed, the tie of marriage was deemed as sacred among the Aztecs as with the Christian nations of Europe, and the women were generally treated with a respect and tenderness unknown in a purely barbarous community. Slavery was one of the established institutions of the country, but the master was not allowed an absolute power over the servant, whose privileges were secured by many restrictive provisions of the laws. It seems that no small number of those who occupied this inferior position entered upon it voluntarily for the sake of securing a maintenance, and among the poor, many relieved themselves from the burden of supporting a family by a sale of their children.

The trade of the country was carried on altogether by travelling merchants—a class of peddlers occupying a position very different from that of the present day. The goods were borne upon the backs of slaves, themselves a most important portion of the investment. Gold-dust, cacao-nuts, and a species of tin coin served as the medium of currency; but trading operations were extensively conducted by barter and exchange. Very numerous articles of luxury and comfort—such as rich cloths, feather-work, manufactures from the precious metals, &c.—were in universal use among the wealthier members of society. The variety and excellence of their cookery, and the sumptuous display at their feasts and entertainments, form a copious theme for the Spanish narrators. Drinking and smoking

were luxuries generally indulged in, but the intemperate use of even the mild fermented liquor which they manufactured was guarded against by severe penalties. These restrictions were, however, confined to the young.

Among the Mexican Indian population of the present day we look in vain for the national pride, ferocity, energy, and ingenuity of their ancestors. Centuries of slavery and subordination to the European have denationalized them, and certain physical peculiarities alone remain to mark them as the descendants of the wonderful people whose habits we have thus briefly sketched.

CHAPTER III.

THE EMPEROR MONTEZUMA.—LANDING OF THE SPANIARDS.—
THEIR NEGOTIATION WITH MONTEZUMA.—HIS IMPOLICY.—
SPLENDID PRESENTS.—CORTES REVOLTS AGAINST VELAS-
QUEZ.—FORMS AN ALLIANCE WITH THE TOTOACAS.—
DESTROYS THEIR IDOLS.—SETS FORTH FOR MEXICO.

THE throne of the Aztec empire, at this time, was held by Montezuma, renowned, beyond any other of the native American race, for a life marked by strange vicissitudes and a most melancholy fate. On the decease of his uncle, in 1502, he had been elected to the sovereignty in acknowledgment of his services in war and his devotion to the national theology—a theology whose mystical tenets and sanguinary rites were intimately blended with the entire system of Mexican government and polity. His name, signifying the "sad" or "severe," was derived from the grave and melancholy expression of his countenance, an expression natural enough to the earnest devotee of a religion so dark and cruel. The military genius of the young emperor soon extended his sway over wider regions of Anahuac* than had been ruled by the greatest of his predecessors; and the justice of his administration, and the great public improvements which he planned, equally evinced his talents for policy and gov-

* This was the native appellation of those extensive regions since included under the title of New Spain.

ernment. But his domains, continually extended by conquest, had grown so great, and were composed of such heterogeneous materials, as to require a large standing army and the frequent repression of insurrections; and the Aztec empire, not yet consolidated by time, and containing the elements of disorder within, was ill fitted to withstand any vigorous assault from without.

On the 21st of April, 1519, the Spanish army disembarked on a sandy beach, the site of the present Vera Cruz, and the general presently received a visit from Teuhtile, the chief cacique of the adjoining region. Ceremonious courtesies were interchanged, and Cortes informed his visitor, that the great king of Spain had dispatched him to the country with presents and a message for its sovereign. The chief expressed surprise on hearing that there was another monarch equal in power to his master, the great Montezuma, but promised his good offices, and bestowed on the strangers splendid presents, beautifully wrought in gold and other materials. A very paltry offering, in comparison, was all that the Spaniards could dispatch to the court of Mexico; and with it Teuhtile sent accurate pictures, drawn and coloured by native artists, of the ships, the cannon, the horses, and the strangers themselves, for the inspection of the emperor.

The visit of Grijalva, faithfully reported by the caciques whom he encountered, had produced a deep and alarming impression on the mind of Montezuma. There was an ancient prediction, firmly believed in Anahuac, that Quetzalcoatl, the founder of the Aztec religion and government, a deity of fair complexion and flowing beard, should one day return from his long sojourn in the east, and resume possession of his empire. Many singular portents and prodigies of nature had affected the mind of the sovereign; and it was by his express orders that, on the landing of the second company of strangers, rich gifts had been bestowed on them, and the sedulous attendance of a multitude of natives had ministered to their wants. The news of their coming was borne rapidly to court, and the perplexed monarch, despite the opposition of his wisest counsellors, resolved to send them a magnificent offering, but to forbid their approach to his city. No course of action could have been devised more apt to stimulate their rapacity, curiosity, and ambition, to the utmost.

The imperial capital of Tenochtitlan, or Mexico, lay seventy leagues from the coast; yet eight days after the news was dispatched from Vera Cruz, an embassy from the Aztec sovereign, accompanied by

a hundred slaves, bearing splendid presents, entered the Spanish camp. The beauty and value of these royal gifts are described in glowing terms by contemporary writers, especially those who beheld them. They consisted of fabrics admirably worked in cotton and variegated feathers, mingled with gems; of gold and silver skilfully wrought into the shape of animals, &c.; and especially of a great golden sun, as large as a carriage-wheel, beautifully fashioned, and worth, according to the value of the metal in that day, nearly a quarter of a million dollars of the present currency. A courteous message was likewise delivered to the strangers, declining a visit, and politely suggesting their return.

Cortes, with mingled exultation and disappointment, received the gifts, and the accompanying repulse; but, with his accustomed perseverance, sent by the returning ambassadors a new present (miserably small compared with the magnificent offerings of the emperor) and a renewed request for permission to visit the court. A positive denial, softened, however, by additional presents, was returned; and the Spanish leader, turning to his officers, said coldly, "Truly this is a great monarch and a rich—by God's permission we must see him."

Before the next morning the Spanish camp was entirely deserted by the Indians. Thirty of his people, encamped on a spot, reeking, even at the present day, with pestilence and death, had already perished; and Cortes resolved to seek out a more favourable locality. To his great joy, an embassy presently arrived from the Totonacs, a powerful tribe lately subdued by the Aztecs, inviting him to visit their capital of Cempoalla. An important and hazardous experiment, however, was first to be attempted.

Whatever good faith to his patron and eoadjutor he might have cherished at the commencement of the enterprise, had been overcome by the value of the anticipated prize; and he had resolved to disown even a nominal allegiance to Velasquez in the wealthy region which he proposed to conquer. The soldiers, by his machinations, were induced to throng around his tent, and demand the foundation of a settlement. With affected reluctance, he assented, and, having formally resigned his commission received from the governor, was forthwith elected (by the officers and magistrates of his own appointment) as Captain-General of the new colony of Vera Cruz. The immediate friends and partisans of Velasquez, to quiet their indignant remonstrances, were laid in irons; and, ere long, singular to state, they joined heartily in supporting the authority of Cortes.

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HERNANDO CORTES,

THE CONQUEROR OF MEXICO.

BORN SEPTEMBER 19, 1485; TOOK THE CITY OF MEXICO BY STORM, AUGUST 13, 1521;
DIED DECEMBER 2, 1547

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That active commander, secure in his new authority, now marched with all his troops to Cempoalla. At this place, which contained about thirty thousand inhabitants, the Spaniards met with the most friendly and hospitable reception, and the heart of their leader throbbed high at the prospect of powerful native assistance in his ambitious schemes. He explained to the Cempoallan chieftain, a portly dignitary, the power of his master the emperor, and his zeal for the salvation of souls, and went at considerable length into a doctrinal disquisition on the holy faith. "As soon as the fat cacique had heard him out," says a witness, "heaving a deep sigh, he complained bitterly of Montezuma and his officers, saying that having been lately compelled to submit to the yoke of that monarch, he had seized all his gold, and now held him completely enthralled."

This disaffection promised well; but on the following day, the arrival of five officers from the court of Montezuma filled the Totonacs with dismay. Trembling with fear, all hastened to receive the imperial emissaries, who passed to their quarters with extraordinary state, not deigning to cast a look on the Spaniards. They were elegantly attired, and each held in his hand a nosegay, which he occasionally smelt at—a curious piece of tyrannic foppery, considering their errand. This was nothing less than to demand twenty young people for sacrifice to their gods, in expiation of the offence of receiving the Spaniards. But such was the influence already acquired by Cortes, that the Totonacs, at his command, forthwith put these high ambassadors in the stocks—the Spanish commander, by artful policy, saving their lives, and secretly dispatching them home to propitiate the emperor.

The Totonacs, fully committed in rebellion, now took oath of allegiance to the Spanish sovereign; and a town called Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz (at some distance from the present city of that name) was founded by the Spaniards. A fresh embassy, with splendid presents, soon arrived from Montezuma, and Cortes, having studiously displayed to the envoys the terrors of European warfare, reiterated his intention of visiting their master.

Scandalized at the idolatrous rites and human sacrifices practised by his allies, the Spanish general made fierce remonstrance. Inflamed with crusading zeal, he suddenly issued orders for the immediate destruction of the idols—a work zealously completed by his men, to the horror of their worshippers. The caciques who resisted were seized, and Cortes made a long sermon to the aghast multitude,

assuring them of the protection of the Virgin, "with many other good and holy reasons and arguments, which could not be better expressed by any one, and all which the people listened to with much attention." Mass was performed, and all the principal persons of the neighbourhood, with respectful, but, no doubt, with greatly-puzzled attention, participated in the ceremony. To propitiate the crown, and to secure its protection against the anticipated vengeance of Velasquez, Cortes now resolved to dispatch the whole of the splendid presents of Montezuma as an offering to the emperor (Charles V.), and, by his almost-unbounded influence with the soldiery, prevailed on them to relinquish their share of the treasure. A letter, entreating a confirmation of his authority, seconded by the petitions of the whole army, was written; and, with wonderful audacity, he assured the emperor that in a brief time the Aztec sovereign should be made to own his sway, or, dead or alive, be placed at his disposal. On the 28th of July, a vessel, bearing the treasure and these momentous tidings, was dispatched to Spain; but, by the indiscretion of her commander, in touching at Cuba, Velasquez became informed of the whole proceedings. With indescribable rage and fury, he set to work to prepare a fresh expedition for the purpose of reducing his refractory officer, and gaining possession of the wealthy realms of Mexico.

A few malcontents in the army had plotted to seize a vessel and return to the island. This piece of defection was punished with merciless severity; and, to guard against any renewal of the attempt, Cortes now took the extraordinary resolution of destroying his fleet. Accordingly, all except one small vessel were privately scuttled and sunk. The alarm and indignation of the soldiers were allayed, and their courage inflamed by a harangue so stirring and eloquent, that, when it was finished, they cried eagerly, "To Mexico! to Mexico!" All, indeed, could see that there was no chance of drawing back, and that the only hope of safety itself lay in victory and conquest. Active preparations were now made for the expected campaign. Juan de Escalente, a sure friend of the general's, was left in command of a small garrison at Cempoalla. With a little more than four hundred Spaniards and two thousand Totonacs, on the 16th of August, 1519, Cortes set forth on the most wonderful of martial enterprises recorded in history—the March to Mexico.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE MARCH TOWARD MEXICO.—SPIRITED RESISTANCE OF THE TLASCALANS.—SUCCESS OF THE SPANIARDS.—THEIR DISCOURAGEMENTS.—FIRMNESS OF CORTES.—SUBMISSION OF THE TLASCALANS.—SINGULAR CHANGE OF FEELING.—DUPLICITY OF CORTES.—HIS ZEAL FOR CONVERSION.

EMERGING from the *tierra caliente*, the invaders ascended to the great plateau, and were received in a friendly manner at the cities of Jalapa and Naulinco, allies of the Totonacs. At Tlatlaucnitepec, which they reached after several days of wearisome march, were many teocallies or mound-temples, and in the vicinity were a vast number of skeletons, regularly arranged, perhaps those of the victims of sacrifice. The cacique of this city, dreading the anger of his sovereign, gave them a cool reception, and declined imparting to them any gold. He added, however, "should he" (Montezuma) "command it, my gold, my person, and all that I possess, shall be at your disposal." Disappointed in his hopes of treasure, the general's zeal for conversion seems to have received a sudden stimulus, for, uplifting his voice, he demanded of all present to renounce their idolatries, and would have planted the cross at once, but for the remonstrances of the reverend Father Olmedo, the chaplain of the expedition, who, to his honour, often interfered in behalf of the natives, and who now assured him that the time was unpropitious for making proselytes.

By advice of his Totonac allies, Cortes now took up his march for Tlaseala, an independent republic, which, for many ages, had successfully stemmed the tide of Aztec conquest. Though surrounded on all sides by the territories of the Mexican sovereigns, these people, from the natural fertility of their country, and the strength of its position, had been enabled to set the conquerors of Anahuac at defiance. In their warlike habits, and in the deadly enmity which they cherished toward the Aztecs, the general trusted to find efficient alliance and assistance in his ambitious schemes. He accordingly sent an Indian embassy, with a letter in Spanish, desiring a friendly interview. On coming to their territory, the invaders were surprised to find it protected by a massive wall of masonry, built between two mount-

ains, and having but a single entrance, curiously constructed for defence. No one, however, appeared to oppose them, and the little army, defiling through the gate-way, pushed on toward the capital. Their hopes of a friendly reception were soon grievously disappointed. A force of three thousand Tlascalans appeared to dispute their passage, and though compelled to give ground before the discharge of artillery and the charge of cavalry, retreated in good order. On the next day (September 2d) a fresh body of the enemy appeared, who, to a formal protest, recorded as usual by a notary, replied only with a shower of missiles. A fight commenced, and the Indians, artfully retreating, decoyed their invaders into a narrow defile, where Xicotencatl, the greatest general of Tlascala, with an army of many thousand warriors, was waiting to receive them.

Amid the hideous roar of barbarian drums, the shrill notes of flutes, and a terrific outbreak of cries and whistlings, the little army of Cortes engaged the enemy—his Indian allies, now three thousand in number, standing stoutly by him. Destruction, indeed, seemed almost inevitable. "I see nothing but death before us," said one of the chiefs; "we shall never get through the pass alive." But the little body of cavalry, Cortes at their head, charging with the desperation of men whose lives were at stake, at length cleared a way for the artillery, which played with terrible effect on the crowded ranks of the enemy. Eight of the bravest Tlascalan chiefs and a great number of their followers fell, and Xicotencatl, discouraged, at last drew off his forces. The Spaniards retreated, for safe encampment, to an eminence called the "Hill of Tzompach," on which stood a temple, the ruins of which yet remain. Their loss had been small, owing to the anxiety of the enemy to take them alive for sacrifice; but an abundance of cruel wounds were distributed among them, which, with the revolting aid of a chirurgery common in these wars, they dressed with the fat of the Indians who had fallen.

Overtures of peace, which Cortes now made to the Tlascalans, were fiercely and peremptorily rejected; and news came that Xicotencatl, with fifty thousand men, was awaiting the invaders on the road to Tlascala. On hearing these portentous tidings, says the honest chronicler, "being but mortals, and like all others fearing death, we prepared for battle by confessing to our reverend fathers, who were occupied during the whole night in that holy office." On the morning of September 15th, the little host, resolved on conquest or death, again took the road to Tlascala.

The Indian army, drawn up in a vast meadow, was awaiting it at no great distance. It formed a splendid sight, many of the warriors being decorated with armour of gold and silver, and the whole array being gorgeous with mantles of feather-work and the fluttering of innumerable standards. Their weapons were javelins, darts, and arrows, headed with copper or sharp stones—skilfully and elegantly made, but feeble and inefficient in comparison with the artillery, the muskets, and the sabres of their European foes. Still, so determined was their onset, that by mere force of numbers, the Spaniards were at first driven back in confusion. By a desperate use of their swords, room was finally cleared for the artillery, and great havoc was made among the dense ranks of the assailants. The cavalry, under Cortes, charged fiercely wherever they had space, and drove back the assailants with much slaughter. Again and again, with terrible loss, did the Tlascalans close around the little army of Spaniards and Totonacs; and, but for dissension among themselves, would, probably, by their overwhelming superiority of numbers, have carried the day. But two powerful chiefs, disagreeing with Xicotencatl, retreated with their respective forces; and that general, after a contest of four hours, during which he had displayed the most chivalrous courage, was fain to draw off the remainder of his command. The Spaniards, exhausted with wounds and fatigue, retreated to Tzompach, where they secretly buried in a subterranean vault the small number of their own soldiers that had fallen.

It was contrary to the usual custom of the natives of Anahuac to war by night; yet, stimulated by the encouragement of their priests and wizards, who assured them that the strangers were "Children of the Sun," and dependent on that luminary for strength and protection, the defeated army made a midnight assault on the Spanish camp. But these hardy adventurers, sleeping, as usual, on their arms, were instantly on the alert, and repulsed with considerable loss the advancing assailants—who, however, consoled themselves by sacrificing two of their unreliable wizards. The Tlascalan council would now have made peace, and for that purpose dispatched to the Christian camp an embassy of their own—which, however, was intercepted on the way by Xicotencatl, eager to avenge the successive defeats which he had encountered. The Spaniards themselves, fifty-five of whom had perished since leaving Vera Cruz, were heartily wearied of fighting and privation. They strongly remonstrated with Cortes against attempting to reach Mexico, the name of which

had become a common jest in the army, or even Tlascala. But their indomitable commander, in a stern and eloquent harangue, revived their spirits, and assured them of the divine protection. "Wherever we have come," he said, "we have preached to the ignorant natives the doctrines of our holy faith; wherefore I trust we shall still receive the divine assistance, and that of my patron, St. Peter; * * * and as to what you say of losses, deaths and fatigues, such is the fortune of war, and we did not come here in search of pastimes and amusements." Any further remonstrances he cut short by quoting from an old song, that "it was better to die at once than to live dishonoured," and by the firmness of his character, and the vehemence of his tone, bore down all opposition.

A large embassy which Xicotencatl had dispatched to the Spanish camp, being discovered to be spies, were dismissed with cruel mutilation; and that commander, suddenly abandoning his hopes of resistance, betook himself, with the intercepted envoys, to the presence of the invaders. He took on himself the entire responsibility of the war, and tendered the submission of his countrymen. Almost at the same time a new embassy, of five nobles, with two hundred attendants, bearing magnificent presents, arrived from Montezuma. That unhappy sovereign now offered to furnish regular tribute to the king of Spain, if the dreaded strangers would forego their intended march to his capital—an impolitic overture, which only stimulated the hopes and ambition of Cortes, already fortified by the enmity which he observed to prevail between the two embassies. "I was not a little pleased," he writes to the emperor (Charles V.) "on seeing their want of harmony, as it seemed favourable to my designs, and would enable me to bring them the more easily into subjection, according to the old saying '*De monte*,' &c. I likewise applied to this case the authority of the Evangelist, who says, 'Every kingdom divided against itself shall be rendered desolate,' and I dissembled with both parties"—an avowal of complacent duplicity hardly to be paralleled even in private diplomatic correspondence.

On the 23d of September, a day still observed as a festival in that city, the Spanish army entered Tlascala. The inhabitants, with a strange revulsion of feeling, thronged around it, covering man and horse with fresh roses, and exhibiting every token of the heartiest welcome. This extraordinary change was doubtless due to the respect which valour and superior power always commands from a half-civilized race, and also to their hope of a resistless ally in war

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against their ancient enemies, the Aztecs. The city proved to be large and populous—thirty thousand persons, it is said, being, on public days, assembled in the market-place; and many evidences of refinement, such as baths and a police, awakened the admiration of the strangers. Cortes, in his dispatches, adduces an odd proof of the advancement of the natives of New Spain: "There were beggars in the streets," he says, "as among any civilized people."

That zealous polemic, with his accustomed promptitude, at once entered on the work of converting his new allies. Holding up before them "a beautiful image of our Lady, with her precious Son in her arms," he made a long discourse, no doubt of an edifying nature, on the Christian faith, and the rewards of its votaries—"whereas," he continued, "by persisting in the worship of your idols, which are devils, you will be drawn by them into their infernal pit, there to burn eternally in flames of fire." All he could obtain, however, was an assent to the display and exercise of his own faith, and the release of victims destined for sacrifice—the latter, however, being of little effect, the Tlascalans quietly perpetrating their usual rites, whenever their guests were out of the way.

CHAPTER V.

SUBMISSION OF PROVINCES.—CORTES MARCHES ON CHOLULA.
—PLOT DISCOVERED.—MASSACRE OF THE CHOLULANS.—
THE MARCH TO MEXICO RESUMED.—WEAK POLICY OF MONTZUMA.—THE ENTRANCE INTO MEXICO.—INTERVIEWS
WITH THE EMPEROR.—HIS GENEROSITY AND AFFABILITY.

THROUGH fear of the invincible strangers, or from hatred to the Aztec rule, embassies were now sent to Cortes from various districts, tendering submission and tribute. But the people of Cholula, an ancient and celebrated city, the most sacred in all Anahuac, (the Mecca of the Mexican races,) and still famous for its great pyramid, and other massive relics of the Aztec worship, were of a different mind. "They sent a very dry and uncomrteous answer to our message," says the indignant Captain Diaz, "*and without any present whatever.*" Determined to overawe this refractory and illiberal com-

munity, Cortes, after a sojourn of three weeks in Tlascala, accompanied by six thousand warriors from that city, took up his march for Cholula, which lay at no great distance. On his arrival, the citizens, with apparent readiness, gave in their submission, only requesting that the Tlascalans, with whom they were at feud, should encamp without the city; but welcomed the Spaniards with every appearance of joy and congratulation.

Nevertheless, in a few days, it was evident that secret enmity was plotting their destruction. A sacrifice to the war-god, including five children, intimated some notable attempt of a martial nature; and ere long, the visitors were utterly neglected by their hosts—the few citizens, whom they met in the streets, drawing aside, “with a mysterious kind of sneer on their faces.” Through the agency of Marina, the whole particulars of the plot were discovered, and Cortes resolved to make a terrible example of the hostile city. Under pretext of taking his leave, on the following morning he assembled in the great square a large number of the chiefs and citizens. When all was ready, he suddenly broke forth into a fierce address, reproaching them with their treason. The caciques admitted the plot, but laid the blame on Montezuma—with what truth does not exactly appear.

He then at once gave the signal for slaughter, and his soldiers, with artillery and musketry, committed a frightful massacre on the multitude entrapped within the square. The Tlascalans also swarmed in, and before the fury of these ancient enemies could be stayed, six thousand of the Cholulans had perished, and the whole city was ravaged and plundered. This terrible example of the power and vengeance of the Spaniards struck dread throughout all Anahuac. Montezuma, trembling in his distant capital, again dispatched splendid presents to the victors, and, after a fortnight passed in the devastated city, came with triumph, and strengthened by a force of six thousand of the bravest warriors of Tlascala, they resumed the march to Mexico.

It was useless, indeed, to disguise from their minds that, although so far successful to a degree unheard of, they were entering on new and terrible dangers. Marching with constant watchfulness, (“the beard ever on the shoulder;” says one of them) they gradually ascended the chain of mountains which surrounds the great Mexican Valley. After much suffering from fatigue, and from the cold air of those elevated regions, they attained the summit, and cast their eyes over “that magnificent prospect, which, to this day, charms

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every beholder into rapture. Before them, stretching for many a league, and environed on all sides by lofty mountains, lay the Valley of Mexico—perhaps, after that of Granada, the richest and loveliest in the world. Clusters of glistening towns and villages surrounded the lakes; and far in the distance lay that mighty city, the final prize of their adventurous career." Alarmed at the evidences of the power and population of the empire into which they were so daringly intruding, some would fain have retreated; but Cortes, with words of eager encouragement, led them down the mountain. A new embassy, with a great present from Montezuma, was soon encountered, bearing anew the impolitic offering of treasure and tribute, if the strangers would desist from their intended entrance into the capital. But the Spanish leader, his ambitious imagination now thoroughly inflamed, resolved, at whatever risk, to complete his intended enterprise.

The unhappy sovereign of the Aztecs, whose dread was founded more on superstitious fears, than any want of independence or courage, now became thoroughly unmanned by the unfavourable omens which attended his sacrifices and devotions. "Of what avail is resistance," he sadly exclaimed to his council, "when the gods have declared themselves against us! Yet I mourn most for the old and infirm, the women and children, too feeble to fight or to fly. For myself, and the brave men around me, we must bare our breasts to the storm, and meet it as we may." Determined, however, to leave no means of conciliation untried, he dispatched successively his brother, his nephew, and other persons of distinction, to meet and welcome the visitors at the different stations on the road.

As the Spaniards approached the capital, their amazement increased hourly, at the sight of admirable buildings and causeways, massively constructed of hewn stone, of towns swarming with population, and all the evidences of luxury, taste, and refinement. On the 8th of November, 1519, they defiled over that memorable causeway, stretching across the lake, the site of which still forms the chief southern access to the city of Mexico. On either hand, obscuring the surface of the water, swarmed a vast multitude of canoes, filled with curious spectators from all the vicinity. The Spaniards, delayed by long and ceremonial courtesies, advanced slowly toward the city, their minds as rapt with wonder as those of the immense throng which now gazed for the first time on the war-horses, the artillery, the pale faces and portentous beards of Europe. They

would hardly trust their senses. "We could compare it to nothing," says the old chronicler, "but the enchanted scenes we had read of in Amadis de Gaul, from the great towers and temples and other edifices which seemed to rise out of the water. To many of us it appeared doubtful whether we were asleep or awake; * * * never yet did man see or dream of any thing equal to the spectacle which appeared to our eyes on this day."

As the little body of Spaniards, followed by the Tlascalan army, entered on the great street of the city, Montezuma in person, attended by a great crowd of his nobles, appeared to welcome them. He was borne on a splendid litter, from which, at the approach of his visitors, he alighted. Cortes also dismounted, and these two men, the representatives of the Old World and the New, each the object of such interest to the other, stood face to face. The emperor, at this time, was about forty years of age, and appeared, says a witness of the scene, "of good stature, well proportioned and thin; his complexion was much fairer than that of the Indians; he wore his hair short, just covering his ears, with very little beard, well-arranged, thin and black. His face was rather long, with a pleasant countenance and good eyes. Gravity and good humour were blended together when he spoke." With the utmost courtesy, and with apparent cordiality, he welcomed the strangers to his capital, and Cortes could not but express, in fitting terms, his thanks for the repeated instances of royal generosity which he had so often experienced.

After a brief interview, the Spaniards and their allies were conducted through an immense multitude, to their destined quarters, in a great palace built by the emperor's father Axayacatl. Every terrace and housetop was crowded with human beings, gazing with insatiate curiosity on the strangers, and marvelling at the entrance of a great army of their hereditary foes. Montezuma was already in the court-yard, waiting their arrival. He hung a massive chain of gold around the neck of Cortes, repeated his welcome, and then, with refined civility, left him to repose. But that wary general turned his first attention to fortifying the palace, and to planting cannon for its defence, with every precaution against a surprise. "Such was the entrance of this little band, animated by an invincible hardihood, into the renowned Tenochtitlan*—the fairest and most powerful city in the Western Continent; and whether we consider the audacity of the attempt, its wonderful success, or the

* The native appellation of the ancient city of Mexico.

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strange and exciting novelty of the attendant circumstances, it must be regarded as the most remarkable exploit, which military genius and desperate courage, in the breasts of a few, have ever accomplished. 'Glory to our Lord Jesus Christ,' exclaims Diaz, with pious self-complacency, 'who gave us courage to venture upon such dangers, and brought us safely through them.' * * * 'Here he proceeds, 'the true and full account of our adventurous and magnanimous entrance into Mexico, on the eighth day of November, in the year of our Lord 1519. Glory be to Jesus Christ for all.'"

A visit from the emperor and a fresh display of his liberality concluded this eventful day. On the next, Cortes, with several of his officers, repaired to the royal palace, where all were amazed at the fountains, the tapestry of gay plunage, and other tokens of taste and refinement by which it was adorned. The Spaniard, as usual, at once set about the work of conversion, and, seated by the emperor's side, entertained him, through Marina's interpretation, with a long and elaborate discourse on the mysteries of the Faith, assuring him, at the expense both of civility and policy, that "those things which he" (Montezuma) "held to be gods, were not such, but devils, of evil countenances and worse deeds," and announcing that the sovereign of Spain had sent him (Cortes) to rescue the soul of the emperor and those of his subjects from the eternal flames into which their idols would conduct them. To this tirade, Montezuma, with remarkable firmness, civility, and good sense, replied that his gods were good, and so, he presumed, were those of the Christians. In the coming of these white and bearded visitors from the East, he acknowledged, he said, the fulfilment of the ancient oracle, and assured the general that he and his master should share in all his wealth, authority, and dignity. A few tears, touching to record, fell from his eyes as he pronounced these words, the surrender of his ancient honours to the dictate of a traditionary superstition; but he recovered his cheerfulness, conversed with most charming courtesy and affability, and finally dismissed his visitors loaded with fresh presents of gold, deeply impressed with his royal demeanour, and charmed with the kindly fascination of his manners.

CHAPTER VI.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF TENOCHTITLAN OR MEXICO.—THE PALACES OF MONTEZUMA.—HIS COLLECTIONS OF NATURAL HISTORY.—SUPERSTITION OF THE SPANIARDS.—HIDEOUS SCENES OF SACRIFICE.—REFLECTIONS

BEFORE entering on a relation of the memorable events which followed the entrance of the Spaniards into Tenochtitlan, and before recording the utter destruction to which those events were the prelude, it is proper to give some description of that ill-fated city, as it appeared to Europeans in the brief interval preceding its ruin and annihilation. "The present city of Mexico occupies the site of this ancient capital of the Aztecs, and the long causeways which led through the water still form its principal approaches. But the waters of Lake Tezcuco, by drainage, have shrunk away, and the Indian Venice which they environed is now surrounded by dusty fields, miles from the shore. At the time of the Conquest, it was probably one of the most beautiful and picturesque of cities. The houses were of reddish stone or brick, and numerous canals, with bridges, intersected it throughout. The number of houses is reported to have been sixty thousand, and the population, it is probable, was nearly half a million. Forty thousand persons are said to have assembled in the market on public days. The extent of its vestiges, at the present day, indicates a city of great population.

"Sanitary rules were carefully observed. The aqueduct of Chapultepec brought a copious supply of fresh water into the city, and a thousand persons were daily employed in cleaning the streets. Among the peculiar ornaments of this marine capital, were the numerous floating islands, of artificial construction, which supported, not only a great variety of flowers and vegetables, but trees of considerable size, and the cottages of their proprietors.

"The palaces of the emperor were of vast extent, and contained almost innumerable apartments. Many of these were devoted to the accommodation of a menagerie, the most complete and extensive, it is probable, in the possession of any sovereign of the day. Wild animals, collected throughout the most distant regions of Anahuac,

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were here lodged in numerous and convenient receptacles; and the rarest and most beautiful birds, in vast numbers, were housed in magnificent aviaries, with every convenience to render their confinement enduring. But the fierce aspect of the caged animals and reptiles struck the half-civilized conquerors rather with horror than admiration. 'In this accursed house,' says one of them, 'were many vipers and other poisonous serpents, which have in their tail somewhat that sounds like castanets, and they are the worst of all vipers.'

* * These beasts and horrid reptiles were retained to keep company with their infernal gods, and when the lions and tygers roared, and the foxes and jackals howled, and the snakes hissed, 'twas a grim thing to hear, and seemed like hell itself.' In this particular, at least, the science and liberality of the Indian naturalist stand in strong contrast with European prejudice and superstition. Even the learned De Solis, writing a century and a half later, could hardly believe it possible that any prince should have cherished 'this poisonous Article of Magnificence,' but conceives the report to have been a vulgar error, founded on the fierce and tyrannic disposition of the Aztec sovereign.

"A more barbarous, but perhaps not less royal taste, was exhibited in a very extensive collection of monstrosities. 'Mutezuma,' says a writer of the day, 'hath three great houses in a solitary place out of the way to refresh and recreate himself in the heate of summer; in one of these he hath great plentie of monstrous men, as dwarfes, crooke backs and men with one legge or two heades, &c., &c.' The vast extent and admirable arrangement of the Botanic Gardens of the emperor, as well as of other great lords, indicate refinement of a certain character, to which no European nation, at that age, had attained.

"The state maintained by the emperor, the populous condition of his harem, and the number of his attendants, who amounted to several thousands, all bore a strong resemblance to the luxurious court of an Oriental sovereign. 'No one of the Soldans,' says Cortes in his dispatches, 'nor any other infidel Signior, of whom I ever heard, has, to my belief, a court so stately and ceremonious.' In the minute descriptions of the day, handed down by curious observers, we find the great Montezuma, after his dinner, smoking tobacco from an ornamented pipe—apparently a novelty to his guests, though Columbus, many years before, had found the natives of Cuba in the habit of using the same herb in the form of cigars.

"Nothing surprised the Spaniards more than the gloomy 'House of Sorrow,' to which the emperor was accustomed to retire, on the death of any of his relations, or in event of any public calamity or failure. It was colored entirely black, and hardly a ray of light could penetrate through the little windows to the funereal apartments within. 'In this dismal habitation he used to continue until the time of Mourning was over, and often,' continues the fanatical Solis, 'here the Devil appeared to him; whether it be that the Prince of Darkness took delight in this abode of Horror, or for the Sympathy there is between that malignant Spirit and a melancholy Humour.'"^{*}

The emperor, to gratify the curiosity of his guests, four days after their arrival, conducted them to the most remarkable objects in the city. Among these were the great *tianguetz* or market-place, interesting from the multitude of its traders and the variety and richness of their wares, and the principal *teocalli*, or mound-temple, which they ascended by a winding path, a mile in length, and which, from its summit, presented a spectacle so magnificent, that those who had been at Rome and Constantinople exclaimed that they had never seen the like. The emperor, taking Cortes by the hand, pointed out the chief objects of interest; but that zealous champion of the Faith, eager for an opportunity to vindicate his creed, requested that he might be introduced to the presence of the Aztec deities.

The hideous scenes of sacrifice to which the Spaniards were accordingly conducted, described with revolting particularity by the observers, may be briefly represented. First, on the summit of the *teocalli*, they were shown the terrible Stone of Sacrifice, on which thousands of living bodies had been stretched, with the breast upheaved in the air, while the priest, with a sharp flint knife, laid open the space between two ribs, and plucking forth by main force the heart of the sufferer, held it up smoking in the sunshine as an offering to the deity. A hideous figure, resembling a dragon, presided over this dismal altar, and much blood, freshly spilt, attested the renecey of its use.

In a shrine which crowned the summit of the *teocalli*, were huge misshapen figures, hideous in their distortion, but brilliant with jewels and gold. Of these *Huitzilopochtli*, the Aztec god of war, who wore a necklace composed of human hearts and heads, wrought in the precious metals, and *Tezcatepuca*, the god of the infernal world, "covered with little serpent-tailed devils," were the most con-

^{*} Discoverers, &c., of America.

spicuous. The bodies of these images, so gaily tricked out with jewels and gold, were composed of the seeds of certain plants kneaded up with the blood of human beings, expressly slain for the manufacture. A number of hearts, recently extracted, lay before them, and the walls of their shrine, from long repetition of these hideous offerings, were covered with dried blood to the thickness of two fingers. Struck with horror at the revolting spectacle, Cortes raised his voice in vehement remonstrance against this sanguinary idolatry, but only succeeded in shocking the religious prejudices of his host, who, after the departure of his guests, remained, to deprecate, with renewed sacrifice, the supposed indignation of his gods.

In the great square below, the Spaniards beheld fresh evidences of this wholesale system of human butchery. There was a shrine built in the shape of a huge monster, with mouth wide open, as it were gaping for victims, and clotted, as usual, with the gore of innumerable sacrifices. "We never gave this accursed building," says Diaz, "any name except that of hell." On another teocalli which they visited, was a vast frame-work, covered with the skulls of more than a hundred thousand victims. Incredible as the statement may seem, "in the same square which contained all these enormities, were extensive and admirable institutions for the education of the youth of both sexes! Not to form too exaggerated an estimate of the horrors of Mexican theology, we must remember that, at this very time, and long afterwards, *human sacrifices*, in their most revolting form, were commonly celebrated by the most refined nations of Europe. On the score of humanity, the sharp flint and uprooted heart of the Aztec are surely preferable to the *san-benito* and the stake of the Spaniard; while, as to the *principle* involved, one can see little to choose between a blood offering to the shrine of the fierce Huitzilopochtli, or to that of some fantastic theory, such as the Real Presence."

CHAPTER VII.

UNPRINCIPLED SCHEME OF CORTES.—HIS TREACHEROUS SEIZURE OF MONTEZUMA.—BURNING OF THE AZTEC CHIEFS.—OUTRAGE ON THE EMPEROR'S PERSON.—FRUSTRATED CONSPIRACY OF THE PRINCES.—THE CACIQUES SWEAR ALLEGIANCE TO THE SPANISH CROWN.—AFFECTING SCENE.—GREAT TRIBUTE OF TREASURE.—RAPACITY OF CORTES.

A chapel was erected in the palace of Axayacatl, and mass was daily performed, with unusual decorum and solemnity of deportment, for the edification of the Aztecs. These, though little moved by the mysterious spectacle, continued to pay the most assiduous and hospitable attention to the thousands of strangers, both Spaniards and hostile Tlascalans, who, uninvited, had thrust themselves within the walls of the capital. But the ambitious mind of the Spanish leader, aiming at the immediate subjugation of the country, as the only means of attaining the countenance of his sovereign and eluding the vengeance of the incensed Velasquez, was ill at ease, and darkly revolved a plot, "the most daring, politic, and utterly unprincipled, which the mind of man could devise." This was to seize the person of his host, the generous and hospitable Montezuma, and thus gain instant possession of his realm.

Solemn prayer and religious service, as usual in any case of extreme audacity or villainy, was maintained by the Spaniards all the night previous to the attempt; and Cortes, during the same time, was heard pacing his room unquietly like one unable to rest from anxiety. In the morning, after mass and benediction, the general, with Alvarado, Sandoval, Lujo, Leon, and Avila, five of his bravest captains, repaired to the palace. The emperor was in a joyous mood, and, with his usual liberality, bestowed rich presents on his guests. A number of soldiers, by instruction, had gradually assembled in the court-yard, and Cortes (to use his own words), "after conversing with him in a sportive manner on agreeable topics, and receiving at his hand some jewels of gold, and *one of his own daughters*," abruptly changed his tone, and accused his host of the murder of two Span-

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iards, lately killed by one Quaupopoca, an Aztec chief, in the neighbourhood of Vera Cruz. Montezuma, with every appearance of surprise, declared that he would examine the case, and pulling off his signet, dispatched orders that all concerned in the affair should be transmitted for trial to the capital.

His design of a quarrel thus foiled, Cortes at last, with what civility he could, broached his insidious project, inviting the emperor, as a mark of confidence, to take up his abode in the Spanish quarters. Perceiving his danger, the unhappy sovereign turned pale, but presently, with a haughty flush on his face, replied, "When was it ever heard that a great prince, like myself, voluntarily left his palace to become a prisoner in the hands of strangers? If I should consent to such a degradation," he continued, in answer to their arguments, "my subjects never would." For two hours he resisted their vile importunity, but at length, threatened with assassination by the fierce Velasquez de Leon, was compelled to yield. Escorted amid the dense ranks of the Spaniards, he quitted his palace, never to return; and the people, who would have rescued him, were quieted by the assurance (which, to preserve some shadow of his dignity, he gave them) that the Spaniards were his friends, and that he was going with them of his own accord. In justice to Cortes, his end attained, he omitted no attention or show of deference to his captive. Much of the royal establishment was removed to the fortified palace of Axayacatl, where he held his court, and governed his empire nearly as usual. The nobleness, generosity, and affability of his demeanour, appear to have inspired the highest admiration and affection in his captors; but they guarded him with the utmost strictness, well knowing that if their imperial hostage were once free, the whole Aztec population would rise in arms against them.

The accused cacique, Quaupopoca, ere long arrived at court, with fifteen other chiefs, all participant in the act of hostility. Their fate was committed to Cortes, or rather usurped by him, and practising a cruelty, the continually repeated disgrace of the Spanish name, he caused them all to be burned alive in front of the palace. Their funeral pyres were composed of a vast quantity of arrows and javelins, taken from the royal arsenal, to diminish the danger of an attack from the citizens. While this atrocious sentence, which the victims underwent with true Indian fortitude, was carried into execution, Cortes, with an attendant, bearing fetters, entered the chamber of the unfortunate Montezuma. With harsh reproaches,

he ordered them to be fastened to the feet of his captive, and then abruptly quitted him. That unhappy prince, for the first time really awakened to the terrific nature of his fall, uttered low and half-suppressed moans, while his attendants, weeping, held his feet in their arms, and tried, by inserting their mantles, to mitigate the harsh contact of the naked iron. The chiefs reduced to ashes, Cortes reëntered the apartment, and took off the chains with his own hands. The spirit of his captive was completely broken, and he thenceforward submitted like a child to nearly every requirement of his conqueror.

"There is, perhaps, hardly a passage in history more curious than this transaction in the capital of the Aztecs—and could the damning accompaniments of treachery, ingratitude, and cruelty be left out, it might stand as the most splendid example of policy, boldness, and success that ever was recorded. Its effect, for a time, was certainly to put the Spaniards in complete possession of the government of all Mexico. Little compunction seems to have been felt by the actors, exultant in success. Diaz, fifty years afterwards, writes: 'Now that I am old, I frequently revolve and reflect on the events of that day, which appear to me as fresh as if they had just passed, such is the impression they have made upon my mind. I say, it was not we who did these things, but that all was guided by the hand of God. * * * There is much food for meditation in this,'" &c.

The caciques and princes of Mexico, unprepared to prevent the unexpected seizure of their lord, and still uncertain of his exact relations with the Spaniards, though deeply concerned at his detention, continued, for the most part, to pay him the most loyal obedience. Chief among the few who felt the true degradation of the empire, and resolved on attempting its deliverance, was his young nephew Cacama, the prince of Tezcuco. Next to Montezuma, he was the most powerful lord in Mexico, his capital (Tezcuco) containing an hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, and though by the ambition of his brother Ixtlilxochitl, despoiled of a portion of his territory, was an enemy by no means to be despised. With the brother of the emperor and a few other great lords, he now conspired to restore the imprisoned monarch to liberty, and drive the wizard Spaniards and the hated Tlascalans from the land. To the demands of Cortes that he should give in his allegiance to the king, and to his treacherous invitations to visit the capital, this high-spirited prince replied that "he knew nothing of the Spanish sovereign

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nor his people, nor did he wish to know any thing of them—that he would come to Tenochtitlan indeed, but with his sword in his hand, to rescue the emperor and the Aztec gods from slavery." But while preparing to fulfil this patriotic threat, he was treacherously entrapped, and, with his principal confederates, carried in chains to Mexico.

Cortes, now feeling secure in his position, proceeded rapidly with the work of survey and colonization—his task being aided by a map, admirably delineated, of an hundred and forty leagues of the coast, presented to him by Montezuma. He next exacted from that sovereign a formal recognition of the authority of the Spanish crown. The caciques, summoned from all parts of the empire, with surprise and regret, heard their emperor require that their allegiance should be transferred to these strangers—the same, he informed them, whose coming had so long been foretold. "I now beseech you," he said, "to give them some token of submission; they require it of me; let no one refuse. For eighteen years that I have reigned, I have been a kind monarch to you, you have been faithful subjects to me; since my gods will have it so, indulge me with this one instance of your obedience." Tears fell from his eyes, and the caciques, also weeping bitterly, assured him that his will had always been their law, and should be at once complied with. All took the required oath, in presence of many officers and soldiers, "not one of whom," says a witness, "could refrain from weeping, on beholding the agitation and distress of the great and generous Montezuma." With excessive rapacity and impudence, Cortes now suggested that a splendid present be prepared for his master, the king of Spain, and accordingly couriers were dispatched for the collection of treasure to all parts of the kingdom.

In addition to the tribute thus obtained, the emperor bestowed upon his gaoler a great hoard of jewels and gold, wrought with masterly skill, which had been amassed by Axayacatl, and the existence of which, in a private room at their quarters, the Spaniards had discovered. "Take this gold," he said, "which is all that could be collected on so short a notice, and also the treasure which I derive from my ancestors, and which you have seen. And this which I now give," he added, with touching truth, laying a few splendid remains of his regalia with the rest, "is the last of the treasure which has remained with me." The whole amounted to the value of six or seven millions of dollars at the present day, but the common soldiers hardly received a thousand dollars a-piece, the lion's

share being reserved for the crown, for Velasquez, and for Cortes and his favourites. All the eloquence and all the promises of the general could hardly reconcile these rough spirits to their palpable defraudment, and induce their acceptance of the paltry share allotted to them; but with the true national passion for gambling, they made cards from their drum-heads, and passed day and night in staking all that they possessed.

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGIOUS ZEAL OF CORTES.—DISCONTENT OF THE MEXICANS.
—DANGEROUS POSITION OF THE SPANIARDS.—TRANSACTIONS AT THE COURT OF SPAIN.—VELASQUEZ DISPATCHES AN EXPEDITION AGAINST CORTES.—CORTES MARCHES AGAINST NARVAEZ.—DEFEATS AND TAKES HIM PRISONER.—HIS POLITIC CONDUCT AFTER VICTORY.—HIS FORCES GREATLY AUGMENTED:

AMID these miserable reverses and spoliations, the emperor, de-throned in all but name, preserved, for the most part, a truly royal yet affable demeanour. "It is impossible," says Diaz, "to describe how noble he was in every thing he did, nor the respect in which he was held by every one around him." On the point of religion, however, he stood firm, and all the arguments and persuasions of the friars, as well as of Cortes himself, who daily introduced the subject, were of no effect either on his heart or understanding. "The Devil," argues De Solis, "had got such an Ascendant over his Mind that no Arguments were of force enough to touch his obdurate Heart. It was not known whether he had a Communication from the Devil, or if he continued to appear to him, as usual, after the *Spaniards* arrived at *Mexico*; on the contrary, it was believed as certain, that from the first appearance of the *Cross of Christ* in that City, all those infernal Invocations lost their Force, and the Oracles became silent." It may be imagined, then, how every feeling of religion, of association, and of superstition, was shocked when Cortes proposed that the great *teocalli*, the most venerated structure in all Anahuac, should be yielded up for the use of the Christian worship. "Why, oh Malin-

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che,"* he said, "will you urge matters to an extremity that must surely bring down the vengeance of our gods, and stir up an insurrection among the people?" But, after a conference with his priests, "with much agitation and the appearance of deep sorrow, he heavily consented" that the Christians should occupy one of the sanctuaries on its summit. Accordingly, an image of the Virgin was set up, and the Mass and other Catholic rites were now solemnly performed, day by day, hard by the blood-stained dwellings of Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipuca.

Thus far the people, with extraordinary patience, and unable to divorce in their minds the ancient authority of the emperor from its usurpation by the Spaniards, had meekly submitted to every exaction and encroachment. But mankind will far more readily put up with any other species of grievance and oppression than with the least affront to old hereditary faith or superstition. Ominous indications of an approaching storm were soon visible. The caciques and nobles held long and gloomy conferences with their sovereign, and the latter finally announced to Cortes (by direct information from Satan, says a Spanish historian) that the Aztec deities, their shrines profaned, were preparing the destruction of the invaders. For their own sake, he counselled the Spaniards to leave the city at once, before a general rising of the people should cut off all chance of escape. To allay the public excitement, the general now promised to leave the country as soon as vessels could be procured; and, to give confidence to his words, ordered the construction of several on the coast. His real object, it is probable, was to gain time for the arrival of expected reinforcements.

Meanwhile, the Spanish camp was filled with gloom and apprehension, and the strictest vigilance was used to prevent a surprise. The horses stood night and day ready equipped for service, and the soldiers slept on their arms, as if in the very presence of battle. While thus harassed by constant fear and suspicion, their condition was rendered still more precarious by the arrival of startling tidings from the coast.

The vessel dispatched to Spain by Cortes with tidings of his first achievements, after touching at Cuba, contrary to orders, had held her way to Europe, and in October, 1519, had arrived at the port of San Lucar. The news which she brought, and the magnificent dis-

* This was the native appellation of Marina, the mistress of Cortes, a name soon generally applied to himself by the whole population of Mexico.

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play of treasure, (the early gifts of Montezuma,) now, for the first time, realizing the golden visions of Western ambition, threw all Spain into a fever of excitement; but owing to the adverse influence of Bishop Fonseca and others, the agents of Cortes were unable to effect any thing in his favour with the emperor, Charles V.; and in May, 1520, allured by schemes of European aggrandizement, that sovereign left his kingdom without attempting to settle the command of Mexico, or to further the daring and ill-supplied enterprise for its conquest. As for Velasquez, from the moment he learned the value of the invaded province, and the defection of his general, he set to work with indescribable fury and energy to wrest back the authority which he had so incautiously bestowed, and to achieve an adequate revenge upon his treacherous ally and revolted vassal. By extraordinary exertions, he fitted out a fleet of eighteen sail, well provided with artillery and other munitions of war, and manned by nine hundred men, eager to share in the anticipated spoil of the wealthiest kingdom in the Indies. Pamphilo de Narvaez, the governor's favourite officer—a bold, rash, and arrogant man—was placed in command, and the fleet, sailing in March, 1520, arrived at San Juan de Ulua in the latter part of April.

The rage of Narvaez, on learning of the independence and the extraordinary success of Cortes, was extreme. He proclaimed him a traitor, and sent a priest and a notary to demand the surrender of the fortress of Vera Cruz. But Sandoval, the youthful commander of that post, one of the bravest and fiercest leaders of the conquest, was a devoted adherent of Cortes. He set up a gallows, avowing that he would suspend from it any who might show a sign of disaffection; and, on the arrival of his legal and clerical visitors, bound them hand and foot, and sent them post haste ("like so many damned souls," says the narrative) on the backs of Indian porters, to Mexico. Relays, as usual, were waiting to receive them every few miles, and thus they were transferred from back to back, and hurried, bewildered by their strange conveyance, in a wonderfully-short time, to the capital. Accurate pictures, as usual, of the fleet and the strangers had been dispatched to Montezuma by his officials, and though most of the soldiers exulted in the supposed reinforcement, Cortes shrewdly suspected the real nature of the expedition, and resolved, at every hazard, to hold fast to the brilliant prize which he had won.

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treated them in the most gracious manner, "said so many civil things to them, and anointed their fingers so well with gold, that in a few days he sent back, as tractable as lambs, those who had set out against him like roaring lions." By their hands he dispatched a conciliatory message to Narvaez, tendering submission, if the latter were provided with a royal commission, well knowing that he had none. He also sent the worthy Father Olmedo, an ecclesiastic popular from his wit and good-humour, as well as formidable from his powers of policy and intrigue, with a liberal supply of gold, to make a party in his favour among the new comers. He next resolved on a step of extraordinary boldness and hazard. It was nothing less than to sling himself boldly into the enemy's camp, and trust to his own popularity, and the tried valour of his soldiers, to gain the entire command of Mexico.

Leaving an hundred and forty men, under charge of Pedro de Alvarado, to hold the city and the captive emperor, he set forth in the middle of May, with only seventy men, on his way to the coast. Reinforced at Cholula by Velasquez de Leon, whom, with an hundred and twenty, he had lately dispatched to found a certain colony, he marched to Tlasecala, and was soon joined by sixty more, being the late garrison of Vera Cruz, under command of the devoted Sandoval. As he approached Cempoalla, where the force of Narvaez was quartered, he sent forward Velasquez de Leon, a relation of the governor, but a staunch adherent to his own faction, on a fresh errand of insinuation among the hostile forces.

On a dark and stormy night, he arrived before the city, and harangued his troops in a strain of rude and forcible eloquence. He recounted their perils, their losses, their wonderful achievements; "and now, gentlemen," he continued, "Narvaez comes, and immediately upon landing proclaims war against us, with fire, sword, and rope, as if we were infidel Moors." So fired were the soldiers with this rough but stirring address, that all cried out that they were resolved to conquer or die, and that if he again spoke of dividing the country with his rival, they would plunge their swords into his body. Meanwhile the cacique of Cempoalla vainly remonstrated with Narvaez on his supineness. "What are you doing?" he cried, "and how careless are you! Do you think Malinche and his Teules* are so? I tell you that when you least expect it, he will come upon you and put you all to death." But that commander, confiding in

* Spirits or supernatural beings—demons.

the number of his troops and the strength of his position, treated the alarm lightly, and even boasted, it is said, that he would cut off Cortes' ears, broil them, and eat them.

In the dead of night, his adversary, with two hundred and sixty men, shrouded by the storm, moved warily into the town. As he approached the camp of Narvaez, the alarm was given, and the invaders, shouting "Santo Spirito! Santo Spirito!" rushed on to the attack. Before the garrison could get fairly on their guard, the enemy were in their midst, and though Narvaez and many of his people made a gallant resistance, yet by firing the sanctuary, which they were defending, they were compelled to yield. Their leader, receiving a disabling blow, cried, "Holy Mary, assist me! they have killed me, and struck out one of my eyes." The party of Cortes caught up the word. "Narvaez is killed! victory, for the Holy Spirit!" was shouted by all, and the remaining portions of the garrison, which still held out, supposing their leader killed, surrendered. "With a loss of only six of his men, and twice that number of the enemy, Cortes had succeeded in overcoming a force three times greater than his own, strongly intrenched and provided with artillery. This remarkable result was owing partly to the favourable circumstances of the night, partly to the suddenness and fury of his attack, and still more, perhaps, to the interest which his gold had procured him among the new levies.

"By this time," says a witness, "it was clear day. Cortes, seated in an arm-chair, a mantle of orange colour thrown over his shoulders, his arms by his side, and surrounded by his officers and soldiers, received the salutations of the cavaliers, who, as they dismounted, came up to kiss his hand. It was wonderful to see the affability and the kindness with which he spoke to and embraced them, and the compliments which he made to them." Nearly all, both officers and soldiers, took the oath of allegiance to him as Captain-General, and were assured that they should share in the fruits of the Conquest. Thus, by an extraordinary concurrence of policy, audacity and good fortune, he suddenly found himself, as if by magic, from a desperate adventurer, the commander of a large and well-appointed force for the retention and extension of his conquests." The new recruits were still further propitiated by the restoration of all their horses, arms, and other articles which had been seized on the night of the attack; and such liberal presents were showered upon them as to excite the envy and discontent of the successful faction. They compared the conduct

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of their general to that of Alexander, who, it was said, always lavished more favours on the vanquished than on those who had won him the victory.

CHAPTER IX.

MASSACRE OF THE CACIQUES BY ALVARADO.—THE GARRISON BESIEGED.—CORTES RETURNS TO MEXICO.—HIS ANGER AND INSOLENCE.—GENERAL ATTACK BY THE AZTECS.—DESPERATE CONFLICT FOR MANY DAYS.—MONTEZUMA ADDRESSES THE PEOPLE.—DISASTROUS RESULT.—THE GREAT TEOCALLI TAKEN BY STORM.

THE exultation which Cortes had evidently felt at his wonderful success was almost immediately damped by disastrous tidings from the capital. Alvarado, his deputy, (afterwards the Conqueror of Guatemala,) a man of equal ferocity and courage, had granted permission to a great number of the Aztec nobility to celebrate in the court of the chief teocalli, fronting the Spanish quarters, a grand dance in honour of their god Huitzilopochtli. Six hundred in number, unarmed, and attired in their gayest robes, like the Mame-lukes of Ali, they entered the fatal square. But while they were fully engaged in this solemnity, Alvarado, excited by the vague report of conspiracy, with a cruelty and rashness almost incredible, had fallen on these defenceless beings with his ferocious soldiery, and had butchered them to a man! The pavement ran with blood, as with water after a heavy rain; and the bodies of the victims, rich in golden ornaments, were plundered, with shameless rapacity, by their murderers. Maddened at this outrage, the Aztecs, hitherto so peaceful and submissive, had risen *en masse* against the garrison. Seven of the Spaniards were killed and a great number wounded. Two brigantines, which they had built, were destroyed; and though the assailants, at the intercession of Montezuma, finally desisted from the attack, it was only to form a regular blockade of the palace, to destroy the Spaniards and their six thousand allies by famine. Leaving only a hundred men at Vera Cruz, Cortes, with the remainder of his force, amounting to a thousand foot and one hun-

dred horsemen, marched rapidly to the relief of the garrison. At Tlascala he was reinforced by two thousand of the hardy warriors of that republic. Thus strengthened, he pushed on to the Valley with all speed, and soon reached the great city of Tezcuco. Every thing betokened an ominous change. Very few inhabitants were to be seen, and the cold, unfriendly looks of those evinced, in despite of prudence, the extent of their animosity. On the 24th of June, 1520, crossing the causeway, Cortes, riding gloomily at the head of his columns, reëntered Mexico. The utter desertion and silence of the streets afforded a striking contrast to the eager and multitudinous manner in which they had been thronged on his first memorable entrance into that ill-fated city. Arrived at the palace, he answered sternly to the relation of Alvarado, "You have done badly. You have been false to your trust. Your conduct has been that of a madman." He refused to listen or speak to Montezuma, who came to offer his welcome, and the captive emperor, deeply wounded and offended, retired to his apartment. The conduct of Cortes, on this his second visit to the capital, evinces a degree of passion and irritability of which we find few exhibitions in his whole career, and which was due partly to the insolence of suddenly-acquired power, and in part to the extraordinary perplexities of his position.

More than twelve hundred Spaniards and eight thousand Tlascalans were now crowded in the palace of Axayacatl, scantily supplied with food, and utterly shunned by the Mexican population. To a renewed request for an interview by Montezuma, Cortes, to the displeasure of his own captains, fiercely answered, "Away with him! the dog! why does he neglect to supply us? * * What do I owe," he fiercely continued, in answer to their remonstrances, "to a dog who treated secretly with Narvaez, and who neglects to send provisions? Go tell your master and his people," he said, turning furiously to the Aztec caciques, "to open the markets, or we will do it for them, and to their cost." This haughty message, faithfully reported, increased the sullenness of the aggrieved Mexicans; and Cortes, at a suggestion of Montezuma, dismissed his brother Cuitlahua, who had been captured with Cacama, to treat with the populace in behalf of the Spaniards.

But the released cacique, a man of brave and patriotic character, and the destined successor to the throne, so far from fulfilling his invidious commission, at once took command of the insurgents, and encouraged them to a general assault. The effect was almost imme-

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diate. Every roof and terrace surrounding the palace was soon covered with a dense throng of Aztec warriors, who sent showers of missiles among the garrison, and every avenue was filled with a strong column, moving on, with fierce yells and whistlings, to the assault. Regardless of the repeated discharges of artillery, by which hundreds were swept away, they pressed up to the rampart. "Some put themselves," says a Spanish author, with disparaging acknowledgment, "under the very Cannon, and assaulted with incredible Resolution, making Use of their flinted Instruments to break the Gates, and pick the Walls; Some got upon their Companions' Shoulders to come within reach of their Weapons; Others made Ladders of their own Lances and Pikes to gain the Windows and Terraces; and all in general exposed themselves to Fire and Sword like enrag'd Beasts. *Notable Instances of a fearless Temerity, and which might have passed for gallant Actions, had true Valour performed that, which, in Reality, was no other than a salvage Ferocity.*"

All day the contest raged with great fury, the Indians battering the ramparts with timbers, and pressing on, regardless of havoc made in their dense ranks by the artillery. They burned the combustible portion of the palace, and drove back the Spaniards, who, under Diego Ordaz, made a determined sally, with considerable loss. Nightfall, according to the custom of Anahuac, stayed the assault; but early the next morning the square and its approaches were again filled with warriors, orderly arrayed under the great standard of Mexico, and commanded by the fierce Cuiclahua in person. The Spanish general, as they approached, ordered a general discharge of musketry and artillery, and then, with the most efficient portion of his army, sallied forth, and charged furiously into the dense columns of the enemy. He drove them to a barricade, which was levelled by the artillery, and a conflict ensued, hand to hand, with such desperation and recklessness of life as the Spaniards had never witnessed before. "Some of our Soldiers who had been in Italy swore," says Diaz, "that neither among Christians or Turks, nor the King of France's artillery, had they ever seen such desperation as was manifested in the attacks of those Indians." So great was the number of the Mexicans, that no amount of slaughter weakened their strength—fresh warriors continually pressing to the combat, and every canal swarming with canoes, ready to carry off prisoners for sacrifice. Nearly the whole day was spent in this terrible conflict, but the Spaniards and Tascalans, after burning several hundred houses,

finally, with much loss, regained their fortress. At nightfall, as usual, the besiegers ceased hostilities, with the exception of showers of arrows, which they kept up during the night, with shrill cries and whistlings. Their wild animals, they assured the Spaniards, had been kept fasting for two days, to devour them. They made many other threats, equally terrifying to the imagination, and, at times, with a child-like vacillation of feeling, would plaintively entreat that their king might be released to them.

Another desperate attempt was made, the next morning, to take the palace by storm; but all who succeeded in scaling the walls were slain by those within. Cortes, founding some hope on the devoted loyalty which the people exhibited, now resolved to try the effect of the emperor's intercession in person. The unfortunate Montezuma was exceedingly reluctant to make the attempt, alleging that the people would never listen to him, nor suffer a Spaniard to leave the walls alive. Overpowered at length by repeated persuasion, he put on, for the last time, his magnificent robes of state, and with a few Aztec nobles, who still faithfully attended on his person, proceeded to the battlements. "A change, like magic, came over the scene. The clang of instruments, the fierce cries of the assailants, were hushed, and a death-like stillness pervaded the whole assembly, so fiercely agitated, but a few moments before, by the wild tumult of war. Many prostrated themselves on the ground; others bent the knee; and all turned with eager expectation toward the monarch whom they had been taught to reverence."*

Montezuma, in a composed, royal, and paternal manner, addressed the vast multitude, which listened in the most absolute silence. The Spaniards, he assured them, would depart as soon as a way was peacefully opened. He commanded them to lay down their arms and retire to their homes; the strangers should return to their own land, and all should be well again in the walls of Tenochtitlan. As he concluded, four principal caciques came forward, and, with touching loyalty, lamented his misfortunes and captivity. Their prayers, they said, were daily offered for his safety; but they had sworn to their gods the destruction of every Spaniard. They would yet rescue him, and venerate him as before, and trusted that he would pardon their boldness. But the more ferocious spirits in the crowd, enraged at seeing their emperor in the hands of the enemy, now raised a storm of invective. Stones began to fly, and though the Spaniards hastily

* Prescott's Conquest of Mexico.

put up their bucklers to shield his person, the unhappy prince received three wounds, one in the head, which laid him senseless on the rampart. Horror-stricken at this act of sacrilege, the vast multitude simultaneously uttered a terrible cry or groan, which resounded through the whole city, and then, dispersing in all directions, left the square utterly deserted. Their ill-fated monarch, borne to his apartment, was recovered from his swoon, but only to fall into an agony of grief at the treatment he had undergone. He tore the bandages from his head as often as they were applied, refused all food or medicine, and was evidently determined to end his life and dignity together.

The attack, awhile suspended by this melancholy incident, was ere long renewed with fresh fury, and from the great *teocalli*, commanding the palace, a perfect tempest of stones and arrows was showered upon the garrison. With the boldness of desperation, Cortes resolved on taking it by storm, and with three hundred cavaliers, and several thousand Tlascalans, made a furious sortie from his fort. The summit was only to be gained by a winding pathway, a mile in length, four times encircling the vast edifice; and as the Spaniards slowly forced their way along, huge stones, beams, and every species of missile, came thundering on their heads from above. By desperate exertions they finally gained the great plateau of the temple, where, in full view of the whole city and the beleaguered garrison, a combat, hand to hand, was maintained with the utmost valour and resolution by both parties, for the space of three hours. There was no parapet on its verge, and the combatants, in the heat of their engagement, frequently missed their footing, and met a horrible death on the rocky pavement below. "Here," says Diaz, with enthusiasm, "Cortes showed himself the man he really was! what a desperate engagement we had there! every man of us covered with blood, and above forty dead upon the spot." Victory finally declared for the Spaniards and their allies, every one of the many hundreds of Aztec warriors who had manned the post being slain or hurled from the summit. The image of the war-god was also flung down among his worshippers, and the sanctuary was fired; after which, many of his men being dead, and all badly wounded, Cortes, with great difficulty, regained his quarters. That same night, he made another sally, and burned three hundred houses—no easy task, as, from the nature of their construction, each dwelling was necessarily fired separately.

CHAPTER X.

CORTES PREPARES TO LEAVE THE CITY.—DEATH OF MONTEZUMA.—THE "NOCHE TRISTE," OR MISERABLE NIGHT.—GREAT SLAUGHTER OF SPANIARDS AND TLASCALANS ON THE CAUSEWAY OF TACUBA.—THE RETREAT TO TLASCALA.—BATTLE OF OTUMBA, AND EXTRAORDINARY VICTORY OF THE SPANIARDS.

THOUGH his situation was evidently getting desperate, the Spanish leader thought it prudent to preserve a confident demeanour, and accordingly proposed peace to the Mexicans, but only on the condition of their submission, threatening that otherwise he would destroy their city and every soul of its inhabitants. But the besiegers, with equal spirit, answered, that if they could only kill a single Spaniard for the loss of every thousand of their own people, it would be enough, for they had computed his number and their own. "The bridges," they added, "are broken down, and you cannot escape. There will be too few of you left to glut the vengeance of our gods." An immediate retreat, though involving the utmost hazard, was now resolved on; and it was determined to attempt forcing an outlet by the causeway of Tlaeopan or Taeba, the shortest, and therefore the safest of the several approaches to the city. To clear the principal street, leading to this precarious means of egress, a huge tower on wheels was constructed, and, filled with armed Spaniards, was rolled along to attack the enemy on the terraces. After some days of desperately hard fighting, in which Cortes and the other cavaliers distinguished themselves by the utmost bravery, less than seven canals, by which the street was crossed, had been filled up, and the passage to the causeway was at last considered clear.

The life of the unhappy Montezuma, who, preserving an utter silence, firmly rejected all food or medicine, was fast drawing to its close. The worthy Father Olmedo and others, with a generous, though mistaken anxiety for his salvation, used every effort to induce him to profess the faith; but he waved the crucifix aside, and finally said, coldly, "I have but a few moments to live, and will not at this hour desert the faith of my fathers." He then entreated Cortes to

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protect his children, and endeavour to secure to them, from the Spanish monarch, some portion of their inheritance. "Your lord will do this," he said, "if it were only for the friendly offices I have rendered to the Spaniards, and the love I have shown them—though it has brought me to this condition! But for this I bear them no ill-will." Having spoken these words, he expired, on the 30th of June, 1520, at the age of forty-one, after a reign of eighteen years. "Of all

'Sad stories of the death of kings,'

none, perhaps, is more strange and affecting than that of this ill-fated sovereign of a half-civilized empire, in the midst of a universal reverence, hardly short of adoration, so suddenly struck down by the hand of a mysterious Destiny, and doomed, after drinking the dregs of humiliation at the hands of his oppressors, to perish by those of his own distracted people. Fierce and rude as were the old 'Conquistadors,' they appear to have felt some natural compunction at the melancholy fate of one whose generous and hospitable spirit they had so often experienced, and whose utter ruin their own violence had occasioned. 'Cortes and our captains wept for him,' says Diaz, 'and he was lamented by them and all the soldiers who had known him, as if he had been their father; nor is it to be wondered at, *seeing how good he was.*' His remains, royally attired, were delivered to his people, and were borne away. A distant sound of wailing and lamentation was heard; but, to this day, the resting-place of the Last of the Montezumas is forgotten and unknown.*

The night of the following day (July 1st) proving dark and stormy, hasty preparation was made for departure. Eight wounded horses and eighty Tlascalans were loaded with treasure: but a vast quantity still remained scattered on the floor of the palace. "Let every soldier take what he will," said Cortes; "better so, than that it should remain for these dogs of Mexicans." Most of the soldiery, especially the new comers, hastened to load themselves with the precious encumbrance; though the veterans were more wary in assuming a burden which might prove so fatal. Mass was solemnly performed, and in the dead of night, the relics of the two armies, as quietly as possible, defiled into the streets, which were quite deserted. The first ranks had emerged on to the causeway, when the alarm was given by a sentinel. "The Teules are going!" was yelled by a

* Discoverers, &c., of America.

hundred voices. The great drum on the *teocalli** sent forth its dismal sound, and with the swiftness of enchantment an innumerable swarm of Aztec warriors, with fierce whoops and whistlings, closed round the devoted columns both by land and water. With admirable strategy, though doubtless fully prepared, they had deferred their assault until the moment when it could be made with the most fatal effect.

Fighting their way valiantly, the Spaniards soon came to a breach in the causeway, and, in the midst of a storm of missiles, succeeded in laying across it a strong portable bridge, constructed for such an emergency. Over this the whole army slowly defiled, defending themselves with desperate valour against the Aztecs, who, from both sides, attacked them fiercely, running their canoes against the causeway with such fury as to dash them asunder. Another breach, ere long, arrested their progress, and when the rear-guard attempted to raise the bridge, it was found, by the pressure of the heavy artillery, to be immovably wedged between the piers. The Indians redoubled their attacks, and the whole mass of fugitives pressing forward, forced the front ranks into the second chasm, which gradually became filled with cannon, wagons, and the bodies of men and horses. Over this horrible wreck the survivors slowly struggled, but only to be stopped by a third breach, which finally was filled up in the same hideous manner. During all this time, the Mexicans were busy in dragging victims into their canoes and hurrying them off for sacrifice. Indeed, to the intense anxiety which they felt for this object, the Spaniards, in these wars, were frequently indebted for their lives; for the hope of offering the hearts of the detested strangers to their gods frequently induced them to relinquish the certainty of slaughter for a bare chance of making prisoners.

During all the remainder of this terrible night (still known as the *Noche Triste*†) the relics of the Spanish and Tlascalan force, using their weapons with the resolution of despair, worked their way onward, and by day-light gained the firm land. Cortes, on beholding how few were left, covered his face with his hands, and burst into tears. Four hundred and fifty Spaniards, in this frightful passage, had been slain or carried off for sacrifice, and, with the previous

* This drum, of immense size, was made of the skins of serpents, and was beaten only on the most solemn occasions. Its deep and melancholy tones could be heard for leagues.

† "Sad," or "Terrible Night."

losses, only a third of the number which had entered the city remained. Four thousand Tlascalans had met the same fate, and this, with their losses in the siege, reduced their ranks to less than a fourth of their original number. All the artillery and muskets were lost, and nothing was left the wearied and wounded adventurers but the swords with which they had hewed their way through the enemy.

But for the exultation of the victors, and the eagerness with which they proceeded to celebrate their triumph by sacrifice, the feeble remains of the invading force might easily have been overwhelmed. In the middle of the following night, Cortes led forth his men from a temple in which they had taken refuge, and marched by a circuitous route toward Tlascala. Suffering grievously from wounds, hunger, and fatigue, and diminished in number by desultory attacks of the enemy, on the 7th of July they arrived at the summit of a mountain overlooking the Valley of Otumba. The view it afforded was enough, it might seem, to quench the last hope of ever reaching their homes in safety. An immense army, prepared to intercept them, filled the valley, and being clad in white cotton doublets, gave it the appearance of a field of snow. Nothing remained for the allies but the courage of desperation; and Cortes, after a brief but stirring address, invoked the protection of the Virgin and St. Jago, and led his people down the mountain.

So furious was the charge of the little Spanish and Tlascalan force, that it broke into the dense mass of the Aztec army, and there, surrounded on all sides by overwhelming numbers, fought hand to hand with the fury of despair. All were determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, and the enemy, exultant with their recent victory, attacked with extraordinary fierceness. "Oh, what it was," says honest Diaz, "to see this tremendous battle! how we closed foot to foot, and with what fury the dogs fought us!" The ground was fortunately level, which enabled the little band of surviving cavaliers—Cortes, Olid, Sandoval and others—to charge with good effect; and by directing their assault entirely against the chiefs, who were conspicuous by their plumes, rich arms, and golden ornaments, they succeeded in greatly disordering the Mexican ranks. The contest raged for several hours, and the allies, fainting with wounds and fatigue, were almost overpowered, when a brilliant exploit of their leader redeemed the day. Looking eagerly for the chief caecique, Cortes at last espied him, in a litter, accompanied by the great standard, directing the fight. Followed by the other horsemen, he charged

with fury, broke through the ranks of his attendants, and, with a blow of his lance, dashed him to the earth. The banner was taken, and so great a panic seized his forces at this ominous misfortune, that they gave ground and retreated, leaving the field cumbered with dead bodies, yielding the richest spoil. This victory over a foe so vastly superior in numbers, is perhaps the most remarkable of any in these wars, as it was gained without the almost resistless advantage of artillery or any description of fire-arms.

CHAPTER XI.

FIDELITY OF THE TLASCALAN CHIEFS.—RESOLUTION OF CORTES.
 —THE WAR RENEWED.—GREAT SUCCESSSES OF THE SPAN-
 IARDS.—SAGACIOUS POLICY OF CORTES.—HE ACQUIRES
 A GREAT FORCE OF NATIVE ALLIES.—DEATH OF CUITLA-
 HUA, AND ACCESSION OF GUATEMOZIN TO THE AZTEC
 THRONE.—CORTES MARCHES TO THE VALLEY OF
 MEXICO.—TAKES UP HIS QUARTERS AT TEZCUCO.

ARRIVED at Tlascala, the relics of the force were received with unbounded kindness and hospitality, and the chiefs of that nation assured Cortes that they would stand by him to the death. Recovering with difficulty from a dangerous fever, brought on by his wounds, he learned of fresh misfortunes—forty-five of the garrison of Vera Cruz, marching to join him, having been cut off, with the loss of much treasure—and twelve others having been slain in Tepcaca. His followers, "cursing the gold they had left in the ditches of Mexico," clamored for a return to Cuba, and sent in a formal remonstrance, attested by a notary, against attempting any thing further. But despite these discouraging circumstances and his own feeble condition, their iron-souled general had determined on using every effort to wrest back the splendid prize, gained by such daring and fortune, and lost with such ruinous defeat. With his accustomed fire and eloquence, he replied to the malcontents, "giving at least ten reasons for his plan, to every one which they alleged against it." His commanding influence reasserted its wonted authority, and the

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veterans, attached to his person, overawed by their resolution the murmuring of the disaffected.

On the death of Montezuma, his brother Cuitlahua, the leader of the insurrection, had been duly elected monarch of the Aztecs. That brave and patriotic cacique, his capital repaired and fortified, now sent an embassy, bearing presents, to the Tlascalcan senate, proposing that past enmities should be forgotten, and that all Anahuac should rise to complete the sacrifice (brilliantly commenced at his own coronation) of the detested strangers. After a fierce debate among the caciques, Xicoteneatl strongly urging an acceptance of the proposed alliance, "ancient enmity proved more than equal to the claims of policy or religion." The overtures of Cuitlahua were peremptorily rejected, and the young chief who had advocated their acceptance, narrowly escaped with life from the hands of his enraged fellow-counsellors.

Cortes, recovered from his illness, lost no time in resuming the offensive. With four hundred Spaniards and as many thousand Tlascalans, he marched against Tepeaca, defeated the people of that hostile province in two sanguinary engagements, entered their capital in triumph, and reduced great numbers of the citizens to slavery. Established in this post, he made frequent sallies into the adjoining provinces, taking several strong places by storm, and putting their garrisons to the sword. On one occasion, he defeated a force of thirty thousand Mexicans, who had been sent against him, and by his own exertions and those of his officers, whom he dispatched on frequent expeditions, succeeded in conquering a wide extent of territory. He displayed great policy in his treatment of the vanquished, overlooking former offences, and attempting, with excellent success, to unite them all in a league against the Aztecs, to whom they had all been lately subjected. "Ever since his expulsion from Mexico, the Spanish leader had been brooding fiercely over the remembrance of his disastrous retreat, and planning new means to achieve the subjection of the Aztecs. That powerful and justly-enraged people, he well knew, could never be vanquished by the handful of Spaniards who remained, though the surprise of superstition, and his prompt, unscrupulous policy, had once opened the gates of their capital to a force equally insignificant. But to the powerful alliance of Tlascala was now added that of numerous other provinces, united by his address, and eager for plunder and revenge. Remembering the disasters of the causeway, he now resolved to attack Mexico by water.

He therefore dispatched his ship-builder, Martin Lopez, to Tlasecala, with orders to construct thirteen brigantines, using the iron and rigging which, with wonderful forethought, he had saved from the two fleets destroyed at Vera Cruz.*

A few of his people, who could not be reconciled to perseverance in the enterprise, he now dismissed, and by rare good fortune his ranks were speedily recruited. From two additional vessels which Velasquez had dispatched, and which his partisans entrapped at Vera Cruz, and from an unsuccessful expedition from Jamaica, he gained the reinforcement of an hundred and fifty soldiers, with a good supply of horses, arms, and ammunition. He again wrote to the emperor, of whose inclinations he yet remained totally ignorant, narrating his exploits and misfortunes, avowing his intention of persevering in the conquest, and requesting that the regions added by his arms to the Spanish crown might be honoured with the title of New Spain. A petition for the confirmation of his authority, signed by nearly every Spaniard in the country, was dispatched at the same time. Having thus, as far as possible, fortified his interests at court, the Spanish general devoted his undivided energy to the task of avenging his humiliation and completing the conquest.

The small-pox, imported in the fleet of Narvaez, had, as usual among a people unaccustomed to its virulence, committed terrible ravages throughout all Anahuac. Among the victims was Cuitlahua, who perished after a reign of only four months, distinguished, indeed, by policy, patriotism, and success. The caciques then elected to the sovereignty the famous Guatemozin, a nephew of the two late emperors, and, though young, already distinguished for his courage, patriotism, and inveterate enmity to the Spaniards. "He was a young man," says one who often saw him, "about the age of twenty-five years, of elegant appearance, very brave, and so terrible to his own subjects that they all trembled at the sight of him." This fierce and patriotic prince, from the moment of his accession, devoted every faculty to the defence of his country and the extirpation of the invaders. High rewards were offered for every Spaniard who should be slain, and still higher, if captured for sacrifice. The garrison of Mexico was strengthened and disciplined, and his subjects were every where commanded to hold out against the invaders to the last. The whole nation, animated by his intrepid spirit, resolved on resisting to the death.

* Discoverers, &c., of America.

The army of Cortes, reinforced as we have mentioned, now amounted to less than six hundred Spaniards, with forty horses and nine cannon—a force in itself preposterously inadequate to the vast exploit of subjecting the Aztec empire. But from Tlascala, Cholula, Tepeaca, and other conquered or allied provinces, a vast swarm of native warriors, amounting, it is said, to a hundred thousand, and already partially trained in European discipline, flocked to his standard. Leaving the greater part of those levies at Tlascala, to await his orders, the Spanish chief, on the 28th of December, 1520, set forth on his second invasion of the Valley of Mexico.

Crossing the mountains by rugged and difficult passes, the Spaniards once more came in view of that beautiful scene, the theatre of such marvellous adventure and fatal misfortune. "We could see," writes Cortes to the emperor, "all the provinces of Mexico and Temixtitlan, both on the lakes and around them. But although we regarded them with great satisfaction, this feeling was not unmixed with sadness, when we recalled the losses we had experienced there, and we all resolved never to quit the country again without victory, even should it cost us our lives." Meeting little opposition, except from desultory parties of skirmishers, the invaders approached the city of Tezeuco, which was destined for their head-quarters. Coanaco, sovereign of that city, (brother to Cacama, who perished in the "Noche Triste,") sent a friendly message to the advancing army; and on the 30th of December, it entered the city. It appeared almost deserted, and from the summit of the great *teocalli*, the Spaniards beheld the citizens pouring forth in multitudes, both by land and water. Great numbers, and among them Coanaco himself, had taken refuge in Mexico. Many relics of the victims of sacrifice, suspended in the temples—the heads and hands of Spaniards, and the shoes and skins of their horses—horrified the survivors, and increased their desire for vengeance.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST MEXICO RENEWED.—IZTAPALAPAN AND OTHER CITIES TAKEN BY STORM.—GREAT ACCESSIONS TO THE POWER OF CORTES.—BRIGANTINES TRANSPORTED OVERLAND FROM TLASCALA.—MANY BATTLES WITH THE AZTECS.—THEIR RESOLUTION.—CORTES MARCHES AROUND THE LAKES, AND STORMS MANY CITIES.—ARRIVES AT TACUBA.—SINGULAR DISPLAY OF EMOTION.

IXTLIXOCHITL, a fierce and warlike chieftain, who had wrested from his brother Cacama no small portion of territory, presently succeeded, by the authority of Cortes, to the sovereignty of the entire province of Tezcuco. Influenced by ambition and ancient enmity, he became a firm ally of the Spaniards, and, with his people, in the events which followed, rendered them the most important services. All was now eager and active preparation for the campaign. Eight thousand Indians were employed in digging a canal to the lake, which was half a league from the city, for the purpose of securely launching the brigantines, when completed. Cortes resolved to commence operations, by overpowering, one at a time, the many cities surrounding the lakes, in the hands of the Aztecs, and thus gradually compelling them to take refuge in their capital. He first marched with a strong force against Iztapalapan, formerly the capital of Cuitlahua, a city of fifty thousand inhabitants; and first defeating a large force which defended it without, took the place by storm. Six thousand, including women and children, perished under the vengeful weapons of the Spaniards and their allies. The town was also set on fire; but the exultation of the victors was damped by the despair of the vanquished, who, as a last resource, destroyed their dikes, and flooded the place with water. So sudden was the inundation, that they escaped with much difficulty, wet to the skin, with the loss of all their ammunition and plunder. Moreover, a large detachment from the garrison of Mexico, crossing in canoes, attacked them fiercely at daybreak, and they returned, with considerable loss, to Tezcuco.

Many cities and provinces now, from dread of his arms or enmity

to the Aztec rule, gave in their adhesion to Cortes; among them the city of Chalco, lying on the lake of that name, a place of considerable importance. To his demands for the surrender of the capital, Guatemozin returned an obstinate silence; but sufficiently showed his determination by energetic efforts for the defence of his city and the retention of his tributaries, as well as by sacrificing every Spaniard who fell into his hands. His people, however, crossing the lake in canoes, sustained several severe defeats from the allied forces.

Early in the spring of 1521, the brigantines, thirteen in number, were completed at Tlasecala. Protected by ten thousand warriors, under the cacique Chichemecat, they were carried piecemeal, by nearly as many labourers, over the mountains, and safely deposited in Tezcuco. For half a day, the long lines of porters and their escort continued to file into that city, with shouts of "Castile and Tlasecala! Long live the emperor!" This extraordinary undertaking, as we have seen, had been already achieved, on a smaller scale, by the unfortunate Balboa, who, five years before, had transported his vessels over the Isthmus, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Strengthened by the arrival of these auxiliaries, Cortes resolved, while the vessels were being put together, on making a brisk campaign against the enemy. With rather more than half his Spaniards and the whole force of natives, he attacked Xaltocan, a strong city, lying in the lake of that name, and accessible from the land only by causeways. The assailants, stopped by an impassable breach in that which they attempted to cross, were surrounded on all sides by canoes, and, overwhelmed with showers of missiles, were compelled to retreat. By means of a ford, however, they finally gained the town, which they took by storm, putting the garrison to the sword, and devoting the place to plunder and conflagration.

Next, the allies marched, with little resistance, to Tacuba, where, after twice defeating the Aztec force which protected it, they took up their temporary quarters. The Mexicans, undiscouraged by their misfortunes, engaged them daily, with various success. Once, by an artful manœuvre, they decoyed the Spanish general on the causeway so fatal to him the year before, and closing on his column, with a multitude of canoes, compelled him, with much loss, to retreat. The caciques fiercely rejected all attempts at negotiation, and sneeringly asked when he would pay them another visit. "They often pretended," he writes, "to invite us to enter the city, saying, 'Go in, go in, and enjoy yourselves!' and at another time they said to us,

'Do you think there is now a second Montezuma, to do every thing you wish?'" After remaining in Tacuba for six days, enlivened by continuous skirmishing, and many chivalrous personal combats, he led back his forces, considerably annoyed by the way, to their quarters in Tezcuco.

Perceiving that any attempt against the capital, strongly fortified, valiantly garrisoned, and accessible only by water, must at present be futile, he busied his people with lesser enterprises. Sandoval, one of his bravest and most skilful captains, marched, with a considerable force, against Huaxtepec, a strong fortress of the enemy, and took it by storm. Here was a splendid palace, with royal gardens, two leagues in circumference, stocked with every variety of plants. Thence this active commander proceeded to Jacapichtla, a fortress perched upon a huge rock, and almost inaccessible. The garrison defended themselves with desperation, rolling huge stones on the heads of the assailants; but the place was finally taken by storm, and all were put to the sword—the stream below running discoloured with blood, for the space of an hour. The people of Chalco, about this time, also defeated a large force of Aztecs, dispatched by Guatemozin, in two thousand canoes, against their city. Overawed, or encouraged by these successes, and by the probable downfall of Mexico, numerous provinces, some lying on the Gulf, now dispatched embassies, with a tender of their service and allegiance, to the Spanish general. But the Aztecs, unterrified at the circle of enemies daily closing around them, still fiercely maintained hostilities, and even made three desperate attempts to burn the brigantines on the stocks at Tezcuco.

A reinforcement of two hundred Spaniards, with eighty horses, probably from Hispaniola, now arrived at Vera Cruz, and thence took their way to head-quarters. Among them was Julian de Alderete, treasurer of the crown, and a Dominican friar, Fray Pedro Magarejo de Urrea, who, in anticipation of uncomfortable consciences, had laid in a goodly supply of papal indulgences. So great was the demand for these consolatory wares, that the reverend gentleman, at the end of a few months, returned to Spain with a handsome fortune.

Cortes now determined, during the interval which must elapse before the completion of the canal and the building of the brigantines, to make the complete circuit of the lakes, subduing numerous hostile cities by which they were still environed. With three

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hundred and thirty Spaniards and a force of natives, on the 5th of April, 1521, he set out for Chalco. At that city he was joined by twenty thousand warriors, dispatched by his allies of the neighbourhood, "and certainly attracted," says Captain Diaz, "by the hope of spoil and a voracious appetite for human flesh, just as the scald-crows and other birds of prey follow our armies in Italy, in order to feed on the dead bodies after a battle." Proceeding southerly, the army slowly forced its way over rugged sierras, experiencing considerable loss in attempting, with various success, the capture of several mountain fortresses, bravely defended by the Aztecs.

The towns were mostly deserted at the approach of the invaders, but on the ninth day, their advance was stopped at Cuernavaca, a strong and wealthy city, subject to the Aztec emperor, and, from its situation, almost impregnable. A narrow ravine, of frightful depth, lay just before the walls, from which the defenders kept up a shower of missiles, greatly annoying the perplexed assailants. A daring feat relieved the latter from the embarrassment of their situation. Two great trees, growing on opposite sides of the abyss and leaning together, interlocked their branches in mid-air. By this precarious footing, an active Tlascalan succeeded in secretly passing. Many of his countrymen and thirty of the Spaniards followed him—three only being lost in this frightful passage. Taken by surprise, the garrison were disconcerted; and Cortes, having effected another approach, poured in his forces, and drove them from the city. It was delivered to plunder, but the lives of the inhabitants, at the intercession of their cacique, were spared. This place, singularly favoured by nature, afterwards became a favourite residence of the victor.

Crossing the mountains, the allies next fell on a large and beautiful city on the lake, named Xochimilco, or "the field of flowers," from the floating gardens with which it was environed. An assault, attempted by the causeway, was repulsed by the Aztecs; but by fording the shallows, despite a spirited resistance, the invaders entered the city. Here a desperate battle ensued, in which Cortes narrowly escaped with his life. His horse fell, and half-stunned by a blow on the head, he was dragged away by the enemy, who manifested an intense anxiety to carry him off alive for sacrifice. He was finally rescued by the valour of the Tlascalans, and during a pause in the battle, ascended the *teocalli* to reconnoitre the scene of action. The causeways leading from the capital were crowded with troops, and

the lake was alive with canoes, all hurrying to the rescue of Xochimilco.

During the night, as usual, no attack was made, but in the morning, the Aztec army, increased by strong reinforcements, forced its way, with great courage, into the city. They were, however, repulsed by the artillery, and pursued by the Spanish cavalry; but the latter, in its turn, overwhelmed by the multitude of the enemy, was compelled to make a hasty retreat. Both armies soon became thoroughly engaged, and an obstinate battle, fought hand to hand, was long maintained. The Spaniards and Tascalans were finally triumphant, and pursued the defeated Aztecs, with terrible slaughter, on the road to Mexico. The town afforded much plunder; but the triumph was much alloyed by the sudden seizure of several Spaniards, who, taken unawares near the shore, were surprised by the canoes of the enemy, and carried off for sacrifice. The town was burned, and the army set out for Tacuba.

On the way, considerable fighting occurred. Once, overpowered by numbers, on a certain causeway, the Spaniards were compelled to retreat; and again, Cortes, with the cavalry, being decoyed into an ambush, owed his safety only to the most desperate exertions. Two of his favourite attendants were carried off alive—a circumstance which so affected him, that he rejoined the army "very sad and weeping." Arrived at Tacuba, he ascended the teocalli with his officers, and all were struck with the magnificence of the cities lying around the lake, and the vast number of canoes employed in fishing or rapidly passing to and fro. The grief of Cortes, on beholding the scenes of his former misfortunes, the strength of the enemy, and the prospect of renewed conflict and crime, was redoubled, and the emotion which he displayed became the subject of a rude ballad, which, or a portion of it, still survives.* The friar and his officers attempted to console him, assuring him that he was not Nero, rejoicing in the conflagration of Rome. His answer curiously betrays the secret working of a mind compunctious, perhaps, for past violence, yet seeking apology for its renewal. "You are my witnesses,"

* "*En Tacuba está Cortés,
cō su esquadron esforçado
triste estaua, y muy penoso
triste, y con gran cuidado,
la vna mano en la mexillo
y la otra en el costado,*" &c.

"In Tacuba was Cortes
With all his valiant crew.
Sad he stood and very mournful,
Sad, with mighty cares opprest;
One hand lifted to his cheek,
And the other on his breast," &c.

he said, "how often I have endeavoured to persuade yonder capital peacefully to submit. It fills me with grief when I think of the toils and dangers my brave followers have yet to encounter before we can call it ours. But the time is come when we must put our hands to the work."

CHAPTER XIII.

RETURN TO TEZCUCO.—CONSPIRACY AGAINST CORTES.—HIS EXTRAORDINARY POLICY AND SELF-COMMAND.—LAUNCHING OF THE FLEET.—EXECUTION OF XICOTENCATL.—DEFEAT OF A GREAT MEXICAN FLOTILLA BY THE FLEET.—MEXICO BLOCKADED.—CONTINUAL ASSAULTS ON THE CITY.
—COURAGE AND OBSTINACY OF THE COMBATANTS.

AFTER an absence of three weeks, the allied army, "fatigued, worn out, and diminished in numbers," regained its quarters at Tezcuco. A conspiracy, of the most dangerous nature, for the assassination of Cortes and his chief officers, had been matured during his absence; but one of those engaged in it, moved by remorse, on the day before that appointed for its execution, disclosed to him the whole matter. Forthwith he privately arrested Villafana, the chief of the conspirators, and found on his person a paper containing the names of all concerned in the plot. The culprit, by summary trial, was found guilty, and after duly receiving the consolations of the church, was hanged from a window of the apartment. Cortes, after glancing over the scroll, and indelibly impressing on his mind the names of his secret enemies, had destroyed it, and then, with extraordinary policy and presence of mind, gave out, in a public speech, that the accomplices of the criminal were unknown. He thus avoided compelling them to desperate measures or depriving his already scanty force of their services; while he was enabled to take precautions against their enmity by employing them at a distance from his person.

The canal, after two months' labour, was now completed, and the vessels, amid the firing of cannon, the celebration of mass, *Te Deum*, and other imposing ceremonies, were launched into the lake. A large gun was placed on board of each vessel, and three hundred Spaniards

were detailed for the management of the fleet. The force, in all, with late reinforcements, amounted to eighty-seven horse, and more than eight hundred foot; and a vast swarm of native allies, exultant in the prospect of conquest and plunder, summoned from all quarters, flocked to Tezeuco and Chaleo. The Tlascalans alone, under Xicotencatl and Chichemeecatl, numbered fifty thousand men. Half of these, with two hundred Spaniards, under Alvarado, were ordered to occupy Tacuba, and command the causeway of the "Noche Triste," while Olid, with an equal force, was dispatched to Cojohuacan, the terminus of another avenue leading from the capital. Cortes determined to take charge of the fleet in person, and to commence operations by a fresh attack on Iztapalapan, from the causeway of which he had been recently repulsed.

A singular instance of the fidelity of the Tlascalans presently occurred. Xicotencatl, between whom and Cortes there had never been any real cordiality, prompted by some private motive, suddenly left his command and hastened to Tlascala. This act of desertion was punished by his arrest, and speedily afterwards by his execution on the gallows, in the great square of Tezeuco; and, singular to state, this act of unscrupulous violence, committed against their bravest and most patriotic chief, does not appear to have alienated, in any serious manner, the attachment which that warlike people had conceived to the Spanish commander.

The campaign opened disastrously. Alvarado and Olid, setting forth in company, on the 10th of May (1521), soon reached Tacuba, where they took up their quarters. After some hard fighting, they succeeded in destroying a portion of the aqueduct of Chapultepec, and cutting off the copious supply of water which it had hitherto afforded to the capital. The next day they marched boldly on to the fatal causeway, the scene of the "Noche Triste." It was strongly fortified, and bravely defended by a multitude of Aztec warriors. Swarms of canoes, on either side, poured in a storm of missiles. Both Spaniards and Tlascalans fought long and obstinately, but were at last compelled, from the natural difficulty of the place and the valour of the defenders, to retreat, with much loss and grief, to their quarters in Tacuba. Olid, with his forces, the next day, marched, according to his orders, to Cojohuacan.

The assault under Cortes, in person, was more successful, and the terrors of a fleet under sail, provided with artillery, were now first displayed to the astonished Aztecs. Sandoval, by hard fighting, had

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taken a portion of Iztapalapan, and Cortes, sailing with the fleet to assist him, gained a signal victory on the way. Being assailed with missiles from a fort perched on a steep cliff, ("The Rock of the Marquess,") he landed, and taking the position by storm, put its defenders to the sword. As he reëmbarked, a vast number of canoes (four thousand, according to some accounts) came over from Mexico to give him battle. From their multitude and the brilliancy of the native arms and plumage, they formed a spectacle both beautiful and terrible. Favoured, however, by a sudden gust of wind, the brigantines bore down among these frail craft, and, dashing them asunder successively, whelmed their crews in the lake. "We broke," says the general in his dispatches, "an immense number of canoes, and destroyed many of the enemy in a style worthy of admiration. * * *

It was," he continues, "the most gratifying spectacle, as well as the most desirable one in the world."

Those who escaped took refuge in the canals of Mexico, and Cortes, following up his advantage, sailed round the city, every tower and terrace of which was covered with an innumerable multitude, watching with awe these new demonstrations of the power of the haughty strangers. After firing some shot among them, rather for bravado than attack, he sailed to Xoloc, where the great southern causeway was intersected by that of Cojohuacan. The garrison which occupied this important post was compelled to relinquish it, and the Spaniards took up their quarters there. The Aztecs, however, with invincible courage, endeavoured to regain it, day and night, especially from those basins which the vessels could not enter, keeping up such showers of arrows that the ground of the camp was completely covered with them. "The multitude," says Cortes, "was so great, that neither by land or water could we see any thing but human beings, who uttered such dreadful howls and outcries, that it seemed as if the world would come to an end. * * *

Considering," he presently proceeds, with extraordinary coolness and naïveté, "that the inhabitants of this city were rebels, and that they discovered so strong a determination to defend themselves or perish, I inferred two things; first, that we should recover little or none of the wealth of which they had deprived us; [!] and secondly, that they had given us occasion and compelled us utterly to exterminate them."

This terrible avowal was followed up by the action best adapted to ensure its fulfilment. The third causeway, that of Tepejacac, on the north, hitherto left open, was now occupied by a large force

under Sandoval, and the city was thus completely blockaded. A general assault was then made from each of these three approaches, Cortes, on foot, leading a heavy column over the great southern causeway, while his generals attempted those allotted to their charge. Neither Alvarado nor Sandoval, desperately opposed, were able to penetrate the city; but the force led by Cortes, assisted by the brigantines sailing on either side, despite the valiant defence of the Aztecs, carried barrier after barrier, and filled up breach after breach in the long dike which led to the great street of Mexico. As they forced their way, fighting furiously, up that splendid avenue, the scene, two years before, of their peaceful and triumphant entry, a tempest of missiles, from every roof and terrace, was showered upon their heads. They entered the houses, and by destroying the partitions, slowly forced their way into the heart of the city. They were held at bay for two hours before a strong stone barricade, which, however, was finally broken down by the artillery, and at last gained the great square. Here Cortes, with a number of his companions, ascended the *teocalli*, and with his own hand tore from the face of the idol, again enshrined in his gory dwelling, a mask of gold and jewels. As he rejoined his force below, the Aztecs made an attack so furious that the whole allied army, Spaniards and Tlascalans, were driven in confusion down the street. Nothing saved them from utter defeat, except the exertions of the cavalry, who in some measure were enabled to protect their retreat to their quarters. That this daring and obstinate assault should have met with so much success as it did, is certainly wonderful.

The besieging force was soon augmented by fifty thousand Tezcucans, under *Ixtlilxochitl*, and, with the aid of these forces, which he distributed among the three camps, Cortes planned a fresh general assault. After a repetition of the scenes already described, he once more made his way into the square, and fired the palace of *Axayacatl*, his former quarters, and a magnificent aviary, called "The House of Birds," one of the finest ornaments of the city. "Although it grieved me much," he writes, "yet, as it grieved the enemy more, I determined to burn these palaces; whereupon they manifested great sorrow, as well as their allies from the cities on the lake, because none of them had supposed we should be able to penetrate so far into the city. This filled them with terrible dismay"—a dismay not a little increased, he adds, when his allies "displayed to the inhabitants of the city the bodies of their countrymen cut

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into pieces, exclaiming at the same time that they would have them for supper that night and for breakfast the next day, as was in fact the case." Indeed, throughout this horrible siege, cannibalism, both from necessity and from the habits of the combatants, appears to have played a most conspicuous part; and it is certain that, but for the sustenance afforded to the garrison by their numerous victims, the defence could never have been so long protracted.

Ixtlixcochitl, the fierce young prince of Tezcuco, signalized himself in this engagement, fighting by the side of Cortes, amid yells and reproaches from his Aztec countrymen, and slaying their general with his own hand. Alvarado, on his part, though his men had made the most desperate exertions, was unable to effect an entrance, and Cortes himself finally judged it prudent to retreat to his camp. The Mexicans hung on his rear, fighting with such fury and recklessness of life, that nearly all the Spaniards were wounded before they could regain their quarters. This scene was repeated for many ensuing days, Cortes continually assaulting the city from his causeway, and the Mexicans, though compelled to give way before the cavalry and the superior arms of their enemies, always annoying the retreat with great obstinacy. "Their conduct," says that general himself, "was certainly worthy of admiration, for however great the evils and losses to which they were exposed in harassing our march, they did not relax their pursuit till they saw us out of the city."

CHAPTER XIV.

GENERAL ASSAULT ON THE CITY.—ARTFUL DEVICE OF THE BESIEGED.—DEFEAT OF THE SPANIARDS.—THEIR LOSSES.—TERRIBLE PARTICULARS OF THE SACRIFICE OF PRISONERS.—THE GREAT DRUM.—DISCOURAGEMENT AND DEFECTION OF THE ALLIES.—THEIR RETURN.—GRADUAL DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY.

THE brave Guatemozin, though famine began to press heavily on the multitudes crowded within his walls, rejected all overtures for peace and capitulation, and bent his sole energies to the annoyance of the enemy. He made frequent and furious sallies upon the three

camp, especially those where Cortes did not command in person, and once succeeded in seizing two of the brigantines. A number of the Spaniards, to the inexpressible delight of his people, had been taken alive for sacrifice, and the dread inspired by this circumstance induced the survivors to fight to the death rather than encounter a similar fate. A vast swarm of Indian allies, (a hundred and fifty thousand in number, according to Cortes,) attracted by the hope of sharing the plunder of the Aztec capital, now flocked into the Christian camps, and assisted in rendering the siege more strict. They were also employed, with good effect, against the outposts and detached strongholds of the Mexican emperor, and such cities as yet remained faithful to his sway.

On the three causeways, the fighting was almost continual, and many gallant actions, both by besiegers and besieged, for want of space, are necessarily omitted in this account. "For ninety-three days together," says Diaz, who was with Alvarado, "we were engaged in the siege of this great and strong city, and every day and night we were engaged with the enemy. Were I to extend my narrative to include every action which took place, it would be almost endless, and my history would resemble that of Amadis and the other books of chivalry." Cortes, his army swelled by vast reinforcements, at last resolved on a grand attempt to take the city by storm. Alvarado and Sandoval were instructed to use every exertion to effect an entrance by the causeway of Tacuba, while he attempted that of the south, and all were to endeavour to gain possession of the great market-place, that a communication might be opened between the opposite camps.

"On the following morning, the army of Cortes having entered the city, moved in three great bodies along the same number of parallel avenues, or causeways, flanked by deep canals, all leading to the market-place. The Mexicans made no very formidable resistance; barricade after barricade was carried; and the ditches, except in one lamentable instance, were carefully filled up. But when the desired goal was nearly gained, all of a sudden, the horn of Guatemozin sent forth its shrill blast from the summit of the *teocalli*. At the sound, as if by magic, swarms of Aztec warriors closed around the advancing columns. The water was covered with their canoes, and the air was darkened by their missiles. The foremost column, driven back in confusion, was arrested by a deep gap, which they had neglected properly to fill up. Plunged into the water by the

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fury of their pursuers, they vainly attempted to cross the fatal breach. Great numbers were slain or drowned, and others, a more horrible fate, were carried off alive.

"Cortes, who had hastened to the spot, in vain endeavoured to assist his unfortunate companions. 'At the moment I reached this bridge of troubles,' he relates, 'I discovered some Spaniards and many of our allies flying back in great haste, and the enemy like dogs in pursuit of them; and when I saw such a rout, I began to cry 'Hold! Hold!' and on approaching the water, I beheld it full of Spaniards and Indians, in so dense a mass that it seemed as if there was not room for a straw to float. * * * The cause-way,' he continues, 'was small and narrow, and on the same level with the water, which had been effected by these dogs, on purpose to annoy us; and as the road was also crowded with our allies who had been routed, much delay, was thereby occasioned, enabling the enemy to come up on both sides by water, and to take and destroy as many as they pleased.'

"Cortes himself barely escaped becoming, in person, a notable sacrifice to the idols. Seized by six Aztec chiefs, he was dragged toward a canoe, and was rescued only by the loss of several of his faithful attendants, who laid down their lives in his defence. Getting at last to the little body of cavalry on firm ground, he led them on a fierce charge against the enemy, and brought off the remnant of his unfortunate companions. All the divisions retreated from the city, and were fiercely attacked in their own quarters.

"Alvarado and Sandoval, who had also penetrated nearly to the rendezvous, were likewise soon compelled to retreat before the furious assault of the Aztecs, who flung before them five bloody heads, exclaiming that one of them was that of Malinche (Cortes). While retreating, hotly pressed, 'we heard,' says Diaz, 'the dismal sound of the great drum, from the top of the principal temple of the god of war, which overlooked the whole city. Its mournful noise was such as may be imagined the music of the infernal gods, and it might be heard almost to the distance of three leagues. They were then sacrificing the hearts of ten of our companions to their idols. Shortly after this, the king's horn was blown, giving notice to his captains that they were then to take their enemies prisoners or die in the attempt. It is impossible to describe the fury with which they closed upon us, when they heard this signal.'

"On this disastrous day, besides the loss of cannon and horses,

many of the Spaniards had been killed, and nearly all wounded. Worst of all, sixty-two (mostly under Cortes), and a multitude of their Indian allies, had fallen alive into the hands of the enemy, and been carried off for sacrifice. That very evening, the dismal roar of the great drum was again heard; and the last rays of the setting sun fell on a long procession winding up the sides of the huge *teocalli*. Among the victims, stripped to their waists, several were seen to be white men; and the Spaniards, with unutterable horror, beheld their miserable comrades, with fans in their hands, and gaudily decked with plumes, compelled to dance before the hideous idol, and then stretched upon the fearful Stone of Sacrifice. As heart after heart was plucked out and laid before the altar, the bodies were hurled down the steep sides of the pyramid, and prepared by the priests below for a grand cannibal festivity.

"Night after night, these hideous scenes were repeated in full view of the camp of Alvarado; and the Spaniards, with sickening hearts, were compelled to witness the fearful solemnities of a fate which any day might be their own. "During each night of this period," says a horrified witness, "the enemy continued beating their accursed drum in the great temple. Nothing can equal the dismal impression its sound conveyed. They were then in the execution of their infernal ceremonies; the whole place was illuminated, and their shrieks at certain intervals pierced the air. * * * Let the reader imagine what were our sensations! 'Oh, heavenly God,' we said to ourselves, 'do not permit us to be sacrificed by these wretches!

* * For ten nights together were they thus employed in putting to death our unfortunate companions.' The priests eager in their horrid ministry, seemed, amid the glare of sacrificial fires, like demons flitting about in their native element, and busied with the torments of the condemned."*

Exulting in their victory, the besieged, every morning, made furious assaults upon the several camps, exclaiming, with loud revilings, to the Spaniards, that their flesh was too bitter to be eaten—"and truly," says honest Diaz, "it seems that such a miracle was wrought." The Mexican priests now predicted that within eight days the gods would deliver the enemy into their hands. Terrified at this ominous announcement, the fulfilment of which seemed heralded by their late misfortunes, all the vast swarm of allies, save those of Tlasecala and Tezeuco, smitten with a superstitious panic,

* Discoverers, &c., of America.

melted away and dispersed to their homes. But, with the assistance of these faithful and powerful coadjutors, the Christians still managed to hold possession of the causeways, and their brigantines, commanding the lakes, cut off nearly all supplies from the beleaguered city. The appointed period having passed without witnessing their destruction, the allies flocked back; and the Spanish captains, by a short but successful campaign against the few provinces still faithful to Guatemozin, confined all hostility or resistance to the limits of the heroic, but solitary capital. The arrival of a fresh vessel at Vera Cruz strengthened the assailants, and the siege was vigorously pressed.

It seemed, however, that nothing short of its complete destruction could break the invincible spirit of the Aztecs; and accordingly, as the assailants gained ground, building after building was levelled to the earth. The materials were used to fill up the canals, and an open desolate space, suited to the charge of the cavalry, was thus gradually formed within the limits of the hitherto almost-impenetrable city. The inhabitants, in despair at the destruction of their homes and palaces, cried aloud to the allies, who carried on the work, "Go on! the more you destroy, the more you will have to build up again hereafter. If we conquer, you shall build for us; if your white friends conquer, they will make you do as much for them."

Guatemozin, remembering the unhappy fate of his uncle, Montezuma, still sternly rejected all overtures for capitulation. "Let no man henceforth," he said to the chiefs, "who values his life, talk of surrender. We can at least die like warriors." Once more, fighting under the eye of their emperor, the enfeebled garrison, with desperate valour, attacked the hostile camps; but every dike was swept by artillery, and after terrible losses they were driven back into the city. Despite their determined resistance, the palace of Guatemozin himself was levelled to the ground, and a free communication was at last opened through the city with the opposite camp of Tacuba.

CHAPTER XV.

TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS AND MORTALITY OF THE BESIEGED.—
 OBSTINATE RESISTANCE OF GUATEMOZIN.—COURAGE AND
 FIDELITY OF HIS PEOPLE.—MEXICO TAKEN BY STORM.
 —FEARFUL MASSAGRE.—CAPTURE OF GUATEMO-
 ZIN.—REFLECTIONS ON THE CONQUEST.

As the destruction of the city gradually went on, the most fearful scenes of death, disease, and starvation, were constantly disclosed. The canals were choked and the narrow streets were strewn with corpses. The allies, eager to avenge past injuries, massacred indiscriminately all that fell alive into their hands. Alvarado, carrying on the same system of levelling and destruction, finally penetrated to the great *tianguex* or market-place, and took by storm the *teocalli* which commanded it. Many of the heads of the sacrificed Spaniards were found in the sanctuary, affixed to beams, with their hair and beards much grown, and tears came into the eyes of those who recognized their friends. As the opposite divisions met in the long-desired rendezvous, Cortes, with a few cavaliers, rode through the great square, now abandoned by the warriors. Every roof and terrace which surrounded it was crowded with the starving populace, gazing sullenly on their triumphant enemies. Seven-eighths of the city, by this time, had been destroyed, and in the portion yet standing was crowded a vast multitude of wretches, suffering all the agonies of famine, disease, and despair.

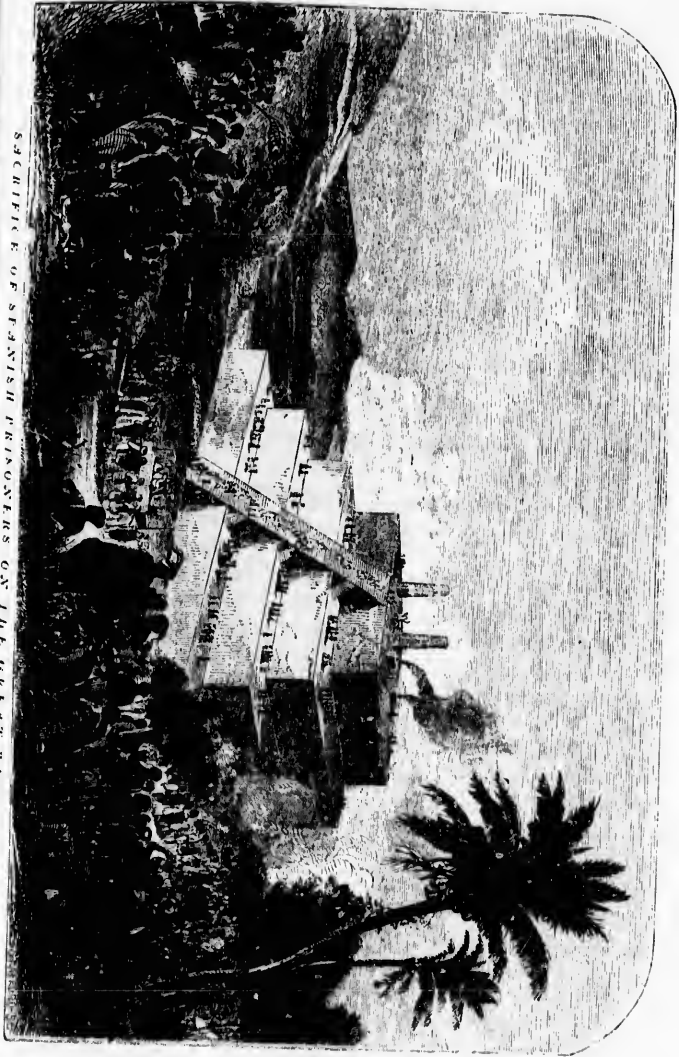
Guatemozin still held out, and his brave warriors, enfeebled by hunger, made a vain attempt to drive the enemy from the square. His position was still tolerably strong, and the Spaniards, their ammunition failing, were unable to dislodge him by means of artillery. In this emergency, a soldier named Sotelo, who had served in the wars of Italy, and who "was eternally boasting of the wonderful military machines which he knew the art of constructing," persuaded Cortes to make trial of a species of catapult or mangonel, for throwing huge stones or other missiles. But when, after infinite pains, the engine had been built, and a stone as large as a bushel had been launched into the air, instead of flying in the direction of the enemy, it returned exactly to the place whence it started, and, amid

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Famine, however, was doing its work for the besiegers more swiftly and surely than their most formidable engines of deaths. The remaining streets, says Cortes, were so crowded with carcasses, that no one could step in them without setting his foot on a dead body. The emperor, apparently determined to bury himself, with the last relics of the Aztec name, in the ruins of his capital, even now sternly refused to listen to any proposals of peace, and, it is said, even sacrificed one of his own nobles who had been sent by Cortes to demand a surrender. Several times, indeed, he agreed to a personal conference with the Spaniard; but, fearing treachery, held aloof.

His people, with almost unheard-of fidelity, still rendered their obedience, though assured of certain destruction. The Aztec chiefs, Cortes tells us, as he rode near them, would cry out, "You are said to be the Child of the Sun, but the Sun, in a single day, completes his course over all the world—why will not you as quickly destroy us, and relieve our sufferings?—for we long to die, and go to our god Orchilobus (Huitzilopotchli), who is waiting to give us rest in heaven." The fate they invoked was rapidly approaching. On the 12th of August, 1521, the overwhelming forces under command of Cortes were ordered to storm the remainder of the city. The Aztecs, though without a shadow of hope, fought as became the last relics of a great and warlike nation. They placed their strongest warriors in the van, and wielded their rude weapons with a courage that almost compensated for the feebleness of hunger. Overpowered, however, by numbers, and by the superior strength of health, they were slain and repulsed, and the allies, in overwhelming numbers, flocked in, and commenced the work of massacre. "So terrible was the cry," says Cortes, "and especially of the women and children, that it was enough to break one's heart. * * * Never did I see a people of such cruelty, nor so utterly destitute of humanity as these Indians." Before he could draw off his infuriated allies, forty thousand of the helpless multitude, he tells us, had perished by their hands.

The next day he renewed his summons that the wretched survivors should surrender; but the chief magistrate of the city, who appeared, only gave the melancholy reply, "Guatemozin will die where he is, but will hold no interview with the Spanish commander; it is for you to work your pleasure." "Go then," said the Conqueror sternly, "and prepare your countrymen for death. Their hour is

come." A fresh and furious assault, both by land and water, was accordingly made, and the wretched Aztecs, men, women, and children, enfeebled by famine and disease, and crowded in helpless masses on the water's edge, were massacred in fearful numbers. The brigantines, scouring the lake, intercepted the canoes in which some endeavoured to escape, and gained the greatest prize of the day. As they attacked one of these frail craft, a young warrior, armed with sword and buckler, stood prepared to beat off the assailants; but when the Spanish captain forbade his men to fire, lowered his weapons, and said, with dignity, "I am Guatemozin; lead me to Malinche (Cortes); I am his prisoner; but let no harm come to my wife and my followers." Elated with the greatness of their prize, the captors hurried with him to their general. The noble prince, with a calm and resolute air, approached closely to him, and said, "Malinche, I have done that which was my duty, in defence of my kingdom and my people. My efforts have failed; and since I am your prisoner," (laying his hand on the hilt of the Spaniard's dagger) "draw that poniard from your side, and strike me to the heart." The victor, admiring his heroic demeanour, assured him of kindness and protection for himself, as well as for all his household.

The garrison, on learning the capture of their emperor, abandoned all further resistance, and the conquerors, having committed a frightful slaughter among them, were compelled, by the terrible effluvia from the corpses, to withdraw from the city. With the night there came on, says a witness, "the greatest tempest of rain, thunder, and lightning, especially about midnight, that ever was known," as if the very elements of nature were convulsed in sympathy with this terrible fall of an ancient dynasty and nation. This memorable day, the 13th of August, 1521, chanced to be that of St. Hypolito, who, on this account, was selected by the victors as the guardian saint of their new empire.

A hushed and terrible silence succeeded the clamorous and discordant uproar, which, day and night, for so many weeks, had been raging around the devoted city. So deafened had the soldiers become with this continued clamour, that they felt, according to their account, like men who had long been confined in a steeple, with the bells ringing about their ears. On the next day, the forlorn relics of the garrison and the citizens, variously estimated at thirty to seventy thousand in number, were permitted to pass out of the city. For three days, the several causeways were covered each with its file of

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wretched, emaciated beings, dragging their feeble limbs with such pain and weariness that, says a witness, "it was misery to behold them." The population of many adjacent cities and provinces had been crowded into the capital, and the number which perished during the siege can never be accurately known. It has been estimated at least at a hundred and twenty thousand, and by some nearly as high as a quarter of a million. Diaz says that he had read of the destruction of Jerusalem, and thinks that the mortality in that ill-fated city was fully equalled by that which occurred in Mexico. Great numbers of the allies had also perished during the siege—among them, it is said, no less than thirty thousand of the Tezeucans. A mortality so terrible during a siege of only three months, sufficiently indicates the valour and ruthlessness of the besiegers, the constancy of the besieged, and the sanguinary nature of the combats in which they were daily engaged.

Thus terminated a series of events, undoubtedly the most remarkable in the whole range of American history. A nation which by valour, by natural genius, and by the far-sighted policy of its rulers, had gained complete ascendancy over all surrounding provinces, whose power had become, in great measure, consolidated by time and strong in hereditary affection, in less than two years was prostrated to the earth, enslaved, and half-exterminated by a little company of strangers, so small in number as almost to render the belief of their achievement impossible. "The whole story," says Mr. Prescott, in his brief and eloquent summary of these events, "has the air of fable rather than of history! a legend of romance, a tale of the genii! Whatever," he continues, "may be thought of the Conquest in a moral view, regarded as a military achievement, it must fill us with astonishment. That a handful of adventurers, indifferently armed and equipped, should have landed on the shores of a powerful empire, inhabited by a fierce and warlike race, and in defiance of the reiterated prohibitions of its sovereign, have forced their way into the interior;—that they should have done this, without knowledge of the language of the land, without chart or compass to guide them, without any idea of the difficulties they were to encounter, totally uncertain whether the next step might bring them on a hostile nation or on a desert, feeling their way along in the dark, as it were;—that, though nearly overwhelmed by their first encounter with the inhabitants, they should have still pressed on to the capital of the empire, and, having reached it, thrown themselves unhesi-

tatingly into the midst of their enemies; that so far from being daunted by the extraordinary spectacle there exhibited of power and civilization, they should have been but more confirmed in their original design;—that they should have seized the monarch, have executed his ministers before the eyes of his subjects, and when driven forth with ruin from the gates, have gathered their scattered wreck together, and, after a system of operations, pursued with consummate policy and daring, have succeeded in overturning the capital, and establishing their sway over the country;—that all this should have been so effected by a mere handful of indigent adventurers, is a fact little short of the miraculous—too startling for the probabilities demanded by fiction, and without a parallel in the pages of history.”

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TORTURE OF GUATEMOZIN.—SETTLEMENT OF THE COUNTRY.—FRESH ENTERPRISES.—OFFICES AND TITLES CONFERRED ON CORTES.—HIS OSTENTATION.—HIS SAGACIOUS POLICY.—GREAT EXTENSION OF THE SPANISH TERRITORY.—THE REVOLT OF OLID.—TERRIBLE MARCH TO HONDURAS.—THE MURDER OF GUATEMOZIN.

SUCCESS so wonderful might well seem to excuse a commensurate exultation. The victors, their sanguinary triumph completed, sat down to a feast, enlivened by the generous wine of Spain, their long abstinence from which, while it gave a double zest to the genial draught, heightened its exhilarating effect. The revelry at last waxed so frantic, that Father Olmedo, scandalized at the scene, interfered, and a solemn religious ceremonial, by his direction, was performed as the fitter celebration of the triumph of the faith.

A most disgraceful scene was presently enacted. Disappointed by the smallness of the booty (for the garrison, as a last revenge, had sunk or destroyed their treasures) the rapacious soldiery demanded that Guatemozin should be tortured to effect a discovery. Cortes, fearing to irritate them by refusal, and perhaps sharing in their rapacious cruelty, to his eternal dishonour, complied. But the young

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emperor withstood their diabolical devices with the same courage and firmness which he had displayed in the defence of his city. The chief of Tacuba, his relative, who was tortured at the same time, groaned aloud; but the monarch rebuked this expression of feebleness by the significant remark, "Do you think, then, that I am taking my pleasure in the bath?" Nothing was extorted from them beyond the avowal that the treasures had been sunk in the lake; but nearly all attempts to find the lost valuables proved fruitless—a great golden sun, discovered in a pond in the palace, being almost the only fruit of the search.

The supremacy of the Spaniards had been for some time acknowledged with alacrity by numerous tribes and provinces, surrounding the old imperial domain; and the tidings of this terrible success overawed opposition in nearly all the remaining regions of the former Aztec empire, and led their inhabitants to seek safety in immediate submission to the victors. In the district of Panuco, indeed, a formidable opposition was encountered, but was suppressed with great ferocity and cruelty by a force under Sandoval, no less than four hundred caciques being executed on the stake or the gallows—"by which means, God be praised," says Cortes, piously, in his report, "the province was restored to tranquillity." Almost immediately after his triumph, he dispatched exploring parties, who made their way to the waters of the Pacific, and projected fresh schemes of extensive conquest among its shores and islands.

The ancient empire of Anahuac thus subverted, and its very name changed by the victor to New Spain, the natives, as a matter of course, were speedily reduced to a state of vassalage—the Tlascalans alone, on account of their early alliance and constant fidelity, (as well, perhaps, as their warlike and stubborn character,) being exempted. Fulfilling the despairing prediction of the vanquished Aztecs, Cortes at once employed a vast number of his serfs in rebuilding, on a magnificent European plan, the ruined capital of Mexico. Within four years, another great city, with palaces, cathedrals, and fortresses, was reared upon the very site of the vanished metropolis so terribly and ruthlessly destroyed.

It is an extraordinary fact, that the Conqueror, from his first embarkation to the final achievement of his gigantic task, had not received from the Spanish court the slightest intimation of its favour or disapproval. This may be partly accounted for by the rarity of communication; but, considering the magnitude of the prize at

stake, the course of the government seems to have been unusually dilatory and indecisive. Fonseca, who still held the control of Indian affairs, had indeed, at the instigation of Velasquez, appointed a commissioner, with authority to examine the affairs of the province, and even to seize the person and property of the general; but that officer, arriving not long after the conquest, was induced, partly by force and partly by bribery, to rid the country of his presence. On the return of Charles V., in July, 1522, to his Spanish dominions, his ears were immediately filled with clamorous accusation and fierce vindication of the conduct of Cortes. He referred the whole affair to a High Commission, which, after an impartial investigation, impressed with the extraordinary achievements of the Conqueror, decided nearly every thing in his favour. In October of the same year, he was appointed governor, captain-general, and judge of all New Spain, almost the entire authority, both military and civil, being centred in his single person. His favourite officers were proportionably rewarded, and the common soldiers received an abundance of flattering promises. Both Fonseca and Velasquez died shortly after this signal discomfiture—it is said, of chagrin and mortification at the triumph of their adversary.

The victor, even before the receipt of these welcome tidings, took the most prompt and energetic measures for the settlement and extension of his realms. Numerous adventurers, attracted by his liberal offers, flocked to the shores of Mexico, and Spanish colonies were planted in all directions, even as far as California. To increase the population, all married men were obliged to bring their wives, and all bachelors, under stringent liabilities, to marry—a sumptuary measure, professedly for the good of their souls, and to which the legislator himself, with some chagrin, was compelled to conform, by the unexpected arrival of his own wife, Donna Catalina, from Cuba. She did not long survive her arrival. Elated with triumph, the governor, immediately on receiving his commissions, assumed an almost regal state and dignity. Every where he went, attended by an immense retinue, fit for a king, with conquered caciques riding in his train, and all the populace, as in the days of their ancient sovereigns, cast themselves on their faces by the roadside as he passed.

Abounding in natural wealth, and stocked with a vast multitude of submissive laborers, the great colony of New Spain speedily became the most valuable possession of the Spanish crown. Within three years from the destruction of the capital, a vast extent of

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country, measuring, according to Cortes, four hundred leagues on the Pacific coast, and five hundred on that of the Atlantic, had been brought under the sway of the Spaniards, and the native inhabitants settled in obedience to their conquerors. These people, singular to state, (considering the reluctance of mankind to abandon religious horrors,) received Christianity with remarkable readiness. The Franciscan friars, of whom the first deputation arrived in 1524, boasted that, in less than twenty years, nine millions of Indians (a great exaggeration) had been gathered within the pale of the church.

The governor, his ambition unquenched by a success the most brilliant of his age, continually agitated fresh enterprises. An expedition which he fitted out, under the ferocious Alvarado, at an immense expense of human life and suffering, brought under his sway the wealthy regions of Guatemala. He dispatched another, under Olid, to Honduras, and made vain attempts to discover the long-conjectured strait which should unite the Atlantic and Pacific. The latter officer, of a haughty and seditious nature, after establishing a colony on the shore of the new province, openly disowned the authority of the governor, and set up a small principality of his own. When Cortes heard of this daring defection, the veins of his throat and nostrils, according to his wont, swelled and dilated with rage. He at once undertook the hazardous and precarious enterprise of marching to Honduras through the vast wilderness which intervened.

It was in October, 1524, that, with only a hundred cavalry and three or four thousand Indians, he set forth on this terrible adventure, the toils and perils of which were too numerous to be recorded in these pages. For many months, enduring every extremity of famine, exposure, and fatigue, he struggled through almost interminable marshes, toiled over flinty mountains, and bridged innumerable rivers. His mind, distracted by weariness and obstacles, at last became moody and irritable, and by a fresh crime he imprinted a new and indelible stain on his memory. The unfortunate Guatemozin, whom, dreading his influence with the natives, he always carried with him, was accused, on the most false and frivolous grounds, of a projected conspiracy; and Cortes, anxious, no doubt, to be rid of an object of perpetual jealousy, after the mere pretence of an investigation, ordered his execution. The prince, with the calmness of courage and innocence, said, "Malinche! here your false words and promises have ended—in my death. I should have fallen by my own hand, in my city of Mexico, rather than have trusted myself to you.

Why do you unjustly take my life? May God demand of you this innocent blood!" He was hanged, with the cacique of Tacuba, and other chiefs, upon a huge Ceiba-tree. They died, we are told, "like good Christians, and, for Indians, most piously;" and among even the rough spirits by whom Cortes was surrounded, there was but one opinion, that the sentence was unjust and cruel in the extreme.

CHAPTER XVII.

ARRIVAL AT HONDURAS.—USURPATION IN MEXICO.—OBSEQUES AND MASSES PERFORMED FOR CORTES.—HIS RETURN.—
 —SUSPICION OF THE COURT.—CORTES SAILS TO SPAIN.—
 HONOURS BESTOWED ON HIM.—RETURNS TO MEXICO.—
 EXPENSIVE EXPEDITIONS.—CORTES AGAIN RETURNS
 TO SPAIN.—UNSUCCESSFUL AT COURT.—HIS DEATH.
 —HIS CHARACTER.—FATE OF THE CONQUERORS.

AFTER enduring extreme suffering, the relics of the Spanish force finally arrived at Honduras, where Cortes learned that his authority had already been restored by a counter-revolution, planned by his friends, and that Olid was already beheaded. With his accustomed energy, he immediately busied himself in fresh exploration, and was arrested in the midst of extensive schemes of discovery and conquest by the tidings that his deputies in Mexico had usurped the government. Catching at a vague rumour, that, with his army, he had perished in the swamps of Chiapas, they had seized all his property, with a part of which they propitiated the church by the purchase of eternal masses for his soul. Further to colour the report, the factor, with great ceremony, erected a monument to his memory, "and then," says Diaz, "proclaimed himself governor and captain-general of New Spain, with the sound of Kettle-drums and trumpets, and issued out an order that all women who had any regard for their souls, and whose husbands had gone with Cortes, should consider them dead in law, and marry again forthwith." On learning of these high-handed proceedings, the governor at once embarked for Mexico. He encountered severe tempests in the Gulf, and was twice

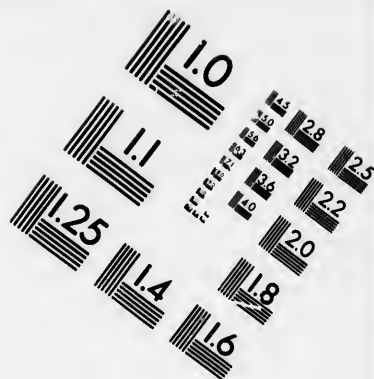
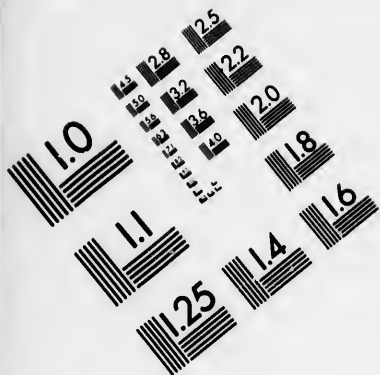
driven back, and it was not until after an absence of nearly two years, that in June, 1526, he reëntered the capital. His fortune had been greatly injured by the rapacity of these interlopers; but he spared their lives, and resumed, without the shadow of opposition, the government they had usurped.

Meanwhile, however, as usual in similar cases, the slanders of his enemies at court had proved sufficient to undermine his interests; and a report being raised that he was intending a revolt, a commissioner was dispatched from Spain, to inquire into the affairs of the province. This functionary died soon after his arrival, and so did another, who had been appointed to succeed him; but their end is to be attributed to the insalubrity of the climate, and not, as the enemies of Cortes insinuated, to any underhanded treachery of his. The person next appointed gave him such annoyance, that he resolved to appear before the court, and, by his personal influence, to sustain his waning interests. With a great treasure in gold and jewels, and many natural curiosities of the country, in May, 1528, he arrived at the little sea-port of Palos, the same which, thirty-six years before, had witnessed the memorable departure of Columbus. Here, at the convent of La Rabida, the ancient home of that great discoverer, he fell in with Francisco Pizarro, then engaged in providing means for the Conquest of Peru, and whose plans, it is said, he furthered by liberal advances. At this place died Sandoval, the most faithful, brilliant, and talented of that remarkable band of officers by whom his achievements had been promoted.

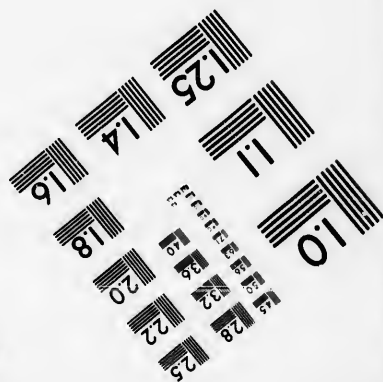
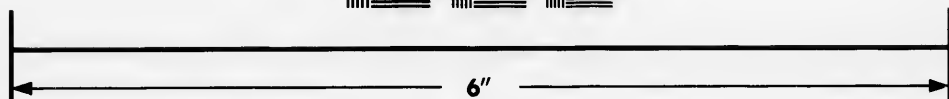
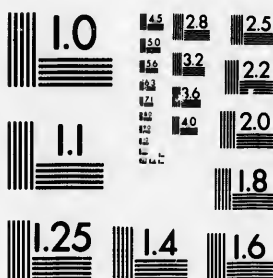
The journey of Cortes to the court at Toledo was a continued triumph, and the most honourable and distinguished reception was accorded to him. He was created "Marquis of Oaxarea," with an immense grant of land, and twenty thousand Mexican serfs, in that beautiful province, and soon after married into one of the noblest families of Spain. Despite these marks of favour, the imperial jealousy, stimulated by the slanders of his enemies, proved too strong to allow of full justice to his deserts. His office of captain-general he was allowed to retain, but that of governor was resumed by the crown, lest such an accumulation of dignities should render him too powerful for a subject. He was, indeed, empowered to make fresh conquests and discoveries in the west and in the Pacific, and, with a mind inspired with the hope of fresh achievements, in the spring of 1530, he took his departure for Mexico.

On his arrival, he was received in the capital with great enthusiasm





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by his late subjects, both Spanish and Indian; but he soon retired to his city of Cuernavaca, and there busied himself with improving the country, and fitting out expeditions of discovery. By one of these the peninsula of California was discovered, and Cortes himself, in an arduous voyage on the coast of that region, underwent the greatest dangers and hardships. These and other expeditions, highly conducive to geographical knowledge, but unremunerative in a pecuniary view, cost him a great part of his fortune, none of which was ever made good to him by the government. To obtain compensation and to support his rights, in 1540, he once more betook himself to the Spanish court. He was received with empty honours, but prospered little in his suit, and the following year, to his great personal loss and misfortune, was engaged in the disastrous expedition against Algiers, undertaken by Charles V. Several years longer he haunted the court, vainly seeking the satisfaction of his claims and the acknowledgment of his services. He besought the emperor to order his council to come to some decision, seeing that (in the words of his memorial) "he was too old to wander about like a vagrant, but ought rather, during the brief remainder of his life, to stay at home and settle his account with Heaven, occupied with the concerns of his soul, rather than with his substance." Meeting little encouragement, he prepared to return to his estate in Mexico; but, on the way, was seized with a mortal illness at Seville, where, having received the comforts of the church, he expired, with much tranquillity, on the 2d of December, 1547. He was in his sixty-third year. His remains were transported to the city of Mexico, where they long reposed in the vault of a certain chapel; but in 1823, it was found necessary secretly to remove them, for security against the fury of the revolutionists.

Thus died, as usual, amid neglect and ingratitude, another illustrious servant of the Spanish crown. Whatever were his faults, the Conqueror of Mexico had been only too faithful to the selfish and unfeeling monarch, who, like his predecessor, looked with jealous distrust on any man who had dared "to deserve too much." Not only by feats of unprecedented daring, strategy and perseverance, had he overcome numerous and hostile nations, and brought them in subjection to the imperial sway, but by his extraordinary policy and talents for government he had united both victors and vanquished in one powerful state, submissive to its rulers, and yielding splendid revenues both to the nation and the crown. His character, continually

exhibiting antitheses the strangest and most difficult to reconcile, is strikingly presented by the Historian of the two great American Conquests. "He was avaricious, yet liberal; bold to desperation, yet cautious and calculating in his plans; magnanimous, yet very cunning; courteous and affable in his deportment, yet inexorably stern; lax in his notions of morality, yet (not uncommon) a sad bigot. The great feature in his character was constancy of purpose; a constancy not to be daunted by danger, nor baffled by disappointment, nor wearied out by impediments or delays."

Of his companions in the Conquest, the officers mostly found either a speedy death or a brilliant elevation. While some, like Sandoval, Olid, and De Leon, perished from violence or disease, others, like Alvarado, secured wealth and dominion over private principalities. By far the greater portion of the soldiers in the original armament met with untimely deaths, in war, or on the Stone of Sacrifice, or in private brawl, or by the hand of justice for acts of violence, which they continued to commit after the peaceful settlement of the country. "Concerning their tombs and monuments," dolefully concludes the aged Diaz, (when he wrote, one of the five survivors of the whole armament,) "I tell you that their tombs were the maws of cannibal Indians, who devoured their limbs, and of tygers, serpents, and birds of prey, which feasted on their mangled bodies. Such were their sepulchres, and such their monuments! But to me, it appears, that the names of those ought to be written in letters of gold, who died so cruel a death, for the service of God and his Majesty, to give light to those who sat in darkness, and to procure wealth, which all men desire." It would be hard to depict more accurately, than by the unconscious naïveté of this expression, that extraordinary mixture of religious crusading fanaticism and of temporal greed, which, of all men, distinguished the early conquerors of Mexico, and which prompted and sustained them through such marvellous adventures.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONDITION OF THE INDIANS, AND OF THE SPANISH COLONISTS.
—NATIONAL PRIDE.—SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.—DEPREDA-
TIONS OF THE BUCANIERS.—PUBLIC WORKS FOR THE PRO-
TECTION OF THE CAPITAL.—INDIAN REVOLTS.—VERA
CRUZ SEIZED BY AGRAMONT.—JESUITS EXPELLED.

THE condition of Mexico under the sway of the Spanish viceroys was hopeless in the extreme. The aboriginal population, subjected to every oppression by the cruel and avaricious masters of the soil, diminished in number year by year, and gradually lost nearly every trace of the spirit and energy which characterized the subjects of the Montezumas. Their attempts to shake off the servitude imposed upon them by the Spaniards were promptly crushed, and, in most instances, were followed by bloody massacres and aggravated impositions.

The established European inhabitants, and the mixed race sprung from their union with the native women, were constantly compelled to feel their entire subservience to the monarch of the parent-country. Foreign viceroys and minor officials held the supreme control over all public affairs, and hordes of bigoted priests lent their powerful influence to keep the superstitious minds of the inhabitants from independent thoughts and plans. Apathy and a total want of enterprise thus became characteristic of the nation, and still appear in the weakness and uncertainty of its government, and its steady decline in prosperity and political importance. The extent and severity of the restrictions imposed by royal decrees, upon education, commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, in the province of Mexico, almost exceed belief. Whatever industrial enterprise appeared likely to interfere with the monopolies of the Spanish producers in the old world was promptly interdicted. Every thing which Spain could furnish must be imported, in order to insure a diligent working of the mines, and a steady supply of gold and silver in exchange for European commodities.

In the midst of these oppressions and exactions, pride and superstition still combined to impress all classes, of Spanish descent, with

a reverence for the parent-country, which took the place of a natural patriotic love of their own birth-place. "The only object," says a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, "to which they looked up with respect, was Spain and its monarch. The only subject of pride which they dwelt upon with complacency was that they were Spaniards. They believed (for it had been artfully and sedulously impressed on their minds) that the king of Spain was the chief monarch of the universe, in whose dominions the sun never set, and that France, Italy, and the other countries of Europe, were tributaries to the nation of which they formed a part. The lowest of the Creoles, if but a tenth-part of the blood that circulated in their veins was of Spanish origin, would exclaim, *Somos Espanioles*, with a tone and emphasis that bespoke a sense of the dignity which they imagined to be derived from that nation."

The supreme authority of government was vested in a viceroy, almost universally sent out from old Spain, whose acts were more or less under the supervision of the Council of Audicence. The members of this body were also Spaniards, and in all matters they appear to have acted solely for the advantage of the patrons to whom they owed their offices, regardless of the welfare of the unfortunate country over which they were established. The utmost venality and corruption prevailed in the procurement and retention of every valuable office in the gift of the crown.

In the early days of the viceroyalty, some efforts were made to relieve the miserable aborigines from the intolerable oppression and cruelties under which they were wasting away; but the powerful influence of the landed proprietors, whose wealth consisted chiefly in their slaves, rendered the provisions for this purpose nearly nugatory. Being themselves subjected to the control of tyrannical officials, in whose appointment they had no voice or influence, the white inhabitants of Mexico were the more tenacious of their irresponsible claims to the servitude of the conquered Mexicans.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, during the administration of Don Pedro de Contreras, sixth viceroy of Mexico, and the first who held office as a servant of the holy inquisition in that country, stringent examination was made into the conduct of the corrupt officers of government, and severe measures were resorted to in punishment of their iniquitous courses. At this period also the power of the church was further strengthened by the operations of the indefatigable Jesuits, who, with their usual zeal and energy

in behalf of their faith, commenced a regular system of instructing the Indian population.

Under the government of Don Pedro's successor, Mexico suffered severely from the depredations of the bucaniers, who ravaged portions of the western coast and plundered the rich galleons freighted with precious metal, or with cargoes of rare goods from the East, bound for Mexican ports. The names of Drake and Cavendish, among others, were a terror to the defenceless population, who, from the restrictions against bearing arms imposed by the government, were prevented from opposing any effectual resistance. A galeon laden with commodities from the Philippine islands, and destined for the port of Acapulco, was captured by Drake near the entrance of the gulf of California, and, after being plundered, was set on fire and abandoned. This loss was heavily felt, as the restrictive policy of Spain precluded any commerce with the East Indies, further than the cargo of a single vessel in the course of a year. Such tyrannical ordinances necessarily induced an extensive system of smuggling, which was conducted, especially in later times, with extraordinary boldness, by armed vessels from different European countries. These illicit traders were often sufficiently strong to cope successfully with the Spanish *guarda costas*, whose employment was the protection of the revenue and the exclusion of forbidden traffic.

The year 1607 was memorable for the commencement of the gigantic works by which the city of Mexico has been secured against the disastrous inundations to which it was formerly liable. Enrique Martinez, a distinguished engineer, was commissioned for the undertaking by the viceroy, Don Louis Velasco. The waters of the upper lakes, Zumpango and San Christoval, had been with partial success excluded by dikes from overflowing the city, when swollen by the rise of their tributary streams. It was proposed to carry off the excess of water by a canal through the lower portion of the elevated or mountainous region which hems in the Valley of Mexico. Some fifteen thousand Indians were compelled to enter upon the labours of this stupendous undertaking, and the main obstacle, the hill of Nochistongo, was tunnelled in less than a year. The canal was finished, and might have fully answered its purpose but for the imperfect construction of the subterraneous works. Becoming repeatedly clogged and out of repair, it was abandoned for a series of years, and the old dikes were rebuilt. In 1629 Martinez was again directed to open the canal. While the work was in progress, this

engineer caused the entrance of the gallery to be closed, in order, as he afterwards averred, to protect his unfinished works from destruction by an anticipated rise of water. "In one night," says Ward, "the whole town of Mexico was laid under water, with the exception of the great square and one of the suburbs. In all the other streets the water rose upwards of three feet; and during five years, from 1629 to 1634, canoes formed the only medium of communication between them. The foundations of many of the principal houses were destroyed; trade was paralyzed; the lower classes reduced to the lowest state of misery; and orders were actually given by the court of Madrid to abandon the town, and build a new capital in the elevated plains between Tacuba and Tacubaya, to which the waters of the lakes, even before the Conquest, had never been known to extend."

At a subsequent period an immense embankment or dyke was constructed between the lakes of Tezcuco and San Christoval, and the gallery of Nochistongo was converted into an open channel, by removing an enormous amount of superincumbent earth. To complete this canal, known as the Desague of Huehuetoca, and the dam which separated the two lakes, involved an immense expenditure of life and suffering. In the words of the writer above quoted: "In those days the sacrifice of life, and particularly of Indian life, in public works, was not regarded. Many thousands of the natives perished before the desague was completed; and to their loss, as well as to the hardships endured by the survivors, may be ascribed the horror with which the name of Huehuetoca is pronounced by their descendants."

Little of general interest pertains to Mexican history from this time until the occurrence of the events connected with the first revolution. The resources of the country were still constantly drained to supply the demands of Spain; the bloody sacrifices of the inquisitorial system were enacted where in earlier times the altars smoked with human offerings to the Aztec divinities; and tyranny and misrule only became the more open and the more insufferable. Until the year 1670, the warlike Tarahumaras made a stand against the Spaniards, waging a desultory but vexatious war with the white settlers. They were at last surprised and defeated through the treachery of one of their own people. Ten years later a more serious revolt occurred among the Indians of New Mexico. With the aid of the rude mountain tribes, they overran the country, destroying

the unprotected and scattered plantations and settlements of the colonists, and reduced Santa Fe by siege. The garrison and inhabitants made their escape by night, but the place was plundered and completely destroyed. An expedition, sent out in the following year by the Marquis de Laguna, then viceroy, found no enemies to encounter, as the Indians had retired to their own quarters in the wilderness. The only means which proved effectual in regaining possession of the country was the establishment of numerous garrisons at various military posts provided for the protection of the inhabitants. A force was thus constantly in readiness to meet and ward off an unexpected attack.

Towards the close of Laguna's viceroyalty Mexico suffered unusual loss by the seizure of the richly freighted galleons laden with treasure for the old world, by English and French privateers. These lawless and audacious rovers did not confine their operations to the plundering of vessels at sea, but kept the towns upon the coast in continual terror. In May, 1683, Vera Cruz was seized upon by Nicholas Agramont and his companions, who enriched themselves with an enormous booty.

One of the most important events which occurred in Mexico during the eighteenth century was the expulsion of the Jesuits by order of Charles III. This zealous and powerful body of ecclesiastics was highly popular in New Spain, where its teachers had so long been engaged in extending civilization to the natives, and in the exercise of their professional duties among the whites. Whatever may have been the evils and dangers attendant upon such an extensive combination of enthusiastie devotees to a religious cause, certain it is that the conduct of the Jesuits in America was generally conscientious and benevolent. The sympathy of the Mexican populace was in vain extended towards the proscribed order, and under the viceroyalty of the Marques de Croix, the colleges of the Jesuits were seized upon by the government, and their inmates shipped to the old world, only to be superseded by a more mercenary, intolerant, and selfish priesthood.

CHAPTER XIX.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE FIRST REVOLUTION.—ITURRIGARAY.—
HIDALGO.—FIRST OUTBREAK.—INSURGENTS DEFEATED BY
CALLEJA.—RAYON AND MORELOS.—CONGRESS AT CHIL-
PANZINGO.—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—RE-
VERSES OF THE PATRIOTS.—ITURBIDE.

THE overthrow of the Spanish monarchy by Napoleon, and the establishment of his brother Joseph upon the throne of Charles IV., gave the original impulse to that independent movement which resulted in the first Mexican revolution. Don Jose Iturrigaray, who came out as viceroy in 1808, distracted by contradictory orders from the different claimants of authority in Spain, attempted to secure himself by sharing the responsibility of making choice with a body of the principal inhabitants, whom he proposed to assemble as an extraordinary council. This convention was to be composed partly of native inhabitants; and the powerful party of Spanish-born immigrants immediately took the alarm, and endeavoured to check by violence their first demonstration of independent action. They seized upon the person of the viceroy, and sent him, a prisoner, to Spain.

The Creole population of Mexico had by this time begun to perceive that Spain was no longer invincible; that, instead of being, as they had ever been taught, the mightiest kingdom of the earth, she was fast sinking to insignificance; and, for the first time, they began to indulge hopes of freedom. It is to be observed, however, that upon the deposition of Ferdinand VII., the Spaniards in Mexico, conscious that their own supremacy must depend upon their support of the actual government, generally favoured the cause of Joseph, and acquiesced in the authority of his ministers; while the Creoles retained their loyalty to the legitimate monarch, and forwarded immense sums, raised by voluntary contribution, to assist his adherents in Old Spain. Between the two races, the natives and the Spanish immigrants, old feelings of jealousy and enmity now became greatly embittered by political differences, and in 1810 a conspiracy was formed among the Creoles for the purpose of overthrowing the authority of their foreign tyrants.

A premature development of the plot only hastened the uprising. The secret of the contemplated outbreak having been communicated to the government by a priest, who had learned the particulars by the confession of a dying man, the viceroy immediately took measures to secure the principal persons concerned in the rebellion. The most noted of these was one Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, an ecclesiastic, residing near the town of San Miguel el Grande in Guanajuato. Hidalgo received intimation of his danger in time to avoid arrest, and, with the aid of Ignacio Allende, a military commandant at San Miguel, instantly put himself at the head of a motley force of Indians and Creoles, and openly marched into the neighbouring town, and proclaimed his revolutionary purpose.

A civil war ensued, which, for the ferocity and cruelty exhibited by both parties, has seldom been surpassed in the history of the world. The Spaniards were the first objects of attack by the insurgents; but so large a portion of these were of aboriginal descent, and so reckless and unsparing was the conduct of the revolted faction, that the Creole population, to no small extent, united in opposing their progress. The city of Guanajuato first fell before the rebellious army, and, after a terrible scene of slaughter, was delivered over to be plundered. The followers of Hidalgo already amounted, it is said, to twenty thousand men. At Las Cruces, the army of the government, under Truxillo, was completely routed, and nothing but an over-estimate of its defences appears to have prevented Hidalgo from seizing upon the city of Mexico.

After having encamped for a few days in the vicinity of the capital, he drew off his forces, leaving leisure and opportunity to the viceroy for the collection and equipment of a formidable army. The royal troops, under command of the notorious Calleja, were soon in pursuit of the insurgents. A pitched battle took place at Aculco, in which the artillery and discipline of the Spaniards more than compensated for their inferiority in numbers. The Indians fought with their usual desperate courage, but after immense loss were compelled to retreat. Pushing on to Guanajuato, Calleja wreaked his vengeance upon those among the inhabitants who were supposed to favour the rebellion, by a brutal massacre of men, women and children. Thousands of these wretched victims, we are told, were led into the public square, and put to death by cutting their throats. Hidalgo's party retaliated by the commission of similar atrocities whenever Spaniards or those of pure Spanish descent fell into their hands.

In January, 1811, another battle was fought, at the bridge of Calderon, near Guanajuato, in which the insurgents were utterly defeated, and their leaders with the remnant of their forces retreated to Saltillo. Two months later, while preparing to visit the United States for the purpose of purchasing arms and ammunition for a future attempt, Hidalgo and his principal associates were betrayed by one of their own number into the hands of the Spaniards. The rebel chief had little mercy to expect from his captors: he was shot in the month of July following.

After the death of Hidalgo, most prominent among the revolutionists appeared Rayon, one of his companions in arms, and the distinguished Morelos, also an ecclesiastic. A year passed away in disturbance and uncertainty, but without any very important military operations. There was no longer a powerful and concentrated body of armed rebels to excite the terror of the friends of the government, but the seditious and independent spirit awakened by what had already passed, was constantly on the increase. A junta was formed at Zitacuaro, then in possession of the insurgents, in September, 1811, and negotiations were vainly opened with the viceroy, Venegas, for the purpose of a peaceful settlement of the government. It was proposed to offer the throne of Mexico to the disgraced king of Spain, and to establish a government independent of the old country so long as the latter should remain subject, in effect, to foreign dominion.

These overtures were received with utter contempt, and with the commencement of the year 1812, hostilities were renewed on a larger scale. After pushing his way triumphantly until within a few miles of the city of Mexico, Morelos established himself at Cuautla de Amilpas in the "tierra caliente," to await the expected attack of the government forces, under Calleja. That energetic officer, after seizing upon Zitacuara, from which the revolutionary council, or junta, escaped by a timely flight, and butchering a great number of its inhabitants, marched against Morelos, and laid siege to Cuautla. All supplies being cut off, nothing remained for the besieged but flight, as little was to be hoped from a pitched battle.

This retreat, which took place at the beginning of May, 1812, proved but the commencement of a series of brilliant successes. Morelos made his head-quarters at Oaxaca, and with little difficulty extended his authority throughout the province. Acapulco was taken in August, 1813. In the month of November following, a congress,

consisting of the members of the former junta, together with deputies from the conquered or revolutionized province of Oaxaca, convened at Chilpanzingo, and openly made declaration of the independence of Mexico.

The bright prospects of the insurgents were, however, soon clouded. Morelos, having undertaken an expedition against Valladolid, was defeated by the government troops under Llano and the celebrated Agustín de Iturbide; his bravest and most trust-worthy associates in the revolutionary movement, Don Miguel Bravo, Galeana, and Matamoros, perished in battle, or by the hands of the executioner; and the new congress, like the junta at Zitacuaro, was driven from its temporary capital. Oaxaca was reconquered by the government. The brave and devoted Morelos was taken prisoner, and shot about the close of the year 1815.

From this period until the espousal of the patriotic cause by Iturbide, in February of 1821, however the revolutionary spirit may have spread among the masses of the people, outward demonstration was of little avail. The power of the royalists was established throughout the greater portion of the country, and the military chieftains who still maintained a hostile attitude, unable to unite their forces, were content to maintain their position as best they might in the different districts where they were stationed. In Ward's Mexico, the following summary is given of the position of the principal insurgent leaders subsequent to the death of Morelos: "Guerrero occupied the west coast, where he maintained himself until the year 1821, when he joined Iturbide. Rayon commanded in the vicinity of Talpujahua, where he successively maintained two fortified camps on the Cerra del Gallo and on Coporo. Teran held the district of Tehuacan in Puebla. Bravo was a wanderer throughout the country. The Bajío was tyrannized over by the Padre Torres, while Guadalupe Victoria occupied the important province of Vera Cruz."

The officer last mentioned had done good service to the cause of the patriots under Morelos, and in after-times filled the first office of the republic. At the dark period of which we are now speaking, he was reduced to the last extremity by the persecution of the royalists. Deserted by his few remaining followers, and of too incorruptible a spirit to be seduced from the cause to which he had devoted himself, he was compelled to seek safety by a solitary life in the wilderness. He "departed for the mountains, where he wandered

for thirty months, living on the fruits of the forest, and gnawing the bones of dead animals found in their recesses. Nor did he emerge from this impenetrable concealment until two faithful Indians, whom he had known in prosperous days, sought him out with great difficulty; and, communicating the joyous intelligence of the revolution of 1821, brought him back once more to their villages, where he was received with enthusiastic reverence, as a patriot raised from the dead."*

The most interesting events of the year 1817 are those connected with the gallant but unprofitable career of Xavier Mina, a Spanish adventurer, who, with a small force, espoused the cause of the Mexican revolution. After various successes, he was taken prisoner, and shot in the month of November of the same year.

CHAPTER XX.

ESPOUSAL OF THE CAUSE OF INDEPENDENCE BY ITURBIDE.—
 PROCLAMATION AT IGUALA.—UNION WITH THE REVOLU-
 TIONARY PARTY.—TREATY WITH THE VICEROY, AND
 SURRENDER OF THE CAPITAL.—DISSENSIONS.—
 ITURBIDE MADE EMPEROR.—HIS OVERTHROW
 AND DEATH.—POLITICAL FACTIONS.—
 SPANISH ATTEMPTS AT RÉCONQUEST.

UNDER the viceroyalty of Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, the sixty-first Spanish governor of Mexico, the prospects of the revolutionists were so unfavourable, that a convenient opportunity appeared to be presented for the restoration of the ancient system of absolute tyranny. Certain franchises and a partial representation had been secured to the people by the provisions of the constitution promulgated by the Spanish Cortes in 1812: in endeavouring to annul these privileges, and to reëstablish the irresponsible and unchecked power of royalty, Apodaca only hastened the final overthrow of Spanish rule in Mexico.

Agustin de Iturbide, as being a gallant and efficient soldier, and thoroughly favourable to the royal cause, was selected to assume

* Mexico, Aztec, Spanish, and Republican, by Brantz Mayer.

the command of the western provinces, and at the same time to proclaim the king's absolute authority, and to put an end to the constitutional system. The views of Iturbide had, however, undergone a great change since his successful campaign against the patriots; and he only accepted the high office conferred upon him, the more efficiently to carry out his own secret purposes. These were first made known by his celebrated proclamation, issued at the town of Iguala, where he was encamped in the month of February, 1821, on his march westward. The "plan of Iguala," as this manifesto was termed, contained, among other provisions, the following bold and comprehensive declaration, as given by Mr. Mayer in his history of Mexico:

"ARTICLE I.—The Mexican nation is independent of the Spanish nation, and of every other, even on its own continent.

"ART. II.—Its religion shall be the Catholic, which all its inhabitants profess.

"ART. III.—They shall all be united, without any distinction between Americans and Europeans.

"ART. IV.—The government shall be a constitutional monarchy."

A junta was to be formed, under the presidency of the existing viceroy, by which a congress should be convoked; Ferdinand VII., or, in default of his acceptance, one of his brothers, was to be invited to the throne; public officers of every grade, who should profess themselves in favour of independence, were to be continued in office, while banishment, "without taking with them their families and effects," awaited non-conformist officials; and in support of these principles an army was to be formed, to be called "the Army of the Three Guaranties," viz: "Independence, the maintenance of Roman Catholicity, and Union."

Iturbide's little army of eight hundred men readily embarked in his enterprise, and, marching to the western coast, he effected a union with Guerrero and his insurgent forces. The revolutionists throughout Mexico, with singular unanimity, espoused the cause of the new popular leader, eager to secure independence of Spain upon any terms, and hopeless of carrying out their designs for individual liberty in the then present posture of affairs. Apodaca exhibited no energy or determination in a crisis which called for vigorous action, and the Spanish portion of the population of the capital seized upon him, and threw him into confinement, as being unfit for his responsible office.

His successor, Juan O'Donoju, found the great mass of the people

eager in support of Iturbide. That successful general made propositions to the viceroy for a peaceful adoption of his own scheme by treaty; and as nothing remained subject to Spanish dominion, except the city of Mexico and the strong fortress of San Juan de Ulloa, his offers were accepted. The capital was surrendered in the month of September (1821), and a temporary junta, with Iturbide at its head, proceeded to enter upon the duties of government; the new congress met on the 24th of the ensuing February.

This body, composed as it was of conflicting elements, soon fell into great disorder. The republicans were impatient of the monarchical provisions of the new system; the constitutionalists were no less opposed to any innovation; while a strong party, carried away by enthusiasm for their leader, aimed at nothing less than his elevation to the supreme authority. The latter faction ultimately prevailed, and by an irregular and violent demonstration proclaimed Iturbide emperor of Mexico.

Assuming the title of Agustin the First, he commenced his brief reign in the month of May, 1822, and such was the prepossession in his favour, as being the one to whom was chiefly due the independence of the nation, that, with wise and judicious government, he might perhaps have gained over all his enemies. He proved, however, to be unfitted for power. He interfered forcibly with the decisions of the congress; and in a few months after his accession to the throne, dissolved that body, substituting an assembly of his own nomination.

The Mexican people were ill-prepared, by a successful revolution, to submit to a mere change of tyrants. Disaffection spread rapidly, and soon ripened into open revolt. General Garza, in the North, Santa Anna, who was governor of Vera Cruz, and other notable officials headed the insurrection. The emperor was forced to succumb, and in March, 1823, abdicated the throne, and left the country in a vessel provided by the members of the former congress, whom he had convened for the purpose of tendering his resignation. The leaders of the new revolution took possession of the city of Mexico, and proceeded to reorganize the government.

"Victoria, Bravo, and Negrete," says Mayer, "entered the capital on the 27th of March, and were chosen by the old congress, which quickly reassembled, as a triumvirate to exercise supreme executive powers until the new congress assembled in the following August. In October, 1824, this body finally sanctioned the federal constitution,

which, after various revolutions, overthrows, and reforms, was readopted in the year 1847."

The unwise and unfortunate emperor returned to Mexico in July, 1824, in disguise, probably in the hope of restoring his fallen fortunes. He was recognized, taken prisoner, and delivered over by General Garza to the authorities of the province of Tamaulipas. In conformity with a decree previously passed by the general congress, the provincial legislative body at once condemned the returned exile to death, and he was accordingly shot on the 19th of the same month.

Upon the convention of the Mexican congress in 1825, the patriot Guadalupe Victoria received the appropriate reward for his sufferings and self-devotion in the cause of freedom, by being declared president of the republic. At this period the party in favour of a free federal government was completely in the ascendancy; various seditious attempts to overturn the constitution of the previous year had been promptly and forcibly suppressed; and so completely had the power and influence of the old Spaniards declined, that they were mostly removed from office, and their places were supplied by native-born inhabitants. The last hold of Spain upon her immense North American provinces was by her retention of the strong fortress of San Juan de Ulloa.

Opposed to the existing constitution, and anxious to secure a form of government less dependent upon the will of the masses, was a strong minority, consisting mainly of landed proprietors, those connected with the church, and others intimately associated with the interests of these powerful portions of the community. The movements of this opposition were centralized by the establishment of a secret society, of Masonic formation, denominated the Escoceases. A formidable insurrection, headed by Nicolas Bravo, who had espoused this side of the question, was quelled by the instrumentality of Guerrero, without an engagement, although the insurgents had gathered in great force, with the apparent determination to make a desperate effort for the overthrow of the federal government.

Gomez Pedraza, the successor to Victoria in the presidential chair, was, notwithstanding, a member of this obnoxious party. At this juncture it was confidently hoped, in Spain, that these dissensions between different factions in Mexico had so weakened the power of the republic as to offer the opportunity for a hostile demonstration upon the coast. Such efficient measures were, however, resorted to by the republic, that these attempts proved abortive. The Mexi-

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can fleet, under command of Commodore Porter, of the United States' navy, not only proved sufficient to ward off the attack of the Spanish vessels, but succeeded in taking numerous valuable prizes from the enemy.

An army of about four thousand men, under command of General Barradas, was landed at Tampico for the purpose of marching into the interior, and taking advantage of the unsettled state of affairs at the capital, to reestablish the Spanish dominion. This force, much reduced, it is said, by the sickness attendant upon a summer spent near the Mexican sea-board, was attacked and defeated in September of 1830, by the republican army under General Santa Anna.

Pedraza, being opposed in principles to the great mass of the community, was unable to retain his position. He had been elected by a majority of but two votes, and the leaders of the popular party, feeling assured that their course would be sustained by the country, violently and unconstitutionally overturned his administration. The chief of these new revolutionists were Generals Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, Guerrero, Montezuma, and Lobald, and Lorenzo de Zavala, the grand master of the masonic lodge called the Yorkinos, and opposed to that of the Escocesses.

After a season of sanguinary tumult, order was restored in the capital. With the commencement of the year 1829, congress again assembled, and formally installed Guerrero, Pedraza's opposing candidate, in the office of president.

CHAPTER XXI.

OVERTHROW OF GUERRERO BY SANTA ANNA AND BUSTAMENTE.—
 TYRANNICAL PROCEEDINGS DURING THE ADMINISTRATION
 OF SANTA ANNA.—RESISTANCE IN THE PROVINCES OF ZAC-
 ATECAS AND TEXAS.—THE TEXAN WAR.—DEFEAT OF
 SANTA ANNA.—DIFFICULTIES WITH FRANCE.—CIVIL
 WAR.—SANTA ANNA RESTORED TO POWER.—REVOLT
 HEADED BY PAREDES.—HERRERA PRESIDENT.

GUERRERO was not long permitted to hold the reins of government. So disturbed were the times, and so unsettled were the minds of the people, that it was easy for any subtle and politic intriguer to create a popular commotion, and certain unwarrantable or injudicious assumptions of authority on the part of the president gave opportunity for the formation of a new faction, whose object was his destruction. At the head of this movement were Santa Anna and the vice-president, Bustamante. Mexico was soon distracted by the renewed horrors of civil war. The unfortunate Guerrero, driven from the seat of government, defeated at all points, and a fugitive on the western sea coast, was finally seized, tried by a court martial for treasonably levying war against the republic, and shot in the month of February, 1831.

Bustamante had assumed supreme power in the republic, but was enabled to retain his position no longer than suited the views of his more celebrated and able associate Santa Anna. This arch intriguer was among the first to excite an insurrection against the usurper, and, although defeated in the first engagement, had so far gained the favour of the people, that he was enabled to bring about his ends. Bustamante was forced to yield, and Santa Anna, probably for the purpose of gaining over the party of the "Escocesses," restored Pedraza to his lawful position of president. The politic and successful general was himself elevated to that office in May of 1833.

One year later, the president, relying upon the adherence of the army, and careless of longer cloaking his own inordinate ambition for self-aggrandizement with an assumed spirit of republicanism, dissolved congress, and, nullifying the constitution, attempted to place

the whole of the Mexican states under the control of a central military despotism. Every province was speedily compelled to submit, with the exception of Zacatecas and Texas. The reduction of the former was conducted with great cruelty and ferocity. The inhabitants, after enduring every enormity from an unscrupulous and rapacious soldiery, were disarmed, and compelled to submit to the rule of a military governor.

The proceedings in Texas, both at this period and during the more important and eventful campaign of the spring of 1836, will be found more fully detailed in our sketch of the history of that state. The Mexican army, under General Cos, overran the refractory province, and without difficulty broke up the legislative assembly, and bore down for the time all opposition. The so-called "Plan of Toluca," by which the legislative power of the separate Mexican states was annulled, and a central form of government established, went into operation; but the Texans, instead of yielding to their fate, assumed an attitude of sterner and more determined resistance. A series of brilliant victories left them free from Mexican usurpation, and the tyrannical president, a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, saw his prospects of ambition blighted, as then appeared, for ever. In 1838 he had opportunities for retrieving his military reputation, upon the occasion of the revolt headed by the unfortunate Mexico, for the purpose of restoring the old republican system.

During the following winter, the claims of France to remuneration for former injuries received by French subjects in Mexico, and in respect to various other unsettled questions in dispute between the two nations, were enforced by a hostile demonstration. The town of Vera Cruz was blockaded, and the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, deemed impregnable by its Mexican possessors, was taken after a six hours' cannonade. Santa Anna's services on this occasion, in defending the town from the forces landed by the French, are spoken of in terms of high commendation. The loss of his leg, by a small cannon-shot, also served, so far as such a circumstance might affect popular feeling, to secure him a greater degree of sympathy and favour from his countrymen.

Bustamente was at this period president of Mexico. The successful revolution in Texas, and insurrections in the eastern provinces of Coahuila, Tamaulipas, and Durango, and in Yucatan, disturbed the peace of the nation; while the grievous burden of supporting the heavy expenses of the government and the army, aroused a general

discontent. The president became unpopular, and weighty influences were brought to bear for his overthrow. Santa Anna, supported by Paredes, Valencia, and Lombardini, had organized a powerful party, and again aspired to the presidency. The outbreak occurred in the month of August, 1841; the capital itself was the scene of action.

As described by Mr. Mayer: "For a whole month the contest was carried on with balls and grape-shot in the streets of Mexico; whilst the rebels, who held the citadel outside the city, finished the shameless drama by throwing a shower of bombs into the metropolis, shattering the houses, and involving innocent and guilty, citizens, strangers, combatants and non-combatants, in a common fate. This cowardly assault, under the orders of Valencia, was made solely with a view of forcing the citizens, who were unconcerned in the quarrel between the factions, into insisting upon the surrender of Mexico, in order to save their town and families from destruction."

An interview was finally brought about between the leaders of the two parties, and the result of their negotiations was the "Plan of Tacubaya," under the provisions of which supreme power was placed in the hands of General Santa Anna, until a congress should be chosen, and assembled to establish a new constitution. That any really independent action could be taken by a convention of delegates under such circumstances, was scarcely to be expected. The dictator, perceiving that he could not carry out his original plans for maintaining a central government, again dissolved the assembly, and assumed the entire control of affairs, through a junta of his own appointment. A constitution was formed by this body in 1843, of a character widely variant from that of 1824, and little calculated to meet the approval or acceptance of the people.

In the winter of 1844, congress having been convened, a large appropriation was made for the purpose of a renewed attempt upon the liberties of the victorious colonists of Texas. Before, however, any effectual measures were adopted for carrying out this project, the opponents of the president, under the direction of General Paredes, rose against the existing government. A year passed by, during which the country was distracted by a contest between three parties; for Santa Anna, having violated a provision of the new constitution, by assuming military power without special authority from the congress, had created new opponents upon constitutional grounds.

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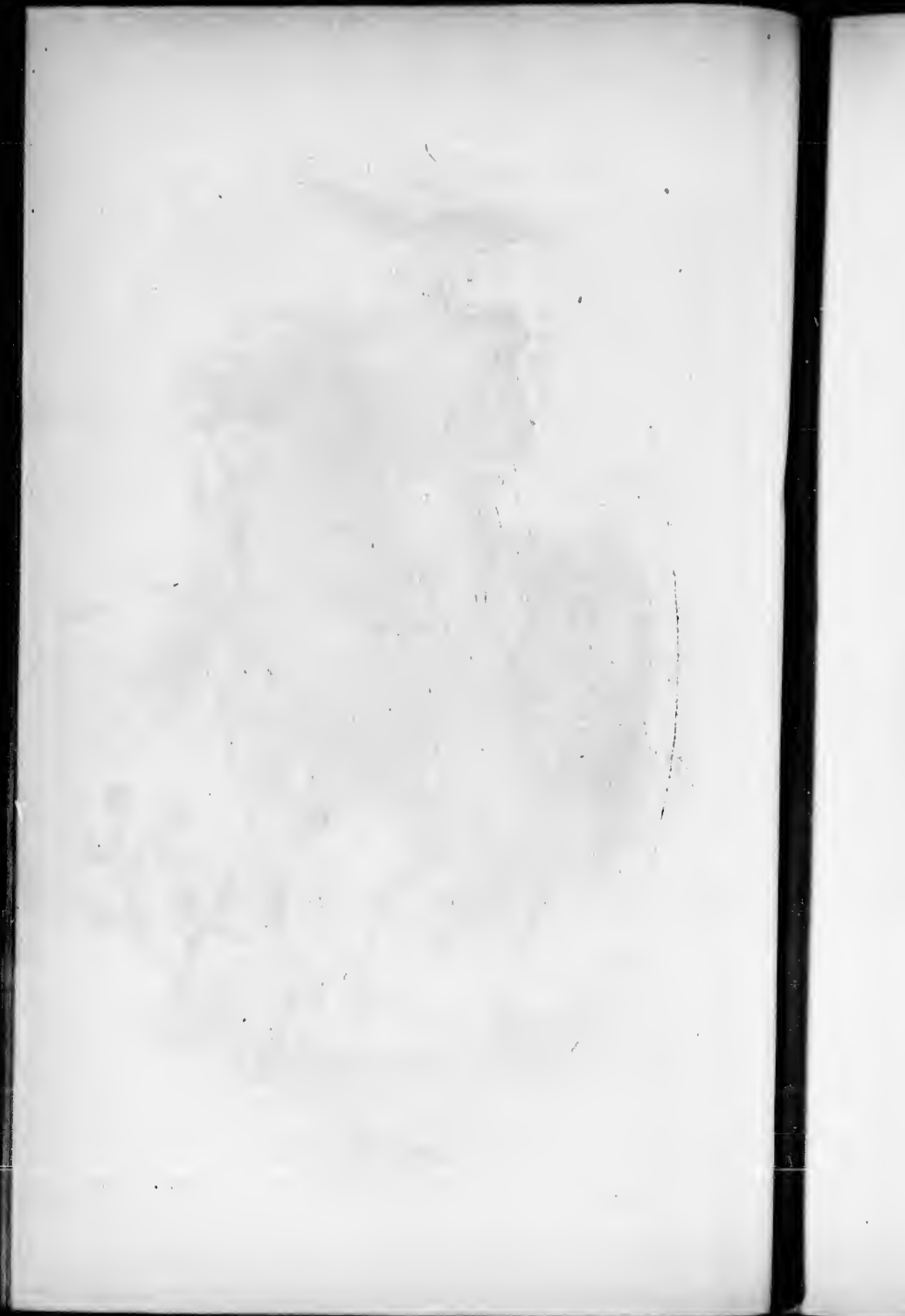
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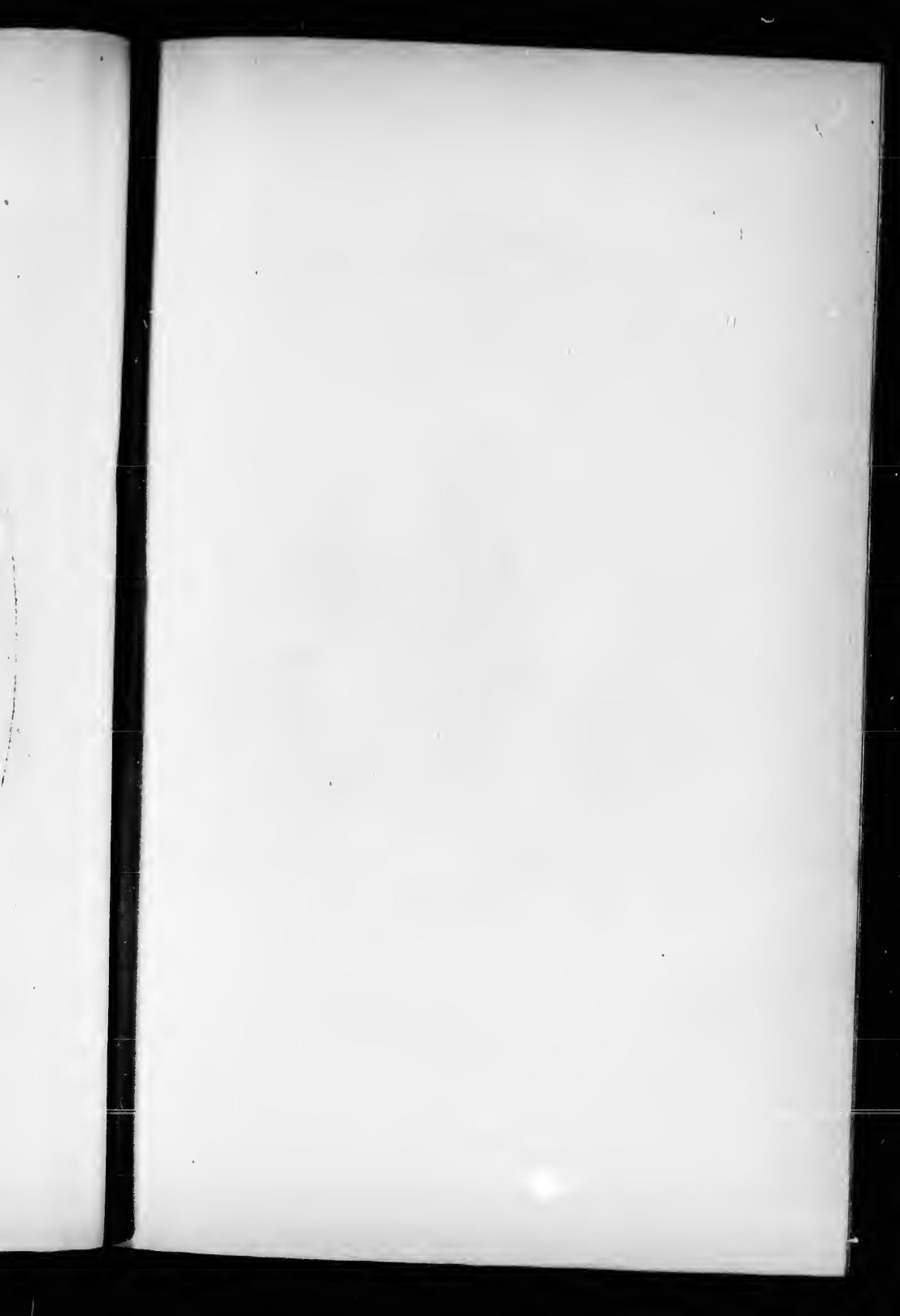
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Anna was taken prisoner while endeavouring to make his escape to the eastward, and General José Joaquim de Herrera, being president of the council, succeeded to the highest office of the state, in accordance with the provision of a previous enactment.

CHAPTER XXII.

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS TO THE UNITED STATES.—INDIGNATION OF MEXICO.—SLIDELL'S COMMISSION.—PREPARATIONS AGAINST TEXAS.—GENERAL TAYLOR'S MARCH TO THE RIO GRANDE.—COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.—WAR DECLARED.—PLAN OF THE MEXICAN CAMPAIGN.—BATTLE OF PALO ALTO: OF RESACA DE LA PALMA.—MATAMORAS OCCUPIED.—RETURN OF SANTA ANNA TO MEXICO.—REDUCTION OF MONTEREY.

The inhabitants of Texas, although they had ever since the year 1836 enjoyed the blessings of a free and independent government, were anxious to secure the political and commercial advantages of a union with the United States. Their independence of Mexico, in point of fact, had long since been recognized by the United States and by the principal maritime powers of Europe. In the month of March, 1845, the negotiations for annexation were brought to a successful issue by the passage of a resolution, by congress, admitting the new state upon conditions afterwards complied with by Texas.

This measure, as might naturally be expected, excited the utmost indignation of the Mexican authorities. General Almonte, minister from Mexico at Washington, after an angry protest, demanded his passports. All friendly communication between the two governments was suspended until the ensuing October, when the Mexican government, upon application through the American consul, Mr. Black, agreed to receive a commissioner from the United States, for the purpose of an amicable arrangement of the disputed question. Mr. John Slidell was appointed to this responsible service, and immediately proceeded to Vera Cruz on his way to the capital.

General Paredes had in the mean time organized a party of those opposed to a peaceful settlement, and so formidable was the aspect

of this movement, that the Mexican ministry, probably to propitiate the malcontents, postponed negotiations with Mr. Slidell upon frivolous pretexts of irregularity in his commission. At the close of the following December, President Herrera resigned his office to Paredes, and all efforts of the United States' envoy to open, in accordance with further instructions from home, friendly communications with the new government, proved fruitless. He therefore left Mexico, leaving the purposes of his mission unaccomplished.

Under the military dictator who now wielded the destinies of Mexico, immediate preparations were made for the reconquest of Texas. A considerable force was already stationed at Matamoras, and thither General Ampudia was dispatched, in April, 1846, with a body of cavalry. Two thousand more troops were ordered to the same station.

General Zachary Taylor, who had been for some months previous stationed, in command of United States' troops, at Corpus Christi, having received orders to march to the mouth of the Rio Grande, reached Point Isabel on the 25th of March; and leaving a portion of his troops to occupy a position at that place, moved up the river until opposite Matamoras. He there caused works to be erected, and stationed a battery which commanded the town. Generals Arista and Ampudia were soon upon the spot, in command of a large and constantly-increasing force. Upon communication being established between the commanding officers of the respective forces, General Taylor was commanded to draw off his troops, as having infringed the Mexican rights of territory.

Although, as has been truly remarked, the claims of Mexico extended not only to the district lying between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, and traversed by the United States' forces on their march to Matamoras, but to every portion of the revolted province of Texas, the occupation of this tract by the United States has been laid down by many as the true cause of the Mexican war. There is some slight conflict of authorities upon the question of the ancient boundaries of Texas, but the weight of authority seems to point to the Rio Grande as the dividing line. The Texans had always claimed this as the limit of their territory since the time of the revolt, and had included the disputed ground in their assignments of representative districts.

That it was ever deliberately proposed by the Mexican government to undertake a war with so powerful a nation as the United

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States for the purpose of maintaining its claims to this unsettled district, as distinct from the national sense of injury sustained by the Texan annexation, cannot be for a moment believed. "The true origin of the Mexican war," says Mayer, "was not this march of Taylor and his troops from the Nueces to the Rio Grande through the debatable land: the American and Mexican troops were brought face to face by the act, and hostilities were the natural result after the exciting annoyances on the part of the Mexican government which followed the union of Texas with our confederacy."

The first encounter took place on the 24th of April, when a company of United States' dragoons, under Captain Thornton, were waylaid while out upon a scouting expedition up the river bank, and, after some fighting, in which sixteen of their number were killed or wounded, were obliged to surrender. A small party, commissioned on similar service, had been, previous to this, cut off or taken prisoners by the Mexicans.

This irregular commencement of open hostilities could hardly fail to produce the greatest excitement throughout the United States. General Taylor's small force had been ordered to the Rio Grande merely as a check upon precipitate action by the Mexican force, without, perhaps, any anticipation of the immediate results. Throughout the Union opinions were various, both in regard to the policy of Texan annexation and to the wisdom of the movement which gave direct occasion for a rupture; but when the news of this first bloodshed was spread through the country, the general feeling was that the honour of the nation required an immediate and vigorous response to the call of our isolated force on the Rio Grande for protection and assistance.

Congress was at the time in session, and an immediate appropriation of ten millions of dollars was made to meet the expense of the existing war, and the enlistment of fifty thousand volunteers was provided for. It was proposed to invade Mexico simultaneously from several quarters. The "Army of the West," under Kearney, was to penetrate to the western coast, after the reduction of New Mexico; a large force, under General Wool, was to enter the hostile territory from San Antonio de Bexar, as the "Army of the Centre;" and the conquest of the eastern provinces was to be assigned to General Taylor. The naval forces of the United States, both in the Gulf and in the Pacific, also received general directions for coöperation in the war.

General Taylor, meantime, threatened as he was by a vastly superior force, in accordance with his instructions in case of emergency, made a requisition upon the states of Louisiana and Texas for a reinforcement of volunteers. He then marched to Point Isabel with the most effective portion of his army, to procure provisions and supplies for the forces opposite Matamoras. While this service was being effected, General Arista transported his army across the river to intercept the escort upon its return. He was in command of some six thousand regular troops, besides a very considerable body of raw recruits. On the 8th of May, the day after its departure from Point Isabel, the army under General Taylor, numbering only two thousand two hundred and eighty-eight men, was encountered at Palo Alto by the forces of Arista.

Against such overwhelming odds our troops maintained their position from two o'clock P. M. until night-fall. The Mexicans, having drawn off their forces, a council was held, at which there was some conflict of opinion as to the prudence of further advance. The gallant commander decided, however, that the necessity for affording relief to the garrison was sufficient to justify the hazard of the attempt, while the day's experience of the comparative efficiency of the two armies gave reasonable encouragement of success.

On the day following, Arista was found to have retreated to a strong position at the "Resaca de la Palma," a ravine through which the road led, and which was almost impenetrable on either side from the rank growth of tropical plants and underwood, commonly called the "chapparal." Notwithstanding their favourable position and superior numbers, the Mexicans were unable to defend the pass. Broken and disordered by the fire of the artillery and infantry, they gave way in mass before a charge of cavalry, and, retreating to the river, left the way open for the passage of the army with its supplies to the fort. The 18th of May saw Matamoras in possession of the American forces.

During the summer, which was passed by General Taylor in strengthening his position, establishing lines of communication, and gradually extending his occupation of the country, an important political change took place in Mexico. A revolutionary movement in favour of Santa Anna, then an exile in the West Indies, overthrew the power of the usurper Paredes. The ex-president was allowed to pass the United States' blockading squadron by express orders from government, in the hope that his influence would be

exerted to restore a friendly communication between the belligerent countries and to cement an honourable peace. This piece of policy has been greatly condemned by many, and the implacable animosity since evinced by Santa Anna towards the United States has contributed to render it unpopular. There can, however, be no doubt but that the act was in accordance with what then appeared the exigencies of the case, so far as information could be procured as to the purposes and probable conduct of the able but unprincipled leader, who has so long held the most prominent place in Mexican history.

In the month of September, the divisions under Generals Worth and Taylor, having penetrated to their future head-quarters, the Walnut Springs, not far from Monterey, the capital of New Leon, preparations were made for an attack upon this important city. The place was well defended by artillery, and the flower of the Mexican army, to the number of not far from ten thousand men, was there quartered.

On the 21st of September, the American forces, only seven thousand strong, were led in two divisions to the attack of the city. General Worth's detachment, after cutting off communication from the south, gained an important position upon a height which commanded the city, and on which was a fortification known as the Bishop's palace. The other division, the command of which was intrusted to General Butler, penetrated the city from the north, and notwithstanding the deadly fire of the enemy, who were enabled to fight from covert, and whose artillery raked the streets, continued to extend their occupation until night-fall. On the 22d, the American troops, taking possession of the buildings on either side of the avenues through which they had penetrated, cut their way from house to house through the walls, driving the occupants before them. In this manner, with comparative safety, they gained the great central square.

As the city was now virtually in the power of the assailants, negotiations were opened by Ampudia, and on the 24th, a surrender was agreed upon, with the provision that the Mexican troops should be allowed free exit. That General Taylor did not insist upon severe terms, or follow up his victory by the capture of prisoners, has been made a ground of causeless reproach. No one can accuse the old warrior of a want of decision, energy, or bravery, and his conduct in this instance was fully in accordance with his character as a skilful and prudent general. He had gained an important post;

his forces were still numerically inferior to those of the enemy; and from what could be gathered from the reports of the Mexican officers, there appeared reason to hope for the speedy establishment of a peace, without further bloodshed. A temporary armistice was therefore arranged between the belligerent armies.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SANTA ANNA'S CHANGE OF POLICY.—GENERAL SCOTT'S PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.—DEFEAT OF THE MEXICAN ARMY AT BUENA VISTA.—MEXICAN POLITICS.—CAPTURE OF VERA CRUZ.—MARCH INTO THE INTERIOR.—BATTLE OF CERRO GORDO.—OCCUPATION OF PUEBLA.—GUERRILLA WARFARE.—FRUITLESS NEGOTIATIONS.—ADVANCE UPON THE CAPITAL.

SANTA ANNA, on his return to Mexico, soon perceived that the views of centralization which he had ever entertained must now be abandoned, if he would maintain his position as a popular leader. He therefore published his intentions to favour the federal system and the reestablishment of the constitution of 1824. With an affectation of modesty and of self-sacrificing devotion to his country, he declined the acceptance of proffered dictatorial powers in the civil government, and avowed his determination to lend his whole energies to the duties of a military commander. After a most enthusiastic reception at the capital, and a prompt and energetic response to his requisitions for troops, he established himself at San Luis Potosi, withdrawing himself for the time from the political agitations which distracted the city of Mexico, and spending his time in preparing and equipping his fine army. Early in the winter of 1846 his available force amounted to about twenty thousand men, and he rightly judged that by confirming his military authority he more effectually secured supremacy than by mingling actively in factious politics. He nevertheless accepted office upon his election to the provisional presidency, which took place on the 23d of December.

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Scott commander-in-chief of the army in Mexico, extensive preparations were made for a new campaign, to be conducted in accordance with the views of that veteran chief. It was proposed to seize on Vera Cruz, and thence to march direct for the capital. In collecting the forces necessary for so important an enterprise, great numbers of General Taylor's best troops were drawn off from the conquered district on the Rio Grande, leaving the army of occupation in a condition little capable of resisting so formidable a force as that concentrated at San Luis, were there no disparity between the respective armies other than that of numbers.

By the interception of a dispatch, the Mexican commander-in-chief, in the month of December, 1846, obtained information respecting the intended descent upon Vera Cruz, and it was soon known that he was busily engaged in preparations for an attack upon the reduced division on the Rio Grande. Knowing that he must prepare to encounter an army more than quadruple the troops under his command, General Taylor concentrated his scattered regiments at the Pass of Angostura, a point in which either flank was protected by mountains, ravines and gullies impassable for cavalry, and scarcely to be traversed by foot soldiers. An advanced guard was stationed at Agua Nueva, thirteen miles from the pass, under General Wool, to gain intelligence of the expected approach of the enemy.

Taylor's entire force is set down at about four thousand seven hundred. The little army was, however, disposed with such military skill, and in so favourable a position, that for two days Santa Anna in vain endeavoured to force a passage. He came upon the American encampment on the afternoon of February 22d, 1847, and until night-fall and throughout the following day, kept the Americans constantly engaged. The astonishing result of this hard-fought battle was chiefly owing to the admirable management of the few pieces of artillery possessed by the defenders of the pass. On the night of the 23d, Santa Anna commenced a retreat to San Luis Potosi, having sustained an immense loss, and having witnessed the total failure of his attempt against the weakened army of occupation. The name of the neighbouring hacienda of Buena Vista has always since been applied to distinguish this memorable and important engagement.

At this period a fierce contention was going on in the Mexican capital between the supporters of the vice-president Farias, and the partisans of the church, some of whose privileges and emoluments had recently been curtailed. Civil war was added anew to the dan-

ger and anxieties attendant upon foreign invasion. At the close of the ensuing month, the friends of the church carried their points in congress: the office of the vice-president was annulled; the president himself was formally put in command of the armies—his place to be supplied by a substitute during his employment in the field; and a new president was to be elected on the 15th of the ensuing month of May, according to the provisions of the constitution of 1824. Don Pedro Anaya was chosen as the temporary executive.

Meanwhile, important operations were in progress on the coast. The main body of the American army, under General Scott, sailed from the rendezvous at the island of Lobos, for Vera Cruz, on the 7th of March, 1847. Notwithstanding the overwhelming force brought to bear upon the place, the authorities refused to surrender, trusting perhaps to the strength of their renowned fortress, or willing to see their town battered to pieces, rather than permit the hated foreigners to pursue their career of conquest unmolested. A cannonade was commenced on the 18th, from the ships lying off the harbour and from the batteries planted on the land, which continued, with little intermission, until the 26th, when the garrison capitulated. The town was terribly shattered, and the needless destruction of nearly one thousand of the inhabitants, of every age and sex, was the result of the obstinacy or infatuation of the commanding officers. During the continuance of the bombardment "it is estimated that our army and navy threw into the town about six thousand shot and shells, weighing upwards of 463,000 pounds."

The castle of San Juan de Ulloa was at the same time surrendered; and a great amount of arms and artillery was taken possession of by the victors: some five thousand prisoners of war were set at liberty upon parole. The command of Vera Cruz was assigned to General Worth, and the commander-in-chief, with between eight and nine thousand troops, took up his line of march for the interior.

President Santa Anna, having now hastened to the future scene of action, commenced a reconnoissance of the road for the selection of a suitable spot for a stand to be made against the invaders. He decided upon taking a position at Cerro Gordo, where the highway enters the mountain country. The locality is thus described by Mr. Mayer: "About seven leagues from Jalapa the edge of one of the table lands of the Cordillera sweeps down from the west abruptly into this pass of the river Plan. On both sides of this precipitous elevation the mountains tower majestically. The road winds slowly

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and roughly along the scant sides which have been notched to receive it. When the summit of the pass is attained, one side of the road is found to be overlooked by the Hill of the Telegraph, while on the other side the streamlet runs in an immensely deep and rugged ravine, several hundred feet below the level of the table-land. Between the road and the river many ridges of the neighbouring hills unite and plunge downwards into the impassable abyss. At the foot of the Hill of the Telegraph rises another eminence, known as that of Atalaya, which is hemmed in by other wooded heights rising from below, and forming, in front of the position, a boundary of rocks and forests beyond which the sight cannot penetrate."

In this strong position, defended by fifty-two pieces of artillery advantageously posted, and an army of between three and four thousand men, exclusive of his reserved forces, Santa Anna awaited an attack. The famous battle of Cerro Gordo, commencing on the 17th of April, after a two days' conflict, resulted in the annihilation of the Mexican army. On the 18th a simultaneous assault upon the centre and either flank, in the face of a terrible fire from the numerous batteries, and conducted under every disadvantage in position, gave the assailants a complete victory. About three thousand prisoners were taken, among whom were five generals, and nearly three hundred minor officers. Jalapa and Peroté immediately afterwards submitted without resistance. At the latter place was a fortified castle, which, with all its artillery—numbering fifty-four pieces of ordnance—and great stores of munitions of war, fell into the hands of the Americans.

Santa Anna, with such forces as he could collect, made an unavailing attempt to arrest the progress of the advanced division, under General Worth, and on the 22d of the ensuing month, Puebla was occupied by the American advance. No further serious obstacle was opposed to the progress of General Scott towards the capital. Santa Anna, in the midst of utter political confusion, the details of which would entirely surpass our limits, was still looked upon as the most reliable leader. He was obliged to confine himself to the collection of troops for the preservation of the capital, to the increasing of its defences, and to the arousal by every means in his power of the national hatred against the invaders. A bloody guerilla warfare, in which savage cruelty on the part of the lawless bands engaged in its prosecution too often provoked retaliation equally unsparing, attended the onward march of the army, and the maintenance of the



garrisons and military lines of communication throughout the conquered districts.

While General Scott was stationed at Puebla, a negotiation was opened, by the assistance of the British minister, between the American commissioner, Mr. Trist, and the Mexican president. Certain violent denunciations in a recent decree of congress against any who should propose or entertain any plans for the conclusion of a treaty with the United States, rendered both the president and the legislative members exceedingly cautious respecting their movements in this emergency. The negotiation proved entirely fruitless, but it led to a singular secret correspondence between Santa Anna and the American commanding officers. The former made propositions for the appointment of commissioners to negotiate a peace, conditionally upon the placing at his own disposal of a considerable sum of money, and the promise of a much larger payment upon the satisfactory conclusion of a treaty. General Scott, in accordance with the opinions of a majority of his principal military associates, consented to this first payment—amounting to ten thousand dollars—out of a “secret service” fund at his disposal, continuing meanwhile his preparations against the capital. As nothing of importance resulted from this correspondence, it remains merely a matter of curious inquiry whether the Mexican dictator was really influenced by any other motives, in his conduct relating to this affair, than by the hope of private emolument.

General Scott's army, recruited to about the number of ten thousand men, by the middle of August lay encamped at Ayotla, Chalco, and in the vicinity, within the valley of Mexico, and upon the borders of the marshy lake of Chalco. Santa Anna, who had collected three times this number of troops, had not been idle in preparing for the defence of every available route to the city. The extent to which arms and ammunition had been manufactured in the country to meet the exigency of the occasion, and the strength and scientific structure of the fortifications, aroused the admiration of those unacquainted with the resources of the nation.

After a thorough reconnoissance of the Mexican defences, the American commander-in-chief decided upon pursuing his march around the southern border of the lake to Tlalpam, or San Agustin, where the road joins the great southern highway leading to the capital. This position was accordingly occupied, little opposition having been experienced upon the route, on the 17th and 18th of

the month. The Mexican commander laboured under the disadvantage of being compelled to distribute his forces among the various fortifications on either of the four routes by which General Scott might make a descent upon the city, and these posts were at such a distance from each other that several days must elapse before the main body of the army could be concentrated at any threatened point.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MOVEMENTS OF SANTA ANNA.—HIS PLANS THWARTED BY VALENCIA.—BATTLE AT CONTRERAS.—SEIZURE OF SAN ANTONIO.—BATTLE OF CHURUBUSCO.—NEGOTIATIONS.—STORMING OF THE MOLINO DEL REY AND THE CASA MATA.—OF THE FORTRESS OF CHAPULTEPEC.—EVACUATION OF THE CITY.—ITS OCCUPATION BY THE AMERICAN FORCES.—FINAL MILITARY OPERATIONS.—TREATY AT GUADALUPE HIDALGO.

SANTA ANNA, upon learning the movement of the Americans, hastened to collect the detached divisions of his army in time to intercept the passage of the southern route to the city. He took his own position at the hacienda of San Antonio upon the main road, and dispatched General Valencia to the defence of the only other practicable route, that by San Angel and Cayacan, leading by a mulc-path, across the rugged plain of lava called the Pedregal, and along the base of the western mountain range.

According to the arrangements of the Mexican commander-in-chief, a vastly superior force could be brought into action at either point where the invaders might attempt to force a passage; but his plans were disconcerted by the disobedience and obstinacy of his subordinate. Valencia, in defiance of orders, moved southward with his forces, and erected works of defence at Contreras, or Padierna, between the Pedregal and the mountains; thus cutting off communication with the army at San Antonio, and rendering his command nearly useless by the occupation of ground said to have been pronounced indefensible by competent engineers.

The result proved the folly of his conduct. On the 19th of August, one division of the American army, unaided by cavalry or

artillery, forced a passage over the rough plain of lava, and attacked the Mexican fortifications. Night came on, with cold and heavy rain, before any decisive result, but on the next morning the works were stormed, and a complete victory was gained by the Americans. The Mexican loss, of those who fell upon the field, or were taken prisoners, was not far from fifteen hundred, and great stores of artillery and small-arms, together with mules, horses, &c., fell into the hands of the victors.

The victory at Contreras was but the commencement of the brilliant achievements of the American army on this eventful 20th of August. Santa Anna, with a powerful reserve, had approached the scene of action during the contest, but too late to offer any effectual assistance. The works at the hacienda of San Antonio were forced and occupied by a masterly movement of the division under General Worth, and the garrison of about three thousand men, in full retreat towards the capital, was met, and a second time defeated by the forces under Colonel Clarke, who had made a circuit through the Pedregal from the western road.

At the village of Churubusco, on the great road, between San Antonio and the city of Mexico, strong military works had been erected. The convent of San Pablo, at that spot, was garrisoned and strongly fortified; the bridge by which the road there crosses a stream was protected by a "*tête de pont*;" and every thing connected with the locality offered advantages for a stand against the invading army. Little time was given to the Mexicans to collect and dispose their forces at this stronghold ere it was attacked with the greatest impetuosity. The *tête de pont* was forced at the point of the bayonet, and, after several hours' hard fighting, the convent shared the same fate. A detachment under Generals Pierce and Shields had meantime been engaged in making a detour to cut off retreat to the capital. As the division of the latter approached the main road, it was encountered by some four thousand of the enemy. A severe engagement ensued, in which the fortune of the day was still with the Americans. The victorious troops under Generals Worth and Pillow, after the reduction of Churubusco, continued to press on towards the capital; and, falling in with Shields' division, assisted in the pursuit of the fugitive Mexicans. The latter were now deprived of every means of defence by the southern route up to the walls of the city, and the ancient capital itself appeared already within the grasp of the American commander.

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On the 21st, as General Scott was already engaged in arrangements for commencing an assault upon the city, proposals for an armistice were received from the Mexican authorities. Willing to spare further effusion of blood, and conscious of the extreme difficulty and danger of entering a crowded city, strongly built, and still containing a large force of regular soldiery, the American commander-in-chief wisely consented to the temporary cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty that might end the war.

In the beleaguered capital all was tumult and confusion. The congress could hardly be said to exist, as many of its members had already left the city. Intrigues and private animosity precluded any combined and sober action, while an ignorant and infuriated mob continued to cry out for resistance to the last. The Mexicans had begun to lose faith in their president, and powerful parties were at work for his overthrow. In the negotiations which occupied the interval of truce, the American demands were considered extravagant by the Mexican commissioners and their superiors, and the latter appear to have only sought delay, by means of which they might, in defiance of stipulations, strengthen their works and reorganize for the defence of their city.

General Scott therefore gave notice to the president, on the 6th of September, that hostilities would recommence on the following day, unless atonement were previously made for these breaches of treaty. He received, in reply, but threats and defiance. The American general's head-quarters were fixed at Tacubaya, a few miles south-west of the city, approach to which from that quarter was intercepted by the strong castle of Chapultepec, situated upon a hill, and by strong military works at the foundry called the Molino del Rey, and the Casa Mata, both occupying commanding positions in the immediate vicinity at the westward.

To force and occupy these all-important positions became necessary before an attack could safely be made upon the city itself, lest, in case of successful assault, the enemy should have a stronghold for retreat, from which the divided and weakened forces of the victors might fail to dislodge them. The plan of General Scott was to carry, what may be considered the out-works of Chapultepec at Molino del Rey and Casa Mata; then to make a demonstration upon the south of the city; and, having diverted the attention of the besieged, to storm Chapultepec, and enter the capital from the south-west.

The reinforced division under General Worth was accordingly

placed in position before day-light on the morning of the 8th of September. The attack commenced with the first dawn, and, after several hours' hard fighting, the object was attained. The fortifications at the Casa Mata were blown up, and the moulds and ammunition at the Molino were destroyed. So remarkable an action deserves a more particular account than we have space to bestow. Mr. Mayer remarks upon it: "This was a great but a rash victory. The American infantry, relying chiefly on the bayonet, and expecting to effect its object by surprise, and even at an earlier hour of the morning, advanced with portions of the three thousand two hundred and fifty-one men, to attack at least eleven or twelve thousand Mexicans, upon a field selected by themselves, protected by stone walls and ditches, commanded by the fortress of Chapultepec, and the ground swept by artillery, while four thousand cavalry threatened an overwhelming charge!"

The attention of Santa Anna was fully occupied by the apparent preparations for an attack upon the south, until the 13th. So well were these movements planned and conducted, that it was impossible for him to penetrate the intentions of the American commander, although throughout the 12th a heavy cannonade was kept up against the fortress at Chapultepec. The troops stationed at Molino del Rey occupied a convenient position for following up any advantage gained by the operations of the artillery, and by them the assault was commenced on the morning of the 13th. A portion of the divisions which had been previously threatening the southern entrance to the city, hastened to join in the attack, and the fortress was stormed. About a thousand prisoners were taken, and the fugitives were driven tumultuously within the walls of the city. Notwithstanding the rapid concentration of troops at the assaulted quarter, General Quitman forced his way into the city by the gate of Belen early in the afternoon; and the forces under Worth gained a secure position for the night in the buildings on the street of San Cosmé, before the gate of that name.

On the morning of the 14th, intelligence was received, by a communication from the civil authorities, that the capital had been evacuated during the night by the army and the officers of government. Promptly rejecting all proposals for capitulation, General Scott immediately proceeded to the military occupation of the city. Great difficulty was at first experienced in subduing the *canaille* of the capital, who for two days continued to fire upon the Americans from

places of concealment. A great number of infamous wretches, who had been turned loose from the prisons on the night of the evacuation, were the principal actors in this murderous work.

Of the whole force with which General Scott left Puebla, amounting to less than eleven thousand men, the number of those killed in battle before the complete occupation of the capital is set down at three hundred and eighty-three, and the entire loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, at two thousand seven hundred and three.

General Quitman was appointed governor of the city, and the commander-in-chief engaged with great energy, though with prudence and moderation, in the necessary labour of confirming or establishing some system of law and order. Santa Anna, having summoned a congress to meet at Querétaro, resigned the presidency to the chief justice Peña-y-Peña, and with a strong body of cavalry pushed on to Puebla to fall upon the garrison in occupation of that city. He was there joined by General Rea, with some three thousand additional troops. The little band of the besieged sustained their position with wonderful firmness and success until relieved by the arrival of General Lane, with fresh forces from Vera Cruz.

This officer gained a complete victory over each division of the Mexican army, the first, under Santa Anna, who had marched eastward from Puebla to oppose his advance, and the second under Rea, who had retreated from Puebla, and was in occupation of Atlixco. These were the last important engagements of the war. The work of reducing or disbanding the bodies of banditti who still maintained a guerilla warfare was successfully accomplished.

In the month of November a congress was assembled, but such was the animosity of the factions represented, that no important action was taken. Anaya was chosen president until the next meeting of congress, which was to take place in the ensuing January. After the close of the session, the president, through his predecessor Peña-y-Peña, now acting as his minister, opened communication with the American commissioner in regard to the arrangement of a treaty. Although he had already received notice from the United States' government of his recall, Mr. Trist judged it expedient to negotiate while opportunity offered.

At the January session of congress, as there was not a sufficient number of members to form a quorum, there could be no election, and Peña-y-Peña, according to a constitutional provision, assumed the vacant presidency as chief justice. Commissioners having been

appointed by the Mexican government, a meeting was arranged with the United States' envoy, and on the 2d of February, 1848, a treaty was signed at the town of Guadalupe Hidalgo, three miles to the northward of the city of Mexico.

By the provisions of this important treaty, which, with little alteration, was approved and ratified by the United States' senate in the month of March ensuing, the disputed territory between the Nueces and Rio Grande was relinquished by Mexico, and the whole of Upper California and New Mexico was ceded to the United States. On the other hand, the exhausted coffers of the conquered nation were to be replenished by the payment of fifteen millions of dollars as the price of ceded territory; Mexican liabilities for the private claims of American citizens were to be assumed to the amount of three millions two hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and the faith of the United States was pledged to protect the northern Mexican frontier from Indian invasion. On the last of May the ratification of this treaty by the Mexican congress left the belligerent nations at peace, and the United States' troops were withdrawn from the country. Perhaps in no instance in the history of the world has a victorious invading army remained so long in occupation of conquered territory without proving a burden to the inhabitants. Throughout the campaign the provisions for the army were mostly paid for at fair prices, and the only contributions drawn from the resources of the defeated nation, with the exception of some very moderate impositions, to meet particular exigencies, were derived from duties upon goods landed at the sea-ports in our possession. These duties were, moreover, on an average, less in amount than those formerly levied by the Mexican customs.

The ex-president Santa Anna had, upon his own application, previously received his passports, and permission from the Mexican authorities and the American commander to leave the country. He sailed for Jamaica on the 5th of the preceding month of April. General Herrera was soon after elected president of the republic.

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THE AMERICAN ARMY, UNDER GENERAL SCOTT, ENTERING THE CITY OF MEXICO.



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CHAPTER XXV.

SUMMARY OF NAVAL OPERATIONS.—COLONEL KEARNEY'S PROCEEDINGS IN NEW MEXICO.—EVENTS IN CALIFORNIA.—UNION OF COLONEL FREMONT WITH COMMODORE STOCKTON.—KEARNEY'S ARRIVAL AT SAN DIEGO.—CAMPAIGN OF THE COMBINED FORCES.—DISPUTES BETWEEN THE AMERICAN COMMANDERS.—COLONEL DONIPHAN'S SERVICES.—MEXICO, SINCE THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE WITH THE UNITED STATES.—RETURN OF SANTA ANNA.—DIFFICULTIES RELATING TO THE MESILLA VALLEY.

HAVING now followed out the more important events of the Mexican campaign to the close of the war, we recur briefly to the military operations in the more remote provinces. The field of action was so extensive, and so sparsely populated, that the adventures of the little detachments of American troops by which those operations were performed, although replete with interest, had for the most part too little bearing upon the grand result to require minute detail.

Upon the coast our navy had not been idle: besides its share in the reduction of the important stronghold at Vera Cruz, its independent operation resulted in the seizure of every port upon the Gulf of sufficient importance to justify retention, and, in the Pacific, by a strict blockade, trade was cut off with those not in our possession. To the unfortunate conflict of claims, upon the occupation of California by the naval and military forces of the United States, depending upon martial technicalities, and in the discussion of which such infinite confusion has arisen, we can barely allude.

As early as June, 1846, Colonel Kearney, to whom was first assigned the duty of invading New Mexico and California, left Fort Leavenworth, with sixteen hundred men, *en route* for Santa Fe. He gained possession of the capital of New Mexico without resistance, and having recruited his force by the collection of a considerable body of emigrants, commenced his march through the western wilderness. Receiving intelligence while on the road that he had been anticipated in his intended military operations, he ordered the

return of the principal portion of his command, and pushed on with a small mounted company.

That hardy pioneer and gallant officer, Captain (since Colonel) J. C. Fremont, was the first active agent in the reduction of California. In conformity with private orders from government, received in May, 1846, he hastened from Oregon for the Sacramento valley. The American settlers in that region eagerly lent their assistance to the overthrow of Mexican authority. Few as were their numbers, this portion of the community made open declaration of independence of Mexico, early in July, and just before the reception of the news of the opening campaign in Mexico. The revolutionary character of the movement was at once abandoned, and the insurgents gladly devoted themselves to the cause of their parent-country.

The ports of San Francisco and Monterey having been occupied by the naval forces of the United States, under command of Commodore Stockton, Fremont joined his forces with those of that officer for the purpose of an attack on Los Angeles. The Mexican troops, under Castro, abandoned the city, which was occupied without a struggle, on the 13th of August. In the following month, General Castro, with recruited forces, regained possession.

General Kearney, (he had been raised to this rank on receiving his last commission,) with his little band, after a wearisome and dangerous march, reached San Diego towards the middle of December, having lost thirty-one men in killed and wounded at San Pascual, where his progress was opposed by a mounted force of the enemy. The command would probably have been entirely cut off but for relief sent out from San Diego.

General Kearney and Commodore Stockton, after some discussion as to their several powers and appropriate position in command, joined forces, and took up their line of march northward. At the banks of the river San Gabriel they encountered and defeated the Mexicans under Flores. That commander rallied his forces, and made a second stand at the level prairie of the Mesa. A second time compelled to retreat, he proceeded to the plain of Couenga to oppose the advance of Fremont. A parley was held between the respective commanders, and the Mexican general finally agreed upon a cessation of hostilities. His troops were to deliver up their arms, and during the continuance of the war, to submit to the jurisdiction of the United States. The occupation of Los Angeles was resumed, and California remained subject to the American government. Colonel

Fremont, having been appointed governor by Commodore Stockton, became entangled in the controversy between that officer and General Kearney relative to their respective powers and duties in the occupation and government of the conquered territory. His long and wearisome trial, during the winter of 1847-8, "on charges of mutiny, disobedience, and conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline," notwithstanding its unfavourable result, appears to have left no stain upon his character, nor to have at all diminished his deserved popularity.

At New Mexico, subsequent to the departure of General Kearney, one of the first objects accomplished was the reduction of the Navaho Indians, who had assumed a hostile attitude. This service was performed by Colonel Doniphan, in command of a body of mounted Missourians. With this force he afterwards made his way to Chihuahua, and having forcibly taken possession of the country, continued his route to the Rio Grande. This march has been not inaptly compared, from its exhibition of endurance, and the skill and prudence with which it was conducted, to the famous "Retreat of the Ten Thousand."

The command of the forces remaining in New Mexico was at this period committed to Colonel Price, upon whose energy and courage the preservation of the province was soon to depend. A formidable insurrection broke out on the 19th of January, 1847, after the departure of Doniphan, which was not quelled without great sacrifice of life.

The foregoing outline of the principal events connected with the war between Mexico and the United States, although confined to the leading incidents, may appear to have occupied an undue share of our attention, when compared with the preceding sketch of colonial history. The importance of the results of this war already witnessed, and the still more momentous changes to which it may probably lead, justify this apparent disproportion. Who can overestimate the influence upon the destinies of the nations of either hemisphere consequent upon the extension of the jurisdiction of the United States over the recent wilderness of California? or who can offer a probable conjecture as to how long the immense resources of this new state might have remained undeveloped under the weak government of Mexico, occupied only by a scattered population, born and bred in national apathy and want of enterprise?

Since the conclusion of peace with the United States the political

history of the Mexican republic presents little of permanent interest. No stability of government has been yet attained: a "Mexican revolution" has become a by-word: with crippled finances, a constant change of rulers, unceasing disaffection among different factions and provinces, and the decline of every source of national prosperity, unless by some unforeseen concurrence of events her prospects shall brighten, she must continue to decline until, as a separate state, blotted from the list of nations.

The strong arm, the subtle craft, and the iron will of Santa Anna, have recently been once more brought into requisition, to regulate and guide the disturbed affairs of the republic. If the same confidence could be reposed in his good faith and patriotism, as in his firmness and ability, no living man were better fitted to restore his country's languishing prosperity. He has commenced his administration by prompt and decided measures for ensuring his own supremacy; whether his foreign policy, particularly in intercourse with the United States, is to be just and conciliatory, remains to be seen.

A new dispute has arisen upon a question of boundary between this country and Mexico, which threatens to breed further difficulty, unless the controversy be conducted in a different spirit from that at first evinced by the governors of the contending provinces. The tract in dispute is the Mesilla valley, claimed by the authorities of New Mexico to have belonged to that province, and to have been consequently included in the district ceded to the United States at the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, although by an erroneous survey laid down as part of the territory of the adjoining Mexican state.

The movements of both parties may perhaps be considered rather precipitate, in a matter which should certainly in the first instance be made the subject of negotiation between the respective federal governments. It is to be hoped, however, that the hasty action which led to an armed occupation of the valley, may not so far blind the minds of the parties in interest as to make that a question of feeling which should be one of right and policy; and that such action may be taken in the premises as shall avert the monstrous folly of an appeal to arms.

CONQUEST AND HISTORY OF PERU.

CHAPTER I.

THE CAPITAL OF THE ISTHMUS TRANSFERRED TO PANAMA.—
ACCOUNT OF FRANCISCO PIZARRO.—HIS CONFEDERATES.
—HIS FIRST VOYAGE IN QUEST OF PERU.—GRIEVOUS
LOSS AND SUFFERING.—HIS RETURN.—THE VOY-
AGE OF ALMAGRO.—EXTRAORDINARY CONTRACT
OF PIZARRO, ALMAGRO, AND LUQUE.

THE daring enterprise and indefatigable exertions of Balboa, stimulated by the rumour of golden realms on the Pacific, south of the Isthmus, had laid open the way to those regions of conjectured wealth and splendor. The grand schemes of adventure and ambition which had seemed to perish with him, were, after a brief interval, revived by one fully his equal in genius, courage, and endurance, and, if possible, his superior in fierceness, in rapine, and in cruelty. Francisco Pizarro, one of the most renowned and infamous of mankind, was born at Truxillo, in Estramadura, about the year 1471. He was the illegitimate son of Gonzalo Pizarro, an officer of the famous Cordova, and at his birth, by a piece of inhuman abandonment, was exposed at the church-door and left as a foundling. Nay, it is said that for some days the only nourishment he received was derived from a sow, which, in default of a more fitting nurse, was provided for his sustenance. He was bred up to the calling of a swineherd, and never learned to read or write. It is from souls of high natural genius, degraded in youth by ignorance, privation, and unnatural ignominy, that great criminals are most aptly made; and the candid observer will bestow a portion of his pity on the forlorn circumstances of Pizarro's youth, and a portion of his indignation

on the authors of those circumstances, which in great degree made him what he was.

At an early age he ran away from his ignoble charge, and made his way to the New World. Only occasional glimpses are caught of his career, but they are such as reveal sternness, endurance, and talent for command. We have already mentioned that he accompanied Balboa and afterwards Morales on their memorable expeditions to the South Sea, and that, at the command of Pedrarias, he had arrested the former, and brought him to Acla for execution. Soon after, the governor transferred his capital from Darien, on the Atlantic coast, to a site on the Pacific, called Panama, some distance eastward from the present city of that name. In 1521, an expedition had been dispatched to the southward, in quest of the region of gold, but it proceeded only a little way along the coast. The splendid achievements and wonderful successes of Cortes, however, soon gave a fresh impulse to adventure, and a few daring men, in the capital of the Isthmus, resolved on reviving the neglected enterprise of Balboa.

Of these the foremost was Pizarro, who, after a life of great vicissitudes, now, at the age of fifty, was cultivating a little estate near Panama; Diego de Almagro, also a foundling and an old soldier of fortune, was another; and Hernando de Luque, a priest, of an enterprising spirit, and provided with funds by a wealthy friend, brought his important aid to the project. These three obscure and unimportant individuals, after several conferences, resolved on prosecuting an enterprise, the magnitude of which, contrasted with the slender means of its projectors, sufficiently evinces their boldness and energy of purpose. This was nothing less than the discovery and conquest of that golden empire, the existence of which had first been indicated in the vague rumours of the Indians of Comagre, and which had afterwards occasionally been confirmed by authority no more exact or reliable. Two small vessels were procured, in one of which Pizarro, with a hundred men, in the middle of November, 1524, set sail, leaving Almagro to follow in the other, as soon as it could be made ready.

Crossing the Gulf of San Miguel, and following the coast, he first entered the river Biru, and made a disastrous attempt at exploring the marshes, of which the country appeared entirely to consist. Foiled in this endeavour, he again stood southward, during the rainy season, through a succession of gales and thunder-storms, which well

nigh sent his frail bark to the bottom. The shore was still found to consist of vast swamps and intricate forests. His men, worn out and half-famished, were clamorous for return, but their commander refused to relinquish his project. Landing, with a portion of his force, he dispatched the vessel, with the remainder, homeward, to procure supplies.

Half of his command soon perished from hunger and exposure, and the rest were saved only by a scanty supply of maize, obtained from an Indian village in the interior. The vessel, after a voyage rendered terrible by similar sufferings, at last returned with supplies, and took off the half-starved wretches who still survived. At their next landing, Pizarro discovered an Indian village, deserted by the affrighted inhabitants, in which he found considerable gold, and saw the unmistakable evidences of cannibalism. At another point, farther on, which he called *Punta Quemada*, he took possession of a fortified village, deserted, as usual, at the approach of the strangers, intending to dispatch the vessel to Panama for repairs. But a furious attack of the Indians, in which five of the Spaniards were killed and a great number wounded, rendered the plan too hazardous. All, therefore, went on board, and set sail homeward—Pizarro, with most of his company, disembarking a little before reaching the town.

Almagro, with the other vessel, and with sixty or seventy additional recruits, after great delays, had set forth, before this return, and coasting southward, had touched at various points, where, by the notching of trees, he perceived the late visits of his consort. At *Quemada* he also had a fight with the Indians, in which he lost an eye; but had pushed on, making several landings, and seizing considerable gold, as far as the mouth of the *San Juan*, four degrees north latitude. The appearances of civilization increased, and fresh accounts of the empire in the south continually reached him. Finding nothing of his partner, however, he turned northward, and rejoined him at his quarters near Panama. Exultant in the prospect of realizing their ambitious project, each made fresh pledges to prosecute the adventure to an end.

The countenance of *Pedrarías* had been secured, at the outset, by admitting him to a share of the anticipated profits; but, though the scheme now seemed more feasible than before, he obstinately refused to contribute any thing in aid of the enterprise; and, greedy for present gain, relinquished his share in the future wealth of Peru, on receiving a bond, with security, for the payment of a thousand

pesos (twelve thousand dollars). This incubus removed, "the three confederates met at Panama, and with much form and solemnity executed that memorable contract for the spoliation and division of the unknown realms and treasures of the south. 'In the Name of the most Holy Trinity,' commences this singular document, 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three distinct persons, and one only true God, and of the most Holy Virgin, our Lady, we form this partnership.' Neither Pizarro nor Almagro could write, and their names, therefore, were subscribed by the hands of the witnesses; while, the more strongly to bind them to its observance, they took oath upon a missal, tracing a cross thereon, in the name of God and the Holy Evangelists. To make all sure, the worthy Father Luque then administered the sacrament, giving each a portion of the consecrated wafer, and taking the same himself. So impressive was the scene, that the bystanders were melted to tears; but all these ghostly precautions for amity and fair play eventually proved to be of no more value than is usual where solemn vows and lengthy protestations are used to cover lurking rivalry and distrust. (March 10th, 1526.)*"

CHAPTER II.

SECOND VOYAGE OF PIZARRO AND ALMAGRO.—THEIR SUFFERINGS.—FRESH DISCOVERIES.—RETURN OF ALMAGRO.—THE ISLAND OF GALLO.—RESOLUTION OF PIZARRO AND TWELVE OTHERS.—THEIR DISCOVERY OF PERU.—ITS TREASURES.—PIZARRO REPAIRS TO SPAIN.—GRANT OF THE CROWN.—RETURN OF PIZARRO WITH HIS BROTHERS.—THE THIRD EXPEDITION TO PERU.—BATTLE AT PUNA.

WITH the funds furnished by Luque, two vessels were now fitted out anew, and efforts were made to enlist adventurers for the enterprise. Some difficulty was experienced, on account of the fatal result of the former expedition; but, singular to state, nearly all the survivors again enlisted, resolved to see it to an end, and enough more were at last enrolled to make up the number of an hundred and

* Discoverers, &c., of America.

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FRANCISCO PIZARRO,
THE CONQUEROR OF PERU.
BORN AT TRUXILLO, 1471; SEIZED THE PERUVIAN INCA, NOVEMBER 16, 1532;
ASSASSINATED JUNE 26, 1541.

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sixty. With this insignificant force, supplied with a few horses and fire-arms, the two adventurers, each in his own vessel, again set sail from Panama. Without touching on the coast, they held their way to the San Juan, where, by plunder of the native villages, they obtained a considerable quantity of gold. With this spoil Almagro was dispatched homeward to allure fresh recruits; Pizarro, with part of his force, remained on shore; and Ruiz, an experienced pilot, pursued discovery southward. That voyager found the shores populous and well cultivated, and gained fresh information of the wealth and splendour of Peru, where gold and silver, he was told, were plenty as wood in the royal palaces. Having crossed the line, and captured from an Indian *balsa* two natives of that kingdom, to serve as interpreters, he returned to the encampment.

Pizarro, during his absence, in a march through the tangled forests of the interior, had lost many of his men from the attacks of the Indians, and of the alligators and serpents, with which the region abounded. The survivors suffered terribly from famine, and were compelled to bury themselves to the necks in sand to avoid the insufferable annoyance of the musquitocs. Revived by the return of Ruiz and Almagro, (the latter with eighty recruits,) they again got under way, and after long struggling with a succession of frightful tempests, approached the shores of Quito. Here, at Tacamez, a sea-port of two thousand native houses, lately brought under subjection to the Incas of Peru, they attempted a landing, but were so sharply opposed by the natives as to be compelled to retreat aboard their vessels. After a fierce debate between the two Spanish captains, evincing much lurking jealousy and hatred, it was agreed that Almagro should again sail to Panama for reinforcements and supplies, and that Pizarro, with a part of the force, should encamp on the island of Gallo.

The soldiers, dreading starvation in this desolate scene, were clamorous in opposition; and, though overawed by the sternness and authority of their commander, contrived to send clandestinely to their friends in Panama, entreating rescue from their miserable situation. Accordingly, De los Rios, the new governor of that province, not only refused any countenance or assistance to Almagro, but sent two vessels, under one of his own officers, to bring off the malecontents forcibly detained on the obnoxious island. Their arrival was hailed with exultation by most of the company, who had already suffered much from exposure and privation; but Pizarro, encouraged

by a letter from his associates in Panama, pledging speedy assistance, resolved to hold out to the last. Drawing a line with his sword upon the sand, he addressed the men in a few words of harsh but eloquent truth. "Comrades and friends," he said, "this side is that of death, of toils, of famine, of nakedness, of storms and homelessness; the other is that of ease: on that lies Panama and its poverty; on this Peru and its riches. Let each man choose what becomes a good Castilian." Having uttered these memorable words, he stepped over the line to the southward, and was followed by Ruiz and twelve others—a number singularly great, considering the desperation of the resolve. A more signal instance of hardihood or perseverance is hardly to be found in history.

After the departure of the vessels, the little band of resolute adventurers who remained, passed on a raft to the distant island of Gorgona, and there, for seven long months, suffering great extremities, and supporting their spirits with frequent and regular religious exercises, watched wearily for the expected sail of Almagro. But the latter and his confederate, after much delay and using every exertion, could only prevail on the governor to allow the dispatch of a small vessel with orders to bring off the obstinate adventurers who had remained. But on its arrival, they joyfully embarked, and under the pilotage of Ruiz, at once steered southward. Crossing the line, at the end of twenty days they entered the Gulf of Guayaquil, and beheld before them the Peruvian town of Tumbez, backed by the Andes, and exhibiting strong tokens of wealth and population. The Indians, in multitudes, gathered on the shore to behold the stranger ship, and numbers soon came off in their *balsas* or native boats, bearing offerings of fruit and several llamas, an animal before unknown to Europeans.

Among these visitors was a Peruvian noble, to whom Pizarro, by an interpreter, explained that he was come to claim the allegiance of the country in behalf of his master, the king of Spain, and to rescue the people from the perdition to which their evil spirits, which they called gods, were conducting them. However surprised at this impudent announcement, the chief preserved an attitude of discreet non-committal. A Greek knight, one Pedro de Candia, was now sent ashore, where he was hospitably received, and soon returned to astonish his companions by the report of the treasures he had beheld. The Temple of the Sun, to which he had been conducted, was covered, he said, with plates of gold and silver; and in the gar-

deus of a species of nunnery, were fruits and flowers, exquisitely represented in the same precious metals. Overwhelmed with joy at these welcome tidings, the Spaniards weighed anchor, and stood along the coast to effect fresh discoveries.

They were every where treated with the greatest kindness and attention by the natives, who, from their fair complexions and brilliant armour, gave them the name of "Children of the Sun"—their own most venerated deity. Fresh accounts of the great Inca, whose capital, resplendent with gold, was said to lie among the mountains, and fresh evidences of wealth and civilization, such as stone houses and well-cultivated fields, continually cheered the spirits of the adventurers, and convinced them that they had arrived at last at the long-sought region. After cruising to the ninth degree of south latitude, they turned northward, and bore the brilliant tidings to Panama.

Singular to state, the new governor, averse to enterprise, in the face of these splendid omens of success, absolutely refused his countenance to any new expedition, declaring that "he did not mean to depopulate his own province to people New Lands, nor to cause the death of any more people than had been killed already; for a show of Sheep (llamas) Gold, and Silver, which had been brought home." It was therefore resolved by the confederates that Pizarro should sail to Spain, and apply in person to the crown for assistance adequate to the enterprise. Furnished with fifteen hundred ducats, to aid his suit, and bearing specimens of the productions of Peru, in the summer of 1528, he arrived at Toledo, where the emperor (Charles V.) then held his court.

Illiterate, but eloquent by nature, he related his story, and pleaded his cause with extraordinary effect. The sovereign, it is said, was moved to tears by the recital, and his interest and cupidity were powerfully awakened by the sight of the Peruvian treasure and the prospect of grasping the unimaginable wealth of that distant region. The suit of Pizarro was referred, with favourable recommendation, to the Council of the Indies; and accordingly, after a year's delay, full powers of discovery and conquest in a vast extent of country were granted to him, with the offices of governor, captain-general, &c., &c., over such regions as he should reduce under submission to the crown. The complete authority, in effect, was vested in his hands—the claims of Almagro and Luque being acknowledged only by slight appointments. To secure the possession of these dignities and privileges, however, he was bound, within a certain

time, to provide two hundred and fifty men, and with them to sail for Panama.

With all the prestige of his new importance, the adventurer betook him to his native place, where many of his townsmen were found ready to embark in the enterprise. Among these were four of his brothers, of whom Hernando alone was legitimate, Gonzalo and Juan Pizarro owning the same parents as himself, and Francisco de Alcantara being connected with him only by the mother. All were men of extraordinary courage and resolution. The requisite funds were obtained with difficulty, and it is said that but for the opportune assistance of Cortes, with whom, as we have seen, Pizarro became acquainted at Palos, the scheme might have failed altogether. As it was, he was unable fully to complete his stipulated armament; and in January, 1530, with only a portion of the required force, hurriedly put to sea, and sailed for Nombre de Dios.

Almagro and Luque, who were there eagerly awaiting his arrival, were exceedingly angered and disappointed at the perfidious conduct of their confederate; but he promised solemnly that all the terms of the compact should be fulfilled; and, a hollow truce being thus patched up, all betook themselves to Panama.

Very few recruits could be obtained at that place, and early in January, 1531, with an hundred and eighty-three men and twenty-seven horses, in three vessels, leaving Almagro to gather reinforcements, Pizarro set forth to effect the Conquest of Peru. After a voyage of thirteen days, he disembarked at the Bay of St. Matthew, a little north of the equator, and with most of his men, marched southward along the shore, accompanied by the vessels. At an Indian village in Coaque, which they took by surprise, these marauders got a great booty in gold and emeralds, part of which Pizarro sent back to Panama, as an allurement for recruits. The march proved excessively severe: the sun, in these low latitudes, striking with terrible power on the soldiers cased in steel armour, or half-smothered in their thick doublets of-quilted cotton. Several perished on the way, and the remainder were much relieved by the arrival of a vessel from the Isthmus, containing supplies and a small reinforcement.

The invading force finally reached the Gulf of Guayaquil, and passed over to the isle of Puna, opposite Tumbez, where it encamped. The people of that city came over in a friendly way, to visit them, but the islanders, provoked by an act of hostility, gathering, to the

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number of several thousands, attacked the Spanish quarters. After a hardly-contested fight, they were repulsed by the cavalry and fire-arms—a result attributed by the piety of the Christians to the prowess of the archangel Michael, who (it is recorded) was seen, with the angelic hosts, fighting in the air against a multitude of demons, whose defeat was simultaneous with that of the Indians. In honour of this miraculous assistance, Pizarro vowed that the first city he should found should receive the name of his heavenly protector—a vow subsequently fulfilled at the erection of San Miguel. But, despite their losses, the islanders still maintained a hostile attitude, and the Spaniards hailed with joy the arrival of a hundred men, under Hernandó de Soto, the future invader of Florida and discoverer of the Mississippi. Thus strengthened, Pizarro resolved to cross to the mainland, and proceed at once to his gigantic undertaking—the Conquest of Peru.

CHAPTER III.

THE ABORIGINES OF PERU.—THE RULE OF THE INCAS.—REFLECTIONS—AGRICULTURAL LABOURS.—LLAMAS.—IMMENSE PUBLIC WORKS.—WARLIKE OPERATIONS.—PUBLIC RECORDS.—RELIGION.—TRADITIONS.—EARLY HISTORY.—CONDITION OF THE RACE IN MODERN TIMES.

THE history of no half-civilized race is more replete with interest than that of the ancient Peruvians. Their advance in the arts and in the refinements of social life was fully equal to that of the Mexicans; but wide dissimilarities existed between the two nations, and no traces of a common origin, or indeed, of any communication between them, have been discovered. The picture of Peruvian life given by the old writers contains less that is repulsive, and evinces a greater degree of general prosperity and content, than that presented of the condition of Mexico under the Montezumas. It is true that by the singular nature of the government of the Incas, no room was left for individual enterprise, or for the development of individual superiority; but, on the other hand, the utmost care for the general welfare animated every department. Agrarian laws

have never been maintained for any length of time, except in Peru, where a yearly division took place of the portion of the soil not reserved for the use of the church and the government.

The perfection and exactitude of this extraordinary system, considering the variety of races and the vast extent of territory subject to the Peruvian monarchs, are almost incredible. It was unquestionably "the most perfect specimen of a 'paternal despotism' which has ever been presented to the eye of the world. The inca was absolute, and all the inhabitants of his vast dominions did not possess the shadow of a right or law apart from his sovereign will. Nor was this portentous assertion of authority a mere instrument of terror, produced only on state occasions, to overawe the refractory or minister to the caprice of the sovereign. It formed an integral and engrossing portion of the life of every man, woman, and child throughout the Peruvian domains. Industry, food, clothing, shelter, domestic relations, amusements, every thing, were under the direct supervision of government. No one was allowed to be idle. No one was permitted to suffer from want. Education, marriage, social intercourse, were all under strict regulation. In such a place the subject must reside; such and such work, at stated times, he must perform; at such an age he must take a certain wife; and he must bring up his children in a fixed and certain manner. 'The imperative spirit of despotism would not allow them to be happy or miserable in any way but that established by law. The power of free agency—the inestimable and in-born right of every human being—was annihilated in Peru.'

"Despotism, says a profound, but popular writer, may be borne, but the intermeddling of a royal busy-body is too much for human nature. This rule, accurately enough applied to the sprightlier people of Europe, may have its exceptions; for, strange to say, among the Peruvians, this apparently vexatious system, seems to have *worked well*. It was indeed remarkably accordant with the gentle, industrious, and custom-loving disposition of the races to which it was applied, and few more pleasing pictures of rural quiet and tranquillity exist, than those which are given of this people under its primitive government."*

The curaca or governor of each district exercised a constant personal supervision over his people, making periodical reports to his superiors of the most minute details of the labours accomplished, and

* Discoverers, &c., of America.

of the agricultural productions. The assiduous cultivation of the soil was pursued in the face of natural obstacles greater than have been elsewhere successfully overcome. The plains were barren from want of rain, which never falls there in sufficient quantity to avail for the irrigation of the fields; and, to render them fruitful, the mountain torrents were turned from their courses, conducted through massive aqueducts of hewn stone, and distributed by innumerable channels through the cultivable territory. The steep and almost inaccessible sides of the mountains were cut into terraces, and teemed with luxuriant crops of Indian corn, potatoes, quinoa, and other productions of the country. Districts naturally barren were enriched by the use of guano from the coast and from the neighbouring islands.

The government monopoly extended not only to the soil, but to the flocks of llamas from which the clothing of nearly the whole nation was derived, and which supplied the principal portion of animal food used in Peru. These diminutive animals, the only beasts of burden known in the country, were mostly turned loose among the mountains, where they wandered in immense herds, under the care of their keepers and secure from molestation, until the season for shearing. At appointed periods they were driven in, and, after the fleece was secured, and a portion of the males reserved for food, were again set at liberty. The fleece was carefully distributed among the people, to be manufactured into clothing by the women, and the entire disposition of this valuable article was impartially but severely regulated by government officials.

Care was taken to reserve from the annual products of the public lands and flocks, a certain portion for future emergencies, which was stored in extensive dépôts upon the great roads. Immense quantities of provision were accumulated in this manner, and convenient halting-places and abundant supplies were furnished for the royal armies on their march through the country. Every thing was so perfectly systematized, that no man felt oppressed or burdened by the heavy demands on his time and labour made by the authorities.

A large body of labourers, relieved at stated intervals by fresh recruits, were constantly employed upon the public roads and buildings; and the ruins yet remaining sufficiently attest the efficiency of their operations. It is doubtful whether such immense undertakings were ever elsewhere accomplished with no greater aid from machinery and beasts of burden. The whole kingdom was traversed by broad and convenient highways, in the construction of

which the most disheartening obstacles were successfully overcome. The main road from Quito to Cuzco, and thence to the southern portions of the kingdom, was led along the mountain ridges for a distance estimated at not much less than two thousand miles. It was massively built of stone, or hewn out from the native rock, and, although only about twenty feet broad, afforded a smooth and easy passage between the great cities, for foot-passengers or trains of loaded llamas. The highway second in importance was conducted through the level plains, parallel with the sea-coast, and consisted of an embankment, or causeway, lined, where the soil was fruitful, with ornamental trees and shrubs.

All these public works, as well as the massive palaces and religious temples, of hewn stone, seem the more marvellous when we consider that the materials were wrought without any iron instrument, as the Peruvians, like the Mexicans, had no harder tools than those manufactured from an alloy of copper and tin.

It may be readily perceived what immense facilities were afforded for military operations by these roads, and by the granaries which were built and stored at regular intervals throughout the routes. The government pursued a warlike policy towards neighbouring nations, and the successes of the Peruvian armies resulted in vast additions to the empire. When a province was subdued, the first steps taken were to introduce the national worship of the Sun, to establish the laws of Peru, giving to the conquered people equal privileges with their conquerors, and to introduce colonies of Peruvians into the new country, by whose association and example the natives might the sooner perceive the advantages of quietly submitting to the despotic but paternal care of the inca. The native nobles and governors were often continued in office, and conciliated by favours and honours, and a decent respect was paid to the religious belief and popular usages of the newly-acquired territory.

In the conduct of the complicated machinery of government, regularity and precision were maintained by a species of record, crude indeed, as compared with a written language, but ingenious, and well adapted to secure accuracy in numerical computations. This was the "quipu," which consisted simply of a series of variously coloured threads, attached at regular intervals to a cord. Knots tied in these threads, according to a certain prescribed order, supplied all the requisite means for registering the population of the country, the births, deaths, and marriages, the public resources, the revenue, and

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even a chronological history of the empire. None, of course, except those versed in the art, to whom the keeping of the quipus were entrusted, could expound their mysteries, and the annals so quaintly recorded mostly perished with these officials.

The Peruvian religion was in many respects as wild and fanciful as that of any unenlightened nation, and in the mode of worship every variety of imposing and ceremonious pageant was resorted to, to preserve a due impression of its importance. As one-third of all cultivable lands was sequestered for the use of the church, an ample revenue was furnished for the construction and adornment of the most magnificent temples and the support of a numerous priesthood. Chief among this body, which consisted entirely of descendants from the royal stock, was the inca himself, who officiated personally on great and solemn occasions. The principal objects of adoration were the sun, and the subordinate moon and stars; but we are told that besides these visible emblems of divinity, and superior to them all, the God Pachacamae was adored as the invisible creator of all things. To this deity a single temple, of ancient date, standing in a valley near the present city of Lima, was devoted; but for various reasons it has been supposed that this branch of the religion of the incas and their subjects was but the remnant of a theology more ancient than the date of their conquests. Early writers give minute and tedious descriptions of Peruvian religious rites and ceremonies, details affording no interest, now that their meaning and origin are no longer to be ascertained.

The national traditions concerning the commencement and progress of civilization in Peru throw little light upon modern speculation. The mythological progenitor of the race of the incas, Manco Capac, a child of the Sun, taking to wife his sister Mama Oello Huaco, was said to have first instituted the customs of civilization, and taught the arts of agriculture and manufactures to the barbarous inhabitants of the vale of Cuzco. In order to preserve the royal stock as distinct as possible from that of the commonalty, the inca, in later times, always married his sister, although this unnatural union was strictly prohibited between those of inferior rank.

The accounts of the early princes are so vague and uncertain that we commence our history of the empire with the reign of Topa Inca Yupanqui, father to Huayna Capac, who filled the throne at the time of the first Spanish discoveries upon the western coast of South America. Under these two warlike monarchs the Peruvian territory

was extended from the country of the unconquerable Araucanians, in southern Chili, to the northern confines of modern Equador. The latter province was subdued by Huayna Capac, who established himself at Quito, its ancient capital, and formed a connection with the daughter of its last native prince. He died about a year after the first expedition of Pizarro, and by the regular laws of descent his whole dominions should have passed to his legitimate son, Huascar. Atahuallpa, his son by the princess of Quito, possessed, however, so strong a hold upon his affections, that he had determined to bestow upon him that portion which had belonged to his maternal ancestors.

The two princes commenced their reigns with favourable auspices for long-continued peace, but, in the course of a few years, mutual jealousies and encroachments involved the country in a fierce civil war. Atahuallpa marched for the ancient capital of the incas, determined, if possible, to dethrone his brother, and constitute himself sole monarch of the Peruvian empire. At Ambato, near the great mountain Chimborazo, only sixty miles from Quito, he was encountered by the forces of Huascar, and a severe engagement ensued. Atahuallpa was completely successful, and having annihilated his opponents, pressed on to the southward, wreaking terrible vengeance on the revolted province of Cañaris.

Another great and decisive battle was fought in the vicinity of Cuzco, and the unfortunate Huascar found himself stripped of his kingdom, and a prisoner in the hands of his rival. The successful invader established himself in the village of Caxamalca, the modern Caxamarca, where he still held his court when Pizarro landed on the Peruvian coast. Although he had no open opponent to his schemes of aggrandizement, the whole country was necessarily in an unsettled state, and he was in no condition to make a successful defence against the handful of fierce and warlike adventurers who came to lay waste his territory, and deprive him of power, liberty, and life.

The remainder of the native history of Peru is but a mournful detail of the effects of foreign oppression, cruelty, and avarice. On several occasions the miserable aborigines, reduced and degraded as they were by ages of cruelty and oppression, rose against their enslavers, and fought for their liberty with all the courage of desperation. As late as the year 1781, one Jose Gabriel Condoreanqui, a lineal descendant of the old line of incas, headed a formidable insurrection against the Spanish authorities. The numbers of both races who

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perished in this civil war, before the reduction of the aborigines, has been set down at over one hundred thousand. The leader, historically known as Tupac Amaru the Second, with several of his family, was finally taken prisoner, and was publicly quartered at Cuzco.

CHAPTER IV.

PIZARRO LANDS AT TUMBEZ.—MARCHES SOUTHWARD, AND
FOUNDS SAN MIGUEL.—PROCEEDS IN QUEST OF THE INCA.—
CROSSES THE ANDES.—FRIENDLY MESSAGES.—ARRIVAL
AT CAXAMALCA.—INTERVIEW WITH ATAHUALLPA.—
HIS RESERVE.—STRENGTH OF THE PERUVIANS.

ON landing his forces at Tumbez, Pizarro was surprised to find the town, lately so splendid and populous, deserted and demolished. A party of Indians gave him a hostile reception, but his hopes were reanimated, it is said, by a note, written, perhaps, by two Spaniards whom he had left on a former voyage, and purporting as follows: "Know, whoever you may be, that may chance to set foot in this country, that it contains more gold and silver than there is iron in Biscay."

Early in May, 1532, with the principal part of his force, he set forth for the interior, marching through a thickly-settled country, and obtaining abundant supplies from the natives, whom he conciliated by gentle treatment. Formal proclamation, at every village, was made in behalf of the political and ecclesiastical supremacy of the emperor and the pope; and the natives, though not comprehending a word of the mystical ceremony, their silence being held for consent, were duly enrolled by a notary as subjects of Spain. Thirty leagues south of Tumbez, he founded a city, named, in fulfilment of his vow, San Miguel, and, enslaving the natives of the adjoining region, distributed them among the Spanish colonists. The reason assigned was, "that it would redound to the service of God, as well as of the natives themselves—* * * that they might sustain the settlers, and that the Christians might indoctrinate them in our Holy Faith." Considerable gold which had been acquired by the troops, Pizarro persuaded them to send back to Panama, as a

means of enticing fresh volunteers to share the arduous enterprise in which they were engaged.

In this march he had learned much of the state of the country, and the reports of its wealth had been confirmed beyond all reasonable doubt. He now resolved to set forth on a visit to the Inca Atahualpa, probably with no definite ideas of immediate conquest, but from eager desire to behold the extraordinary state and riches, with glimpses of which his imagination had been so long-inflamed. Leaving a small garrison at San Miguel, on the 24th of September, with the remainder of his little army, he set forth in quest of the distant and unknown capital of the Peruvian monarch. After a march of five days through a most beautiful country, cultivated with the perfection of agricultural skill, he halted, and with politic boldness, invited all who were averse to the expedition to return. Only nine accepted the offer, and the rest, by declining it, were irrevocably pledged to prosecute the adventure. With an hundred and sixty-eight men, a third of whom were cavalry, he continued his march to the mountains.

At a place called Zaran, he halted for a week, and dispatched De Soto to a Peruvian military post, further on. That officer, on his return, was accompanied by an emissary from the inca himself, bearing presents for the Spanish general, and a friendly message, inviting him to court. By the aid of interpreters much civility was exchanged, and a courteous answer was dispatched to the Peruvian court. A few days' march brought the Spaniards to the foot of the Andes, behind which, at the town of Caxamalea, they were informed, Atahualpa, with his army, lay encamped.

An easy and level road, leading to Cuzco, the Indian capital, contrasted with the terrors of the ascent, and the dangers which might lie beyond, caused many of the soldiers to waver in their resolution; but Pizarro, with his customary eloquence, urged them on, entreating that they would not expose themselves to the contempt of the inca by drawing back, and assuring them that the Lord would ever be found fighting on their side. The march up the mountain proved toilsome and dangerous in the extreme, the cavaliers being compelled to lead their horses along frightful ledges and precipices, where a single mis-step would prove destruction; and where a few resolute men might have withstood their march altogether. They also suffered greatly from cold. At night they lodged in a strong fortress of stone, and at day break resumed the march. A friendly embassy from the

inea, bearing presents, met them on the way, and after a toilsome march of seven days, descending with difficulty the rugged sierra, they came in view of Caxamalca.

That city, inhabited by a refined and industrious people, about ten thousand in number, lay in a beautiful valley, among lofty mountains; and at the hot baths, a league distant, was encamped the imperial army, covering the hill-sides, for miles, with its tents of snowy cotton. A feeling of dismay seized the little force of audacious visitors. "So many did they appear," says one of them, "that for certain we were filled with dread, for we had never dreamed that the Indians could have held so proud a state, nor so many tents, pitched with such skill, the like whereof was never before seen in the Indies, and caused in all the Spaniards great fear and confusion: howbeit, it would never have done to show it, or in the least to recoil; for if any sign of weakness had appeared, the very Indians we had with us would have killed us: so, with a sprightly bearing, after having well surveyed the aforesaid town and tents, we descended into the valley below and entered Caxamalca." (November 15th, 1532.)

The town was deserted, and Pizarro, taking up his quarters in the great square, dispatched his brother Hernando, with De Soto and a few of the cavalry, to the camp of the Indians. In the court of a light summer-house, at the baths, they found the inea, seated on a low cushion, surrounded by his nobles. His dress was simple, but he wore on his forehead the crimson *borla* or fringe, the emblem of imperial dignity. His demeanour was that of entire calmness and even apathy. Without dismounting, the Spanish emissary, by a native interpreter named Felipillo, discharged his errand, which included accounts of the greatness of the Spanish monarch, proffers of instruction in the Faith, and the request of a royal visit to the Spanish camp. One of the nobles answered, "it is well;" but Atahualpa preserved an appearance of entire apathy and unconsciousness till Hernando entreated a personal reply, when, with a slight smile, he turned his head, and answered, "Tell your captain I am keeping a fast, which will last till to-morrow morning; I will then visit him, with certain of my nobles. Meanwhile, let him occupy the public buildings on the square, and none other, till I come." As he spoke, he looked with some interest on the war-horse of De Soto, and that cavalier, giving his steed the rein, dashed swiftly across the plain, displaying the power and speed of his animal. Returning in

full career, he reined the impatient charger short upon his haunches, so near the person of the inca, that the foam from his mouth lighted on the imperial garments; but Atahuallpa still preserved a demeanour of calm and almost unconscious apathy. Returning, the emissaries dismayed their companions with an account of the power and state of the inca, and the formidable number of his army—an alarming report, fully confirmed at night by the sight of innumerable watch-fires in the camp of the Peruvians.

CHAPTER V.

CRUEL AND AUDACIOUS SCHEME OF PIZARRO.—THE VISIT OF THE INCA.—SCENE WITH THE FRIAR VALVERDE.—TERRIBLE MASSACRE OF THE PERUVIANS.—SEIZURE OF THE INCA.—HIS FORTITUDE.—PLUNDER OF THE CITY AND CAMP.—EXTRAORDINARY OFFER OF RANSOM.—THE MURDER OF HUASCAR.

WHETHER Pizarro had undertaken his march with any definite purpose of violence or attempted conquest, it is not easy to conjecture; but, his followers once placed in a position whence there could be no retreat, he resolved on a course the most audacious, perfidious, and perhaps hazardous that could be conceived. This was nothing less than to follow the daring example of Cortes in that conquest which doubtless seemed a model to all adventurers of his day—to seize the person of the inca, and thus at once to secure the obedience of his realms. He neglected nothing which could animate the courage, rapacity and fanaticism of his soldiers; and the chaplains of the expedition, well knowing the fearfully hazardous nature of the attempt, spent the whole night in "discipline" (self-flagellation, it would seem), in weeping, and in prayer "that God would award due success to his most sacred service, the exaltation of the faith, and the salvation of such a number of souls!"

Pizarro then made his force "a right Christian harangue," and all raised their voices in the solemn chant, "Arise, oh Lord, and judge thy cause!" "One might have supposed them," says Mr. Prescott, "a company of martyrs, about to lay down their lives in defence of

their faith, instead of a licentious band of adventurers, meditating one of the most atrocious acts of perfidy on the record of history!" These pious preliminaries adjusted, Pizarro posted them, sword in hand, in the numerous halls and passages opening into the square, with orders, at the discharge of a musket, to rush forth, and make an indiscriminate slaughter of the Peruvian nobles.

All day these fierce and cruel men, in a fever of impatience, remained on their arms—for the inca did not take up his march till noon, and the cumbrous pomp of the imperial progress delayed his journey so long that he proposed to defer his entrance until morning. But an artful message from Pizarro induced him to proceed, and, surrounded by an immense crowd of nobles, resplendent with golden ornaments, he approached the city. At the gate-way, as a token of good faith, he ordered all his attendants to lay aside their arms.

"A little before sunset, he entered the great square, borne on a splendid throne of massive gold, overshadowed with the plumes of the gay birds of the tropics. Before him went four hundred menials, clearing the way, and singing their national chants, 'which in our ears,' says one of the Spaniards, 'sounded like the Songs of Hell.' From his lofty position, the inca calmly surveyed the multitude of his followers, who formed around him in courtly order. When about six thousand of them had entered the square, he looked around inquiringly, and said, 'Where are the strangers?' At this word came forward the reverend Father Valverde, Pizarro's chaplain, with a crucifix in one hand and a breviary in the other, and made a long harangue, commencing with the Creation, and thence proceeding through the fall of Adam, the incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection, the appointment of St. Peter as God's vicar on earth, the apostolical succession of Popes, the bull in favor of Castile, and ending logically with a formal demand that the inca should submit his spiritual guidance to the Pope, and his temporal allegiance to the king of Spain. All this was duly translated by the interpreter, Felipillo, who, by way of expounding the doctrine of the Trinity, explained to his royal auditor that 'The Christians had Three Gods and One God, making Four in all.'

"To the which words,' says a bystander, 'and much besides that the Reverend Father said, he remained silent without returning a reply. He then said he would see what God had commanded, as he was told, in the book; so he took the book and opened it, and looked it over, examining the form and arrangement.' He next held

it to his ear, and saying contemptuously 'this tells me nothing,' flung it angrily away. Then, with a countenance flushed with emotion, he made answer to such portions of the address as he had been able to comprehend. He would be no man's tributary, he said; and as for the great priest beyond the waters, he must be mad to talk of giving away countries which he had never seen. Nor would he change his faith. The God of the Christians, according to their own account, had been slain by his own creatures, but the eternal Sun, the great Deity of Peru, still shone on his glorious and beneficent course through the firmament. Excited by the insults he had received, he declared that the Spaniards should render a strict account of their doings in his territories. The discomfited friar, seeing the ill success of his eloquence, picked up the book, bowed his head, and hastened to Pizarro. 'Did you see what passed?' he cried—'while we waste time in fooleries and arguments with this dog, full of pride, the square is filling with Indians. Set on them at once! I absolve you.' The fatal gun, the signal of slaughter, was fired, and the Spaniards, horse and foot, rushed furiously from their lurking-places. Taken by surprise, utterly unarmed, and bewildered by the unwonted discharge of artillery and fire-arms, the unhappy victims were slaughtered without the slightest means of resistance. The nobles, with affecting devotion, flung themselves before their master, to receive the blows of the murderers, and, by clinging to the legs of their horses, and striving to pull the riders from their saddles, for some time kept back the press from his person. But they died by hundreds around him, and Pizarro, darting through the throng, seized his captive with his own hand. A most wanton and merciless slaughter was still kept up, and did not cease till the shades of night blinded the assassins, and

'The hand which strew till it could slay no more
Was glued to the sword-hilt with Indian gore.'

Within less than an hour, four thousand of the unarmed and harmless multitude that had so gaily entered the square, with their songs and their holiday attire, lay murdered on the pavement. A more atrocious and unprovoked massacre is not recorded in history. Not one of the Spaniards had received an injury.*

Atahualpa, with true Indian stoicism, despite this tremendous reverse and all its appalling concomitants, maintained his accustomed

* Discoverers, &c., of America.

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serenity. As he sat at supper with the victor, he remarked simply, "It is the fortune of war," but no expression of emotion escaped his statue-like lips, or betrayed itself in the usual stern gravity of his face. The next day, the prisoners, of whom a great number had been taken, after having been compelled to cleanse the square and bury the corpses of the victims, were mostly dismissed. Numbers, however, were retained by the Spaniards as attendants; and the army of the inca, terrified at the seizure of their sovereign and the massacre of the nobles, gradually melted away and dispersed without any attempt to avenge the outrage. The plunder of the city and the camp was exceedingly valuable, and it is said that in the royal magazines the quantity of fabrics delicately wrought in wool was sufficient to freight several ships.

The captive inca espied a hope in the greediness for gold with which he saw the invaders possessed; and he offered, if Pizarro would release him, to cover the floor of the apartment in which they stood with gold. Seeing the indecision of his captor, he redoubled his offers, and standing on tiptoe, pledged himself to fill it with the precious metal as high as he could reach. Pizarro, hoping, at least, to secure a portion of this magnificent bribe, at once accepted the proposition, and a line, nine feet from the floor, was drawn around the room, which was twenty-two feet long and seventeen broad. A smaller apartment was also to be twice filled with silver, and a solemn contract, assuring the inca his liberty on payment of this unheard-of ransom, was drawn up. He issued orders, forthwith, to his officers, that the golden ornaments from the palaces and temples throughout the empire, should be sent to Caxamalca.

The ill-fated Huascar, who was confined in a city not far distant, now, by alluring offers, endeavoured to secure the favour of the Spaniards, hoping by their means to regain the throne; but Atahualpa, with a dark and cruel policy, availing himself of the power yet remaining in his hands, avenged the attempted intrigue by an order for his secret execution. He was privately drowned in the river Andamarca, and his brother, acting the part almost invariably selected by the royal authors of such deeds, affected deep sorrow, and laid all the blame on his officers.



CHAPTER VI.

THE EXPEDITION TO PACHACAMAC.—THE SPOILS OF CUZCO.—
DIVISION OF IMMENSE TREASURE.—THE ATROCIOUS TRIAL,
SENTENCE, AND MURDER OF ATAHUALLPA.—HYPOCRISY
OF PIZARRO.—REFLECTIONS.—FATE OF THE MURDERERS.

HERNANDO PIZARRO, with a small force, was now dispatched to Pachacamac, the Peruvian Meeea, a hundred leagues distant. On the way he was struck with admiration at the massive excellence of the road, the innumerable herds of llamas which pastured in the hills, and the frequent signs of industry and dense population. The treasures of the temple, however, had been removed by the priests, and the only satisfaction he had was in the destruction of their most venerated idol. He also ("in default of a better," he modestly remarks) made a sermon to the people, and taught them the sign of the cross, as a charm against the devil. He then marched to Xauxa, where a portion of the Peruvian army lay encamped, under Challeuchima, the inea's chief general; and that commander, to secure whose person the Spaniard was anxious, willingly accompanied him to Caxamalea. In spite of Indian stoicism, the old chief was affected to tears at the sight of his imprisoned master. "Would that I had been here!" he exclaimed; "this would not then have happened."

Great quantities of gold, in plates or wrought into ornaments, continued to pour into the Spanish camp; and, at the instance of Atahuallpa, Pizarro dispatched a small embassy to Cuzco, to secure the treasures of that ancient capital of the incas. Borne on the shoulders of the natives for six hundred miles, these emissaries, apparently a coarse and brutal-minded set, arrived at the city, where they were bewildered with the splendour of its treasures—though not to such an extent as to preclude their instant seizure of all that appeared portable. Seven hundred plates of gold were stripped from the Temple of the Sun alone, and with eight hundred Indians, laden with gold and silver, they took their way back to the Spanish camp. Meanwhile, Almagro, with a reinforcement of two hundred men, had arrived at San Miguel, and on learning the startling events which had transpired, hastened, with his command, to the camp at Caxamalea. (February, 1533).

Though the room was not quite filled with gold to the stipulated height, Pizarro thought it prudent to satisfy the clamours of his men by an immediate division of the spoil. A fifth part was set aside for the Spanish sovereign, and with it were selected some splendid specimens of Peruvian art—among them beautiful imitations of the Indian corn, the ear being composed of yellow gold, and the husk, partly open, with the beard or tassel, of silver. With these, Hernando was to proceed to Spain, and fortify the interests of his family at court. The remainder of the treasure was mostly melted into bars, and its value, on estimation, proved equal to that of fifteen millions of dollars at the present day—being the greatest amount of plunder, in proportion to the number of marauders, ever acquired by military violence. The share of Pizarro, including the throne of the inea, formed of solid gold, amounted to nearly a million. The cavalry received an hundred thousand each, and the infantry half that amount. Despite of ancient agreement and present remonstrance, Almagro and his people were not permitted to receive more than a nominal share of the spoil.

Meanwhile, the inea was still detained in captivity, and was even secured with a chain; while Pizarro darkly revolved the means of ridding himself of one who could yield him no further service, and whose very existence, considering the devoted loyalty of his people, was a source of constant uneasiness to his gaolers. Atahualpa, the treasure distributed, had earnestly demanded his liberation, and the Spanish general, with a vile affectation of good faith, which makes his treachery and cruelty more hideous still, caused his notary to execute a full receipt for the stipulated ransom. But a pretext for the destruction of the unfortunate sovereign was already prepared; and Pizarro, to secure himself from interference, dispatched De Soto, a cavalier of high qualities, and a friend of the intended victim, on a distant expedition. He then taxed his captive with a pretended plot for insurrection, and the latter, secretly alarmed, but with an air of gayety, replied, "You are always jesting with me. What am I or my people, that we should take arms against you? Do not utter such jests." "I was amazed," says Pizarro, in his account, "to see such cunning in an Indian."

Nevertheless, a villanous indictment, charging the prisoner with idolatry, usurpation, adultery, and intended insurrection, was presently hatched up—"a badly-contrived and worse-written document," says a Spanish contemporary, "devised by a factious and unprinci-

pled priest, a clumsy notary without conscience, and others of the like stamp, who were all concerned in this villany." On the strength of this shameful instrument, Pizarro and Almagro, sitting as judges, with the assistance of the rauderous Friar Valverde, went through the mockery of a trial. The testimony of Indian witnesses, (falsified by the interpretation of Felipillo, a creature of Pizarro's, and a personal enemy of the inea,) was taken, and judgment was given that the vietim should be burned alive the same night in the square of Caxamalca. The honourable remonstrances of several Spanish officers, who handed in a written protest against this atrocity, were of no avail. The unhappy prisoner, on hearing the eruel sentence, exclaimed, with tears, "What have I done, or my ehildren, that I should meet such a fate? and from your hands, too," he said, turning to Pizarro; "you, who have met with friendship and kindness from my people, with whom I have shared my treasures, who have received nothing but benefits at my hands!"

Then, with affecting eagerness, he offered fresh treasures; but Pizarro, turning aside in refusal, (with tears, it is said, but with his cruel purpose unchanged,) the vietim resumed the stoicism which, but for a moment, had forsaken him, and thenceforward displayed only calmness and fortitude.

In the evening (August 29th) he was conducted, in presenee of the whole army, by torch-light, to the stake. Valverde, with eager importunity, continued to urge that he should embrace the Christian faith, promising that, if he would comply, the milder death of the *garrote** should be substituted for the agonies of cremation. Pizarro confirmed the offer, and the inea, from a singular but affecting superstition, complied. He believed, we are told by one who was present, that if his body was not destroyed by fire, "the Sun, his father, would the next morning restore him to life." Accordingly he received the travesty of baptism, with the name of Juan, ("in honour of St. John the Baptist!") and turning to Pizarro, besought him to protect his orphan children. He then, with calmness, submitted to his fate, while the Spaniards, muttering prayers for his salvation, beheld the last of the inecas perish by the death of the vilest of malefactors. The body was laid out in state in the ehurch, and the obsequies of the royal convert were celebrated with much solemnity. De Soto, on his return, horrified by the tidings, rushed

* An instrument contrived to effect strangulation and rupture of the vertebrae of the neck—still used in the Spanish provinces.

into the presence of Pizarro, whom he found, says a writer of the day, "exhibiting much sentiment, with a great felt hat clapped on his head, and well pulled over his eyes." To the indignant complaints of that officer, the agents in this devilish act replied by mutual accusations, and attempts to throw the entire blame on the shoulders of each other.

"Thus ends one of the very darkest pages of Spanish and American history. No reader of feeling or reflection will require comment on a deed bearing in its face the brand of such odious perfidy, ingratitude and cruelty. In return for his own good faith, for the submission of his empire, for the surrender of unhopcd treasure, the unhappy victim met with imprisonment, chains, and the sentence to a cruel and revolting death. Despite his pompous affectation of regret, (remorse he may well have felt,) the burden of this damning infamy rests almost entirely on the head of Pizarro. Whatever instruments he employed, the deed was his own—a deed which could never have been committed by any but such as himself—men naturally fierce, rapacious and cruel, uneducated, save in the superstitions of a wretched dogmatism, and trained from childhood to scenes of blood, oppression, and violence. Doubtless a dark and cruel policy was his main and prompting motive; but it is said that the incentive of personal pique was not wanting. The imprisoned inca, delighting in the mysterious art of writing, (which he regarded as a new sense,) had caused the name of God to be inscribed on his nail, and had presented it to each of the soldiers, charmed with their ready and concurrent response. Pizarro, who had never learned to read, was unable to answer him; and the ill-concealed contempt of the inca, it is said, awakened a hatred in the heart of his conqueror, that ere long found its bloody gratification.

"To one who, like the ancient Greek, believes in an avenging Nemesis, there is something very comfortable in recalling the violent deaths which befell nearly all the actors in this doleful tragedy—though little reflection is needed to show that the evil wishes and undisciplined passions which prompted the crime, only worked out their legitimate end in involving its authors in fresh and fatal adventures. Old Purchas (abating one or two mistakes in fact, such as the complicity of Soto,) gives, in a few words, a more terse and edifying version of their end than any writer on the subject. 'But God the righteous Judge, seeing this villanous act, suffered none of those Spaniards to die by the course of nature, but brought them to

cuill and shamefull ends. * * * His' (Atahuallpa's) 'Murtherers dyed, it is said, the like bloody ends; *Almagro* was executed by *Piçarro*, and hee slaine by yong *Almagro*; and him *Vacca de Castro* did likewise put to death. Iohn *Piçarro* was slaine of the Indians. *Martin* an other of the brethren was slaine with Francis. *Ferdinandus* was imprisoned in Spaine and his end vnknowne; *Gonzales* was done to death by *Gasca*. Soto dyed of thought in Florida; and ciuill warres cate vp the reste in Peru.'*†

CHAPTER VII.

EXECUTION OF CHALLCUCHIMA.—INDIAN HOSTILITIES.—ENTRANCE OF THE SPANIARDS INTO CUZCO.—MORE TREASURE.—INAUGURATION OF THE INCA MANCO CAPAC.—LIMA FOUNDED.—DISPUTES BETWEEN ALMAGRO AND THE PIZARROS.—RISING OF THE INDIANS.—SIEGE OF CUZCO.—MASSACRE OF THE SPANIARDS.—CIVIL WAR BETWEEN THE SPANISH GENERALS.—DEFEAT AND EXECUTION OF ALMAGRO.

His crime accomplished,

"The most arch deed of piteous massacre
That ever yet this land was guilty of,"

Pizarro, with five hundred Spaniards and many Indians, set out for Cuzco, defeating on the way, at Xauxa, a large hostile native force, but sustaining some loss in an unlucky expedition, headed by De Soto. A fresh instance of cruelty disgraced his march in the murder of Challeuchima, to whose encouragement he attributed these hostilities, and whom, with habitual cruelty, he ordered to be burned alive. The old chief, despite the exhortations of Valverde, at the stake, declined conversion, saying only, "I do not understand the religion of the white men," and undergoing his cruel fate with true Indian fortitude, the name of "Pachacamac," the last word upon his lips.

* Discoverers, &c., of America.

† Valverde, perhaps as culpable as any, gained the bishopric of Cuzco, the grand object of his ambition; but a few years afterwards perished, with others, in a massacre by the Indians.

To countervail the anarchy which had already begun to prevail among the numerous tribes of Peru, the Spanish commander, with all practicable ceremony, had invested Toparea, a brother of his chief victim, with the imperial dignity. But this youth died on the march, and soon afterwards, a young Peruvian noble, numerous attended, presented himself in the Spanish camp. This was Manco Capac, a brother of Huascar, who now claimed the throne, and to whom the general, hoping to find him a pliable tool, returned encouraging replies. On the 15th of November, 1533, the Spanish and Indian army entered Cuzco, amid the eager gaze of a vast multitude of natives, who had thronged to behold the terrible strangers. The population of the city alone, it is said, was some hundreds of thousands, and the Spaniards were surprised at the evidences of art and refinement—the forts and houses of stone, admirably wrought, the pavement of the same material, and the aqueduct supplying the city with water.

Fresh plunder, much of it obtained by torture, repaid the cruelty of the invaders, though the amount was less than had already been gained as the ransom of the unfortunate inca. Vast hoards of treasure, it is said, were buried in various parts of the country by the Peruvians, who thus defrauded the rapacity of their conquerors. Enough, however, was obtained to enhance the value of European articles to almost fabulous prices, and to gratify the national passion for gaining to its wildest and most ruinous extent.

Pizarro, supposing his obedience reliable, now invested the young Inca Manco with the imperial title, the national ceremonies being solemnly performed; and then immediately proceeded with his plans for the subjection and settlement of the country. The people, apparently satisfied with the nominal coronation of a native sovereign, opposed little and ineffectual resistance to the supremacy of the invaders. Near Pachacamac, in the beautiful valley of Rimac, the victor, in January, 1535, commenced the foundation of a stately capital, which he called "Ciudad de los Reyes" (City of the Kings), but which, under the name of Lima, still retains nearly its original appellation. Under the toiling hands of a vast multitude of Indian labourers, a massive city, with palaces, churches, and public buildings, rapidly arose, and to this day it remains one of the fairest and most populous capitals of the New World.

Hernando, in January, 1532, with an immense treasure, arrived in Spain, where he readily procured from the emperor a full con-

firmation of the acts and authority of his brother; and with a numerous and well-appointed force of adventurers, attracted by the brilliant tidings of plunder and conquest, again set sail for the isthmus. A royal grant was likewise made to Almagro, empowering him to conquer and rule a principality of his own, extending two hundred leagues south of that of Pizarro. That ambitious and ill-used commander, on receiving the news, insisted that Cuzco, where he was quartered, lay within the limits of his jurisdiction; and a civil war between the two factions was only prevented by the address of Pizarro, who hastened to the scene, and once more patched up a hollow treaty with his rival. It was especially provided that neither should malign or disparage the other in their dispatches to the court, and both parties once more invoked the curses of Heaven on their heads, if they should violate the agreement. Their jealous enmity thus, for the moment, appeased, Almagro set forth on his expedition for the conquest of the realms of the South. (See History of Chili.)

The young inca, Manco Capac, though he had readily accepted, and even solicited elevation to power at the hands of the Conqueror, was not blind to the degradation of his name or the enslavement of his country. Plotting the extermination of the invaders, he had entrusted to his brother and the High-priest of the Sun, who accompanied Almagro, a secret errand of insurrection to the distant caciques. Suspicion being excited, he was arrested, and placed in close confinement; but, by an ingenious stratagem, effected his escape. Having won the confidence of Hernando Pizarro, his guardian, by successive disclosures of concealed treasure, he was suffered to depart, with a small escort, to bring to Cuzco a statue of his father, the Inca Huayna Capac, of pure gold, which he said had been deposited in a cave of the Andes. Hernando, soon finding himself duped, dispatched his brother Juan, with sixty horse, in pursuit of the fugitive; but that officer was presently met by an army of several thousand Indians, under command of Manco himself, and was compelled to retreat, hotly pursued, to the native capital.

He found that city surrounded by an immense force of Peruvians—it is said, two hundred thousand strong—which, armed with copper-headed spears and axes, presented a brilliant and terrible appearance. Singular to state, this overwhelming array opened its ranks, and allowed the little body of Spanish cavaliers to pass unmolested into the town—their object, most likely, being to secure the destruction of as many of the invaders as possible. (February, 1536.)

On the following morning they assaulted the city with innumerable missiles, and by burning arrows fired the roofs, which, being mostly composed of thatch, were peculiarly liable to conflagration. For several days the fire raged destructively, and consumed more than half the city. The Spaniards, only two hundred in number, with a thousand Indian allies, strongly posted, held out bravely; and being well supplied with cavalry, made several sallies, with much effect, upon the thick masses of their besiegers. Their distress was great, on perceiving, from the heads which the enemy threw among them, that a general slaughter of their countrymen in the adjoining regions had occurred. Several of the Indians had European armour and horses, and the young Inca, splendidly mounted, and wielding a long lance, appeared in the front of the conflict. From a great citadel, commanding the Spanish quarters, the besieged were annoyed by showers of missiles; but Hernando, by a surprise in the night, after desperate fighting, took it by storm. In this assault perished Juan Pizarro, whose memory is burdened with less odium than that of his kindred; and the commander of the fort, an Inca noble of gigantic stature and desperate courage, after slaying with his huge mace a number of assailants, seeing all was in vain, flung himself headlong from the summit.

The insurrection, managed with extraordinary secrecy and suddenness, had been so far successful that several hundreds of the Spaniards, in different places, had been slain, and Lima itself, at one time, had been in a state of siege. The governor, after defeating the enemy around him, dispatched to the assistance of his brothers in Cuzco several detachments of Spaniards, amounting, in all, to four hundred, none of whom, however, succeeded in reaching it, being attacked and mostly cut off, in the Cordilleras, by the overwhelming forces of the Peruvians. Pizarro, as a last resort, sent letters, entreating assistance from Alvarado, the conqueror of Guattemala, and from other provincial governors, even offering to share with them the future conquests which might be made in South America. Meanwhile, the little garrison of Cuzco, wonderful to state, still managed, by the strength of their position, the superiority of their arms, and some fortunate supplies, to hold out against the numerous host by which they were surrounded; and the Indian army, gradually lessening, and at length suffering from want of provisions, after a siege of five months, mostly dispersed, and betook itself to the planting of the annual crops.

The Inca Manco, with a portion of his force, withdrew to Tambo, a stronghold not far from the city, and hostilities were still briskly carried on. Hernando, who attempted to storm this place in a night attack, was repulsed, after three desperate assaults, by the inca, and was compelled, with the enemy hanging closely on his rear, to regain, by a forced march, his quarters at Cuzco. The triumphant Peruvians, however, falling upon Almagro, on his return from the disastrous expedition to Chili, in the valley of Yucay, met with a signal defeat.

That active and ambitious commander, the old grudge against his false associate still rankling in his mind, now determined on reasserting by force his claim to the Peruvian capital. Accordingly, on a dark and stormy night, he succeeded in taking the garrison by surprise, and made prisoners of Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro. Immediately after this signal success, he marched against one Alvarado, a general of Pizarro's, defeated him, and brought him, with nearly all his force of five hundred men, prisoners to Cuzco. The governor, enraged and alarmed at these misfortunes, was unable, for the time, to avenge them. He dispatched Espinosa, one of the chief patrons of his original enterprise, to Cuzco, to attempt negotiations, awaiting, meanwhile, the strengthening of his forces. Gonzalo and Alvarado contrived to effect their escape, and Almagro finally consented to refer the matters in dispute to a friar, named Bobadilla. This umpire, the creature of Pizarro, decided every point in favour of the latter, who, however, was enabled to obtain the release of Hernando only by assenting to more liberal conditions.

This object once attained, without the slightest regard to stipulations, he at once recommenced hostilities, and dispatched Hernando, with an army of seven hundred men, against his detested rival. Almagro, with a somewhat smaller force, encountered him not far from the city; but being disabled, by old age and infirmities, from leading his troops, was compelled to survey the scene of conflict from a litter. His lieutenant, Orgoñez, a cavalier of great ferocity and bravery, took the command, and contested the battle, which was desperate in the extreme. Two hundred were killed on the field, but the partisans of Pizarro finally triumphed. Almagro was made prisoner, and Orgoñez, with others, was ferociously murdered after surrender—a circumstance demonstrating the extreme hatred and rancour which prevailed between the two factions. (April, 1538.) The defeated general, after the mockery of a protracted trial, con-

ducted by Hernando, was sentenced to execution. He had always been noted for his extreme daring, and had probably seen more hard fighting than any other man in Peru. Yet, strange to record, he begged piteously for his life—a degradation which availed him nothing, for he was privately dealt with in his dungeon, by the infamous *garrote*.

CHAPTER VIII.

MISSION OF HERNANDO.—HIS FATE.—EXPEDITION OF GONZALO PIZARRO.—DISCOVERY OF AND VOYAGE DOWN THE AMAZON.—TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS.—CONSPIRACY AGAINST PIZARRO BY THE PARTISANS OF ALMAGRO.—HIS ASSASSINATION.—HIS CHARACTER, ETC.

DREADING lest they should be called to account for this high-handed dealing with an officer of the crown, the Pizarros resolved to dispatch Hernando, with a great treasure, to fortify their interests at court. Accordingly, two years after the death of Almagro, he reached Spain, but met with a cold reception from the emperor. Singularly enough, the influence of a devoted adherent of the Almagran faction was found sufficient to outweigh his own, though backed by all the wealth of Peru. He was arrested, and for twenty years was kept in close imprisonment, not being able to obtain his release until 1560. At that time all his brothers were dead, and Peru had passed under the rule of others.

Meanwhile, the Peruvians, defeated and discouraged, had, in great measure, desisted from hostilities; and the Inca Manco, on one occasion, was so hard pressed as to be compelled to take refuge, with only a single female companion, out of his numerous harem, in the savage recesses of the Andes. Gathering a force, however, and sallying at intervals from his stronghold in the mountains, he inflicted much damage on the Spaniards; and Pizarro, with a vile revenge, tortured to death one of the wives of the revolted prince, a young and beautiful woman, whom chance had thrown into his hands. "It seems to me," writes one of the conquerors, "that our Lord punished him for this, in the end he met." But, for the most part, the natives

of Peru appeared completely overawed by the continually-increasing force of the Spaniards.

The country, of course, from the brilliant attractions presented by its wealth and enhanced by the sagacious policy of Pizarro, was settled with extraordinary rapidity. The government of Quito had been assigned to his brother Gonzalo, a man of high enterprise, who presently made great preparations for fresh discovery. With three hundred and fifty Spaniards and four thousand Indians, driving a vast herd of swine, as a resource against famine, in the year 1540, he set forth for the eastward. Crossing the Andes, amid terrible difficulties, he entered the Land of Cinnamon, and thence, attracted by alluring reports of treasure, pressed onward to the Napo, one of the tributaries of the Amazon. By this time, all the swine, as well as a thousand dogs provided for warfare with the natives, had been devoured or lost, or had perished on the way; and the adventurers, suffering grievously from famine, were compelled to feed on wild roots, on toads and other loathsome reptiles, and finally even on the leather of their belts and saddles.

To evade the almost insurmountable difficulties of following the river, Gonzalo commenced the building of a vessel, converting the shoes of the horses into nails, and the ragged garments of the soldiers into oakum. By two months of constant labour, it was completed, and Francisco de Orellana, with a small crew, was put in command, with directions to proceed down the river and procure supplies. After waiting a long time in vain for his return, the army again took up its march along the banks, and, after two months more of extreme toil and suffering, reached the Amazon. From a Spaniard who had here been set ashore by Orellana, they learned that that commander, carried downward by a fierce current, had reached the Great River in only three days; that finding it impossible to return against it, he had abandoned his companions to their fate, and continued his course down the Amazon. Extraordinary to relate, after the most memorable inland voyage on record, he reached the sea, and arrived safely in Spain. No course now remained for Gonzalo but to retrace his steps, and accordingly, after more than a year consumed in this terrible march, and an equal time in the return, in June, 1542, with the remnant of his command, he succeeded in regaining his capital of Quito. Only eighty of the Spaniards and one half the Indians had survived.

The triumph of Pizarro at the downfall of his ancient rival, was

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insolent in the extreme. To those who urged the hereditary rights of young Almagro, (son of the defeated general,) he answered sharply "that his own government covered all on this side Flanders." All the estates of the "Men of Chili," as the Almagran faction was called, were mercilessly confiscated, and the shattered remains of that once powerful party, with the young chief at their head, betook themselves to Lima, where they sought in vain for redress or consideration. Sunk in the most wretched poverty, the keenness of which was aggravated by the sneers of their triumphant enemies, these unfortunate partisans finally became desperate. Pizarro, however, treated their enmity with undisguised contempt, answering to those who cautioned him against them, "Poor devils! they have had bad luck enough. We will not trouble them more. * * Be under no concern," he haughtily answered to further remonstrances, "about my life. It is safe enough so long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment cut off any head that dares to harbour a thought against it."

The chiefs of the despised faction, in despair at a report of the loss of Vaca de Castro, (who had been appointed by the crown as arbitrator of these civil discords,) at last, in their extremity, resolved on the assassination of the viceroy. One of their number, through conscientious scruples, revealed the plot in confession, and the confessor hastened to lay the particulars before the government. But Pizarro, deeming the statement impossible, said, "The priest wants a bishopric," and was with difficulty persuaded by his friends to stay at home on the day appointed for his destruction.

On that day (Sunday, June 26, 1541,) the conspirators, twenty in number, were assembled at the house of Almagro, resolved to fall on the governor as he returned from mass. Perceiving, from his absence, that their plot was discovered or at least suspected, in a species of desperation, they rushed into the street, crying, "Long live the king! death to the tyrant!" Pizarro, at the time, was at dinner, with a number of his friends, when a breathless domestic entered the room, crying, "Help! help! all the Men of Chili are coming to murder the Marquis!" Most of the guests, being unarmed, fled precipitately into the garden, and Pizarro ordered Chaves, one of his officers, to keep the door, while he buckled on his armour. That cavalier, however, attempting to parley with the assailants, was instantly slain, and his body was flung down the stairs. Martin de Aleantara, Pizarro's halfbrother, who was assisting the latter with his armour, next

sprang to the door, and, with a few of the governor's household, defended it valiantly; but, after doing some execution, was overpowered and slain.

Pizarro now flung away his cuirass, which he had vainly endeavoured to buckle on, and, with a cloak wrapped round his left arm, sword in hand, sprang like a lion into the fray. "Ha, traitors!" shouted the old viceroy, "have you come to kill me in my own house! Courage, my friends, we are yet enough to make them repent their audacity." He killed three of the conspirators with his own hand, but was at last struck to the earth by the numerous weapons of his enemies. Seeing his death, he besought a confessor, but none was at hand; and, tracing a cross on the floor with his own blood, and attempting to kiss it, he murmured, "Jesu!" and yielded up his soul under numerous sword-thrusts. The triumphant assassins rushed into the street, brandishing their bloody swords, and crying, "The tyrant is dead! Long live the emperor and his governor, Almagro."

The Men of Chili, still three hundred in number, at once rallied around their youthful chief, and proclaimed him governor—the partisans of Pizarro, completely overawed, venturing on no opposition. That same night, the remains of the victim, wrapped in a coarse cotton cloth, and attended only by his wife and a few black servants, were huddled into an obscure grave in the corner of the cathedral. They were afterwards, however, removed to a more honourable place, and commemorated by a monument suitable to his high rank and great achievements.

"Thus, at the age of about sixty-five, perished Francisco Pizarro, the Conqueror of Peru, the most remarkable and perhaps the worst man of that host of discoverers and conquerors by whom the early history of America has been illustrated and disgraced. His career forms the best commentary on his character. Ambition and rapacity appear to have been his ruling traits; but he was not avaricious; for his immense acquisitions were devoted not merely to his own aggrandizement, but to the nobler office of building cities, settling colonies, and laying the foundations of an empire. Though bigoted in the extreme, he had none of that crusading zeal which so eminently distinguished Cortes, and he was far more anxious to seize the treasures and to enslave the bodies of the Indians than to convert their souls. Doubtless, he was as brave as a man can be, and possessed of a fortitude and perseverance perhaps surpassing that

of any character recorded in history. But he was cruel, remorseless, and perfidious to the very extremest degree; and his name has ever been held in deserved execration by the great majority of mankind."*

CHAPTER IX.

VACA DE CASTRO.—DEFEAT OF YOUNG ALMAGRO AT CHUPAS.—BLASCO NUÑEZ DE VELA.—UNPOPULAR DECREES.—REBELLION HEADED BY GONZALO PIZARRO.—OVERTHROW OF THE VICEROY.

By a singular coincidence, devoutly ascribed by an early writer to the special interposition of Providence, a legitimate successor to the viceroyalty of Peru had already arrived in the New World at the time of Pizarro's assassination. This was the Licentiate Vaca de Castro, who came over from Spain ostensibly as a royal commissioner to lend the aid of his legal knowledge and ability in the administration of government; but with private instructions to keep close watch over Pizarro's conduct, and to make report to the Spanish court of any undue assumption of power, or threatened infringement of the royal prerogative. He was also provided with formal authority to succeed to the government, in case of the death of the reigning viceroy.

The timely approach of this official gave opportunity to the opponents of the rebellious Men of Chili, to unite their forces and take a definitive position. Alonzo de Alvarado, and Alvarez de Holguin, two of the principal military officers of Pizarro, were both in command of trusty and veteran troops, and readily lent their assistance in opposition to the Almagran faction. Vaca de Castro had not been bred to arms, but the courage and spirit natural to a Spanish cavalier sustained him in his dangerous position. He hastened to Quio, and collecting what forces he could muster, proclaimed his commission, and prepared to enter upon a forcible assertion of his rights. Messengers were dispatched in various directions to set forth his claims in the more important towns.

Young Almagro, in the mean time, having furnished his little army at Lima with abundance of martial equipments and with

* Discoverers, &c., of America.

horses, hastened to cut off the approach of Holguin, who, having established the legitimate authority at Cuzco, was on his march to join the forces of Alvarado. At this juncture the cause of the insurgents suffered heavy loss by the death of the chief conspirator, Juan de Rada. The quarrels between two rival claimants to his position in the army occasioned such difficulties and delay, that Holguin completed his march without impediment.

Almagro therefore proceeded to Cuzco, and having taken possession of the city, devoted himself to preparing his forces for the anticipated struggle. Cannon were cast, under the superintendence of Pedro de Candia himself, who had espoused Almagro's cause, and gun-powder was manufactured, saltpetre being procured in the vicinity. Arms plundered at the former siege of Cuzco were also brought in and delivered to the troops by the subjects of Manco the Inca. In the midst of his preparations, the young commander vainly endeavoured to negotiate with the new viceroy, offering to confine himself to the occupation of his paternal inheritance of New Toledo.

Vaca de Castro having joined the forces of Holguin and Alvarado, and having personally assumed the command of the army, moved forward towards Xauxa. With a small escort he visited Lima, where he was enthusiastically received, and where he procured fresh recruits and supplies of arms and ammunition. From Xauxa he marched to Guamanga, thirty leagues distant, and thence to the plains of Chupas, where, on the 16th of September, 1542, he encountered the army of Almagro. The latter was posted in a favourable position, where the artillery, of which he possessed sixteen effective pieces, could be brought to bear upon the assailants. His forces were numerically inferior to those of the viceroy, whose whole array amounted to about seven hundred men, but in arms and equipments his troops had greatly the advantage.

As the forces of the viceroy approached, the battle commenced by a discharge of artillery; but, as was supposed, from the treachery of Pedro de Candia, the guns were so misdirected or mismanaged that little effect was produced upon the assailants. Almagro, with his own hand, took the life of the offender upon the field. A bloody and obstinately contested fray ensued, and was maintained with unabated fury until long after night-fall, when victory declared in favour of the viceroy. Almagro and his remaining followers were driven from the field in total rout. The unfortunate but gallant young chieftain was seized at Cuzco, and, after a military trial, was

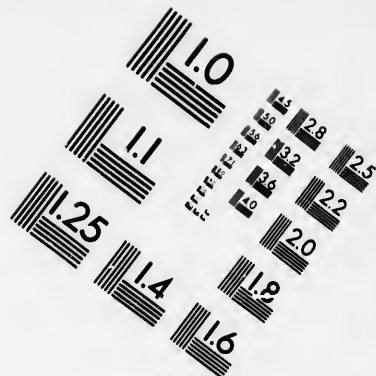
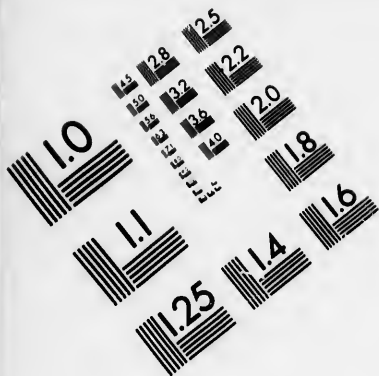
condemned to death. He met his fate with great heroism. Multitudes of his partisans were also hunted from their places of concealment or refuge, and perished, like their leader, on the scaffold.

Vaca de Castro did not long remain in possession of the dignity maintained with such distinguished courage on the field of Chupas, and such unrelenting severity in the day of success. He was superseded by an aged knight by the name of Blaseo Nuñez Vela, who arrived at Peru in the month of March, 1544. The appointment of this official, was due to the unwearied exertions of Las Casas and other philanthropists, who had laboriously collected evidence of the enormities practiced in the colonies, and pressed it upon the conscience of the emperor. The manner in which the aborigines were enslaved and destroyed to enrich their rapacious masters; the waste of the national resources in the wanton destruction of the flocks of llamas; the consequent poverty and misery of the Indians, who, ill-fed, unhoused, and nearly naked, were condemned to hopeless and unceasing toil in the mines; and the general misrule and corruption, were laid open and eloquently animadverted upon before a royal council, convened at Valladolid for the purpose of framing laws for the colonies in the New World.

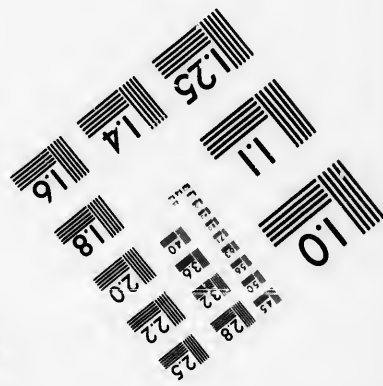
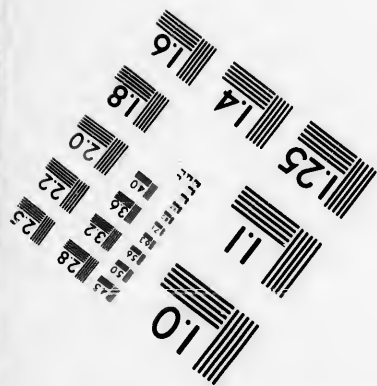
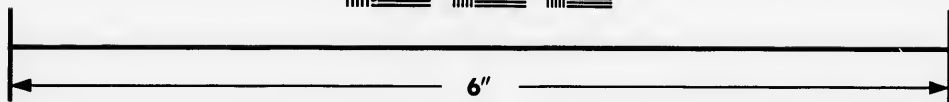
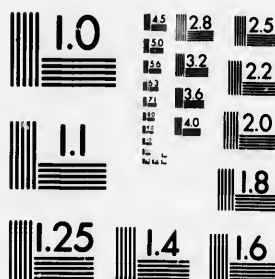
A code was accordingly prepared, and received the royal sanction, by which, among other provisions, the prospective freedom of all Indian slaves was provided for, and many regulations were laid down for their protection. Public officers and ecclesiastics, together with all who had shared in the cause of the insurgents against the legitimate government, were absolutely forbidden to hold slaves. Other acts of misconduct were also to work a forfeiture of this species of property. To enforce the new code, Blaseo Nuñez was sent over from Spain, in company with four judges, armed with the imperial commission to assist in the administration of the government.

The new viceroy commenced the execution of his orders with the utmost promptitude and severity. He liberated some hundreds of Peruvian slaves at Panama, when on his way, and had no sooner reached his destined port than he pursued a like course, upon the representations of some native chiefs. When his character and mission were made public, the whole community was in a ferment. The landed proprietors and those connected with the mining interest saw their resources about to be curtailed to such an extent, that ruin stared them in the face, and a general determination was evinced to resist the execution of the new civil code.





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Gonzalo Pizarro, who had been for some time living in comparative retirement, devoting his attention to the opening and working of the newly-discovered silver mines of Potosi, was now called upon to head the malcontents. Disappointed ambition, mercenary interest in preserving the old order of things, and fear of being held responsible for his share in the former feud, combined to incline him in favour of the insurgent faction, and he accordingly proceeded to Cuzco, accompanied by a few trusty companions-in-arms, and provided with abundant funds—the result of his successful mining operations. At Cuzco he was enthusiastically received, and was proclaimed “Procurator-General of Peru” and “Captain General,” with express authority to raise and command a military force.

Blasco Nuñez was received at the capital with all outward ceremonials of respect, by his predecessor, Vaca de Castro, and by the city officials. He publicly announced his determination to enforce the new code, but at the same time agreed to cooperate with the inhabitants of Peru in procuring its repeal. He appeared to be little aware of the formidable nature of the preparations at Cuzco, under the superintendence of Gouzalo Pizarro, or of the feebleness of the empty title of viceroy, unsupported by the loyalty of the great mass of the population.

The latter chief, having organized and equipped an army of about four hundred Spanish soldiers, with sixteen pieces of artillery brought by Indian vassals over the mountains from Guamanga, and a great body of native auxiliaries, marched out of Cuzco, and took the road towards Lima. The first occurrences in his march were rather disheartening. In raising his force he had held out as one essential object the holding in check the belligerent natives under the wandering inca, Manco, whose noble and warlike spirit had never yet been subdued by the prowess or craft of his adversaries. He had also professed the utmost loyalty to the crown, and an ardent desire for a pacific arrangement of the existing difficulties. The death of Manco, who was slain by a straggling party of the “Men of Chili,” then in hiding among the Indians, removed one avowed pretext for raising an army, and the unscrupulous manner in which the ambitious leader seized upon the public funds in equipping the troops, disabused his followers in respect to his loyalty and freedom from a desire of personal aggrandizement. Numerous desertions took place among those whose hearts failed them at the thought of open rebellion against legitimate authority. But as he approached Lima,

their losses were counterbalanced by a great accession to his forces—the result of the ill-regulated and violent procedure of the viceroy.

Every thing seemed to conspire to thwart the purposes and complete the ruin of Nuñez. The general tenor of his conduct was rash and arbitrary. Upon a vague and unfounded suspicion of treachery, he threw Vaca de Castro into confinement, and, by giving vent to his jealousy, alienated others who might have proved staunch adherents to his cause. One of these, named Carbajal, he slew or caused to be slain in the heat of an altercation which arose at a private conference. To add to the perplexity and embarrassment of the viceroy, the Judges of the Audience, who were to lend their aid in the government, having arrived at the capital, vigorously opposed his measures, and intrigued for the subversion of his power.

Conscious of his extreme unpopularity, and feeling no confidence in his army, Nuñez, upon the near approach of Pizarro, issued orders for an abandonment of the city and a retreat to Truxillo. The capital and the intervening country were to be devastated, that the forces of the insurgents might be compelled to disband for lack of supplies. At this crisis, the judges headed a party of the populace, and, attacking the palace of the viceroy, seized his person, and declaring his authority at an end, dispatched him, in close custody, to Spain, and organized a new government, under the presidency of Cepeda, one of their own number.

It was hardly to be expected that Gonzalo Pizarro, at the head of a large and constantly increasing force, and secure in the favour of the inhabitants, would submit to the authority of these self-constituted rulers. He accordingly paid no attention to the overtures of the judges, but openly avowed his determination to assume the government. He sent one of his officers, Francisco de Carbajal, a fierce old soldier who had taken an active part in former feuds, in advance, to prepare for his own entrance into the city. This emissary commenced operations by searching out and putting to death several of the deserters from Pizarro's army, who had taken refuge in the capital. Such a proceeding inspired a natural terror in the minds of the judges, and they hastened to deprecate the wrath of the conqueror by voluntarily offering him the position at which he aimed. Gonzalo entered the city with great state and ceremony, and was formally sworn into office, which he was to hold until further communications should be received from the Spanish court. His accession was hailed by the inhabitants with general rejoicing.

CHAPTER X.

FORCES RAISED BY NUNEZ.—HIS FLIGHT NORTHWARD.—DECISIVE BATTLE NEAR QUITO.—DEATH OF THE VICEROY.—SUPREMACY OF PIZARRO.—MISSION OF PEDRO DE LA GASCA.—HIS POLITIC PROCEEDINGS.—BATTLE OF HUARINA.—PIZARRO AT CUZCO.

ALTHOUGH the new governor was now apparently at the summit of his expectations, circumstances speedily arose to embarrass him, and call for the exertion of all his skill and energy to maintain his position. Vaca de Castro, by the assistance of the captain of the vessel on board which he was confined, contrived to make his escape. The result of this proceeding did not, however, materially affect the interests of the governor. The fugitive reached Spain only to be thrown into prison upon various charges of mal-administration in his colonial office. After twelve years of imprisonment, his innocence was finally recognised, and he was raised to an honourable position in old Spain. An active enemy to the new government of Peru yet remained to be crushed. Blasco Nuñez, by the favour of Alvarez, one of the judges who had been commissioned to conduct him to Spain, returned to Peru, and, proclaiming Gonzalo and his adherents rebels and traitors, commenced the enlistment of forces for the reassertion of his own legitimate supremacy.

His quarters were successively at Tumbes, Quito, and San Miguel, from which latter town he moved precipitately upon the approach of Pizarro with a superior force. Sebastian Benalcazar, the commander at Popayan, had communicated his determination to the viceroy to lend his assistance for the support of the royal cause, and towards the district under that officer's jurisdiction Nuñez conducted his little band, with Pizarro and his forces in hot pursuit. The sufferings of either army during this terrible retreat, in which every imaginable difficulty, from the inhospitable nature of the country traversed, was added to the horrors of war, would have disheartened troops less accustomed to danger and privation than the old Spanish adventurers. Nuñez made his way to Popayan, and Pizarro, after having followed his enemy into the territory of Benalcazar, without having been able to draw him into a decisive

conflict, returned to Quito to await his approach with the expected reinforcements.

By a feigned retreat from the ancient capital, Pizarro succeeded in deceiving his opponent, and in drawing him from his distant place of security. Just without the city, on the 18th of January, 1546, the fate of the viceroy was decided by a final engagement. He fell, fighting bravely, and his followers being slain or dispersed, none remained to dispute the supremacy of the popular usurper. Gonzalo was possessed of many qualities calculated to secure the favour of the colonists. He was in every respect a man of the age, and his gallant and chivalrous bearing, combined with the remembrance of his share in the conquest, aroused the admiration of a people accustomed to look upon military excellence as the grand essential for a ruler.

An insurrection, headed by Diego Centeno, in the southern provinces, having been crushed by the efficient and unscrupulous Carbajal, nearly simultaneously with his successes at the north, Pizarro was for the time complete arbiter of the destinies of Peru. He maintained his position with great pomp and magnificence, yet in the midst of his success and popularity, must have brooded with no little anxiety over the probable results of the reception of intelligence respecting his movements at the Spanish court. Carbajal openly advised him to throw aside all thoughts of obtaining favour and countenance from Spain, and to depend upon force alone for the retention of his power.

Unwilling to hazard such an extreme measure, Gonzalo nevertheless took the greatest precautions to guard against the entry into his dominions of any emissary from the royal court, and prepared to send an ambassador to Spain, charged with the vindication of his conduct and the request of confirmation in his government.

When news of the rebellion arrived in Spain, Charles V., after deliberate consultation with the principal officers of his kingdom, determined upon essaying gentle means for the restoration of his colony to allegiance. A learned and sagacious ecclesiastic, named Pedro de la Gasca, was nominated by the council as commissioner to settle the affairs of Peru, and such confidence was reposed in him by the emperor, that he was armed with the most unlimited discretionary powers. As the first essential to a cordial reception on the part of the colonists, he was authorized to revoke the unpopular decrees which had caused the ruin of Nuñez, and to grant complete

pardon to all offenders, particularly those concerned in the insurrection. Under the title of "President of the Royal Audience," he was in effect clothed with all the powers of royalty, being responsible only to the Spanish court.

When Gasca arrived in the New World, in July, 1546, and received intelligence of Pizarro's complete supremacy, he employed the most judicious and artful policy to gain over the people before making an open demonstration. In accordance with his own wishes and advice, he came without any military force; he made no ostentatious display of authority; but relying upon the loyalty natural to the Spaniard, and holding forth the royal promises of amnesty and protection, he called on all true subjects of the empire to join him in a peaceful settlement of the disturbed affairs of the colony. Despite Pizarro's caution, he succeeded in distributing missives and proclamations throughout the principal cities, and occupied himself in the mean time in gaining over those officials to whom he could obtain access. Hernan Mexia, the commandant at Nombre de Dios, received the royal commissioner and espoused his cause. The next effort was to win the favour and assistance of Hinojosa, the governor of Panama, at which port the Peruvian fleet then lay.

Gasca proceeded thither in person, and although at first unable to overcome the scruples of the governor, had opportunity to open direct communication with Pizarro, and to further the extension of his own influence. The usurper would listen to no proposals which did not favour his own retention of supremacy. He sent his reply by one of his most trust-worthy adherents, Lorenzo de Aldana, who was commissioned to represent to the Spanish court the state of the country, the existing quiet in the province, and the satisfaction of the inhabitants at their condition and prospects, should the governor be confirmed in his powers by the emperor.

Arriving at Panama, Aldana had audience with the commissioner, and was so awed by the extent of his legitimate authority, and struck by his wisdom and moderation, that he speedily abandoned his master's cause, and joined the partisans of Gasca. Hinojosa and the principal naval commanders at Panama followed this example, and on the 19th of November, 1546, the whole fleet was publicly and formally placed at the disposal of Gasca, and its officers, receiving anew their commissions from his hands, took oaths of obligation to the crown.

The president's course was now plain. He began to collect forces

for open hostilities, using his unlimited powers to pledge the government for the repayment of the necessary loans, and to secure prospective remuneration to his soldiers. Requisitions were also made upon the governors of Mexico and the provinces of Central America for aid in the anticipated conflict. The adherents of Pizarro began to lose heart, and many deserted his cause to join the rising fortunes of the royal party. In the southern provinces, Diego de Centeno, who had been defeated, and driven to concealment by Carbajal, again collected his scattered followers, and by a sudden movement made himself master of Cuzco. After receiving a powerful accession to his force from the multitudes who feared the consequences of adhering to the popular ruler in his contest with the crown, or who now dared for the first time to avow their loyal sentiments, he posted himself by Lake Titicaca.

Pizarro's chief counsellors and officers, at this period, were his lieutenant, Carbajal, and Cepeda, one of the judges who had come over from Spain as the coadjutors of the unfortunate Nuñez. The first of these, generally as prudent in council as savage and remorseless in war, advised compliance with the royal offers; the other, feeling himself, perhaps, too deeply implicated in the overthrow and death of the viceroy, (especially when considered in reference to his own position under the rule of that officer,) to hope for a share in the promised amnesty, counselled resistance to the last. Gonzalo's own ambition and pride of office inclined him to the more independent and hazardous course: he therefore devoted his utmost energies to the arming and recruiting of his diminished forces at the capital.

Upon the approach of a portion of the hostile fleet, under the command of his faithless emissary, Aldana, Pizarro withdrew from Lima, and marched to the port of Arequipa. His army was by this time so reduced by continual desertions, that it numbered only about five hundred men. Aldana was received by the inhabitants of the capital and its vicinity with loyal demonstrations of welcome; and still greater enthusiasm awaited the landing of his superior, which took place at Tumbes about the middle of June. Gasca proceeded to Xauxa, where he established his head-quarters.

Pizarro, in order to give time for the recruiting of his forces, or hopeful of some change in popular favour, could he postpone a contest with an enemy so much his superior, resolved to march into Chili. He therefore opened negotiations with Centeno, who was in occupation of the mountain passes with a vastly superior force.

That staunch loyalist was too well aware of his advantage to allow the enemy to escape from the toils by which he was surrounded. He would listen to nothing but an unconditional surrender, offering, however, his personal influence to propitiate the clemency of the government in behalf of those who should lay down their arms. Pizarro, therefore, collected all his energies for a desperate and decisive struggle.

Near the small town of Huarina, by Lake Titicaca, he was met by Centeno on the 26th of October, 1547. The latter was in command of about a thousand men, while Pizarro's whole force was less than five hundred. When the two armies joined battle, the cavalry of the royalists completely overpowered and routed that of their opponents, and the fortune of the day seemed for the time decided in their favour. Carbajal, however, maintained his position with the little band of musqueteers, and having received and successfully repelled the charge of Centeno's infantry, was prepared to oppose the attack of the formidable body of cavalry. After various disorderly and futile attempts to break the squares into which the enemy were formed, and after sustaining heavy loss from the constant fire kept up from within the protecting lines of spearmen, the royalists were thrown into utter confusion, and were driven from the field.

Elated by so brilliant and decisive a victory, and justly deeming that the prestige of the achievement would reassure the minds of those who at heart favoured his cause, Pizarro abandoned his intention of seeking an asylum in Chili, and marched to Cuzco. He was received with enthusiasm by the inhabitants, and having taken up his quarters in the city, he resolved to await the arrival of reinforcements from the neighbouring districts, and to strike only where a favourable opportunity might present, or when he should be compelled by the movements of the enemy.

CHAPTER XI.

CAUTIOUS MOVEMENTS OF GASCA.—HIS MARCH TO CUZCO.—
BLOODLESS VICTORY AT XAQUIXAGUANA.—EXECUTION OF
CARBAJAL AND PIZARRO.—WISE ADMINISTRATION
OF GASCA.—SUBSEQUENT DISORDERS.—THE
COLONIAL SYSTEM.—THE MITA AND RE-
PARTIMIENTO.—INSURRECTION OF 1780.

THE defeat of Huarina was a severe blow to Gasca, but that prudent officer evinced his usual deliberation and forethought in retrieving his fortunes. Instead of rashly pressing on to Cuzco, although his force was still greatly superior to that of the enemy, he encamped for several months in the province of Andagnaylas, awaiting the arrival of fresh troops, and a more favourable season for crossing the mountains. His principal military subordinates, to whom he committed the practical superintendence of the movements of the army, and to whose judgment he submitted in matters of pure military science, were Hinojosa, Alvarado, Centeno, Benalcazar, and the celebrated Pedro de Valdivia, who was at that time in the country engaged in gathering fresh adventurers to aid in the extension of his conquests in Chili.

In the month of March, 1548, the royal forces commenced their march for the ancient capital, and after successfully encountering the perils and fatigues incident to a passage of the mountains and torrents which intervened, they crossed the Apurimac, and prepared for a descent upon the city. Pizarro, with what forces he could muster, on the approach of Gasca, took up a strong position, in the valley of Xaquixaguana, five leagues from Cuzco. As the army of the president, after a night of sleepless vigilance, was preparing to give battle, the necessity for an attack was singularly obviated. The followers of Pizarro, disheartened at the prospect of contending with a superior force, and feeling at last a full conviction of their desperate estate in case of defeat, and their uncertain position should victory crown their efforts, began to desert in entire battalions, and to throw themselves upon the clemency of Gasca. The first to set this example openly was the faithless Cepeda, who, while riding in

advance of his troops, suddenly put spurs to his horse, and notwithstanding a hot pursuit, made his way in safety to the enemy.

A complete panic and confusion presently ensued: the army of Gonzalo was dispersed without a battle, and the rebellious chief delivered himself up a prisoner. Those of his followers who feared at the last moment to trust to the merey of the president, scattered in various directions, and sought safety in flight. His old and faithful lieutenant, Carbajal, was seized by some of his own party, and carried captive to the enemy's camp. This veteran chief was no less than eighty-four years old, but although his body was enfeebled by the infirmities of age, his mind retained all its original energy and stern determination. When condemned to the disgraceful death of a traitor, he manifested no emotion, but submitted to his fate with the utmost apparent indifference, maintaining to the last the vein of dry, coarse humour which was ever habitual to him. The most remarkable circumstance attendant upon his execution, considering the age in which he lived, was his refusal to make confession, or to receive ghostly consolation from the priests. He asseverated that he had nothing on his conscience except his remissness in leaving a debt of a half-real unpaid to a shopkeeper of Seville. While being drawn in a hurdle to the fatal spot, "the priest who went with him exhorted him to recommend himself to God, and to say the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria*, and they say that he said, 'Pater Noster,' and 'Ave Maria,' and that he would not speak another word."

Gonzalo Pizarro also perished by the hands of the executioner, but without the circumstances of indignity which attended the death of his lieutenant. He spent the short interval between his condemnation and death in devout exercises, and met his fate with such calm intrepidity that a strong feeling of sympathy was excited in the breasts of the stern and rude soldiery in attendanc. The recollection of the important part enacted by him during the war of the Conquest was also remembered with respect and gratitude by those whose prosperity had been secured by the overthrow of the ancient dynasty.

A number of Pizarro's inferior officers were also put to death; and banishment, confiscation of estates, and the fate of the galley-slave, sternly awarded to others, served to convince the nation that the new government, if mild and clement to the loyal or submissive, could execute rigorous justice upon offenders.

The manner in which Gasca reduced the unsettled affairs of the country to order and system; his cautious and conciliatory, but

effective legislation; and his efforts in behalf of the oppressed natives of the soil, gained him universal respect. With every opportunity for the acquisition of wealth, and the advancement of schemes for personal ambition, he strove only for the welfare of the colony committed to his charge, and for the honour and supremacy of the crown. When his mission was fully accomplished, he voluntarily relinquished his responsible office, and returned to Spain. His economical administration had freed the colony from the debts incurred in the prosecution of the war, and he took over with him a large sum of money, as an earnest of the renewal of the long-discontinued tribute to the royal treasury.

His distinguished services and unequalled self-denial met with their appropriate reward, in securing the good-will of his countrymen and the favour of the emperor. He was made bishop of Palencia, and passed the remainder of his life in tranquillity and ease.

The order and regularity immediately attendant upon the prudent administration of Gasca was at various subsequent periods interrupted by the ambitious designs of discontented adventurers, and by the bitterness of opposing factions; but the authority of Spain was effectively maintained over Peru until the general uprising, which resulted in the emancipation of all her American continental dependencies. Peace was most effectually secured by the system of mutual destruction which the contending political parties alternately meted out to their opponents—a system which of necessity soon finds its end in treaty, in submission, or in extermination.

During the long continuance of Spanish rule in America, substantially the same system of government was maintained throughout the colonies. The greatest jealousy of foreigners characterized every enactment respecting trade and intercourse with other nations, and every thing was so ordered as to prevent any thing like independent advancement on the part of the colonial provinces. The interests of the parent-country were subserved by all manner of monopolies and restrictive provisions, that the productions of Spain might find a continual market, and that exorbitant returns of the precious metals might continue to flow into her coffers from the treasures of the New World.

To facilitate the working of the mines, as well as to secure a continuance of loyalty on the part of the colonists, no further effective provisions were made for the liberty and rights of the miserable natives. By a regular conscription, called the "Mita," one-seventh

of the Indian population, from the age of eighteen to fifty, was constantly kept employed in the mines. The term of service for each division was nominally six months, although frequently extended; and so severe was the labour enforced, and so insufficient the support provided by their task-masters, that a large majority of the labourers are said to have perished before the expiration of a single period of service. The introduction of spirituous liquors also proved as disastrous as in all other portions of America, to the native population; and from the combined effects of this destructive agent, of labour in the mines, and of that deadly pestilence the small-pox, the decrease of the Indian inhabitants of Peru, during the two centuries succeeding the Conquest, is computed by millions.

One grievous form of imposition practised upon the natives, was that known as the system of the *repartimiento*. This was a species of monopoly, by which the Spanish governors, or corregidores of the different districts were empowered to furnish the Indians with European commodities. These they were compelled to receive, and to pay for at exorbitant prices, whether in want of the articles furnished or not. It is said that the plan was first devised with the benevolent intention of securing the ignorant natives from the deceptions practised by unprincipled traders, but that the temptation to take advantage of their exclusive privilege proved too strong for the integrity of those to whom the charge was committed, until the whole system became one of barefaced fraud and oppression.

In addition to the great wrongs sanctioned by law, the Indians had none, or the most insufficient redress, for every species of enormity which was privately inflicted upon them by the usurpers of the soil. For more than two centuries they laboured under this insupportable tyranny without any combined effort to obtain their freedom. An unsuccessful revolt took place, indeed, in 1741, among several of the different tribes. At last, in the year 1780, the cacique of Tungasuca, José Gabriel Condoreanqui, claiming descent from Tupae Amaru, the son of the Inca Manco, stood forth as the champion of his people. Multitudes of the natives thronged to enlist under his command, and in the battles which ensued, displayed all the energy and courage of their ancestors. More experienced in European warfare than these, they were not subdued without much bloodshed. The very women took part in these contests, and evinced surprising bravery and determination. The death of their leader, who was taken prisoner, and, together with his wife and children,

put to death with barbarous cruelty, gave no check to the rebellion. A guerilla warfare was still waged with unremitting perseverance, and a nephew of Condoreanqui, named Andres, collected a sufficient force to beset the town of Sorata. The place was defended by an earthen embankment, behind which artillery was stationed. To effect a breach, a large body of water was collected by dams upon an adjoining height, and suddenly let loose upon the defences. Through the opening thus made, the Indian warriors poured with the utmost fury, and revenged the murder of their inea by an indiscriminate slaughter. It is said that of the twenty thousand inhabitants of the town, none of the males were spared except the priests.

Notwithstanding this brilliant success, the Indian commanders were not sufficiently skilled in the science of war or government to take advantage of their position. They were betrayed into the hands of the enemy by some of their own people who had been won over by bribes, and the Spaniards speedily reestablished their power over the country. In consequence of this rebellion, however, the odious monopoly of the *repartimiento* was done away with.

CHAPTER XII.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION.—INVASION BY SAN
MARTIN.—OCCUPATION OF LIMA.—INDEPENDENCE
PROCLAIMED.—REVERSES OF THE PATRIOTS.—
ARRIVAL OF BOLIVAR IN PERU.

THE great struggle for independence in the Spanish provinces of South America had been elsewhere, for the most part, crowned with success before Peru became the theatre for important action. Here the Spaniards maintained possession of their last stronghold upon the continent, and, but for assistance from the neighbouring independent provinces, there would hardly have appeared a prospect of overthrowing the viceregal government.

In the earlier period of the revolution, in October, 1810, an army from Buenos Ayres, under command of Colonel Antonio de Balcarce, penetrated into Upper Peru, and gained important victories over the royalists at Cotagarta and Tupiaza. This officer took up his quarters,

with a force of some four thousand men, at the outlet of Lake Titicaca, and maintained possession of the conquered territory until the following summer, when he was in turn defeated by the Spanish troops under Goyeneche, who attacked him unexpectedly during the continuance of a truce. Bulcace's failure is attributed in no small measure to the violence and recklessness of his civil associate, Castelli.

In the month of August, 1820, independence having been established in Chili, an army of between four and five thousand men was assembled at Valparaiso for the purpose of breaking up of the royalist strongholds of Peru, and of freeing that province from the dominion of Spain. The command was held by General Jose de San Martin, the emancipator of Chili, to whose exertions the expedition was mainly attributable. Such vessels of war as could be procured, were fitted out and placed under command of Lord Cochrane. In the month following, the whole force was landed and quartered at Pisco, on the Peruvian coast, without opposition from the royalist forces, which retreated to Lima, about one hundred miles northward.

An attempt at negotiation having failed, the army of invasion was again in motion in the month of October. The naval force anchored off Callao, where, on the night of November 5th, Lord Cochrane, commanding in person, succeeded in cutting out and capturing the Spanish frigate Esmeralda, which lay under the protection of the guns of the fort, and in company with a number of smaller armed vessels. This exploit is considered as one of the most brilliant achievements of the kind on record.

The main body of Chilean troops was transported to Huara, about seventy-five miles north of the capital, while a division, under General Arenales, was marched into the interior, with the intention of effecting a junction with the principal force by land. On the route this commander defeated a superior force of the royalists, under the Irish officer General O'Reilly. The prospects of the patriots grew every day brighter. They gained large accessions of recruits from those of the inhabitants who favoured a revolution, and it was plain that the great body of the people hailed their arrival with the most joyful anticipations. On the 3d of December, an entire regiment, the Spanish battalion of Numancia, consisting in great measure of Columbians, joined the invaders.

As San Martin, after some months' delay at Huara, advanced upon Lima, the city was thrown into the utmost confusion. The Spanish authorities found it necessary to evacuate the place, and the inhabit-

ants, in a general panic, and uncertain as to what was to take place, began to fly with their effects towards Callao and other places of supposed security. Throughout the night preceding the evacuation by the Spanish troops, the narrow streets were nearly impassable from the multitude of vehicles in which the terrified inhabitants were conveying away their effects. Captain Basil Hall, who was upon the spot, says: "For an hour or two after the viceroyn's departure, the streets were filled with fugitives; but by mid-day, scarcely an individual was to be seen; and in the course of the afternoon, I accompanied one of the English merchants during a walk of more than a mile through the most populous parts of Lima, without meeting a single individual: the doors were all barred, the window-shutters closed, and it really seemed 'some vast city of the dead.'"

The old Marquis of Montemiré, who had been left in authority, called together the principal inhabitants, and after some consultation, with the assent of the town council, an invitation was extended to San Martín to occupy the city, nominally for the purpose of protecting the inhabitants from a suspected uprising of the slaves, from the Indian allies of the patriots who threatened a descent from without, and from a lawless mob of the lower orders within the walls. The general entered the city on the 12th of July, 1821, unaccompanied by his army, and experienced little difficulty in satisfying the terrified inhabitants as to his good faith and the honesty of his intentions. All went on prosperously for the cause, and on the 28th the independence of Peru was formally proclaimed, amid the greatest exhibition of enthusiasm on the part of the populace. On the 3d of the ensuing month San Martín assumed the title of Protector of Peru.

No important military movements took place during a considerable subsequent period. The fortress at Callao remained in possession of the royalists, whither the division under Canterac the viceroy, quartered at Xauxa, was marched in the latter part of August. These troops were soon afterwards withdrawn, and the stronghold, left under command of General La Mar, capitulated to the protector on the 21st of September. The independent army remained at Lima, for the most part unemployed, during a number of months subsequent to these events, and their presence began to be felt as a burden by the inhabitants. In April, 1822, a severe reverse was felt in the surprise and capture, by Canterac, of a very considerable body of

the revolutionary forces, at Ica. More than a thousand prisoners were taken, and a great amount of arms and military stores fell into the hands of the royalists.

An interview took place in the month of July, of this year, between the Protector and the great champion of freedom in South America, Bolivar, then in the full pride of success in the northern provinces. The result of the meeting was the augmentation of the force at Lima by two thousand Columbian troops. During San Martin's absence the tyranny of his minister, Monteagudo, who made the deputy protector, the Marquis of Truxillo, a mere tool for the execution of his private projects, excited an outbreak, which was only quelled by the arrest and removal of the offending party.

In the succeeding month the first independent congress was assembled at the capital, and San Martin, having resigned his authority, soon after took his departure for Chili. Congress appointed a junta of three persons to discharge the duties of the executive. Under this administration the affairs of the new republic fell into great disorder. A miserably futile attempt, by sea and land, against the royalists in the southern provinces, created great public discontent, and on the 26th of February, 1823, the principal officers of the army, in a remonstrance to Congress, demanded the appointment of Colonel Jose de la Riva Agüero as president. After some opposition, that body complied with the proposition, backed as it was by all the real power of the republic, and Riva Agüero was proclaimed accordingly. General Santa Cruz, a Peruvian, and partly of Indian descent, then second in command, shortly after, upon the departure of Arenales for Chili, assumed the position of commander-in-chief of the army. A second expedition to the southward against the royalists of the *Puertos Intermedios*, left the capital insufficiently guarded, although three thousand additional troops had been marched to the city by the Columbian general, Sucre. Canterac seized the opportunity to possess himself of Lima, and with nine thousand men, on the 18th of June, entered that city. The patriot forces were insufficient to make any effectual resistance, and they evacuated the capital on the approach of the enemy.

The Congress, holding its session at Callao, now invested General Sucre with dictatorial powers. Upon the fortress at this place, Canterac was unable to make any impression, and considering it useless to maintain possession of the capital, he withdrew his troops on the 17th of the succeeding month of July. The division of the patriot

forces at the south fared no better than that which had preceded it. A disastrous and disorderly retreat before the royalists resulted in the almost entire dissolution of the army. All hopes of success in the enterprise of the revolution now seemed to rest upon the arrival of foreign assistance, and this was fortunately at hand. Simon Bolivar, the liberator of Venezuela, and the most distinguished of the champions of freedom in South America, had so far reduced the affairs of the recently constituted northern states to order and security, that he was enabled to turn his attention to the distressed condition of the Peruvian patriots. He proceeded at once to the scene of action, and entered Lima on the 1st of September, 1823. The prestige of his previous brilliant successes, and the confidence felt in his abilities as a general and statesman, gave a new impetus to the patriotic cause. He was received with great rejoicing, and was at once invested with supreme power, both civil and military.

CHAPTER XIII.

SUCCESSES OF THE ROYALISTS.—MOVEMENTS OF THE PATRIOT ARMY.—DECISIVE VICTORY OF AYACUCHO.—SIEGE OF CALLAO.—BOLIVAR'S ADMINISTRATION.—SUBSEQUENT CONDITION OF THE REPUBLIC.

UPON the elevation of Bolivar to the dictatorship, his first care was to quiet dissensions in his own party. Riva Agüero, indignant at his removal from authority, was carrying matters with a high hand in Truxillo. He assembled and then dissolved the congress, ordering into exile those who remained firm to their former decision. As he commanded several thousand troops from the northern province, his defection presented a formidable aspect. Negotiation proved of no avail, but by the treachery of some of his own people he was taken prisoner, and soon after was banished from the country.

In February, 1824, an insurrection of the garrison at Callao resulted in the recapture of this important stronghold by the Spaniards, and a few weeks later the capital shared the same fate. The revolutionary congress broke up, after declaring its own dissolution and the confirmation of Bolivar's authority as supreme dictator. This gloomy

state of affairs only served to call forth the full energies of the great general. He had under his command about ten thousand troops, the majority of whom were Columbians, stationed near Putavilea. The available forces of the royalists were at this period numerically far superior to those of the patriots, but confidence in the tried abilities of their leader more than compensated the latter for their inferiority in numbers. "There was a churn," says Miller, "in the name of Bolivar, and he was looked up to as the only man capable of saving the republic."

The army of the royalists was quartered at Nauxa, and no effort was made to check the advance of the independent forces until they had effected the dangerous passage of the mountains, and were in full march for Paseo. Great praise is awarded to General Sucre, the chief of the staff, for the admirable forethought and prudent precautions by which the difficulties of this march were met and safely overcome. An action, which, however, did not become general, took place on the plains of Junin, in which the patriots gained a decided advantage, further increased by numerous subsequent desertions from the enemy.

Bolivar was at this period unwilling to risk the chances of a decisive battle, and made little opposition to the retreat of Canterac to Cuzco. At Guamanga a month's halt was made by the patriots. In October, the commander-in-chief, supposing that, on account of the season, no present attempt would be made by the enemy, returned to the coast, having directed Sucre to take up his quarters at Andahuaylos and Abancay. Contrary to Bolivar's expectations, the Spanish viceroy, having effected a union of his main divisions and made the most strenuous exertions to collect an overwhelming force, now recommenced hostilities. Sucre was placed in an embarrassing position: his forces were greatly reduced by sickness, privation, skirmishes, and Indian hostilities, but with his usual military skill he so ordered counter movements and retreats that the greatly superior force of the royalists was unable to attack him at a disadvantage.

No general engagement took place until the 9th of December, when the decisive battle of Ayacucho, one of the most remarkable in its details, and important in its results ever fought in South America, gave a death-blow to Spanish power in Peru. The attack was commenced by the royalists, under command of the viceroy. Their numbers very considerably exceeded those of the patriots, being set down at over nine thousand, while those of the latter fell

short of six thousand. It was felt, however, by all that the fortune of the day was to decide the fate of the revolution, and, excited by a brief but inspiring address from their commander, the patriots fought with a firm, though impetuous courage that proved invincible.

After a single hour's hard fighting, the assailants were routed and driven back to the heights of Condoreanqui, where, previous to the battle, they had taken a position. Their loss was fourteen hundred in killed and seven hundred wounded. The patriots lost in killed and wounded a little less than one thousand. Having collected what remained of his scattered forces, Canterac perceived that he was now outnumbered, and must be totally overpowered. Before the close of the day, therefore he rode down in person to the patriot encampment, and in the tent of the commander signed a capitulation. His whole remaining army became prisoners of war, and by the terms of the capitulation all the Spanish forces in Peru were also bound to surrender. These requisitions were complied with by the garrisons at Cuzco and Arequipa, without delay, but a strong body of Spanish troops under Olañeta, in Upper Peru, still held out. These were forced to yield in April, 1825, their leader having been slain in an insurrection of his own followers.

General Rodil, in command of the garrison at Callao, still obstinately maintained his position. The fortress was closely invested by sea and land; but such was the strength of its defences, and the determination of the Spanish commander, that it was not reduced until the 19th of January, 1826, when an honourable capitulation was agreed upon. Throughout this long interval of siege the garrison and the royalist citizens who had sought protection in this last stronghold of Spain upon the continent, endured every extremity from disease and famine. The greater proportion of the besieged had perished previous to the surrender.

Bolivar was still clothed with the powers of a dictator in Peru, and his position as governor of Columbia necessarily strengthened and extended his influence and authority over all the recently emancipated territory in the northern portion of South America. He was anxious to bring about the adoption by the Peruvians of the civil code known as the Bolivian Constitution, but it proved generally unsatisfactory. While he remained in the country, it is said, "the people overwhelmed him with professions of gratitude, and addressed him in language unsuitable to any being below the Deity." A reaction took place notwithstanding, and numbers were found ready to

accuse this truly great man of selfish personal ambition, of carelessness for the true interest of his country, and to impute to him the most unworthy motives in all his efforts for colonial independence.

The continued presence of Columbian troops, who remained quartered at Lima, was a cause of great complaint, both from the expense of their maintenance and the prevalent idea that they were kept there to suppress any free and independent action of the people, and to render perpetual those extraordinary powers conferred upon the commander-in-chief to meet the exigencies of civil war. These apprehensions were removed, during the year following the reduction of Callao, by the revolt and removal of the obnoxious forces, and by the election of General La Mar to the presidency of Peru.

The government had not, however, the elements of stability, and the country remained a prey to factious disturbance and civil war. In the words of Commander Wilkes, the history of the state "may be said to be merged in biographical memoirs of its several rulers, who have, without an exception, acted for self-aggrandizement, without ever looking to the benefit of their country, its peace, or happiness. They have, in their public decrees and acts, been lavish and prodigal of the words honour, liberty, justice, &c., in order to extol themselves and decry their opponents; yet, without exception, the moment they have attained power, they have pursued the very course they before reprobated, and the country has continued to suffer."

At the present time Peru is involved in difficulties with Bolivia, threatening, if not indeed amounting to an actual state of war. The limited extent of available sea-coast belonging to the latter country renders her peculiarly dependent upon Peru for commercial facilities; and among other offensive acts, a heavy transit duty has been levied on all goods destined for Bolivia. Possession has also been taken of the port of Cobija by a Peruvian squadron.

C H I L I .

CHAPTER I.

EXPEDITION OF ALMAGRO.—COMMISSION OF PEDRO DE VALDIVIA.
—ST. JAGO FOUNDED.—BATTLE WITH THE MAPOCHINIANS.
—EMBASSY OF MIRANDA AND MONROY.—DESTRUCTION
OF THE QUILLOTAN MINERS.—VALDIVIA'S MARCH
SOUTHWARD.—THE ARAUCANIANS.

ELATED by their triumphant successes in Peru, and with their thirst for riches unappeased by the possession of the untold treasure of the inca, the Spanish invaders turned their attention to the unexplored sea-coast at the south, as a further field for their rapacity. The command of an expedition to Chili was accordingly assumed by Diego de Almagro, the comrade in arms and rival of Pizarro, and a well-appointed band of adventurers, numbering, as is stated, five hundred and seventy, set forth under his guidance, towards the close of the year 1535. A vast army of native Peruvians, commanded by a brother of the new inca, accompanied him, hopeful of better fortune under a European leader, than their countrymen had expericneed in former times when engaged in war with the Chilians. Instead of following the sea-coast, Almagro took his course over the mountains, as being the shortest route, a choice which resulted in terrible destruction to his forces. The snow-covered Andes were to be crossed by an army worn out by long marches, insufficiently protected from the severities of the season, and suffering from starvation. Thousands of the Peruvian auxiliaries and about one-fourth of the Spaniards perished during the passage.

In the province of Copiapo, one of those formerly brought under Peruvian dominion, rest and supplies of provision soon recruited the strength and spirit of the army. According to the historians of the

expedition, the invaders were received by the native Chilians with respect and hospitality, but opportunity was not long wanting for a full display of Spanish cruelty and revenge. Two straggling soldiers—for what offence is not known—were put to death at Guasco, and, as a lesson to the inhabitants, Almagro caused Marcando, the ulmen, or chief of Coquimbo, together with more than twenty of the most considerable persons in the community, to be seized and burned alive, without the shadow of trial, or even the accusation of having taken part in the offence. It appears that the general conduct of the Spaniards on their march was replete with cruelty towards the harmless peasantry of the villages through which they passed.

Fresh forces had now arrived from Peru, under command of Rodrigo de Orgoñez, and Almagro directed his course southward through the rich and flourishing districts heretofore rendered tributary to Peru. Still another reinforcement of recruits was brought out by Juan de Rada, who bore dispatches to the commander-in-chief, of a nature to turn the current of his thoughts from the present theatre of warlike operations. These contained his formal appointment, by the crown of Spain, to the government of a large district lying next south of that already confirmed to Pizarro. The imperfect surveys of the period had not definitely fixed the line of division, and Almagro was assured, by letters from his friends in Peru, that the capital itself lay within his newly-acquired territory.

That active soldier would not, however, immediately give up his dreams of conquest, although the extravagant hopes of his companions in adventure, as to the acquisition of further treasures in gold and silver, were by this time greatly damped. He pushed on to the banks of the Rio Claro, where the warlike Promaueians rallied to oppose his further advance. To their astonishment, the Spaniards found themselves engaged with an enemy whose courage and fortitude might compare favourably with that of veteran soldiery. After some useless fighting, resulting in little advantage to either party, Almagro was not unwilling to listen to the entreaties of his followers, that an enterprise offering little prospect of any thing but hard blows, should now be abandoned. He took his course northward across the extensive desert of Atacama, avoiding the perils of a march over the mountains, but exposed to great suffering from the arid and inhospitable nature of the plains to be traversed. His return and seizure of Cuzco, in 1538, with his further adventures in

the bloody civil war which ensued, and his final defeat and execution, have been mentioned in the history of Peru.

Two years later, after the death of his companion and rival, Pizarro commissioned one of his own officers, Pedro de Valdivia, to lead another expedition into Chili. De Hoz, who had previously come out from Spain, with the royal authority to undertake this exploit, was assigned a subordinate position.

Valdivia, profiting by the experience of Almagro, conducted his followers across the Andes at a more favourable season of the year than that chosen by his predecessor. He consequently met with trifling loss upon the route. The company sent into Chili at this time, was composed of different materials from that of Almagro, as it was proposed to form a permanent settlement at some favourable point, in order to acquire a foothold in the country for further conquest and colonization. There were, therefore, in addition to an efficient force of two hundred Spaniards and a host of Peruvians, a number of women and priests. Domestic animals were also provided for the use of the infant colony.

The news of the overthrow of the inca had by this time reached Chili, and a favourable opportunity seemed presented to the tributary provinces for a recovery of their former independence. The invaders found themselves resisted and harassed at every point, but as no united effort was made by the inhabitants of different districts, they were enabled to force their way through the provinces of Copiapo, Coquimbo, Quillota, and Melipilla. At Mapocho, the fertility and beauty of the country induced the commander to establish his first settlement upon the bank of the river which bears the name of the province. The city of St. Jago was accordingly founded on the 24th of February, 1541.

Mapocho was one of the most populous provinces of Chili, and the inhabitants speedily exhibited their determination to expel the intruders. The Spanish commander having learned of an intended attack, seized several of the Mapochinian chiefs, and took his position, with a body of cavalry, upon the bank of the river Cochapoal, to prevent their subjects from effecting a union with the natives of the adjoining province. "The Mapochinians," says Molina, "taking advantage of the departure of the general, fell upon the colony with inconceivable fury, burned the half-built houses, and assailed the citadel, wherein the inhabitants had taken refuge, upon all sides. While they defended themselves valiantly, a woman, named Inez

Suarez, animated with a spirit more cruel than courageous, seized an axe, and beat out the brains of the captive chiefs, who had attempted to break their fetters and regain their liberty." The return of Valdivia, with the cavalry, turned the scale, and after the slaughter of an immense number of native warriors, the survivors fled to the mountains. From these places of retreat, for years thereafter, they sallied forth to annoy the Spaniards and prevent their obtaining supplies. The country around St. Jago, which had been the garden of Chili, was now deserted and uncultivated, as the colonists were unable to extend their agricultural operations beyond the bounds protected by their fort. Great suffering ensued from want of sufficient and wholesome food.

A new source of wealth was finally developed by the opening of gold mines in the valley of Quillota, a region to which Valdivia's attention had been directed by the reports of the natives. Unfortunately for the convenience and interest of the city, it had no navigable communication with the sea; but to secure a means of intercourse with Peru, a vessel was built at the debouchement of the river Chile. To excite further interest in the colony, the governor, Valdivia, commissioned two officers of his band, Alonzo Monroy and Pedro Miranda, with six associates, and an escort of thirty mounted men, to proceed by land to Peru. The trappings and stirrups of the ambassadors were directed to be made of gold, as an ostentatious display of wealth, calculated to attract the attention of fresh adventurers. This party was attacked on the road by a body of native archers, led by Coteo, an officer of the ulmen of Copiapo, and every man was slain except the two envoys. These were taken before the chief, grievously wounded, and would have been promptly put to death but for the intercession of the ulmena, or wife of the ulmen. This kind-hearted woman took the utmost care of her protégés, and, having healed their wounds, manifested her confidence in their good faith by entrusting them with the instruction of her son in the art of horsemanship. The two Spaniards, perceiving that a way of escape lay open to them, did not scruple, at a favourable opportunity, to slay the young prince, and, dashing through the unmounted attendant archers, were soon beyond pursuit. It is not pretended that this cruel and ungrateful murder was any further essential to their proposed plan of escape, than as creating a momentary panic and confusion among the guards. They made their way in safety across the intervening deserts, and, reaching Peru, bore

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intelligence of the condition of the Chilian settlement, and of their own disasters, to the governor, Vacca de Castro, successor to Pizarro.

Recruits were at once collected and dispatched to St. Jago, both by land and sea. In spite of these reinforcements, the colony suffered severely from the marauding expeditions of the natives. Nearly the entire force engaged at the Quillotan mines was cut off by an ambuscade into which the soldiers and miners were drawn by one of the Indians. The exhibition of "a pot full of gold," with the information that abundance more was to be found at a designated locality, so excited their cupidity that, without order or precaution of any kind, they hurried towards the spot, and were easily destroyed at a disadvantage. It is said that only two escaped, the commander and a negro, both of whom happened to be well mounted. Valdivia sustained a further loss in the destruction of his arsenal and of the armed vessel built in Chile, both of which were burned by the natives.

In order to secure a safe stopping-place for land-parties between Peru and his own capital, the governor, in the year 1546, commenced the foundation of a town at the mouth of the river Coquimbo. Having taken this step to secure himself at the north, he made preparations for pushing his conquests in the hitherto unexplored provinces at the southward. Juan Batista Pastene, a naval officer, who had brought out a large party from Peru, had before been commissioned to explore the coast of the Straits of Magellan, but little was known of the interior.

In what manner Valdivia subdued or conciliated the bold and warlike Promaucians is not distinctly related, but certain it is that they threw no serious obstacles in his path of conquest; and that they long after lent him the aid of their warriors in his battles with the other aborigines. During this year (1546) the Spanish forces penetrated as far south as the river Itata, at which place they suffered so severe a loss at the hands of the natives, particularly in the seizure of their horses, that they were forced to retire to the capital. In 1547, Valdivia sailed for Peru, with a great treasure in gold, to secure the enlistment of volunteers for Chili. The fierce civil wars, in which the conquerors of the empire of the incas became involved, were now raging, and the Chilian governor lent his assistance to the President Gasca. His services were rewarded by abundant supplies of stores and munitions of war for his own territory, and he returned to Chili with a large number of fresh adventurers.

Several years passed away without further attempts against the unsubdued tribes of the south. Meantime, the settlement at Coquimbo had been destroyed, and the settlers in that province had perished by the assaults of the Indians. The city was rebuilt in 1549. In 1560 Valdivia collected an army of Spaniards and Promaucians, and set out in hopes to accomplish his long-cherished scheme of southern conquest. In the month of October, having reached the bay of Penca, the natural advantages of the place induced him to pause, and lay the foundation of a new city, to be called Concepcion. While the Spaniards were engaged in this work, an opportunity was afforded to the natives of the vicinity to effect a coalition with allies of whose courage, fortitude and military skill, no adequate conception had been hitherto formed. These were the celebrated Araucanians, who derived their name from Arauco, one of their smaller provinces. The power of the incas had never been extended so far as the district in which the Spaniards were now establishing a foothold, and the Araucanians, who had from time immemorial maintained complete independence of every other nation, promptly determined to march at once against the invaders, and not to wait the expected violation of their own rights of territory.

Of this singular people, the early historian of Chili, Don J. Ignatius Molina, gives accounts so highly coloured, that his veracity has been called in question, but he solemnly avers that all which he gives as fact was drawn from reliable authority. The apparent exaggeration of his eulogium may be confined to the imaginative conclusions which he has drawn from correct premises, and may arise from the enthusiasm naturally excited by the detail and contemplation of the wonderful intrepidity, and unequalled spirit of endurance which have ever characterized these hardy mountaineers.

Their country was separated from that of the Pencones by the river Bio-bio, and across this stream an Araucanian army was led by Aillavilu the Toqui, a military chieftain of the country.

CHAPTER II.

BATTLE AT THE ANDALIEN.—INVASION OF ARAUCANIA.—
 FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF VALDIVIA.—ELECTION
 OF CAUPOLICAN TO THE OFFICE OF TOQUI.—INDIAN
 SUCCESSES.—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF VALDIVIA.—
 DEFEAT OF VILLAGRAN BY LAUTARO.—DESTRUC-
 TION OF THE CITY OF CONCEPTION.

A PITCHED battle took place on the banks of the Andalien, and for the first time the Spaniards encountered an enemy in whom the novelty of cavalry and fire-arms excited neither terror nor confusion. With true military skill Aillavilu turned the flank of his opponents, and fell upon them in front and rear with the greatest impetuosity. As the foremost ranks of the assailants were swept away by the fire from the squares into which the Spaniards were compelled to form, fresh forces rushed forward, in perfect order and discipline, to supply their places. The death of the toqui, who exposed his person in the place of greatest danger, caused the natives to make an orderly retreat.

The Spanish commander now saw the necessity for entrenching himself more strongly than he had proposed against so formidable an enemy, and proceeded to build a fort near the city. This proved the salvation of the army, for the Araucanians, having elected a new toqui, named Lincoyan, a man of huge stature, but wanting, it is said, in energy and self-confidence, again advanced upon the city. Their approach created great consternation, and the Spaniards, "after confessing themselves and partaking of the sacrament, took shelter under the cannon of their fortifications." Unable to carry the place by storm, Lincoyan drew off his forces, and the colonists were left without further molestation to continue their labours on the buildings in the city.

Affairs looked prosperous; fresh companies of adventurers came out from Peru, and Valdivia, forgetful of the spirit exhibited by the Araucanians in the first battle, determined to attack them in their own territory. He crossed the Bio-bio in 1552, and by rapid marches passed through the provinces of Encol and Puren, and laid the foundations of the city of Imperial on the bank of the river Cauten. Feeling himself secure in possession of the country, (for Lincoyan did

not venture to measure his strength with that of the Spaniards,) Valdivia made extensive assignments of territory to his subordinates. He commissioned Alderete, an officer in the army, with sixty followers, to commence a settlement on the lake of Lauquen, and, with recruited forces, continued his march to the southern bounds of Araucania. The river Caliacalla divided this country from that of the Cunches, who at first made great demonstration of resistance, but, after some negotiation, laid aside their hostile attitude, and permitted the army to pass the stream. Upon its southern bank was founded the ill-fated city on which the governor bestowed his own name, Valdivia.

Without proceeding farther, the commander now took measures to secure his supposed conquests, and returning through Puren, Tucapel, and Arauco, he built a fort in each province. No efficient resistance was made by the natives to these offensive operations, although many battles or skirmishes took place during their progress. Historians attribute this uncharacteristic want of energy to the stupidity or over-caution of the Toqui Lincoyan. Valdivia, considering the country as subdued, and the natives as permanently overawed, thought only of increasing the number of his settlements and extending his territorial occupation. In the district of Encol, he founded his seventh colony, calling the new city the City of the Frontiers. It afterwards went by the name of Angol, and previous to its destruction is spoken of as having become prosperous and wealthy. Alderete was at this time sent to Spain with magnificent reports concerning the conquered country, and with instructions to procure for his superior, if possible, from the emperor, a special commission of authority. These events took place in the year 1553.

Meanwhile, an important movement was going on among the Araucanians. An aged ulmen of Arauco, named Colocolo, disgusted with the supineness of the Toqui Lincoyan, exhorted his countrymen to combine for the expulsion of the foreigners. He travelled throughout Araucania, boldly advocating the deposition of a leader who had proved himself without capacity for his responsible office, and the appointment of one whose valour and energies might save his people from Spanish tyranny and aggression. Great matters of state, involving the interest of the nation at large, were decided, among these primitive people, by a council of the ulmenes, or caciques of the different provinces, held in an open field. Such a meeting was therefore appointed, and discussion ran high as to the fittest successor to the dictatorship, to be vacated by the removal of Lincoyan.

One Tucapel, a chief of great military renown, was the most prominent candidate, but as his election was opposed by a powerful party, it was finally determined to submit the decision to Colocolo. The old chief nominated Caupolican, ulmen of Pilmayquen, who was accordingly installed amid universal acclamation. The unsuccessful candidates, including the famous Tucapel, with commendable freedom from envy or jealousy, accepted subordinate positions under the new toqui.

All were now eager for war, but Caupolican restrained their impetuosity until he could make preparations for striking an unexpected blow. The fort at Arauco was his first object of attack. Eighty of the Indian auxiliaries to the Spaniards, who had been sent out to collect forage for the horses, were taken prisoners on their way back to the fort. Caupolican substituted an equal number of his best warriors, who, with their arms concealed in the trusses of grass and hay, easily effected an entrance. A fierce contest ensued, but before the Araucanian army could reach the scene of action, the assailants were driven out, and the draw-bridge was raised. After a fruitless endeavour to storm the place, Caupolican was obliged to content himself with reducing it by blockade. This was effected, but the garrison escaped at night, charging through the besiegers at the full speed of their horses, and making their way without obstruction to Puren.

The military post at Tucapel met with the same fate with that of Arauco, and the troops stationed there also retreated to Puren. At Tucapel, Caupolican encamped to await offensive operations on the part of the Spaniards. Valdivia in all haste collected his forces, amounting, it appears, to several hundred Spaniards and some thousands of his Indian allies, and marched against the insurgents, who, in still greater force, were prepared for a decisive engagement. The two armies met before the fort at Tucapel, on the 3d of December, 1553. As the Spaniards approached the scene of action, they were stricken with consternation at the sight of the gory heads of eleven of their number, who had been sent forward to reconnoitre, cut off and hung from the trees by the way-side.

The right wing of the Araucanian army was under command of Mariantu, the vice-toqui, and the left was led by the valiant Tucapel. Mariantu commenced the attack, and the whole opposing forces were speedily engaged in a most desperate struggle. It was remarked, as on a former occasion, that the thunder and havoc of the artillery

produced no confusion or dismay on the part of the Araucanians, those behind pressing forward with the utmost eagerness to take the places of those who fell. Again and again they made an orderly retreat, only to form anew, and rush with renewed fury to the attack. Victory at last seemed in the hands of the Spaniards; an immense number of the enemy had fallen, while the rest were in disorder, and began to crowd confusedly together in their retreat from the charge of the armed and disciplined soldiers of Valdivia.

Among the Spanish troops was an Araucanian youth, only sixteen years of age, named Lautaro, who had fallen into the hands of Valdivia on some former occasion, and who served as his personal attendant. Exeited by the discomfiture of his countrymen, at the moment when the Spaniards were rushing forward with exulting shouts, this young Indian threw himself among the fugitives, and, seizing a lance, exhorted them to rally and preserve the honour and safety of their country. He hastily represented that the Spaniards were worn out with fatigue, and must give way if the contest could be longer maintained. "The Araucanians," says Molina, "ashamed at being surpassed by a boy, turned with such fury upon their enemies, that at the first shock they put them to rout, cutting in pieces the Spaniards and their allies, so that of the whole of this army, only two Promaucians had the fortune to escape, by fleeing to a neighbouring wood."

Valdivia was taken prisoner, and when brought into the presence of Caupolican, made supplication for his life, promising to abandon all his undertakings, and remove with his people from the country, if he were set at liberty. Lautaro, retaining a regard for his former master, joined in these entreaties, and Caupolican appeared about to yield, when an old chief among the bystanders put an end to the discussion, by striking the prisoner dead with his war-club. He then justified himself, with the remark, "that they must be mad to trust to the promises of an ambitious enemy, who, as soon as he had escaped from this danger, would make a mock of them, and laugh at his oaths."

On the succeeding day the victorious Araucanians gathered with their friends from far and near, to celebrate their success. The heads of the slain Spaniards and Promaucians were hung from trees as ghastly trophies, while the toqui and his officers, decked in the arms and habiliments of the Europeans, presided over the festivities of the day.

The effect of this disastrous engagement upon the colonists in Araucania, was to create a universal panic. Deserting Angol, Puren, and Villarica, they shut themselves up in the fortified towns of Valdivia and Concepcion. To these places Caupolican at once laid siege. Lautaro having been invested with the highest subordinate command in the army, as a reward for his valour and patriotism, was posted, with a powerful force, upon the rugged heights of Mariguenu, a mountain which must be passed by any troops marched into Arauco from the northern Chilian settlements.

Francis Villagran, who, by a previous appointment of the deceased governor, succeeded to the administration of the colonial affairs, marched without delay to the relief of the besieged. A short distance southward from the Bio-bio, he encountered the advanced guard of Lautaro's division, which he defeated after a fierce contest of three hours' duration, and pressed on up the mountain. The Araucanians were protected by a palisade, and, as it proved impossible to force their position by assault, six field-pieces were brought to bear upon the entrenchments, and a steady fire of musketry was kept up at a convenient distance. Seeing the destruction caused by the cannon, Lautaro ordered one of his officers, named Leucoton, to storm the battery and bring away the pieces, charging him not to return without accomplishing his errand. The attempt was completely successful; the cannon were seized and dragged off, and, by a sudden and simultaneous rush at all points, the Spaniards were utterly routed, and driven in confusion down the narrow path of the mountain. A party previously dispatched by the Araucanian commander had thrown, during the fight, a barricade of logs across the defile, and the fugitives, thus cut off from retreat, mostly perished. The governor, with a few well-mounted followers, succeeded in forcing his way through the enemy, and reached Concepcion in safety.

At that city, their arrival and report produced, in the words of Molina, "indescribable terror and consternation. There was not a family but had the loss of some relative to deplore. The alarm was greatly heightened by the news of the near approach of Lautaro. Villagran, who thought it impossible to defend the city, embarked precipitately the old men, the women, and the children on board of two ships that were then fortunately in the harbour, with orders to the captains to conduct part of them to Imperial and part to Valparaiso; while, with the rest of the inhabitants, he proceeded by land to Santiago."

Lautaro and his forces entered the deserted city, and, after collecting much valuable booty, left behind by the inhabitants at their hasty departure, entirely destroyed the place, levelling the fortress with the ground, and reducing the wooden buildings to ashes. Villagran was enabled to throw fresh troops and supplies into the besieged cities of Valdivia and Imperial; and Caupolican perceiving that the reduction of these places would involve great loss of time and men, drew off his army, and effected a junction with that under Lautaro.

CHAPTER III.

MORTALITY AMONG THE INDIANS.—DISPUTES RESPECTING THE
VICEROYALTY.—SECOND DESTRUCTION OF CONCEPTION.—
LAUTARO'S EXPEDITION AGAINST SANTIAGO.—DON
GARCIA DE MENDOZA.—INVASION OF ARAUCA-
NIA.—CAUPOLICAN'S DISCOMFITURE.
—EXPEDITION TO CHILOE.

The Spaniards in Imperial proceeded to plunder and lay waste the country in their vicinity, storing within the walls all the provisions on which they could lay their hands. In their excursions for this purpose, some of their number, being infected with the small-pox, communicated that disease to the natives, and a mortality more fearful than the sword of the enemy ensued. There was one province, the population of which amounted, it is said, "to twelve thousand persons, of which number, not more than one hundred escaped with life."

In accordance with the settlement enjoined by Valdivia, two officers of note, Alderete and one Francis Aiguirre, had precedence of Villagran in the government, but their absence at the time of the first viceroy's decease, left him without a rival. The return of Aiguirre to Chili threatened to involve the country in a civil war, but it was finally agreed to submit the question to the Royal Audience of Lima, a tribunal of supreme authority over the Spanish provinces of South America. In the course of the year (1555) Villagran was formally confirmed in his viceroyalty, and was specially instructed to rebuild the ruined city of Conception. He complied

with the order, although against his own better judgment, and had a second time the mortification of hearing that the Araucanians, under Lautaro, had made a descent upon the city, had slain or expelled the inhabitants, and had left the place a smoking waste of ruins.

This success encouraged the natives to renew their efforts against the colonies. Caupolican again invested Imperial and Valdivia, while Lautaro, with the most audacious self-confidence, undertook to march against Santiago. With an army of only six hundred men, he passed the Bio-bio, and proceeded northward, his appearance being hailed with acclamations by the natives of the districts which he traversed. Having crossed the river Mázule, and reached Promaucaia, his policy, hitherto peaceful, suddenly changed, and instead of endeavouring to gain over the inhabitants from the Spanish interest, he fell upon them with all the fury of revenge, and, after ravaging the neighbouring country, fortified himself upon the bank of the Rio Claro.

Villagran was at this time sick and disabled, but his former experience of Araucanian valour and determination, taught him to lose no time in strengthening the defences of the city. He also forthwith dispatched his son Pedro, with all his available force, to attack Lautaro at his encampment. A pretended flight on the part of the invaders drew the Spaniards within the enclosed space of the camp, where, rallying suddenly, the Araucanians routed them with great slaughter, only those who were mounted being enabled to escape. Three subsequent assaults proved equally unsuccessful, and Pedro encamped on the plain overlooked by the hostile fort.

Upon his recovery, the old governor, in the year 1556, undertook in person the expulsion of the intruders. He led an army of one hundred and ninety-six Spaniards, and a large force of Indians, by a secret route, upon Lautaro's camp, and succeeded in reaching it about day-break, without discovery. "Lautaro," says the Chilean historian, "who at that moment had retired to rest, after having been upon guard, as was his custom during the night, leaped from his bed at the first alarm of the sentinels, and ran to the entrenchments to observe the enemy. At the same time a dart, hurled by one of the Indian auxiliaries, pierced his heart, and he fell lifeless in the arms of his companions." The whole of his Araucanian warriors, unable to form and oppose any effectual resistance, were cut off to a man. They refused quarter, and fought to the last with desperate fury. The death of Lautaro was a severe blow to the Araucanian patriots; the toqui, Caupolican, disheartened by so

severe a reverse, drew off his forces from Imperial as soon as the news reached him, and took up a position where he might cut off further supplies by land from Peru. The esteem in which the young and valiant Lautaro was held by his countrymen, and the respect paid to his memory by the European soldiery, to whom he had proved so dangerous an enemy, are still commemorated in the works of contemporary poets and historians. "His enemies themselves," says Molina, "highly applauded his valour and military talent, and compared him to the most celebrated generals that have appeared in the world. They even called him the Chilian Hannibal, from a fancied resemblance between his character and that of the famous Carthaginian general, although, in some respects, it had a much greater similarity to that of Scipio."

When news of Valdivia's discomfiture and death reached Spain, Alderete received a commission from Philip II, as his successor; but, as he died before entering upon his office, it was conferred by the Peruvian viceroy, the Marquis of Canete, upon his own son, Don Garcia de Mendoza. With a considerable fleet, freighted with abundant provisions and stores, and accompanied by a numerous band of those military adventurers who were left unemployed by the cessation of the civil war, the new viceroy directed his course to the bay of Concepcion. He landed at the island of Quiriquina in the month of April, 1557, where, after driving out the native inhabitants, he fortified himself, resolved to await the arrival of his cavalry and additional recruits from Peru, before engaging in active operations upon the main.

Several Araucanian prisoners were set at liberty, with instructions to make known to the native authorities the disposition of the Spaniards to arrange terms for a permanent peace. At a general assembly of the ulmenes, it was concluded that no reliance could be placed upon these fair promises and specious proposals; but a wary and sagacious chief, named Millalauco, was commissioned to return an answer, and to take especial note of the number and equipment of the foreigners. With a proud and independent bearing, the envoy made his appearance before Don Garcia, and, with a protest that his people were in no wise intimidated by the apparent force of the Spanish armament, expressed the readiness of the ulmenes to conclude an honourable peace. Upon hearing his report, the Araucanians made diligent preparations for war, and established a regular system of espionage on the movements of the Spaniards.

On the night of August 6th, Don Garcia landed his first detachment, and effected a hasty fortification on Mount Pinto, overlooking the bay. Three days afterwards, Caupolican, with a great force, attacked the place. Although the fort was well defended by cannon, the Indians did not hesitate to charge the battery; and such was their eagerness and self-devotion, that many, scaling the parapet, threw themselves within the enclosure, and died fighting with fury to the last. Tucapel, in person, was among those who thus exposed their lives, but his great personal strength enabled him to escape the fate of his companions. The assault proved unsuccessful, and after a whole day's fighting, Caupolican was obliged to withdraw. Immediately after this engagement, an army of recruits, including a great body of well-armed cavalry, landed on the island.

The general now prepared for an expedition into the heart of the country, and transported his troops in boats across the Bio-bio. Caupolican was unable to obstruct his march into Arauco, and after being completely defeated in one engagement, was able only to harass the invaders by skirmishing attacks upon the flank and rear. To add to the rage and indignation of the Araucanians, Don Garcia had the barbarity to cut off the hands of a distinguished prisoner, named Galverino, and dismiss him as a warning to his countrymen. At Melipuru, the Spanish commander, by torturing several prisoners, vainly endeavoured to extort information of the movements of Caupolican. On the day following, the Araucanian general again drew up his army for a pitched battle. The result was a second defeat; the strong body of cavalry, with the weapons of Europeans, proving too great an advantage over native valour and endurance. Twelve chiefs, among them the brave and unfortunate Galverino, were hanged by order of Don Garcia, before his army proceeded on its march.

In the province of Tucapel, the successful invader built and garrisoned a fort, and laid out a city, which he named Cancte. Leaving Alonzo Reynoso in command, he then returned to Imperial, confident that the Araucanians were at last effectually humbled and reduced. From Imperial a body of troops, with abundance of provisions and stores, was speedily dispatched to defend and support the new city. The Araucanians attacked this party upon the road, and possessed themselves of the booty; but the Spaniards, although completely routed and put to flight, succeeded in reaching Canete in safety. Caupolican, within a few days after the arrival of this reinforcement, assaulted the place, but was unable to force entrenchments

substantially constructed, and defended by artillery. His troops, it is said, "supported a continual fire for five hours, now scaling the rampart, now pulling up or burning the palisades."

Endeavouring subsequently to obtain an entrance into the fort by means of intriguing with a native Chilian in the Spanish service, the toqui was entirely outwitted. The double traitor, while he pretended to have arranged a plan for the admittance of the besiegers at an unguarded hour, in reality kept the Spanish commandant fully informed of the proposed attack; and cannon, heavily loaded with grape, were so brought to bear as completely to command the entrance. At the appointed time, the gate was left open, and the Araucanians, anticipating an easy victory, poured into the fort. As the fire opened upon their crowded ranks, and the Spaniards, fully prepared, fell upon them with great fury, a total rout ensued. Caupolican himself escaped, and fled to the mountains, but his army was utterly destroyed. The unfortunate chief never recovered from this disaster; Alonzo Reynoso, after long search, by the treachery of a native, discovered his place of retreat, and dispatched a party who succeeded in surprising and taking him captive. The royal prisoner was immediately ordered by the Spanish commander to be impaled and shot to death with arrows, a sentence which was accordingly carried into effect.

Don Garcia was at this time absent on his celebrated expedition to the Archipelago of Chiloe. He set out from Conception, which he had directed to be rebuilt, in the year 1558, for the purpose of making a campaign against the Cunches. Arriving among these people, whose character and condition was as yet unknown to the Spaniards, his designs were frustrated, and his attention diverted from further schemes of occupation by a sagacious manœuvre, for which the Cunches were indebted to an exiled Araucanian. This man, named Tunconobal, advised them to conceal all signs of wealth, and to impress the Spaniards with an idea that the country and people were utterly poor and destitute. Tunconobal was therefore sent, with nine comrades, to meet the Spanish commander. "Cloathing himself and companions in wretched rags, he appeared with every mark of fear before that officer, and after complimenting him in rude terms, presented him with a basket containing some roasted lizards and wild fruits."*

Hopeless of obtaining any booty from such a people, Don Garcia

procured a guide to conduct him southward. The man whom the Cunches furnished for this service, in accordance with his instructions, led the army through the most wild and inhospitable part of the country, and made his escape, after involving the way-worn and famishing soldiers in apparently inextricable difficulties among desert and precipitous mountains. At the close of the month of January, 1559, they came in sight of the beautiful Archipelago of Chiloe, and the brilliant spectacle of its fertile islands, teeming with an industrious population, and the land-locked waters, covered with canoes and sail-boats, gladdened their eyes, and promised rest and refreshment after their toilsome journeyings. The natives received the Spaniards with the greatest kindness and hospitality, and, after their strength was recruited, furnished them with provisions, and a guide to direct them upon an easy route homeward. The return-march through the provinces of the Huilliches, was accomplished with little or no difficulty, as the road lay through a level country, where provisions could easily be obtained.

CHAPTER IV.

CAUPOLICAN THE YOUNGER.—SIGNAL SUCCESSES OF THE SPAN-
IARDS.—WARLIKE OPERATIONS OF ANTIQUENU.—OF PAIL-
LAMACHU.—RECOVERY OF ARAUCANIA BY THE
NATIVES.—PEACE CONCLUDED IN 1641.

UPON the death of Caupolican, the assembled ulmenes of Araucania elected his eldest son to the vacant dictatorship. Tucapel was made vice-toqui, and an army was instantly raised to prosecute the war against the murderous intruders. In the first engagements, the Spaniards met with signal defeat, and Don Garcia, having marched from Concepcion to Imperial, found himself closely besieged by Caupolican the younger, with his whole army. The Araucanians were unable to force the entrenchments, and, after various assaults, in which the young chief exhibited the most astonishing prowess and personal courage, they were compelled to raise the siege.

In the ensuing campaigns of this year (1559) the Spaniards steadily gained ground, as the native forces were continually growing weaker,

while the arrival of recruits by sea as constantly increased the resources of the former. The fatal battle of Quipeo crushed for the time all the hopes of the Araucanians. Their last army was cut to pieces; their bravest and most influential officers were slain; among others, Tucapel, Marimutu, Colocolo, and Lincoyan; and the brave Caurpolican, to avoid falling into the hands of his enemies, perished by his own hand.

Don Garcia now rebuilt the forts in Arauco, Angol, and other provinces. He also reopened the long-neglected gold and silver mines, and sent a body of troops, under Pedro Castillo, across the Andes, to extend and confirm the Spanish authority in the east. That officer founded the cities of St. Juan and Mendoza on the eastern slope of the great mountain range.

Francis Villagran being reinstated in the viceroyalty of Chili, Don Garcia returned to Peru, having, as was generally believed, completely established the Spanish power in the former country. The Araucanians, notwithstanding their terrible reverses, still cherished the hope of liberty, and having chosen a distinguished warrior, named Antiguenu, for their toqui, retreated to the marshy wilderness of Lumaco. In this secure place of concealment, Antiguenu devoted himself to disciplining the youth enlisted to take the place of the veteran warriors who had perished in the late disastrous war, and soon began to commit depredations on the more exposed Spanish settlements. When his force had increased sufficiently to justify open hostilities, he fortified himself upon Mount Mariguenu, the scene of the brilliant exploit of Lautaro, and had the good fortune to be attacked in this stronghold by a Spanish army, under a son of the viceroy. The Araucanians were signally successful, and the Spanish force was almost entirely destroyed.

Without delay, Antiguenu now fell upon and reduced the fortress of Canete, and dispatched a large army to make a new attempt upon the city of Concepcion. At the same time, he laid siege to the fort at Arauco, then in command of Lorenzo Bernal. The city proved too strong to be taken by assault, and too well provisioned to be successfully blockaded, but the obnoxious fort at Arauco was taken and destroyed. Thus far the Indians were successful, but, (in the year 1564,) as Antiguenu was upon his march against Angol, he was compelled to engage the whole Spanish army, under Bernal, who attacked him upon the bank of the Bio-bio, near the mouth of the Vergosa. The brave toqui was slain, and his followers were destroyed or dispersed.

From this period until the close of the sixteenth century, notwithstanding the determined spirit and continual efforts of the Araucanians, the Spanish colonists steadily gained ground. Among the succession of famous native chiefs who held the office of toqui and conducted the more important campaigns, the names of Paillataru, Cayancaru, and Cadequala, were the most distinguished. Notwithstanding the resistance of the aborigines, the forts at Canete, Arauco, &c., were restored, and a new post was established at Quiepo. The Chiloan Archipelago was also brought under subjection, and the peaceable islanders submitted to foreign tyranny and exactions, with scarcely an effort at resistance.

In the year 1596 the tide of Spanish successes began to turn. The native ruler, at this period, was the celebrated Paillamachu, a very aged but active and energetic chief. The Spanish viceroy was Don Martin Loyola, a nephew of St. Ignatius, founder of the powerful order of the Jesuits. Paillamachu, in the old places of retreat among the morasses of Lunaco, had for years been engaged in recruiting and disciplining his shattered forces, and, in 1596, commenced a most vexatious system of petty warfare against the Spaniards, making forays upon their smaller settlements, for plunder, and for the exercise and instruction of his inexperienced youth.

Loyola could effect nothing against such an enemy, and at last devoted his attention to the fortification and strengthening the more important military posts, wisely deeming that these might eventually be the only places of refuge against the indomitable Araucanians. Upon his return northward, after a visit for this purpose to Imperial, in the month of November, 1598, the viceroy encamped in the valley of Caralva. Supposing himself far from the reach of the enemy, he had dismissed the greater part of his escort. Paillamachu had, however, kept upon his track, with two hundred warriors, and seized the opportunity to fall upon the encampment. Loyola and all his attendants perished. Simultaneously with this event, by the admirably concerted arrangements of the toqui, the natives throughout Araucania, as well as the Cunches and Huilliches, rose in mass. "Every Spaniard who had the misfortune to be found without the garrisons was put to death; and the cities of Osorno, Valdivia, Villarica, Imperial, Canete, Angol, Coya, and the fortress at Arauco, were all at once invested with a close siege. Not content with this, Paillamachu, without loss of time, crossed the Bio-bio, burned the cities of Concepcion and Chillan, laid waste

the provinces in their dependence, and returned loaded with spoil to his country."*

During the three years succeeding, all the Spanish settlements in Araucania were destroyed, and the whole country south of the Bio-bio was regained by the natives. A singular mixture of races resulted from the adoption by the Araucanian conquerors of the prisoners taken at the reduction of the principal towns. It appears that the half-breeds who thereafter formed a portion of the independent population of Chili, were the most implacable enemies of the Europeans. From this time until the year 1618, the Bio-bio constituted the boundary between the hostile races. Many ineffectual attempts were made by the Spanish viceroys to recover the lost territory, and equally futile proposals for the establishment of a peaceful communication, for the purpose of missionary enterprise, were set on foot, in conformity with the wishes of the zealous but bigoted monarch of Spain.

From 1618 to 1632 the office of toqui was held by the warlike chieftains Lientur and Putapielion, who not only maintained possession of their own territory, but made continual inroads upon the Spanish settlements, bearing off prisoners, horses, and other valuable booty. The Araucanians were at this time habituating themselves to the art of riding, and to the use of fire-arms, as far as they could be procured. The war continued until the year 1640, when the viceroyalty of Chili was conferred upon Don Francisco Zuniga, Marquis of Baydes, who had before done good service for Spain in the wars of the Low Countries. This officer perceived that little was to be gained by continued hostilities with an enemy whom no reverses could dispirit—no severity subdue. The Spanish army was greatly reduced, although from time to time reinforced by fresh arrivals from Peru; and the Araucanians, in the midst of the misery and destitution consequent upon such long and bloody contests, appeared no less determined than when they first made a stand against the invasion by Valdivia. Always well versed in military tactics, they had now become far more dangerous opponents, from their acquisition of horses and from their experience of European warfare.

Immediately on his arrival, the marquis took measures to procure a personal interview with Lincopielion, the toqui, and preliminary arrangements for a peace was agreed upon. A great meeting was held, for the purpose of ratifying and concluding the treaty, at

* Molina's History of Chili.

Quillin, in Puren, on the 6th of January, 1641. Among the usual provisions for exchange of prisoners, terms of trade, personal security, &c., the Spanish viceroy took the precaution to insert a proviso that no foreigners, of any other nation, should be allowed to land upon the Araucanian coast. This stipulation was suggested by former efforts of the Dutch to avail themselves of the cooperation of the native inhabitants, in their attempts against the colonies in Chili. In 1643, a Dutch fleet from Brazil made the harbour of Valdivia, and fortifications were commenced in hopes that a foothold could be thus secured, and the assistance of the natives obtained in maintaining it. The good faith of the Araucanians towards the Spaniards rendered this scheme abortive.

CHAPTER V.

RENEWAL OF WAR.—PEACE OF 1773.—PRESENT CONDITION OF THE ARAUCANIANS.—THE REVOLUTION IN CHILI.—THE CARRERAS.—REESTABLISHMENT OF SPANISH POWER.—INTERVENTION OF SAN MARTIN.—CIVIL WARS.—ATTEMPT OF RAMON FREYRE. REBELLION UNDER VIDAURRE.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

AFTER about fifteen years of peace and prosperity, difficulties again arose in Araucania, and both colonists and natives suffered all the miseries of a ten years' war. In the earlier campaigns, during this season of hostility, the Toqui Clentaru was signally successful. He defeated the Spaniards in a pitched battle, seized the forts at Arauco, Colcura, St. Pedro, and other posts; and crossing the Bio-bio, destroyed the city of Chillan, with the forts of St. Christopher and Estancia del Rey. Nothing but the most meagre outline of the prominent events of this period has been preserved in history.

During nearly fifty years of quiet which succeeded, the Spaniards encroached farther and farther upon the territory and liberty of the natives, whose dissatisfaction finally led to an outbreak. No permanent peace was effected before the year 1773. During this long interval, the growth of the settlements was retarded, and an enormous

expense incurred by the government. Useless campaigns, which resulted in loss to both parties, and in which no definite or permanent advantage was gained on either side, furnish but a wearisome theme for the historian. Under the government of Francisco Xavier de Morales, a lasting peace was concluded. The toqui, Curignancu, having consented to a conference, to be held, in accordance with his demands, at St. Jago, exhibited a skill and firmness in negotiation equal to his bravery in the field. The old treaties were renewed, and, in spite of much opposition, it was agreed that thereafter a resident minister from Araucania should be allowed at St. Jago.

At the close of the eighteenth century, the only possessions of the Spaniards south of the Bio-bio, were the fortification of Valdivia, situated in the Cunchese territory, the island of Juan Fernandez, and the Archipelago of Chiloe. In the northern provinces of Chili, their settlements increased and prospered, while the Araucanians remained in peaceable and triumphant possession of their original territory, a possession maintained and secured by more than a century of hostilities. No uncivilized nation, of equal numbers and resources, has ever in the history of the world maintained so protracted a struggle with European armies, provided with all the means and appliances of modern warfare. It is remarkable to what a degree these brave and chivalrous people differed from the generality of the aboriginal Americans in their system of strategy. Their campaigns did not consist merely of a series of secret manoeuvres and midnight surprises, nor did they offer battle only in situations which would furnish ready places for retreat, or supply coverts from which the warrior might discharge his weapons in safety.

In the words of Robertson, "they attack their enemies in the open field; their troops are disposed in regular order, and their battalions advance to action, not only with courage, but with discipline. The North Americans, although many of them have substituted the fire-arms of Europe in place of their bows and arrows, are notwithstanding still attached to their ancient method of making war, and carry it on according to their own system; but the Chilians resemble the warlike nations of Europe and Asia in their military operations."

Such ardent feelings of patriotism as have ever distinguished the Araucanians, are naturally associated with strong attachment to the customs and manners of life peculiar to their ancestors. This is particularly noticeable in the doubtful success met with by the Catholic missionaries whose efforts, from time to time, have been directed to

their conversion; and in the patriarchal simplicity which is still conspicuous in their government and domestic relations. The principal addition to their resources, and consequent change in their occupation and pursuits, consists in the introduction of horses and cattle, to the raising of which their country is well adapted.

The European colonies of Chili remained subject to Spain until the period of confusion consequent upon Napoleon's peninsular campaigns; a period originating that series of revolutions, which resulted in the loss to the parent-country of all her American continental possessions. By the direct influence of the Count de la Conquista, the captain-general of Chili, in September of 1810, an assembly of landed proprietors was summoned for the purpose of concerting measures for an overthrow of the Spanish power. A junta, having for its president the count himself, was accordingly formed, and an election was ordered to take place in the spring ensuing. Entering upon their office, not without some bloodshed, the members of the independent congress proceeded to annul the powers of the court of royal audience, and to enact laws securing liberty and equality to the inhabitants.

Three brothers, named Carrera, who had taken a prominent part in opposing the partial system of apportioning the electoral districts, after that abuse had been corrected by the congress, fomented a new disturbance, and, gaining over to their views a considerable party, succeeded in dissolving, first, the original junta, and afterwards the congress itself, leaving the entire administration of affairs in the hands of a council of three, among whom was one of their own number.

Such a usurpation of power could hardly be expected to remain undisturbed at a period when the South American colonies were just throwing off the fetters with which they had so long been burdened. The disaffection of the inhabitants, and the dissensions which weakened the power of the self-created rulers of Chili, invited the interposition of the Peruvian authorities, and the viceroy of Lima accordingly dispatched an army, under General Pareja, to seize upon the country. That officer, in 1813, marched into Chili, and, gaining over the troops at Concepcion, proceeded southward. He was attacked at his encampment, on the night of April 12th, by the patriot army, under one of the Carreras, and met with such loss that he withdrew to Chillan.

General Carrera, continuing to carry matters with a high hand,

and making use of his military commission to commit many acts of tyranny and oppression, was deposed from his command, and the office of commander-in-chief was bestowed upon the celebrated Colonel O'Higgins. With his brother Luis Carrera, he was shortly afterwards taken prisoner by the royalists. The patriots, under their new general, effected little or nothing until the spring of 1814, when such signal advantages were gained over the invaders, that a treaty was negotiated, by the terms of which the Peruvian forces were to be withdrawn. Meantime, Chili was distracted by new revolutions and disturbances. The junta was dissolved, and Lastra, the governor of Valparaiso, was created dictator, only to be displaced by the intrigues and influence of the Carreras, who had made their escape from captivity.

The royalist general neglected to comply with the treaty, and maintained his position until autumn, when powerful reinforcements having arrived from Peru, he overran the whole country, and compelled the rebellious provinces to submit once more to Spanish oppression. "The inhabitants became the victims of royal vengeance; arrests, imprisonments, punishments, and banishments followed, filling the country with terror, suffering, and horror. More than one hundred patriots were exiled to the desert island of Juan Fernandez, three hundred and eighty miles from the coast."*

For the final establishment of their independence, the Chilians were indebted to foreign assistance. An army of republicans, under General San Martin, governor of the province of Cuyo, in the early part of the year 1817, was marched across the Andes, and, joining the patriots, annihilated the Spanish power in Chili for ever. The subsequent campaigns of the combined armies of that country and of Buenos Ayres, especially those connected with the history of the establishment of Peruvian independence, will be found briefly narrated in another portion of our history.

In the year 1825, a constitution was framed by the congress of Chili, in accordance with the provisions of which the country has been subsequently governed.

O'Higgins remained at the head of affairs in Chili for the term of six years from the period of his elevation, April, 1817. He was generally esteemed, both for his military services, and his good intentions in the conduct of the civil administration; but the unsettled condition of the country in those early days of the republic, required

* Niles' History of South America and Mexico.

a firmer hand in the correction of abuses, and a more thorough oversight and control over subordinate officials than were exhibited by the patriotic, but negligent director. Upon his deposition he retired to Peru, where he was received with honour and distinction, and where his services in the cause of republicanism were rewarded by an appropriation from the government.

For several years after O'Higgins' departure, Chili was in a disturbed and tumultuous state. The successive presidents were unable to maintain order, or to carry out their plans for giving stability to the government. In 1829-30, civil war fairly broke out, the powers of legislation being claimed respectively by the congress, with the president, and by a junta appointed by deputies sent in to Santiago from the various disaffected towns and districts. The army, under General Prieto, favoured the junta, and in April, 1830, the congressional forces, under General Ramon Freyre, who had been O'Higgins' successor in the directorship, were completely defeated. At a general election, held immediately after the engagement, Prieto was chosen president of the republic.

Under the vigorous administration of this officer, who, by the advice and assistance of his minister, the celebrated Diego Portales, avoided the errors and consequent weakness of his predecessors, the powers of government were wonderfully strengthened and established. The organization of a militia of the country opposed an effectual check to the enterprises of ambitious military adventurers; judicious financial measures revived the public credit; and a consistent course of firm, and necessarily severe administration of the laws, gave security to life and property.

The year 1836 was memorable for an unsuccessful attempt by the ex-director, Ramon Freyre, to bring about a revolution. He sailed from Lima for Chiloe, intending to disembark upon the southern sea-coast of Chili, but the government, having notice of his designs, anticipated the movement. A force was sent to Chiloe, and Freyre, with his ships, fell into the hands of the Chilians.

The disaffection of Colonel Vidaurre, second in command in the army of Chili, produced more disastrous results. The first demonstration of rebellion was the seizure of the minister, Portales, as he was reviewing the troops; an outrage immediately followed by civil war. Vidaurre attacked Valparaiso, but the city was well defended, and he saw his followers defeated and scattered. The unfortunate Portales fell a victim to the disappointed rage of his

captors. He had refused to lend himself to the views of the revolutionists, although warned that his life depended upon his decision. When the fate of the day was decided, the captive minister was shot, and, the first fire not fully taking effect, was dispatched by bayonets. His body was found lying in the road when the insurgent forces had dispersed. The principal fomenters of this outbreak paid the forfeit of their rebellion with their lives.

The natural resources of the Chilean republic are great. The soil is exceedingly fruitful, and the peculiar conformation of the country renders a system of irrigation extensively available. The mines of the precious metals are rich and productive, while those of copper are among the most valuable ever discovered. Good harbours and a favourable geographical position afford facilities for an extensive commerce. Such advantages, combined with a delightful variety of climate and scenery, render Chili a desirable place of residence, but its growth has been hardly in proportion to its resources. It appears that the government has lately held out new inducements to immigrants from other countries, and has offered facilities for their establishment, well calculated to attract the enterprising and industrious.

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FLORIDA.

CHAPTER I.

JUAN PONCE DE LEON.—HIS VOYAGE IN SEARCH OF THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH.—DISCOVERY OF FLORIDA.—HIS SECOND EXPEDITION.—HIS DEATH.—DISASTROUS ATTEMPTS OF AYLLON AND NARVAEZ.—HERNANDO DE SOTO.—APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF CUBA.—HIS EXPEDITION TO FLORIDA.—MARCH TO THE INTERIOR.—CONTESTS WITH THE INDIANS.

THE beautiful name of Florida, restricted, for more than a century, to a single province, and now to a single state, was, in the early history of America, applied to a vast extent of country, embracing nearly all the eastern portion of the continent, between Canada and Mexico. In narrating the settlement of the West Indies, mention has been made of Juan Ponce de Leon, conqueror and governor of the island of Porto Rico. This man, in addition to the ambition and rapacity common to all his class, possessed, it should seem, rather more than their usual share of fancy and credulity. Deprived, in advanced age, of his hardly-earned command, his imagination became much excited by the accounts of certain old Indians, who averred that far in the north was a land abounding in gold, and possessing a well of such miraculous virtue as to restore youth to those who bathed in it. To discover this land of treasure, and to regain the youth which should enable him to enjoy it, became at once the object of his ambition. "Nothing can better illustrate the gorgeous and dreamy imagination of the age, than the fact that this worldly, practical, and experienced man now embarked a great portion of his wealth in such a chimerical enterprise."

With three ships, manned, under a leader so redoubted and on an

errand so alluring, by ready volunteers, on the 3d of March, 1512, he set sail from Porto Rico. Touching at Guanahani, and making inquiries without success, for the desired region, he held on to the north-west, and on the 27th, came in sight of land. On the 2d of April, he anchored near the mouth of what is now called the St. John's river, and landing, on the following day, took possession of the country in the name of the Spanish sovereigns. It was Palm Sunday (Pascua Florida), on account of which, as well as of the gay and flowery appearance of the country, he bestowed on it the name of Florida. For several weeks he stood southward along the shore, frequently landing, and searching in vain for his fountain of youth and the gold with which the fabled land abounded. On the 14th of June, he set sail for home, and arrived, after tedious navigation, the victim of disappointment, in Porto Rico. Thence the old cavalier repaired to Spain, where he underwent some raillery from the wits about court, but obtained the appointment of governor of the newly-discovered region, and finally regained the command of Porto Rico.

At that island he remained until 1521, when, stimulated by the renown of Cortes, he again fitted out two vessels, and made a fresh voyage to the land of his discovery. With a considerable force, he landed on the coast, and was soon engaged in combat with the Indians, who bravely defended their country against the invaders. Wounded by an arrow, the governor was carried on board his ship, and sailed for Cuba, where, soon after his arrival, he expired from the effect of his wound, aggravated by mental uneasiness and disappointment. A Latin epitaph chronicled his name and exploits:

"Mole sub hac fortis requiescant ossa Leonis,

Qui vicit factis nomina magna suis."

Beneath this mound rest the bones of the valiant Lion,

Who in his deeds surpassed the names of the famous.

Subsequent expeditions to this land of natural beauty and imaginary expectation, for a long period, present but a repetition of sufferings and disasters. Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, sailing, with three hundred men, to what is now known as South Carolina, was cut off, with nearly all his command, by the hostile Indians. Pamphilo de Narvaez (defeated and captured by Cortes at Cempoalla, in Mexico) in 1528, with four hundred men, landed on the western coast of Florida, and penetrated, in the vain hope of treasure, through the marshes, to Appalachee. A third of his command perished of hun-

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WRECK OF NARVAZ AND HIS COMPANIONS.

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ger, or were slain by the Indians, on their return, and the remainder, losing their way, were finally stopped by an arm of the sea.

In this extremity, the almost hopeless task was undertaken of constructing vessels wherewith to regain their ships—of transmuting, in fact, the relics of a cavalcade into a squadron, if possible, forlorn still. Stirrups, spurs, and every article of iron, wrought on a rude forge, were converted into nails; the tails and manes of the horses, twisted with fibres of the palm, were used for rigging, and their skins for water-casks. The shirts of the soldiers, cut open and sewed together, furnished sails, and maize for provision was won, by fighting, from the Indian villages. By these ingenious devices, (the same adopted by Gonzalo Pizarro in his lamentable expedition to the Amazon) five miserable barks were patched together, in each of which forty or fifty men, closely crowded, put to sea. All were dispersed and swallowed up by tempests; and five men, the sole survivors, escaped to shore. These took up their march to the westward, and, passing from tribe to tribe, often detained as slaves, they crossed the Mississippi, and after a *journey of ten years*, succeeded in reaching the Spanish settlements in Mexico. A more wonderful or arduous feat of travel, all circumstances considered, is hardly recorded in history.

An expedition more memorable and disastrous still was that of Hernando de Soto, already mentioned in the account of the Conquest of Peru. That famous cavalier, whose whole estate, on reaching the New World, says one of his companions, "was no more but a Sword and Buckler," had returned to Spain with his thirst for achievement yet unallayed, and with a vast treasure, enabling him to provide ample means for its gratification. Alvar Nuncz, one of the survivors last mentioned, had applied to the crown for authority to make conquests in the vast region he had traversed. This demonstration, combined with his reserved and mysterious demeanour, was supposed to indicate the certainty of treasures locked up in their unknown recesses. De Soto accordingly made a similar application, and received the offices of governor and captain-general, both of Cuba and Florida, with authority for almost unlimited conquest and discovery.

The wealth acquired by the plunder of Peru was lavishly devoted to his new enterprise. Nine hundred and fifty Spaniards, with a company of brave Portuguese, who had served in the wars of Africa, were enrolled under his standard, and in April, 1538, he sailed, with his armament, from San Lucar. He passed nearly a year in Cuba,

making fresh preparations for his enterprise, and finally, on the 18th of May, 1539, with nine vessels, set sail from Havana. In a few days he landed at Tampa Bay, where he was soon involved in war with Hiriga, a native cacique, who had suffered much wrong at the hands of Narvaez. Among the hostile Indians he discovered one Juan Ortiz, a soldier of that commander, who for many years had been captive with them, and who proved exceedingly useful as an interpreter. By his good offices and his acquaintance with the country, several desirable alliances with native chiefs were effected; and the army, as it marched into the interior, was abundantly supplied by them with provisions.

The town of Ochili, situated on an ancient mound, and containing five hundred houses, was taken by surprise, and the invaders proceeded to Vitachuco, the capital of a province of the same name. For three days an apparently friendly intercourse was maintained with the inhabitants; but on the fourth, as the Spaniards were quitting the town, the chief, who marched by the side of De Soto, suddenly snatched the sword from his sheath, and attempted to run him through the body. His warriors, (to the number of six thousand, we are told) posted in the wood, at this signal, rushed on their guests and attacked them furiously; but the latter, assisted by their native allies, after fighting nearly all day, repulsed them with much loss. Marching onward, they took the town of Osiehili (Tallahassee) after a sharp fight, and thence proceeded to Appalachee. In a swamp before this place, the natives, gathered in great numbers, gave them battle, but were defeated, and the town was won. Here the Spanish general took up his winter-quarters, his vessels being brought around into the Appalachee river.

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CHAPTER II.

DELUSIVE REPORT OF AN INDIAN.—DISASTROUS MARCH THROUGH THE INTERIOR.—KING TUSCALOOSA.—HIS STATE AND HAUGHTINESS.—HIS SECRET TREACHERY.—GREAT BATTLE AT MAUVILA.—CONFLAGRATION OF THE TOWN AND VICTORY OF THE SPANIARDS.—MUTINOUS SPIRIT OF THE CAVALIERS.—DESPONDENCY OF DE SOTO.—HE RESUMES THE MARCH.

A good harbour, with indications of gold, was reported by an exploring party to exist an hundred and eighty miles westward; and a young Indian prisoner also averred that in his country, to the eastward, was an abundance of the precious metal. "Whereupon," (says one of the Portuguese who wrote a history of the expedition) "he described the manner how that Gold was dug, how it was melted and refined, as if he had seen it done a hundred times, or as if the Devil had taught him; insomuch that all who understood the manner of working in the Mines, averred that it was impossible for him to speak so exactly of it, without having seen the same; and so the Relation of that *Indian* passed for a real truth, because of the circumstances wherewith he confirmed it." Depending on this strangely fallacious testimony, in March, 1540, the Spanish force again took up its march on an enterprise perhaps the most disastrous in American history. No gold was found, in many months of wearisome travel through marsh and forest, and great suffering was continually endured by the explorers and inflicted on the natives.

Many of the caciques, through whose country the invaders passed, were subdued, and their people reduced to slavery. Chained and loaded down like beasts of burden, these unhappy creatures often perished on the way, of fatigue, of hunger, and the bitter cold of winter. The Spaniards also suffered great extremities; and one of them flung away a bag-full of beautiful pearls, rather than submit to the drudgery of carrying them further. A loathsome disease, occasioned by the want of salt, presently appeared among them, and eventually carried off sixty of their number. Gradually changing their course to the north and west, the invaders, crossing the Cher-

okee country, by the 1st of September, came to the domain of a chieftain named Tuscaloosa, of gigantic size and desperate courage, who ruled over a great territory. A river and even a state capital still bear his name, which, probably, according to frequent custom, was identical with that of his province.

This powerful chief dispatched his son to the Spanish commander, with a friendly message and an invitation to his court. Seated before his door, surrounded by attendants, those of the highest quality being nearest his person, he received the strangers. A huge umbrella, of deer-skin, was held over his head, and the Spaniards could not avoid admiring his state, his gravity, and the splendid proportions of his frame. Strange and wonderful as the fiery evolutions of cavalry, studiously displayed, must have appeared to him, he maintained a composure as rigid as that of the inca, under similar circumstances, nor would he even rise to meet De Soto, though he seated that commander by his side, and addressed him with courteous civility. When the discoverers again took up their march, he accompanied them, mounted on a strong war-horse, and guided them to his chief capital of Mauvila or Maubila, (whence, doubtless, the present name of Mobile,) situated at the junction of the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers. It consisted of some eighty houses, of immense size, some of them sufficing to lodge fifteen hundred persons, and was surrounded by a strong rampart of living trees, closely planted and impenetrably interwoven.

All the fair show of amity and hospitality which the chief had displayed, were but a cover, it seems, for deadly treachery and hostility. Resolved to exterminate the invaders, he had issued secret charge to all his subjects to repair to Mauvila, and no less than ten thousand warriors, if we may trust the Spanish account, were assembled in the houses. As soon as the strangers arrived there, Tuscaloosa, abruptly quitting his guests, entered his palace, and to many requests, through Ortiz, that he would rejoin them, returned no reply. Dinner being finally ready, a more peremptory invitation was sent in, on which an Indian chief, his eyes flashing fire, stepped forth from the royal premises, and cried fiercely, "Who are these robbers! these vagabonds! who keep calling to my chief, Tuscaloosa, 'come out! come out!' with as little reverence as if he were one of them? By the Sun and Moon, this insolence is no longer to be borne. Let us cut them to pieces on the spot, and put an end to their wickedness and tyranny." As he bent his bow, a Spaniard cut

him down, and forthwith swarms of warriors, armed to the teeth, poured out of every lodging.

A furious battle, within the town, immediately commenced, the soldiers, under their redoubted leader, fighting valiantly, and striving to hold out till the main body of their comrades should come up. With some loss, they finally made their way out of the rampart, where they were joined by an addition to their forces. For three hours the contest raged with great violence without, the Spaniards, charging with their lances, now forcing the enemy back to the gate, and now in turn repulsed by missiles from the rampart. Two hundred cavaliers finally dismounted, and, leading a desperate charge, forced their way into the town. The houses were fired, and in the midst of a terrific conflagration, the battle raged with unabated fury—the Spaniards, choked with heat and smoke, quenching their thirst from a small pool, half blood, half water, near the palisade. The rear-guard, under Luis de Moscoso, hastened by the sound of the conflict, at last came up, and after a desperate struggle, lasting for nine hours, victory fell to the Spaniards.

The whole town had been destroyed by the conflagration, in which great numbers of Indians also perished—among them, it is probable, Tuscaloosa himself, for nothing more was heard of him. Twenty-five hundred bodies were scattered without the walls. Eighty-two of the Spaniards had fallen, and seventeen hundred wounds were distributed among the survivors. All their baggage and treasure was destroyed, and their slaves had escaped. Suffering grievously for want of surgical aid, they dressed their wounds (like the soldiers of Cortes in his Mexican campaigns) with the fat of the dead Indians. To do them justice, they treated with kindness the wounded and dying enemy, of whom great numbers lay around. No further sign of hostility appeared, for the Tuscaloosan warriors had mostly perished or been disabled in the battle.

Lingering amid the ruins of Mauvila, De Soto heard of the arrival of ships upon the coast, supposed to be his own fleet, which he had ordered to rendezvous at Pensacola. To his despair and indignation, he overheard certain of the cavaliers propose to seize them and proceed to Mexico. This mutinous disposition, combined with former losses and misfortunes, completely overcame his spirit. "All his toils seemed to have been in vain; the sacrifice of his immense fortune, and the fatigues and perils of his journey, had been incurred for nothing. There was no treasure to send to Cuba to attract fresh

volunteers; he became a moody and disappointed man; but in his secret soul resolved never to return without having accomplished something commensurate to his former fame and anticipations. But the fire of ambitious enthusiasm was burnt out, or quenched by disappointment. 'He no longer pretended to strike out any grand undertaking; but, stung with secret disappointment, went recklessly wandering from place to place, without order or object, as if careless of time and life, and only anxious to finish his existence.'" On the 18th of November, 1540, overawing the seditious by the sternness of his demeanour, he again set forth for the interior.

CHAPTER III.

DE SOTO MARCHES WESTWARD.—LOSSES FROM INDIAN HOSTILITY.—REACHES AND CROSSES THE MISSISSIPPI.—MARCHES TO ARKANSAS.—RETURNS TO THE MISSISSIPPI.—HIS DEATH AND BURIAL.—FATE OF THE SURVIVORS.—THEIR VOYAGE TO MEXICO.

CROSSING the Black Warrior and Tombigbee rivers, at the end of thirty days, De Soto arrived at the village of Chicaza (Chickasaw), where, for two months, he encamped, on friendly terms with the surrounding tribes. At length, to avenge certain injuries, the latter, by night, made a fierce attack upon his quarters, which they fired with burning arrows. They were finally repulsed, but the Spaniards lost forty men and fifty horses in the fight and conflagration, and during the remainder of the winter, the survivors, their lodgings destroyed, suffered terribly from cold. On the 1st of April, they again took up their march, and on the way lost fifteen more in storming a strong Indian fortress, named *Alibamo*, defended by a great force of the enemy. Still pushing their toilsome journey through desolate and marshy regions, the Spaniards at last came upon a mighty river, which Soto called the Rio Grande, and which is now known as the Mississippi.

Here the invaders took a village, named Chisca, to the intense rage of its cacique, a little, withered, diminutive old man, who, however, had been a mighty warrior in his youth, and who now ruled

over a great province. Within three hours, four thousand warriors, we are told, assembled at his command, and Soto, fain to appease him by yielding up his plunder and prisoners, procured, by this act of prudence, a grant of comfortable quarters. After some time spent in recruiting their strength, the Spaniards resumed their march along the river, and having found a convenient crossing-place, employed themselves for twenty days in building boats. A great number of Indians, who annoyed them by occasional attacks, now appeared on the river. "It was a pleasant sight," says one of the spectators, "to see them in their *canoes*, which were most neatly made, and very large, with their Pavilions, Feathers, Shields, and Standards, that looked like a fleet of galleys."

The Spaniards, however, crossed the river* without opposition, and resumed their march to the westward. The natives whom they encountered, appear to have been deeply impressed with the religious ceremonies of the strangers, and, during a great drought, De Soto, erecting a vast cross, performed a solemn service, while many thousands of the Indians, gathering around it, joined in a prayer for rain to the God of the Christians. "God in his mercy," says the pious Las Casas, "willing to show these heathens, that he listeneth to them that call to him in truth, sent down, in the middle of the ensuing night, a plenteous rain, to the great joy of the Indians." After many strange adventures, the invaders came to a village called Utiangué, it is supposed on the Arkansas, where, on account of the abundance of fuel and provisions, they passed the winter in tolerable comfort.

By this time half of the command and nearly all the horses had perished; and Soto, all hopes of conquest or high achievement for the present relinquished, determined on returning to the Rio Grande (the Mississippi), and there building brigantines, to be dispatched to Cuba for supplies and reinforcements. In the spring of 1542, he broke up his encampment, and marched eastward, till he came to the village of Guachoya, situated, probably, near the confluence of the Mississippi and the Arkansas. He was soon on friendly terms with the cacique of this place, in whose fortress he took up his quarters; but, to oblige his host, engaged in unprincipled warfare against the neighbouring tribes, at feud with the latter. The building of two brigantines was actively prosecuted, and an expedition of survey

* At the Lower Chickasaw Bluff, it would seem, one of the ancient crossing places; between the 34th and 35th parallels of latitude.

was dispatched across the river, to endeavour to gain intelligence of the distance and direction of the sea. At the end of eight days, the messengers returned, with the report that the whole country appeared to consist of vast swamps and forests, through which the river, with many windings, made its way.

What with toil, disappointment and anxiety, the unfortunate Soto now fell ill; but, to maintain his accustomed ascendancy over the natives, dispatched an embassy to Quigaltanqui, the cacique of a great province bearing the same name, on the opposite side of the river, with the customary announcement that he was the offspring of the Sun, and requiring submission and a visit. But the shrewd and haughty chieftain sent back the reply, "That whereas he said he was the Child of the Sunne, if he would drie vp the Riuer, he would believe him; and touching the rest, that he was wont to visit none; therefore, if hee desired to see him, it were best hee should come thither; that if hee came in peac, hee would receive him with speeiall good will; and if in warre, in like manner hee would attend him in the town where he was, and for him or any other hee would not shrink one foote backe." This proud and magnanimous repulse aggravated the illness of the disabled general, who, says the old history, "had betaken himselfe to bed, being euill handled with fevers, and was much aggrieved that he was not in case to passe presently the River and seeke him, to see if he could abate that pride of his."

Death, however, was at hand, to relieve his humbled pride, and to quench the feeble rays of hope and enterprise that might yet be lingering in his bosom. Seeing his end at hand, he appointed Luis de Moscoso to succeed him in the command; and taking an affectionate leave of his surviving comrades, entreated their prayers for his soul, and charged them to be loyal to the crown, and peaceful and loving with one another. "Next day," says the old Portuguese, "being the One and Twentieth day of *May*, the Magnanimous, Virtuous, and Valiant Captain, Don *Fernando de Soto*, Governour of *Cuba*, and General of *Florida*, yielded his soul to God." In this forlorn and miserable situation, at the early age of forty-two, perished one of the bravest and most enterprising leaders of adventure in the New World—the gradual decay and melancholy extinction of his fortunes strangely contrasting with the suddenness and brilliancy of their culmination.

"His burial was a strange one; but not unworthy of his extraor-

dinary career and of his great discoveries. The Spaniards carefully concealed his death from the Indians, fearing lest they should be encouraged to rise against the survivors. Accordingly, an evergreen oak was cut down, and a hollow made in the centre of its heavy trunk. In this singular coffin the body of their valiant general was carefully secured, and in the dead of night, attended by the priests and chief cavaliers, was solemnly launched into the centre of the river, nineteen fathoms in depth. There, in their rude receptacle, a hundred feet below the surface, and long since covered with the wreck and drift of three centuries, still repose the remains of the renowned adventurer; and the majestic torrent of the Mississippi, rolling over the bones of its discoverer, forms a fitting and enduring monument to his fame.*

The survivors, abandoning the task of descending the river, after the death of their leader, once more took up their march to the westward, hoping to reach the frontier settlements of Mexico. From May to October, they pursued this toilsome journey, penetrating deep into the recesses of the New World, and gaining, it would seem, a distant view of the Rocky Mountains. Considering the attempt hopeless, they finally retraced their steps, and in December, after much fighting with the Indians, regained the shores of the Mississippi, near Guachoya. Here they recommenced building vessels, using every particle of iron, even the chains of the prisoners and the stirrups of the cavalry, in the difficult attempt. Seven small brigantines were at last finished, and in these, on the 2d of July, 1543, the Spaniards, now reduced to the number of three hundred and fifty, embarked. The plight of this little company (only a third of their original number) was wretched in the extreme, their armour being battered and rusted, and their gay attire of silk reduced to rags or replaced by the skins of wild beasts.

After a wearisome voyage down the river, endangered by natural difficulties and the continual attacks of the Indians, the adventurers finally reached its outlet, and steered westward, along the coast, for Mexico. For fifty-three days they coasted along, and at last after encountering much danger from a gale, made the river Panuco, near the town of that name, on the frontier of Spanish Mexico. Leaping on shore, wild with joy, they kissed the earth again and again, and returned thanks to God for their deliverance. They then proceeded to the town, where all were greatly affected on

* Discoverers, &c., of America.

beholding them; for, we are told, "they were blackened, haggard, shrivelled, and half-naked, being clad only with the skins of deer, buffaloes, bears, and other animals, so that they looked more like wild beasts than human beings." Such was the deplorable result of an enterprise sustained by such ample means, undertaken with such sanguine confidence, and carried out with such indomitable courage and perseverance; but the true interests of humanity, after all, perhaps suffered less than if the full measure of expected success had been attained—than if the valiant Soto had rivalled the career of Cortes and Pizarro, and spread desolation over realms as wealthy and populous as Mexico or Peru.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY FRENCH SETTLEMENTS.—BLOODY CONTESTS BETWEEN THE SPANISH AND FRENCH COLONISTS.—SPANISH MISSIONS.
—ENGLISH DEPREDACTIONS AND COLONIZATION ON THE COAST.—INVASIONS OF FLORIDA BY GOVERNOR MOORE.

AFTER the utter failure of the last-mentioned expedition, so fatal in its results both to the invaders and their victims, the persecuted natives of Florida enjoyed a season of repose. The river St. John's was visited, as is supposed, and named May river, by a party of Huguenots, who came over from France, in two vessels commanded by John Ribault, in 1562. This company commenced a settlement on the Carolina coast, but from their own misconduct, and a failure of supplies or assistance from home, the project fell through. In their attempt to return, in a vessel of their own construction, they were disabled; and, falling in with an English ship, were taken to England.

In 1564, René Lardoniere, a companion of Ribault, was entrusted by Admiral Coligny, the patron of the first enterprise, with the command of a new expedition. This party, which was better provided with the essentials for an establishment in the wilderness than the former, after landing at the abandoned fort, sailed southward, and, entering May river, commenced a settlement upon its left bank, a few leagues from its mouth. A friendly intercourse was established

with the natives, and the colony might have flourished, but for the insane eagerness with which delusive hopes of obtaining treasures of the precious metals were cherished, to the neglect of useful and necessary husbandry. Before the conclusion of the year, starvation stared the settlers in the face, and they were on the point of abandoning the country, when Ribault arrived on the coast with a well-appointed fleet and abundant supplies.

Hardly had the suffering colonists time to rejoice over this seasonable reinforcement, when they were called upon to defend themselves against an enemy more cruel and implacable than the savages in whose territory they were established. A Spanish fleet, under Don Pedro Menendez de Avila, appeared off the mouth of the river, and after an attempt at the seizure of some of Ribault's ships, which were moored without the bar, sailed southward, and entered the harbour of St. Augustine. On this occasion was founded the town of that name, whose ancient and dilapidated walls, narrow streets, and European architecture, notwithstanding modern improvements, still carry us back to the earliest settlement of the country. The large force under Menendez had come out with the double purpose of forming a Spanish colony upon the long-neglected coast of Florida, and of destroying the heretics who had fled from persecution in the old country.

Ribault did not wait for another attack, but, hopeful of securing the advantage by an early movement, sailed in pursuit with his whole available force. He was unfortunately driven southward by a storm, and met with the loss of his entire fleet on the dangerous and treacherous coast. Menendez took advantage of the interval that must elapse before the French could threaten his position by land, to make a rapid advance on the unprotected fort on May river. No effectual resistance could be made, and the whole of the occupants were taken captive or slain in the encounter. All the men who were made prisoners were deliberately put to death, and near the place where the bodies were left hanging on a tree, a monument was placed, inscribed with the following words: "Not as Frenchman, but as heretics."

Broken down and disheartened by their misfortunes, the shipwrecked party of Ribault, although numbering not far from six hundred men, made no effort at retrieving their fortunes. It was determined to proceed by land towards St. Augustine, and to make an unconditional surrender to the Spaniards. "They formed into

two companies; the first, consisting of two hundred men, proceeded up the coast as far as Matanzas Inlet. Here they were met by Menendez, who had, with forty soldiers, sailed up the sound to reconnoitre. A French soldier was sent across the inlet to learn what terms could be obtained; the messenger was detained. The boat was then sent across for ten Frenchmen, who were taken behind a sand-hill and murdered. And in this manner were the two hundred men decoyed across the stream by tens, and all massacred and left on the sand, to be devoured by the birds and beasts of prey.**

Ribault, with one hundred and fifty of his followers, gave themselves up a few days subsequent, only to share the fate of their murdered countrymen. The remainder of the party fortified themselves upon the coast, and were engaged in the construction of a vessel from the wrecks of the fleet, when they were set upon by Menendez, and driven from their position. Terms of favour were now proffered by the conqueror, and were accepted by all, except a few who still feared to trust to the promises of the treacherous Spaniard, and who betook themselves to the wilderness in the interior, where they probably perished.

The outrages perpetrated upon the ill-fated French colony were in a measure revenged in 1569, by a private expedition, fitted out and commanded by the noted Dominique de Gourges. With a small but effective force of adventurous volunteers, he came upon the coast, and under the guidance of one of the old companions of Lardoniere, attacked the forts which had been taken from the French four years previous. These posts were surprised and carried by storm, although garrisoned by a superior Spanish force, and little mercy was shown to those who fell into the hands of the assailants. The remains of several of those put to death by Menendez, still hanging upon the trees, were taken down and buried by the orders of Gourges, who directed Spanish prisoners to be hanging in their places, and affixed this label, "Not as Spaniards, but as murderers." Having dismantled the forts, the invaders made good their retreat, and sailed for France.

Menendez remained in undisturbed possession of St. Augustine, and as no farther attempt was made, for a long period of years, by any other European nation to encroach upon the Spanish possessions on this coast, full opportunity was afforded for carrying out the views of the colonists in the propagation of their faith among the

* Williams's Florida.

natives, and the extension of the national influence. The really zealous and self-devoted exertions of the Catholic missionaries, in furtherance of this object, contrast pleasingly with the bloody events which preceded the successful development of their peculiar system. They dispersed themselves far and wide among the Indians, and, trusting entirely to their good faith, passed their lives in seclusion from society, and in arduous labours for the civilization and conversion of the natives. They succeeded to an astonishing extent in gaining over the confidence of their rude entertainers, and from the Atlantic sea-coast far into the unexplored wilderness of the west, numberless tribes were brought to at least a nominal acceptance of the Catholic faith.

In 1586, and again as late as 1665, the Spanish settlements of Florida suffered from the attacks of the wild and lawless English cruisers. On the latter occasion, the buccaniers, under Davis, seized and plundered the town of St. Augustine, and not long afterwards an English colony was founded on the banks of May river. In a country like Florida, where the building materials are mostly of a perishable nature, and where the mildness of the climate precludes the necessity for any impression on the soil in the erection of houses, a few years of desertion suffice to obliterate nearly every trace of a settlement. A new growth of woods, frequently of a different character from the original, serves to mark the boundary of old cleared fields; but the traveller unaccustomed to these signs of former occupancy, would scarcely suppose, while passing through what appears to him the primeval forest, that the wilderness around him had ever echoed to the busy sounds of civilized life.

The uncertain tenure of property in Florida, subject as it was, after hostile nations of Europe had begun to colonize its coast, to frequent changes of jurisdiction, brought about many of those changes. Thriving villages or towns, inhabited by French, Spanish, or English colonists, were by turns abandoned by their proprietors, and scarce a vestige now remains of their existence.

The commencement of the eighteenth century in Florida, was memorable for its invasion by Governor Moore of South Carolina. His first enterprise was signally disastrous. By a force of more than a thousand men, consisting of whites and Creek Indians, in nearly equal proportions, the Spanish settlements were assailed by sea and land. Every thing promised the complete subjugation of the colonies, when the alarm was given that powerful reinforcements had

arrived from Spain. Two armed vessels appeared off the coast, and Moore effected an immediate retreat, leaving his fleet and stores a prey to the enemy. His principal officer, Colonel Daniels, to whose energy the first successful operations of the expedition were due, was at this time absent, having been sent to Jamaica for a supply of artillery, prior to an attack on the fort of St. Marks. He returned only to find the position of the English abandoned, and the Spaniards in complete possession.

The second attempt, in 1704, was upon the Spanish and Indian towns in West Florida. Unable to procure assistance from the legislature of the territory, Moore collected a few companions, and, proceeding to the head-quarters of the different tribes of friendly Creeks, readily secured their coöperation in the proposed campaign against their old enemies, the Yemassee, Appalaches, &c. A post known as Lewis' Fort, and garrisoned by a considerable body of Spaniards, under command of Juan Mexia, the colonial governor, was the first point of attack. Mexia imprudently gave battle without the walls of the fort, and was completely overpowered. His followers were mostly slain, and the place was destroyed. Following up their advantage, the invaders ravaged the whole of that portion of the country, breaking up the missionary establishments, and dispersing or destroying the Spanish occupants. Vast numbers of the native inhabitants were carried off as prisoners, and those who were not doomed to slavery, were settled in the vicinity of the English colony, to the northward of the Savannah river. The power of the Spaniards was afterwards mostly confined to their settlements in East Florida. A garrison was nevertheless maintained by them at St. Marks on the Appalache.

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CHAPTER V.

THE YEMASEES.—INVASION OF FLORIDA BY OGLETHORPE.—
 CESSION TO GREAT BRITAIN.—DR. TURNBULL'S COLONY.
 —RECESSION TO SPAIN.—INVASION OF EAST FLOR-
 IDA FROM THE UNITED STATES —ACQUISITION
 OF FLORIDA BY THE UNITED STATES.

In the frontier Indian war of 1717, the Yanasees of Florida, who had at one period favoured the English colonies up the coast, were drawn into the general combination of the southern tribes. After their defeat by General Craven, they settled in East Florida, near their Spanish allies and protectors. They were, however, treated with severity by the territorial governor, Ayola, and were compelled to abandon their first settlements, where they had built and planted, and to take up their quarters farther southward. At the period of this compulsory migration, the less able-bodied, together with large numbers of women and children, were left upon Amelia Island. "These," says Williams, "were presently discovered by the English, who pursued the fugitives in their launches, on which they had mounted swivels; these they brought to bear on the miserable, starving rabble, who had not a tree or bush to protect them, but were murdered in cold blood. Four hundred were thus slaughtered; and of three thousand that now survived, more than two-thirds died in less than a year, by hunger and diseases."

In 1719, the fort at Pensacola was the scene of some hard fighting between the French and Indians, from Louisiana, and the Spanish garrison. The fort was taken and retaken; but after several severe engagements, both on sea and land, it finally fell into the hands of the French, and was destroyed.

The enmity of more dangerous neighbours at the north, was subsequently excited to active hostilities. The Indian allies of the Spaniards were in the habit of making incursions on the English frontier, and in 1725, particularly, the Yemasee warriors, (it is said, by the direct commission of Governor Malina,) committed fearful excesses upon the Georgian settlers. Causes of complaint, indeed, were not wanting on the other side, particularly in the evident tendency of the growing English colony to encroach upon Spanish territory

The marauding expedition of the Yemasee was promptly revenged. A body of volunteers and Indians, commanded by Colonel Palmer, marched southward, and destroyed most of the Spanish settlements north of St. Augustine.

A period of comparative quiet ensued, but an old ground of quarrel still remained. Many of the negro slaves employed on the English plantations continued to find an asylum in Florida, and the refusal of the Spaniards to give them up to their owners, combined with the recollection of other wrongs, finally determined the colonies upon a systematic invasion of the peninsula. The plan was set on foot by Governor Oglethorpe, the most noted of the pioneers of Georgia; and, as the coast was clear as far as the mouth of the St. John's, he collected at that point (in May, 1740) not far from two thousand whites and Creek Indians. Marching thence, he seized upon the Spanish forts, Diego and Mosa, but did not follow up his advantage with sufficient celerity to make an effective demonstration upon the capital. Delay in the operations of the English naval force also gave opportunity for the introduction of supplies of artillery and provisions into the harbours. No impression could be made upon the Spanish fortifications by storm or battery, and in the attempt to reduce the place by siege, sickness broke out among the troops, and compelled a retreat to Georgia. In retaliation for this invasion, a large force, concentrating at St. Augustine, and placed under command of Manuel Monteano, governor of East Florida, proceeded in 1742 to attack the English colonies. With no less than thirty-two vessels, bearing some three thousand men, the governor entered the Altamaha. Oglethorpe was driven from his position on the island of St. Simon's, but retreating to Frederica, he made an effectual stand against the greatly superior force brought to bear upon him. Nothing was effected by the expedition.

At the period of the cession of Florida to the British crown, in 1763, its prosperity had completely declined. The few remaining Spanish inhabitants for the most part removed to the West Indies, leaving the experiment of colonization to immigrants from Great Britain. One of the most remarkable transactions in the modern history of the country is connected with the introduction of this new population. One Dr. Turnbull, in 1767, proceeded to the Levant, and engaged a considerable number of Greek families to accompany him to Florida. Touching, on his return, at Corsica and Minorca, he procured a further supply of emigrants, and sailed for the New

World with about fifteen hundred souls aboard his vessels. A term of three years' service on their part was to be the equivalent for the expense of transportation, of present support, and of a bounty of land at the expiration of the contract.

A grant of lands was obtained near Mosquito inlet, and plantations were laid out on an extensive scale. The principal crop raised, exclusive of the necessary reservations for supplying the colony with food, was indigo, and this proved exceedingly profitable to the proprietor. Taking advantage of the ignorance, simplicity, and isolated position of his employes, the doctor ere long reduced them to a condition of hopeless servitude. For nine years they were kept at the severest labour, on the most scanty allowance of food, and nearly destitute of clothing. Cruel and excessive punishment was inflicted for any neglect in their tasks, or for any trifling offence against their tyrant or his overseers. At the period of their emancipation, in 1776, their numbers were reduced to about six hundred.

The manner in which they obtained their freedom is very graphically described by Mr. J. L. Williams in his history of Florida. It appears that several Englishmen, while on a visit to New Smyrna, (the name of Turnbull's settlement,) were engaged in conversation respecting the imposition practised on the immigrants—"some of them made the remark that, if the people knew their rights, they would not suffer under such slavery. This was remarked by an intelligent boy, who told it to his mother. The old lady summoned a council of her friends in the night, and they devised a plan to gain more intelligence." Emissaries were secretly dispatched to St. Augustine, who, having communicated, by good fortune, with the attorney-general, Mr. Younge, and received encouragement from him, returned, and reported to their companions.

It was promptly concluded to march in a body to St. Augustine, and to claim the protection of the authorities. In the absence of Turnbull, the scheme was accomplished. "The women and children, with the old men, were placed in the centre, and the stoutest men, armed with wooden spears, were placed in front and rear. In this order they set off like the children of Israel, from a place that had proved an Egypt to them. So secretly had they conducted the transaction, that they had proceeded some miles before the overseers discovered that the place was deserted. Some of these were well pleased, and joined them. Others informed the tyrant, who was at some distance from the place. He rode after the fugitives, and over-

took them before they reached St. Augustine, and used every exertion to persuade them to return, but in vain." The rights of these persecuted people were speedily established, and a tract of land in the north part of the city was granted to them by the authorities. Their descendants, at this day, form no inconsiderable portion of the inhabitants of St. Augustine.

When Spain came again into possession of Florida, at the close of the war of American revolution, these Greeks and Minoreans were almost the only portion of the population that remained in the country. The establishments of the English were generally deserted, and in a few years the greater portion of the cultivated districts were little less a wilderness, than when white men first set foot on their shores.

Movements were set on foot by the government of the United States, in the year 1811, for the acquisition of the Floridas from Spain. Commissioners were appointed to confer with the governor of Pensacola relative to a cession of the western province, and powers to proceed to hostile measures, both respecting East and West Florida, were conditionally conferred upon them: the intention of our government being to prevent at all risks the acquisition of Florida by any other foreign power. Mistaken reports concerning this proceeding became prevalent; and, in accordance with the idea that the jurisdiction of the United States was to be at once forcibly extended over the peninsula, a large number of Georgians and American inhabitants of Florida, congregated near St. Mary's, and organized plans for an immediate hostile demonstration. Proceeding by water to the Spanish town of Fernandina on Amelia Island, their formidable array induced an immediate capitulation. The revolutionists had made appointments for a provisional government, under which John H. McIntosh assumed the office of director.

The Seminole Indians at first proffered their assistance to the revolutionary party, but, from motives of humanity, the leaders of the movement, acting now in concert with General Mathews, one of the commissioners deputed to West Florida, declined availing themselves of their services. The consequence was, that the Indians took up arms in favour of the Spanish government, and their depredations, and the expeditions fitted out against them, formed the most important incidents in the subsequent hostilities. The question of the invasion was made a matter of diplomatic adjustment between the governments of Spain, Great Britain and the United States. The overt acts of hostility were disavowed by the latter power, and, in

May, 1813, the few remaining American troops were withdrawn from the country, an amnesty being at the same time proclaimed by the legitimate government, for all offences connected with the attempted revolution. During the long period of desultory hostilities, the settlements and plantations of East Florida were extensively destroyed.

During the last war with Great Britain the western districts of Florida were made the scene of some important encounters, and many interesting particulars of the Indian campaigns of that period are related, the natives having generally been enlisted against the United States. About the middle of November, 1814, the town and fortifications at Pensacola, strongly garrisoned by Spanish and English troops, were taken by the Americans, under General Jackson, and the military works were destroyed. The Seminoles continued hostile to the Americans after the conclusion of war with England, and proved formidable enemies to the border settlers, until the year 1818, when their territory in the northern and western districts of Florida was completely overrun by the forces under command of General Jackson. In this war the negroes, who for many years had been increasing in number by accessions of fugitives from the plantations of the adjoining states, enacted an important part. They had formed extensive settlements in the Indian territory, and in defence of their possessions and fortifications, not unfrequently fought with desperate courage and determination. It appeared that the Indians had been furnished with supplies and munitions of war by the Spanish authorities at Pensacola, and in the month of May, 1818, General Jackson, with little opposition, again took possession of the town and fortifications. The governor and the Spanish garrison were compelled to leave the country.

The Floridas were ceded to the United States by treaty concluded with Spain, in the summer of 1821, and General Jackson received the appointment of governor of the newly-acquired country. In the following year, it was regularly constituted a territory, with appropriate representative powers. The population is so sparse that Florida would probably have enjoyed at least equal prosperity, had she continued to remain under a territorial government. In the opinion of many of the most intelligent inhabitants, the satisfaction of enjoying the independent position of a sovereign state has hardly compensated for the increased expenditures rendered necessary by the change of government. This state was admitted into the Union at the session of Congress held in the year 1845.

South-American Revolutions.

[The Revolutions of Mexico, Peru and Chili, and the erection of those Provinces into independent States, have been already described in the preceding articles.]

C O L O M B I A .

CHAPTER I.

LOYALTY OF THE SPANISH COLONISTS.—ARROGANCE AND TYRANNY OF THEIR RULERS.—CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION.—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JUNTAS.—MASSACRE AT QUITO.—THE JUNTA OF CARACCAS IN VENEZUELA.—COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE principle of loyalty and national feeling, so inveterate in the Spanish character, had preserved to Spain the attachment of her numerous colonies through centuries of oppression and misgovernment; and nothing except the most fatuous arrogance, cruelty, and obstinacy on the part of that nation and its colonial agents, could possibly, in so brief a space of time, have alienated a people so attached to the land of their origin. When the distracted and impoverished condition of the mother-country, at the commencement of its contests with the French under Napoleon, afforded the fairest opportunity of throwing off the yoke, so far from availing themselves of it, the Spanish-American colonies, with devoted loyalty, long continued to furnish supplies of treasure to the state, and to exhibit the liveliest interest in behalf of the fortunes of their rulers.

In default, however, of any settled government in Spain, the colonists, in emulation of their countrymen at home, began to agitate the formation of *juntas* or associations for national defence; and these attempts being suppressed with great severity by the colonial govern-

ers, first sowed the seeds of disaffection. The viceroys of New Granada and Peru, combining their forces, revenged, with savage ferocity, a scheme of this kind matured at Quito, committing a massacre of three hundred of the citizens, and delivering up the town to the rapine of a ferocious soldiery. This and other similar acts of oppression, singular to state, did not suffice completely to alienate the affections of the people from the provincial government; but, seeing the apparently complete ascendancy of France, the colonists were anxious to adopt measures to secure their independence against the encroachments of the latter. Actuated by this feeling, the citizens of Caracas, in Venezuela, in the year 1810—proceeding, however, in the name of Ferdinand VII.—deposed their colonial officers, and appointed a *junta* of their own.

The imprudent arrogance of the old Spaniards towards the provincials, first diverted this current of independence into a disloyal channel, and the vindictive measures of the nominal Spanish government, which, on the news of this and other similar demonstrations, hastened to declare war against the refractory provinces, precipitated hostilities. The whole Spanish nation, indeed, appears to have been exceedingly indignant, and although unable to contend successfully with the French at home, managed to ship off considerable bodies of troops for the purpose of suppressing by force the spirit of independence abroad. This movement increased still further the popular disaffection, and Venezuela first took the lead in asserting open resistance. At a congress held in Caracas on the 5th of July, 1811, the delegates from the various provinces of that state, in imitation of that memorable convention held, just thirty-five years before, in British North America—published a declaration of independence, pledging, like their illustrious prototypes, their lives, their fortunes, and their honors to maintain it. This noble example was speedily followed by New Granada and Mexico, and, at a later date, by the province of Buenos Ayres.

Meanwhile, the *Cortes*, or temporary Spanish government (January, 1811) had obstinately rejected all proposals for an accommodation; and though England, in April of the same year, had offered her mediation, proposing (with interested commercial policy) a schedule of terms for an adjustment of the difficulty, her interference was finally rejected. Curiously enough, Joseph Bonaparte, the nominal king of Spain, to whose elevation the colonists had shown such determined antipathy, now, by his agents, used every exertion to favor the spirit

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of insurrection in the Spanish-American provinces. The government of the United States, to which an envoy had been dispatched, hesitated to commit itself by openly countenancing the cause of the liberals, though the sentiments of the people were ardently in their favor; and the British ministers, their overtures repulsed, announced that they should observe neutrality, but with a reservation in favour of the Spanish crown, as represented by Ferdinand VII.

The original junta of Caraccas, of 1810, after deposing the authorities, and dispatching several of them to the United States, had made many useful regulations, of a liberal nature, but had experienced some difficulties, arising from the unsettled state of the country. A hostile collision with the royalist party in Maracaibo, resulted in considerable fighting, without any decisive result, and dangerous conspiracies, fomented by the agents of the Spanish government, rendered that of the junta insecure in the extreme. But the declaration of independence, and the regular appointment of a popular government, as already mentioned, infused fresh energy into the councils of the leaders of the revolution. An alarming scheme for their overthrow and slaughter was detected, and ten of the conspirators, after trial, were executed, and their heads, after the barbarous custom of the people, placed on poles at the entrance of the city.

At the same time, Valencia, in the interior, had been secured by the royalists, and General Toro, who was dispatched to regain it, had experienced much loss in taking possession of an outpost. General Miranda, already famed for his repeated attempts to excite insurrection against the Spanish rule in Venezuela, who was next dispatched thither, took the town by storm, and entered with his forces. But the Spanish garrison, fighting with courage in their barracks, finally repulsed the patriots with much loss; and the royalists in the town, from the towers of churches and convents, and from the roofs and terraces of houses, discharged such destructive volleys of musketry, that he was compelled to evacuate the place, and retire to a fortified position at some distance. Being reinforced, in the following month, he again assaulted the town with four thousand troops, gained possession of it, and dispersed the enemy.

After the declaration of independence, public attention was deeply engrossed by the formation of a constitution; and the plan of a federative republic, similar to that of the United States, was warmly urged by the most enlightened friends of freedom. An instrument, resembling in form the celebrated constitution of that republic, but

quite inferior in principle, was prepared by the congress, and on the 23d of December, presented to the people for their sanction. It provided for a senate and representatives, a judiciary and other branches of government, with an executive of three persons; abolished torture, the slave-trade, and the tribute of the Indians; and established the Catholic religion as that of the state. The town of Valencia was ceded to the federal government thus organized, and the first congress under the new constitution held its first session there in March, 1812.

CHAPTER II.

THE AFFAIRS OF NEW GRANADA.—EXPULSION OF THE SPANIARDS FROM SANTA FE AND QUITO.—DISSENSIONS OF THE REPUBLICANS.—ADVANTAGES OF THE ROYALISTS.—THEIR CRUELTY.—THE "ARMY OF DEATH."—FRESH MASSACRE AT QUITO.—ALTERNATE SUCCESSSES OF THE PATRIOTS AND ROYALISTS.—THE EARTHQUAKE AT CARACCAS.—ITS EFFECT.—OVERTHROW OF THE LIBERALS.

HAVING thus briefly sketched the progress of events in Venezuela, we come to those of New Granada, soon destined to be closely connected with its sister-province. In July, 1810, on receipt of unwelcome tidings from Spain, a *junta* had been formed at Santa Fe de Bogota, the capital of that state, which had arrested the viceroy and other royal officers, and had dispatched them home to Spain. Out of the twenty-two provinces of which this colony was composed, nine responded to the call for erecting a provisional government. Others espoused the royalist faction, and a civil war almost immediately broke out. Tacon, the royalist governor of Popayan, was defeated by the patriots; and the people of Quito, in August, soon after the massacre already mentioned, exasperated by the arrival of a Spanish commissioner, armed only with clubs and knives, attacked the troops with such fury as to compel them to leave the city. Toward the close of the year, the *junta* of Santa Fe entered into an alliance for mutual protection with that of Caraccas.

The republican party of New Granada, disagreeing as to the form of government to be adopted, was soon involved in a disgraceful

internal feud. The forces of the congress, in attempting to take by storm Santa Fe, where Narino, the president of Cundinamarca, was quartered, were repulsed with terrible loss, and the royalists, taking advantage of these dissensions, inflicted great atrocities on the defenceless country. In Cuenca, an army, raised and commanded by the royalist bishop, and officered in great part by priests, carried black standards, and assumed the terrible name of "The Army of Death." This force having defeated the troops of Quito, the Peruvian army, which had lately retreated from that city to Guayaquil, on the 6th of November, 1812, under the ferocious Montes, reëntered the city, and murdered one-fifth of the inhabitants who remained. The prisoners taken by the royalists in their successes were, with unsparing vengeance, put to death.

Recalled to their senses by this dangerous movement, and the frightful scenes of massacre by which it was accompanied, the contending republicans at length saw the necessity of laying aside their feuds and providing for the common safety. Their forces, eight thousand in number, were accordingly united, and placed under the command of Narino, who marched against Samano, the successor of Montes in command, and defeated him at El Atto del Palace. The royalists, reinforced, again offered battle; and at Calivia, in Popayan, a most obstinate battle, contested with all the fury that disgraces civil warfare, resulted in their renewed discomfiture and retreat. Narino gained, though with severe loss, several other victories over the tyrannical faction, but finally, marching to Pastas, in pursuit of the enemy, being deprived, by an artful stratagem, of the support of his rear-division, was in turn defeated and made prisoner. Cabal, who succeeded him in the command, was compelled to retreat to Popayan, hotly pursued by the victorious royalists. Most of their prisoners were murdered by the successful party. (June, 1814.) These disasters, occurring at the same time that the bigoted Ferdinand was restored to the throne of Spain, threw an aspect of deep gloom over the cause of freedom in New Granada.

Meanwhile, in Venezuela, the republican cause, at first so prosperous, by a strange accident of nature had been plunged into ruin and defeat. On Holy Thursday, the 26th of March, 1812, when the troops and people, throughout the state, were crowding into chapel and cathedral to participate in one of the most impressive ceremonies of the church, that terrible earthquake, one of the most fatal recorded in history, in a single minute laid waste the ill-fated province, and

crushed the cause of liberty, for a time, to the earth. Caraccas, La Guira, Merida, and many other towns, were laid in almost complete ruin. Nearly twenty thousand souls perished—among them many soldiers, just prepared for encounter with the royalists. Arms and ammunition, in great quantity, were likewise destroyed; and the bigoted clergy, readily catching at a pretext for the revival of despotism, assured the people from their pulpits that this terrible calamity, occurring on an occasion so solemn, was a signal manifestation of the wrath of Heaven against the impiety of self-government. Korah and his troop were cited as an exact precedent, and the ignorant people, thoroughly unmanned by misfortune and superstition, lent a ready ear to the miserable assumption of their spiritual directors.

Public credit rapidly depreciated, and the political prospect appeared so alarming that the congress, almost in despair, created Miranda dictator for the time, with full power, as in the old Roman commonwealth, in similar emergencies, "to see that the Republic took no injury." They then adjourned to serve in the army, or to traverse the provinces, reviving, by eloquent harangues, the fallen spirit of the people. With two thousand men, armed with muskets saved from the ruins, their general advanced to meet the enemy, who, on learning these disastrous tidings, had marched, under Monteverde, toward Caraccas, overcoming, by superior force, the inefficient attempts of the liberal forces to oppose them. Their ranks were continually reinforced from those of the superstitious provincials, who thought to avert the divine vengeance by enlisting under the banners of ancient oppression. In the defile of La Cabrera, a difficult pass on the road to Caraccas, Miranda had posted his force, to oppose the advance of the enemy; but the latter, winning their way across the mountain by a difficult foot-path, compelled him to retreat to Victoria, only fifty miles from the capital. The royalist army attacked the town with much spirit, but being bravely withstood, were repulsed with loss. Misfortunes, however, in the loss of Porto Cabello, desertion of troops, and reinforcement of the enemy, thickened so fast, that the dictator and executive despaired even of holding out in the ruins of Caraccas. A capitulation with Monteverde was accordingly agreed on, in the following terms:

- "1st. That the Constitution offered by the Cortes to the Spanish nation should be
- "2d. That no one was to suffer for former opinions. [established in Caraccas.
- "3d. That all private property was to be held sacred.
- "4th. That emigration was to be permitted to those who wished to leave Caraccas."

The Venezuelan capital and the slender remains of the liberal army thus surrendered, the Spanish rule was once more completely in the ascendent in that unfortunate state. Once reëstablished in power, the royalist government shamelessly broke through every article of the capitulation. Miranda and a thousand other patriots were thrown into dungeons, and numbers were condemned by the Spanish Cortes to perpetual imprisonment. Monteverde, who now had the complete authority in his hands, continued to push the work of oppression. At length, the whole liberal party of Venezuela was proscribed, and Caracas and other cities were converted into mere prisons. Nearly the whole republican population, it is said, was under confinement. The ministry of Spain, unsatisfied with these severities, complained "of the indulgence which had been shown to the insurgents of Caracas." The réaction caused by these acts of perfidy and cruelty, was not long in approaching. In Cumana, the young Marino, raising a force of liberals, renewed the war by seizing the town of Maturin; and two attempts, by the Spaniards to régain it, the last under Monteverde himself, proved fruitless.

CHAPTER III.

SIMON BOLIVAR.—HIS GENEROUS AND PATRIOTIC SPIRIT.—
HIS SUCCESSES AGAINST THE ROYALISTS.—ASSISTED BY
NEW GRANADA.—HE REËNTERS CARACCAS.—"WAR TO
THE DEATH."—THE SERVILE INSURRECTION AND
WAR.—CRUEL DEED OF BOLIVAR.—BATTLES WITH
THE ROYALISTS.—RENEWED PROSTRATION
OF THE REPUBLICAN CAUSE.

THE name most famous in the South American wars of independence, is that of Simon Bolivar. He was a native of Caracas, of wealth and of good family, and during his travels in Europe, while yet a youth, had enlarged his mind, enjoyed the friendship of eminent men, and attracted attention by his talents and learning. From familiarity with the comparatively free institutions of England and Switzerland, he had imbibed an ardent love for liberty in its noblest signification—a love which, on his return to Venezuela, just

at the commencement of the revolution, he displayed by emancipating more than a thousand slaves, which he had inherited, and by embarking his princely fortune in the republican cause. He had commanded the important post of Porto Cabello, which, at the triumph of the royalists, he had been compelled to surrender; but, disapproving of the capitulation, had betaken himself to the banks of the Magdalena, where, with a small force, in the latter part of 1812, he made an effective stand against the dominant party.

On application to the republican congress of New Granada, that body supplied him with a levy of six hundred men, reinforced with which, he crossed the Andes, and gained successive victories over the royalists. The latter, by the savage policy of executing their prisoners, at last provoked reprisal; and Bolivar was compelled to announce that the same unsparing cruelty would be practiced in retaliation. The war thenceforward became, literally, what it was called—*la guerra a muerte*—"war to the death." The people, their superstitious fears supplanted by irritation at the continued atrocities of the royal party, now rallied in great numbers around the standard of Bolivar—"the Liberator," as he was justly entitled.

Having gained many victories, he advanced upon Caraccas, while Monteverde was compelled to retreat to Porto Cabello. The royal governor, Fierro, having signed a capitulation, collected all the property he could, and sailed for Spain, leaving at the mercy of the victor fifteen hundred Spaniards, who were unable to escape. On the 13th of August, 1813, Bolivar, to the intense joy of the long-oppressed liberals, entered Caraccas. The scene was affecting in the extreme, and the dungeons being thrown open, the surviving captives were restored to liberty. Through the exertions of Marino in the eastern provinces, the royal yoke had also been thrown off there, and nearly all Venezuela was again republican, except Porto Cabello, where Monteverde still held out, and refused all terms of treaty. Reinforced by twelve hundred troops from Spain, he marched forth and attacked the patriot forces at Aguaciente, but was defeated with terrible loss, nearly his whole force being killed or made prisoners. Being wounded, he was succeeded in the command by Saloman, and then by Istueta, who still held command of Porto Cabello, and inflicted great cruelties on the numerous prisoners confined in that fortress. By night they were kept in suffocating dungeons, where fifty of them, at one time, perished for want of air, and in the day were exposed before the batteries to deter the patriots from firing.

The latter retorted with similar cruelties, and the war of extermination raged more fiercely than ever. Bolivar gained possession of the town, but was unable to dislodge the garrison, on account of the strength of the fortress, and the desperation of its defenders. The royalists of the province of Coro, the staunchest stronghold of despotism, reinforced by Spanish troops from Porto Rico, marched into the territory of Caraccas, but, after gaining some advantages, were routed, in three actions, by the Liberator. To avoid the evils of a continued military rule, Bolivar now summoned all the principal persons of the state, with the intention to resign his authority into their hands; but it was judged expedient, in view of the critical position of affairs, that he should hold the authority of dictator for some time longer. (January, 1814.)

The royal party, burning with revenge at their successive discomfitures, now took the mad and desperate resolution of exciting the slaves, seventy thousand in number, to insurrection. This nefarious project, for a time, met with complete success. The blacks, attracted by the hope of freedom and of plunder, enlisted with great zeal under the incendiary agents. Puy, a Spaniard, and Palomo, a mulatto and outlawed assassin, at the head of such a force, carried desolation through Barinas, Guiana, and other towns; while Boves and Rosette, with an army composed of similar materials, laid waste a vast tract of country in another direction, killing every inhabitant who refused to join them. Their force, amounting to eight thousand, consisted almost entirely of slaves, and with such suddenness and fury was the rising effected, that a portion of the servile army advanced within ten leagues of the capital.

The Spanish prisoners at that place and at La Guira, encouraged by these circumstances, concerted a revolt; and Bolivar, excited by the atrocities of the royalists, and dreading the result of the insurrectionary movement, caused them, eight hundred in number, to be executed without mercy. This cruel and impolitic deed was resented by an act of equal ferocity at Porto Cabello, all the republican prisoners there, several hundred, suffering a similar fate. This massacre committed, Bolivar marched against the enemy, and gained some advantages, though with severe loss. Marino marched from Cumana to his assistance, and the patriot forces, thus strengthened, gained two important victories. Defeated in turn, they retreated to Valencia, where, on the 28th of May, 1814, Cigigal, the new royalist captain-general of Venezuela, with forces largely strengthened by concen-

tration, engaged them. The battle was contested with uncommon obstinacy and fury, but the royalists were finally defeated, with a loss of five hundred men, and were pursued by the victor to Coro and Los Llanos.

The patriot general, by an indiscreet division of his force, was, in turn, defeated by a large body of cavalry, under Boves, and Marino experienced a similar disaster. With that striking suddenness peculiar to this desultory civil warfare, the royal faction again started up in the ascendant. The patriot generals retreated to Cumana, and nearly the whole population of Caraccas, dreading the vengeance of the enemy, followed them. That city, with La Guira and Valencia, were taken, the latter surrendering only in consideration of a solemn oath, taken by the Spanish general in assurance of good faith, and fortified by the celebration of mass. But no sooner had he gained possession of the town, than he caused the officers and nearly all the soldiers of the garrison to be shot. The remains of the patriot army, after twice repulsing the victorious enemy at Maturin, were overcome by superior numbers, and a few retreated to the island of Margarita, where they still held out. Bolivar, despairing for the present of saving his country, repaired to New Granada, and offered his services, which were gladly accepted, to the congress of that state.

CHAPTER IV.

RESTORATION OF FERDINAND.—EXTINCTION OF LOYALTY IN
THE COLONIES.—TYRANNICAL POLICY OF THE KING.—
SPIRITED CONDUCT OF THE CONGRESS OF NEW GRAN-
ADA.—DISSENSIONS OF THE REPUBLICANS.—
INJUDICIOUS CONDUCT OF BOLIVAR.

THE overthrow of Napoleon, in 1814, and the restoration of the bigoted, tyrannical Ferdinand to the throne of Spain, were events which might well fill the minds of the republicans with gloomy forebodings. Singular to state, their precautions against the threatened ascendancy of France had first precipitated the revolution; and the news of these events, at that time, would have excited the greatest joy in the provinces. But a civil war of four years, embittered by

continual outrage and cruelty, especially by the Spanish party, had now quite extinguished the flame of loyalty in the breasts of the South American patriots. It was, therefore, with the greatest dismay that the congress of New Granada, at the same time, heard of the restoration of Ferdinand, the renewed subjection of Venezuela, and the entire defeat of their own army, under Narino.

The intelligence from Europe, (says Mr. Niles,*) "entirely changed the general aspect of things, and in some measure the character of the revolution. The resistance in America commenced against the authority of the regency of Spain, and in most of the provinces the authority of Ferdinand was expressly acknowledged. Ferdinand was now on the throne, and if resistance was continued, it must be against the power of the legitimate sovereign of Spain. The restoration of the king, therefore, changed the relations between the colonies and the parent-country, as well as placed the latter in a condition to direct all its strength against the rebellious Americans, being relieved from the war at home, and having no longer any employment for her armies in the peninsula. At an earlier period of the contest, the restoration of Ferdinand would have greatly damped, if not effectually checked, the spirit of the revolution; but after the struggle had continued nearly five years, and the minds of the Americans become exasperated by the cruelties and massacres of the Spanish colonial rulers, it was calculated to have but comparatively little influence. Had Ferdinand, however, pursued a conciliatory line of conduct towards America; had he condemned the rashness of the colonial chiefs, who had driven the people into resistance; reformed the abuses and removed the oppression of which the colonies justly complained, probably he might have so far revived the sentiments of loyalty as to have checked, if not extinguished, the flame of the revolution. But instead of this course, the first official intelligence the Americans had of his being reinstated on the throne, was a decree, treating them as rebels, and commanding them to lay down their arms." Another decree (June, 1814,) directed the equipment of a formidable armament, for the suppression of the insurrection.

Amid all these disheartening circumstances, the congress of New Granada, true to their trust, presented a bold front to their menacing destiny. In a proclamation, detailing with the most naked distinctness, the losses and misfortunes of the republican cause in

* History of South America.

the two states, and presenting the disastrous prospect of subjection in its fullest light, they nobly conclude, "Useless shall be the declaration of our independence, if we have not resolution to support it. We possess within ourselves the means of attaining this great object, and no power whatever will be strong enough to conquer us, if we avail ourselves of our own strength; our exertions must unquestionably be great, and our sacrifices for the common cause unbounded. But such efforts are worthy of men raised to the dignity of a free people, and are absolutely necessary, since we have nothing to hope and much to fear from the European nations. Notwithstanding the cessions at Bayonne, and the torrents of blood which the French have shed by the war in the Peninsula, Ferdinand has been restored to Spain; and the country, now freed from the French, will have both the power and the will to send a formidable army again to subdue us.

"Ye people of New Granada! contemplate your fate, and that of your posterity; you may easily judge of it; and let your resolution be formed accordingly and nobly. Again, we repeat, your destiny depends upon your own exertions." (September 1st, 1814.)

Stringent measures, dictated by necessity, were taken for the common safety. The chiefs of the province of Cundinamarca having refused to join the confederacy, Bolivar, in December, 1814, was dispatched to its capital, Santa Fe de Bogota, to force a compliance. He took the suburbs by storm, and the president, Alvarez, making a virtue of necessity, capitulated, and agreed to unite in the confederacy. The federal government, thus strengthened, appointed a triple executive, and proceeded to pass many liberal and salutary acts. Monopolies and tribute of the Indians were abolished, foreigners were invited to the country, and the liberty of the press was assured. Among the clergy, many of the more intelligent now embraced the popular cause; and the friars of St. Dominic, in particular, showed their patriotism by presenting to the national treasury the wealth which they had long hoarded in their sanctuary.

Cabal and Urdeneta, with reinforcements, were employed in different directions, against the enemy; and Bolivar, with the appointment of captain-general of New Granada and Venezuela, in command of three thousand men, raised by great exertions, marched against the royalists of Santa Martha. But that commander, with singular infatuation, being thwarted in his plans by Castillo, the republican commander of Carthagena, his personal enemy, delayed his march

to besiege that city and bring the refractory officer to terms. This civil contest, entirely breaking up the original enterprise, and permitting the royalists to gain great advantages, was carried on till news arrived that the great Spanish expedition, prepared at Cadiz to crush the republican cause, had arrived off Venezuela. Recalled to his judgment by this alarming intelligence, Bolivar ceased the unnatural contest, and, leaving the remains of his army for the defence of the city he had besieged, betook himself to Jamaica to fit out an expedition for its relief.

CHAPTER V.

ARRIVAL OF THE SPANISH ARMY, UNDER MORILLO.—TERRIBLE BLOCKADE OF CARTHAGENA.—RENEWED EXERTIONS OF THE PATRIOTS.—ALTERNATE SUCCESSES.—MORILLO CONQUERS NEW GRANADA.—SEVERITIES EXERCISED ON THE VANQUISHED.—MARCHES INTO VENEZUELA.—SUCCESSFUL DEFENCE OF MARGARITA BY THE PATRIOTS.

THE armament of Spain, the most formidable which that nation had ever dispatched to the shores of the New World, consisted of ten thousand of her best troops, conveyed in fifty transports. The feeble resources of the country, exhausted by war with the French, had been almost entirely expended in preparing it. Morillo, the commander, first took the island of Margarita, where many of the patriots of Venezuela, under Bermudas, had taken refuge; and thence proceeded to Caraccas, where, and at other cities on the coast, he landed two thousand men. In August, 1815, he laid siege to Carthagena. That city, strongly fortified, and bravely defended, stood a siege of four months, including two bombardments; but being strictly invested, both by land and water, the garrison suffered terribly from famine. On the 5th of December, the deaths amounting to a hundred a day, they evacuated the city, two thousand in number, in eleven ships, making good their retreat, and repulsing the Spanish armament, by which they were attacked. They mostly proceeded to Aux Cayes. "The horrible appearance of the city," says Montalvo, the captain-general, "is scarcely to be

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described; the streets, and even the houses, were heaped up with dead bodies, or with those who were expiring; the atmosphere was in a pestilential state, which nearly stopped respiration; groans and lamentations assailed our ears." Castillo and other distinguished patriots were executed.

Before Bolivar could mature his scheme for the relief of Carthage, that city had fallen; and he once more turned his attention to Venezuela. Many *guerilla* parties, as in the peninsula war, were now formed, and inflicted much annoyance on the enemy. In company with a wealthy and patriotic Curagoan, named Brion, he fitted out an expedition of a thousand troops from Aux Cayes, and proceeded to Margarita, where the standard of revolt had been successfully raised. On the way he took two Spanish men-of-war, and early in May, 1816, landing on the island, gained complete possession of it. He next took Carupano, on the main-land, and proceeding to other ports, issued a proclamation, declaring that "justice and policy demand the emancipation of the slaves, and henceforth there shall be but one class of people in Venezuela—all shall be citizens." At these unexpected successes of the patriots, the rage of the royalists was unbounded, and they inflicted the greatest cruelties on all within their power.

Bolivar now unfortunately divided his little army, placing a part under the command of McGregor, a Scotchman, and being attacked by the Spanish troops, under Morales, was defeated, with a loss of two hundred men, and of nearly all his best officers. The victor then pursued McGregor, with such confidence of success, that he dispatched to Caracas, in advance, official accounts of the defeat and death of that officer, and the capture of his entire force; nevertheless, coming up with him at last, was himself completely beaten in the two actions of Alacran and Juneal, and the republican officer took possession of Barcelona. Bolivar, after his defeat, proceeded to Margarita, where he summoned a congress, and then repairing to Barcelona, formed a provisional government, and repulsed the attacks of Morales and Real with great loss. Most of Guiana had also now been gained by the patriots, under Piar.

Morillo, after taking Carthage, had invaded New Granada, with an overwhelming force, in three several directions. The congress of that state had bravely opposed what resistance they could, either entering the army or traversing the provinces to excite the people. A number of battles and skirmishes were fought, in most of which

the royalists had the advantage; and finally, in the sanguinary conflict of Cachira, the flower of the Granadan army perished, and the survivors fled to Los Llanos. In June, 1816, Morillo entered Santa Fe de Bogota, and, with the customary policy of the colonial agents, at once commenced the work of proscription and execution. More than six hundred persons, prominent in the affairs of the government or the army, were shot, hanged, or exiled, and the prisons were filled with others, awaiting their fate. Yet, in his dispatches, that commander vaunts of having "displayed that clemency, so much recommended by the king, which was unbounded."

Many of the victims were men of peace, eminent for their science and learning, but had incurred the hatred of the Spanish authorities by their eloquent denunciations of tyranny. "In Santa Fe," writes the victor, "there are but few blacks and mulattoes. In Venezuela a considerable part of the white population has perished in the revolution. The inhabitants of Santa Fe are timid, those of Venezuela bold and sanguinary. In Santa Fe much has been published during the revolution, and the learned have ruled all with their pens; but in Caraccas they displayed earlier the naked sword. * * * All is effected by the rebels from Venezuela. They are like ferocious beasts when they fight in their own country; and if they get able commanders, it will require many years to subdue them, and even then it will be done at the expense of much blood and considerable sums of money."

In November, 1816, to suppress the Venezuelans, Morillo, with two thousand men, took up his march for Caraccas. He was attacked on the way by the patriots, under Paez, with considerable success; but in the absence of Bolivar, the town of Barcelona, the only post of importance held by the republicans, on the 7th of April, 1817, was taken by the royalists. In the following month, they were reinforced by the arrival of sixteen hundred men from Spain. This loss was in some degree compensated by the fall of Angostura, the capital of Guiana, which surrendered to the united arms of Bolivar and Piar, and the seizure of the whole province by the patriot forces. This acquisition was of the highest importance to the cause of the republicans, as it enabled them to cut off the supplies of the enemy, to hold free communication with their stronghold of Margarita, and to receive supplies from the West Indies. To subdue that refractory island, the scene of their earliest repulses, the Spaniards, in June, dispatched an expedition of seven vessels; and in the following

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month (July 14th, 1817) Morillo in person, with three thousand five hundred troops and additional naval forces, proceeded there in person. He took by storm, after a desperate resistance, the fortress of Pampatar, the strongest on the island, and resolved utterly to exterminate all who resisted. The entire population of the island was about twenty thousand, and all who could bear arms determined on fighting to the last. With such gallantry and obstinacy did they contest the campaign, that, after fighting five battles, and inflicting the most atrocious butcheries on all who fell into his hands, the savage Morillo, having lost a thousand of his troops, was compelled to relinquish the attempt at subjecting them. A more signal instance of patriotism and determination has seldom been witnessed on a theatre so small as this little island, the earliest of the provinces in successful resistance to tyranny.

In October, 1817, a lamentable incident occurred in the treason of General Piar, who had fought with bravery and good success for the republican cause, and who suffered execution as the punishment of his ambitious schemes. On the 11th of the following month, the Venezuelan congress once more assembled at Angostura, and reelected Bolivar as president of the republic. The prospects of the patriots had brightened exceedingly—Guiana, Casinarc, Pamplona, Barinas and portions of other provinces having been recovered by them; but Bolivar, who, in conjunction with the brave Paez, made a vigorous campaign against the enemy, was unable, as yet, to expel them from Venezuela, and, after considerable fighting, returned to Guiana. These operations, though not attended with immediate success, were of great advantage to the republicans, who were thus trained to the art of war, and of equally great detriment to the Spaniards, whose number, already limited, was thus seriously diminished. The name of Morillo could still inspire hatred, but no longer dismay and despair.

CHAPTER VI.

ATTITUDE OF FOREIGN NATIONS.—BRITISH VOLUNTEERS.—
 CAMPAIGN OF BOLIVAR IN NEW GRANADA.—BRILLIANT
 SUCCESSES.—DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF THE ROYALISTS.
 —GRATITUDE OF THE PEOPLE.—UNION OF THE STATES
 OF NEW GRANADA AND VENEZUELA UNDER THE TITLE
 OF COLOMBIA.—REVERSES AND SUCCESSES
 OF THE PATRIOTS.

DURING this terrible internecine warfare, which had now lasted for nearly nine years, the patriots of Venezuela and New Granada had sustained themselves, unaided, against the powerful royalist factions and the forces dispatched from Spain to effect their reſubjugation. Unsuccessful application for aſſiſtance had been made to the British government, and ſeveral miſſions, with no better fortune, had been diſpatched to the United States of America—that country, ſtill feeble and in its infancy, not daring, as yet, to hazard its newly-acquired liberties by any unneceſſary ſtep, involving a war with the European powers. Overtures for the ſame purpoſe were finally made to Napoleon himſelf, the very enemy to reſiſt whom the initiatory ſteps of revolution had been taken; but when arrangements were actually making for the effective aid of the republicans, the battle of Leipsic, crippling the power of the emperor at home, left him without the means of aiding the cauſe of freedom in South America.

Some tardy movements in favour of acknowledging the independence of the ſuffering provinces at length took place in the United States, and ſome volunteers, with ſupplies of munitions, were afforded by private ſympathy. To the honour of the British nation, conſiderable numbers of its people embarked in the ſame generous cauſe. In 1818 and 1819, ſeveral hundred volunteers, with large ſupplies of arms and munitions, and commanded by experienced officers, arrived at Margarita, and were ſoon tranſported to the main-land.

Bolivar now reſolved on carrying the war into New Granada, where the royaliſts, for ſome time, had been completely in the aſcendant. The particulars of this remarkable campaign, one of the moſt brilliant, conſidering the ſmall forces engaged, on record, muſt be briefly detailed. Taking with him a force of picked troops,

including the British auxiliaries, the president, in the month of April, commenced a march obstructed by extraordinary difficulties. "The rainy season," he reports, "had commenced, and the plains presented only vast sheets of inundation; the frozen summits of the Andes lay in our route; the sudden mutations of adverse climates were to be encountered; a well-disciplined army, three times our own number, were in front of us, and occupying all the military positions of those regions." At Casanare, where he was joined by Santander, he issued an eloquent proclamation to the people of New Granada. In a terrible march, lasting an entire month, through that province, the patriots underwent the greatest hardships and sufferings. They finally came upon the enemy at La Guya, on the 27th of June, 1819, and dislodged them from a strong position, which might have been made good, even against an overwhelming force. A succession of brilliant victories ensued. On the 1st of July, in the Valley of Sagamoso, in Tunja, Bolivar encountered the royalist army, under Bareyro, and, after an obstinate conflict, protracted till late in the night, compelled it, in great disorder, to retreat. On the 25th of the same month, at Pantano de Bargas, after a battle of five hours, contested with great desperation, the royal forces were again defeated, and fled in confusion, leaving their artillery, baggage, and treasure on the field. Pursued by the army of liberation, they were overtaken, on the 7th of August, at the bridge of Boyaca, and again suffered a defeat so overwhelming as almost to decide the fate of the war. Their general, with a great number of officers and sixteen hundred men (more than half their number), were made prisoners; a great quantity of munitions of war fell into the hands of the patriots; and the relics of the royalist troops, pursued by Santander, fled from the scene of action.

On receipt of this startling intelligence, the viceroy, Samana, precipitately quitted Santa Fe, leaving all his military stores and a treasure of some millions of dollars. The whole fell into the hands of the patriot army, who were received at the capital of New Granada with the utmost exultation; and Bolivar, his title of Liberator confirmed by these extraordinary exploits and their splendid result, was welcomed by the people with a transport of joy and enthusiasm. He had, indeed, well earned their gratitude and admiration, having in the brief space of three months, in the face of innumerable natural obstacles, defeated and dispersed an army three times greater than his own, and liberated, in rapid succession, the most oppressed prov-

inces of New Granada. Improving with the greatest diligence these advantages, by the 20th of September, he had two armies on foot for the liberation of the provinces of the north and south, still in possession of the enemy; and having established a provisional government, he posted with wonderful rapidity to Angostura, where the Venezuelan congress was in session. (December, 1819.)

In an address to that body, after commemorating the achievements of his little army, he announced the desire of New Granada for a political union of the two states, and his own conviction of the necessity of the measure in ensuring the Independence of South America. So great was the weight of his personal influence, and so apparent were the advantages likely to result from the arrangement, that on the 17th of the month a law was passed, providing for the union of the two provinces, under the title of the "Republic of Colombia," consolidating the national debts, ordaining the erection of a capital, to bear the name of their deliverer, and summoning a general congress, to meet in January, 1821, with power to form a constitution for the new commonwealth. This resolution being communicated to the republican authorities of New Granada, the step was unanimously approved, and in the midst of universal exultation, the new commonwealth was solemnly proclaimed at Santa Fe de Bogota. Ten liberated provinces joyfully acceded to the Union. This important measure accomplished, the president, with forces recruited to the number of ten or twelve thousand men, again devoted his energies to the war.

On the coast, considerable disasters had attended the patriot arms. McGregor, in April, 1819, after having captured Porto Bello, and held it for three weeks, was overcome by a royalist force, and lost his entire command of one thousand men, except a few who escaped with him by swimming to their vessels. Another small detachment, which he afterwards left at Rio de la Hacha, being also overpowered, blew up the fort, to their own destruction, rather than fall into the hands of the Spaniards.

Of the British auxiliaries, about five hundred in number, engaged in Bolivar's last campaign, only a quarter had survived; yet fresh reinforcements continued to arrive from the same quarter. General D'Evreux, a native of Ireland, (naturalized a citizen of the United States,) raised a force of one thousand of his countrymen, with whom he arrived at Colombia in season for the campaign of 1820. Bolivar, after repairing to the capital of New Granada, in

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March of that year, encouraging the hopes of the republicans, and cementing the union by his eloquence, repaired to his army on the Apure. Rio de la Hacha was presently taken, and the southern army of New Granada, with similar success, assailed the enemy, and expelled them from the province of Popayan.

CHAPTER VII.

REVOLUTION IN SPAIN.—OVERTURES OF THE SPANISH LEADERS.—RESOLUTION OF THE PATRIOTS.—THE ARMISTICE.—THE WAR RENEWED.—HUMANE POLICY OF BOLIVAR.—SIGNAL VICTORIES OF THE REPUBLICANS.—THE SPANIARDS COMPLETELY EXPELLED FROM COLOMBIA.—INDEPENDENCE OF THAT STATE ACKNOWLEDGED.

MEANWHILE, the revolution in Spain, reëstablishing the Cortes, had taken place, and Morillo, in accordance with instructions from the new government, proposed a suspension of hostilities and the opening of negotiations. The Colombian congress, which convened in May, declared, in reply, that they would with pleasure terminate hostilities, but on no other condition than that of national independence. Bolivar, in answer to the official announcement of Morillo, replied in the same strain. "The republic of Colombia," he says, "most sincerely congratulates itself on seeing the day in which liberty extends her beneficent influence over unhappy Spain, and to see her ancient metropolis treading in the steps of Colombia, and in the path of reason. The people of Colombia, more than ten years ago, resolved to consecrate the last of its members to the only cause worthy of the sacrifice of peace—that is, the cause of an oppressed country; and confiding in the sacredness of their cause, in the most solemn manner, on the 20th of November, 1813, resolved to combat perpetually against all exterior domination, and not to be reconciled to peace but upon the recognition of absolute independence." He enclosed the law referred to, and avowed his readiness to receive the royalist commissioners.

The arms of the republicans, meanwhile, though no very decisive battle took place, were continually gaining ground, and the hopes of the Spaniards to regain ascendancy were proportionably dimin-

ishing. Besides these advantages, Guayaquil, with a number of the adjacent provinces, succeeded in throwing off the Spanish yoke. Maracaibo followed the example; and all the northern part of New Granada, except the city of Carthagena, and the isthmus of Panama, by the beginning of 1821, was in the hands of the patriots. Despite the triumphant success in arms which these events portended, Bolivar, willing to spare the effusion of blood, in November, 1820, had consented to an armistice, while negotiations should be attempted. It was resolved, however, that no terms, save those of absolute independence, should be accepted from Spain, and the congress, with cogent argument, in their manifesto, assign reasons for this determination. "On commencing hostilities," affirms that document, "Colombia neither had great armies nor the materials to form them; to-day she has skillful generals, expert officers, veteran soldiers inured to war, and plenty of arms and ammunition.

"Many citizens were then afraid of being soldiers; now they are all in arms, and delight in being so. Colombians are no longer what they were; and the population of Colombia are a new people, regenerated by a ten years' contest, in which have disappeared those physical and moral disqualifications which rendered her independence doubtful, and are become worthy and fit to govern themselves, instead of obeying another's will, or any sovereignty but their own."

Morillo, after the ratification of the armistice, returned to Spain, where the cruelties which he had exercised toward the patriots were rewarded with the title of Count of Carthagena. Negotiation had proved unsuccessful, and in the month of April, 1821, both parties, the Spanish under Morales and La Torre, prepared for hostilities. The Colombian government had sent commissioners to Spain, where, in May, 1821, a project for bestowing a representative government on the refractory colonies was agitated in the Cortes, but was finally rejected on account of the determined objections of Ferdinand. On the 17th of April, 1821, Bolivar issued a proclamation to the army, affirming that Spain, though herself in possession of a representative government, was still inclined to establish tyranny over the provinces. He appointed hostilities to recommence at the end of the month, commanding, however, that the war should be conducted according to the law of nations, on penalty of capital punishment against all transgressors; "if the enemy," he adds, "should disregard these regulations, we shall not imitate them; the glory of Colombia shall not be stained with blood dishonourably shed."

On the 6th of May, the general congress convened at Rosario de Cucuta, and Bolivar made to them a formal resignation of his office of president, considering it as incompatible with the chief military command; but yielding to the earnest persuasions of that body, consented, for a time, to continue to exercise the chief power of both departments in his single person.

Hostilities resumed, the patriots, under Urdaneta, seized upon Coro. Another division, under Bermudez, gained temporary possession of Caracas itself, but were compelled to retire by Morales. In the month of June, that general, with La Torre, had concentrated an army of six thousand men on the plains of Carobobo. The army of liberation, nearly the same in number, under Bolivar and the brave Paez, on the 24th of June, passing through a defile in the mountains, engaged them. Such was the impetuosity of their charge, that the royalist forces, with the exception of a few, who took refuge in Porto Cabello, were completely defeated and dispersed. The loss of the patriots, in killed and wounded, was about four hundred. Having ordered Porto Cabello to be besieged, and taken other measures against the discomfited enemy, Bolivar marched toward Caracas, which city, abandoned by the royalists on the 29th of June, he entered amid the exulting transports of a vast multitude of the people.

On the 23d of September, Carthagená surrendered to the squadron under Brion, Cúmana was presently occupied by Bermudez, and nothing remained to the Spaniards but Porto Cabello, Quito and the isthmus of Panama. The latter, in December, declared itself independent of the Spanish government, and signified its desire to be enrolled in the republican confederacy. Bolivar was now at liberty to direct his main strength against the royalists of the south, and, accordingly, in the spring of 1822, with an army of seven thousand men, he gave battle to the enemy, who had concentrated their forces at Pichineha. The result was a complete and overwhelming victory, due, in great measure, to the exertions of the brave young General Sucre; and the liberating army, amid the universal acclamations of the enfranchised citizens, entered Quito in triumph.

On the coast, the republicans were greatly annoyed for a time by Morales, who, by his vessels, carried on a species of piratical warfare, but whose fleet, commanded by Laborde, on the 23d of July, 1823, was utterly defeated and destroyed by the Colombian squadron, under General Padilla. The Spaniards lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, nearly two thousand men, and Morales, in consequence,

was compelled to surrender at Maracaibo. Despite the atrocities which he had committed, and the forfeiture of his rights as a prisoner of war, he was treated humanely, and, with his men, was permitted to embark for Cuba. Porto Cabello, the Spanish fleet destroyed, was closely invested both by land and sea; and on the 1st of December, 1823, La Torre, who commanded it, was compelled to capitulate.

With this event ended a civil war, lasting for twelve years, contested in a hundred battles, and distinguished for almost innumerable scenes of courage, of cruelty, of indomitable patriotism and obstinate tyranny. Though the arms of the patriots were disgraced by many excesses, it must be remembered that they were the last to adopt and the first to relinquish that savage system of internecine vengeance which converts warfare into murder, and reduces man to the wild elements of his barbarous nature. These excesses on the part of the republicans, may be palliated, in some degree, by the insidious, but not altogether inadmissible plea of necessity, while the wonderful qualities of bravery, endurance, and perseverance displayed in their protracted struggle, must always secure the respect and admiration of the historical reader.

In August of 1821, the congress had adopted a constitution, and Bolivar had been elected president under its provisions. The nation first to recognize the independence of the new republic of Colombia was, of right, that which had first set the example of resistance to foreign domination—the United States of America. The European powers, though in general tacitly admitting the actual existence of the new state, were more tardy in making formal acknowledgment of its independence.

The transactions of Bolivar in Peru, after the liberation of his own people, have already, in the history of that country, been briefly described. Having traced the Colombian revolution from its commencement to its final success, to the expulsion of the Spaniards, and the establishment of a republican government, we leave it—the subsequent domestic troubles of the new republic, and its separation into the independent states of Equador, New Granada, and Venezuela, not coming properly within the limits of our subject. Of late years, indeed, in the South American states, revolutions and *pronunciamientos* have succeeded each other with such startling rapidity as almost to baffle the compiler of news, and to warrant their present exclusion from the province of history.

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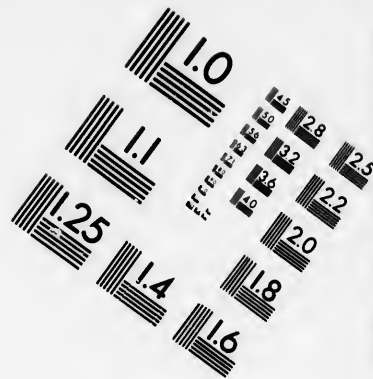
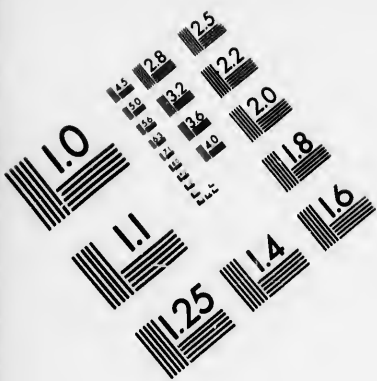
B O L I V I A .

THE REVOLUTION IN LA PAZ.—A JUNTA ESTABLISHED.—THE CITY TAKEN BY THE ROYALISTS.—THEIR CRUELITIES.—THE PATRIOT ARMY MARCHES FROM BUENOS AYRES.—ITS SUCCESS AND SUBSEQUENT DEFEAT.—SECOND ATTEMPT AT REVOLUTION.—MASSACRES IN COCHABAMBA AND POTOSI.—SECOND EXPEDITION FROM BUENOS AYRES.—ITS DISCOMFITURE.—GUERRILLA WARFARE.—BOLIVIA EMANCIPATED BY THE VICTORY OF AYACUCHO.

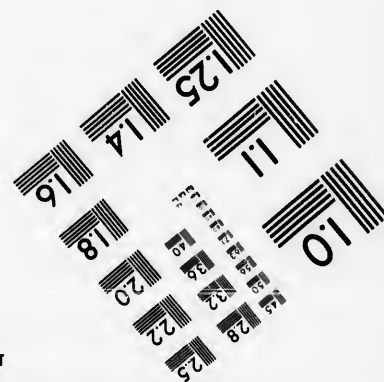
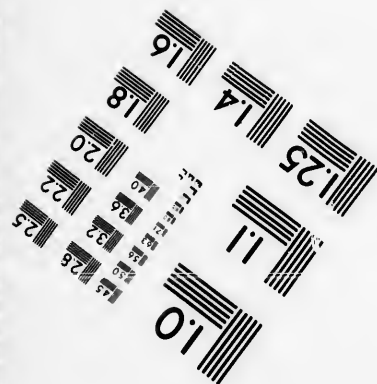
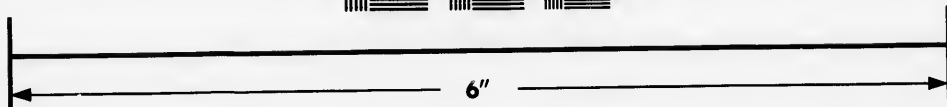
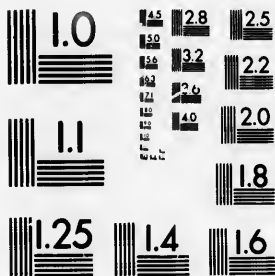
THE seven provinces now known as Bolivia, and formerly as Upper Peru, were the earliest theatre of war between the patriots and the tyrants of South America; but, the operations in these territories having been mainly carried on by the republicans of Buenos Ayres, (or the United Provinces,) their relation may be mostly deferred to the account of the revolution in that country. Other events, of much interest, belong more exclusively to the subject of our title.

The citizens of La Paz, deservedly distinguished for their courage and intelligence, on the 25th of March, 1809, excited by the example of Spain in forming a popular government, held a public meeting in that city to consider their political prospect. Having deposed the colonial authorities and created a provisional executive, they proclaimed their right to an elective government, in the same manner as exercised by Spain itself. To suppress this popular movement, an army, under Cieto, was dispatched against them by Cisneros, the viceroy of Buenos Ayres, and another from Peru, under the ferocious Goyeneche. The latter, arriving first before La Paz, took it, after a resolute defence, and executed numbers of the principal citizens. Cisneros, to whom he applied for directions, commanded that all in prison should be put to death; but fortunately, before this sanguinary measure was accomplished, the revolution in Buenos Ayres, overthrowing his authority, saved the lives of a portion of the victims.





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La Paz, however, was almost completely depopulated; and the inhabitants who escaped, betaking themselves to the mountains and forests, maintained a desperate defence against the royal forces until they perished by famine or in battle.

The revolution in Buenos Ayres having broken out, and a popular government being established there, an army was dispatched against the royalists in Upper Peru. Balcarce, the commander, after gaining several victories, and exercising some sanguinary reprisals, with six thousand men approached the royal army, somewhat less, under Goyeneche, at the village of Desaguadero. An armistice for forty days, however, was concluded, which enabled the latter to strengthen his forces, and by appealing to the religious fanaticism of his ignorant soldiery, (assuring them that the Buenos Ayreans had come to take away their religion, and that the Virgin in person had taken charge of their own ranks,) inflamed their zeal and courage to the highest point. His object effected, on the 20th of July, 1811, without waiting for the conclusion of the armistice, he attacked the patriot army at Guaqui with such suddenness and fury, that they were completely routed, and fled from the field, leaving all their artillery and baggage in the hands of the enemy. Upper Peru, after this decisive defeat, remained, for the most part, in the hands of the royalists until the memorable victory of Sucre, at Ayacucho, in 1824, and his liberation of the long-oppressed provinces of Peru.

In 1813, enkindled by the victory of Belgrano, in Salta, over the royalist army, the flame of revolution again broke out in the departments of La Paz and Cochabamba. The Spaniards were expelled from the latter by the patriots under Arce, and a junta was established in its capital. Goyeneche, with the flower of his army, marched against that city, and, though the junta would have submitted to his superior force, the inhabitants, preferring every extremity of war to Spanish mercy, resolved to hold out to the last. "The city was defended with matchless valour and resolution; the inhabitants fought with a fury and desperation which nothing but tyranny and cruelty could inspire; the women mixed promiscuously with the men, and combatted with equal ardour and courage, regardless alike of hardships and dangers. But the patriots had more bravery than discipline; their efforts were irregular, and they were in a great measure destitute of arms, but they fought with the best weapons they could obtain. After a most fearful struggle, the royalists entered the city over the dead bodies of its inhabitants; such as survived were

devoted to massacre and rapine. The city was delivered up to the lawless plunder of a ferocious soldiery, and exhibited a picture of desolation and horror.*

While these atrocities were enacting in Cochabamba, another insurrection, which had broken out in Potosi, was suppressed by Emas, an officer of Goyeneche, with the same savage ferocity. More than sixty villages were laid waste, and the country was converted into a desert; and the brutal commander, when finally satiated with massacre, amused himself by cutting off the ears of the patriots whom he captured, and setting them, thus disfigured, at liberty. Reinforced by troops from Lima, the royalist forces defeated Belgrano and the army of Buenos Ayres, in two sanguinary engagements. The survivors from the massacre of Cochabamba, escaping into the Valla Grande, and uniting with the patriots of Santa Cruz, gained, indeed, some signal advantages; and a partisan warfare, distinguished by great rancour and cruelty on both sides, was waged, with much success to the republican arms. La Paz was retaken from the royalists, who in their malice poisoned all the springs of water in that city, and blew up a barrack, by which three hundred of the patriots were killed. Such was the fury inspired in the latter by these outrages, that they cut the throat of every Spaniard in the city.

Reverses soon overtook the insurgents in their defeat by Pezuela, and their forced retreat toward Cuzco. Conspicuous in their ranks was an Indian named Pomakagua, who, in the war with Tupac Amaru, had taken the royal side, and had been rewarded with the title of general and with other honours. This bold chief, assuming the republican cause, had attacked Arequipa, where, after a sharp fight, he defeated the royalists, and took the town, with the Spanish governor and commander-in-chief; but was finally defeated, after displaying the most heroic valour, by Pezuela and Ramirez, and with other prisoners suffered death by execution at Cuzco.

Rondeau, commanding an army of Buenos Ayreans, now advanced into the country, and, after gaining two victories, took possession of Potosi and Cochabamba. In attempting to keep open the communication between these two places, he was defeated at the hard-fought battle of Sipesipe, and the unfortunate Cochabambians, who had prepared triumphal arches in honour of his anticipated victory, once more beheld their city a prey to rapine and massacre. After this signal defeat, the Buenos Ayreans were unable to maintain possession

* Niles' History of South America and Mexico.

of the upper provinces, and the war was reduced to a guerilla contest, in which Padilla, Warnes, and other popular leaders, still maintained the cause of independence.

The great victory of Bolivar's general, Sucre, over the royal army at Ayacucho, in 1824, was decisive, not only of the fate of Peru, but of the adjoining provinces. The victorious general marched into Upper Peru, where many of the royalist garrisons surrendered without opposition, or declared in favour of independence. Olaneta, the chief commander in that region, after an ineffectual resistance, was slain, and all the troops in the country, to the number of five or six thousand, surrendered. The total result of that splendid victory, indeed, was a loss to the enemy, in the two Perus, of more than eighteen thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Brazilians, who had commenced aggressions against the distracted state, were compelled, by the prompt resistance of the patriot general, to withdraw their forces.

The country freed from foreign domination, a general congress, convened at Chiquisaca, on the 6th of August, 1825, published a declaration of independence, averring that "the happy day has arrived when Upper Peru has become liberated from unjust power, from the tyrannic and wretched Ferdinand VII., and this fertile region has escaped the debasing relation of a colony of Spain; that it is important to its welfare not to incorporate itself with any of the co-terminous republics, but to erect itself into a sovereign and independent state, in relation to the new as well as the old world; that the provinces of Upper Peru, firm and unanimous in their resolution, proclaim to the whole earth that they will govern themselves, under their own constitution, laws, and authorities, in that way which they may think most conducive to the prosperity of the nation, the inviolable support of the Catholic religion, and the maintenance of the sacred rights of honour, life, liberty, equality, property and security. To carry into effect this determination, they bind themselves through this sovereign representation, by their lives, property, and sacred honour." It is supposed that Bolivar, whose armies had accomplished their liberation, had desired the union of these provinces with those of Lower Peru; but he offered no interference with the free action of the people he had served. In honour of the Liberator of South America, the title of Bolivia was adopted by the new state, and suitable rewards and honours were decreed to Sucre, and to the patriot army to which it was indebted for its rescue from Spanish tyranny.

UNITED PROVINCES OF LA PLATA.

CHAPTER I.

CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION IN BUENOS AYRES.—THE VICEROYS
LINIERS AND CISNEROS.—THEIR FATE.—WARS WITH THE
ROYALISTS IN UPPER PERU: IN MONTE VIDEO.—DISSEN-
SIONS AMONG THE PATRIOTS.—RAPID CHANGES OF
GOVERNMENT.—ALTERNATE SUCCESSES OF THE
PATRIOTS AND ROYALISTS.—SAN MARTIN.—
FALL OF MONTE VIDEO.—ELECTION OF
PUYREDON AS SUPREME DIRECTOR.

THE almost interminable civil feuds—the innumerable succession of general or local rulers, and the inextricably tangled condition of domestic politics in the government or governments of those extensive provinces, watered by the Rio de la Plata, and since known as the Argentine Republic, (or Republic of La Plata,) during their protracted revolution, will necessarily confine the account of that struggle to the facts most important in their emancipation from Spanish authority. The first impulse to that emancipation was given, as with all the South American states, by the disturbed condition of the government at home.

When, in July, 1808, news arrived at Buenos Ayres of the "cessions of Bayonne," and the consequent ascendancy of the French interest in Spain, the viceroy, Liniers, exerted his influence in favor of Napoleon. Elio, the governor of Monte Video, accusing him of treason, separated his own province from its allegiance, and found his conduct approved by Goyencche, agent of the Spanish revolutionary junta. The latter, as we have seen, however, used every exertion, and committed every cruelty in attempting to suppress a spirit of revolution in the colonies.

The leaders of the patriot party in Buenos Ayres—Castelli, Belgrano, Chiclana, Thompson, and others—undeterred by the terrible example of the patriots at La Paz, resolved to take advantage of these disturbances to erect a popular government. By secret influence, they gained over three regiments quartered in the city, to the popular cause, and when, in May, 1810, news arrived of the probable subjugation of the peninsula by the French, the municipal authorities summoned a meeting of the citizens to consider their condition. At this assembly, after long and animated debate, the people, protected by an armed guard, passed resolutions deposing the viceroy, Cisneros, and creating a provisional government.

At a meeting of the citizens of Monte Video, these proceedings were approved, and adhesion was promised to the new government; but the Spaniards in that city, landing troops from the vessels in the harbour, were enabled, by the aid of the deposed viceroys, Liniers and Cisneros, and the Spanish governors of Paraguay and other provinces, to create a formidable opposition. They were, however, defeated by the popular forces; Cisneros and others were compelled to quit the country, while Liniers and other commanders who had openly levied war and ravaged the country, were executed.

The patriot army, which, under General Balcarce, had been dispatched against the Spaniards of Upper Peru, at first met with complete success, defeating the royalist army, though strongly posted, after an obstinate action, at Suypacha, and executing the captive generals Nieto, Sanz, and Cordova. The victory of Tupiza followed, and the Buenos Ayrean army was in possession of a great part of the country; but Goyeneche, violating, as we have seen, the armistice agreed upon, defeated them, and regained possession of most of the country. His army, however, was greatly annoyed by numerous parties of guerillas, which harassed it with continued desultory attacks, and prevented his complete occupation of the country; and, although he issued the savage order that every prisoner should be shot, he was unable to repress this last resource of a wronged and desperate people.

Elio, who had now been appointed by the Spanish government as viceroy over the provinces of Rio de la Plata, held that of Monte Video or the Banda Oriental, (since known as the state of Uruguay,) and opposed a formidable hostility to the republican cause; but the patriot troops, under Rondeau and Artigas, having gained a signal victory over the royalists of Las Piedras, marched against his capital,

to which they laid siege. The viceroy, in despair, applied for assistance to the Portuguese government in Brazil, and through the influence of the Princess Charlotte, sister to Ferdinand VII., obtained four thousand men, which, under General Sousa, were dispatched to his assistance. On the arrival of these levies, a truce was concluded, the patriots and the Portuguese both engaging to return to their homes—an agreement, however, violated by the latter, who continued hostilities in the provinces of the Rio de la Plata. Buenos Ayres was now threatened, both by the latter and by the royalists of Upper Peru, who had defeated the republican army dispatched thither, and had gained possession of the province of Salta; but the advance of the Portuguese was checked by Sarratieu, a member of the government, who, with four thousand troops, marched against them. By a treaty with the Brazilian minister, (June, 1812,) an indefinite armistice was agreed on, and the foreign troops were withdrawn from the territory. Belgrano, with the army of Peru, having retreated before the royalist general, Tristan, to Tacuman, made a stand there, and on the 24th of December, defeated his antagonist with a loss of eleven hundred men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

During these transactions, it is almost impossible to keep track of the continual changes in the popular government of Buenos Ayres. Conspiracies and treasons were rife, and, on one occasion, for forming a plot to defeat the revolution and put to death the principal leaders, twenty citizens, some of them wealthy and influential, were tried and executed. Elio having violated the treaty, Monte Video was again besieged, and, in the course of the campaign, Colonel San Martin, afterwards so famous as the Liberator of Chili, first distinguished himself by defeating the enemy on the river Parana. (February, 1813.) At the same time, Belgrano, being reinforced, attacked the royalists under Tristan, in Salta, and, after a hard-fought action of four hours, again defeated them, and, in effect, made prisoners of the whole army. This advantage, however, was lost to the patriot arms, in consequence of the treachery of Tristan, who, with his troops, having been permitted to depart on taking oath not to serve against the republicans, nevertheless immediately joined the army of Goyeneche.

Pezuela, who succeeded the latter, again engaged the victorious general, not far from Potosi, and gained the advantage. In another action, near the close of November, the patriots, after fighting with admirable courage and obstinacy, were again defeated, and were

compelled once more to relinquish Upper Peru to the enemy. Buenos Ayres was once again threatened with the march of hostile armies from opposite directions.

In this disastrous and ominous condition of affairs, the valour and genius of San Martin, who succeeded Belgrano, came most opportunely to the service of the patriot cause. In a brief time, he raised a fresh army of three thousand five hundred men, for the defence of the country, and so skillfully directed the operations of the guerrillas that the enemy, continually harassed and deprived of provisions, were compelled to relinquish Salta and other provinces to the republicans. This success was attended by others equally cheering. The little fleet of Buenos Ayres, commanded by Mr. Brown, an English merchant of that city, gained a decided victory over that of the enemy, and assisted in pressing the siege of Monte Video. Vigodet, who had succeeded Elio, was finally compelled to surrender to the besieging forces, under Alvear, and five thousand five hundred prisoners, with eleven thousand muskets, and an immense quantity of other military stores, fell into the hands of the victors.

This success led to an instant renewal of anarchy among the patriots. Artigas claimed and seized the government of Monte Video, and Alvear (January, 1815) gave deep discontent by obtaining the chief directorship of Buenos Ayres. Civil dissensions prevailed until the latter, an object of popular odium, was compelled to leave the country. Foreign disasters succeeded these domestic quarrels. By the victory of Sipesipe, in November, 1815, the most important provinces in Upper Peru were again thrown into possession of the royalists, and finally, after revolution on revolution, the supreme directorship, under better auspices, in March, 1816, was conferred on Juan Martin Pueyredon, whose election quieted the factions in the capital, and for a time gave stability to the government.

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CHAPTER II.

FEUDS OF THE PATRIOTS.—OBSTINACY OF ARTIGAS.—THE PORTUGUESE TAKE MONTE VIDEO, AND DEFEAT THE REPUBLICAN ARMY.—SAN MARTIN.—HIS PASSAGE OF THE ANDES AND VICTORIOUS CAMPAIGN IN CHILI.—UPPER PERU.—CONTINUED RESISTANCE OF THE BANDA ORIENTAL.

AFTER providing for the defence of the country against its external enemies, the director turned his attention to reconciling or crushing its domestic foes. He sent a supply of arms and munitions to Artigas, at Monte Video, to assist him in repelling the Portuguese; but that officer, having received them, refused to listen to overtures of friendship. At Santa Fe, despite the attempts of the capital to overawe or negotiate, the citizens maintained an attitude of determined hostility to the general government. Notwithstanding these untoward circumstances, the congress, convened from a number of states on the 9th of July, 1816, issued a manifesto, declaring the independence of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata.

Meanwhile, in Upper Peru, the arms of the patriots again met with considerable success. Colonel Padilla, attacked by a division of the royalist army, entrusted the command of several posts to his captains, and one to his *wife*. The enemy assaulted furiously, but were completely repulsed and defeated, and were pursued by the victors till they arrived at a place of defence. The lady presented her husband a standard of the enemy, taken with her own hands, and was afterwards appropriately rewarded by government with the commission and pay of a lieutenant-colonel. Another victory was obtained by Warnes over a body of a thousand men, commanded by the bloody Facon, in which the latter were almost entirely destroyed. In the provinces of Salta and Jujuy, Guemes and other guerilla leaders waged a desultory, but highly successful warfare.

In December, 1816, the Portuguese made a grand demonstration against the new commonwealth. Troops were shipped from Lisbon, and an army of ten thousand men was collected at Rio Grande. This force, in three divisions, under Generals Lecor, Silveira, and Curau, invaded the Banda Oriental. Despite some spirited local

opposition, this overwhelming force took possession of the capital, Monte Video, and Artigas was reduced to practice a guerilla warfare against the invaders in the open country. These disasters were succeeded by a severe defeat of the patriot army, under La Torre, who, after a sanguinary action at Arayo de los Catalanos, were routed with great loss. In the face of these miserable reverses, and of the general desire of the inhabitants of his province, Artigas still refused to unite with the confederacy.

These misfortunes on the sea-board were in some degree compensated by the splendid success of San Martin, in his memorable campaign of Chili. The latter country had assisted the United Provinces, with men and money, against Elio; and San Martin, now governor of Cuyo or Mendoza, conceived the project of serving the cause of freedom in both countries, by a vigorous assault on the common enemy, in their strongholds of Chili. Though his province was thinly peopled, and much wasted and impoverished by the Spaniards, so great was the personal devotion of the people to their chief, that they placed all their means and services at his disposal. Six hundred slaves, three hundred horses, and ten thousand mules were provided for the service of the expedition; troops were transported from Buenos Ayres; and after a year spent in preparation and discipline, the daring commander set forth on an expedition, from its difficulties and extraordinary success, one of the most memorable in martial history.

"He had to cross the majestic Andes, with an army accompanied with baggage and artillery, which for three hundred miles presented rugged and almost inaccessible summits and narrow defiles, admitting of two persons only abreast, along the giddy verge of frightful precipices, where eternal frosts hold their undisputed reign. This passage with an army over the highest mountains in the world, is an achievement more daring and difficult than that of the renowned Hannibal in crossing the Alps; and perhaps there is nothing on the page of history that surpasses it. But no obstacles could shake the purpose of San Martin; no difficulties were too great for his genius to overcome. In thirteen days the frozen Andes were vanquished and passed, with the loss of five thousand horses and mules and of a few men. The liberating army, soon after, encountered the enemy at Chacabueo; and the veterans who had conquered the Andes, experienced no difficulty in vanquishing the instruments of tyranny. Seldom has a victory been more complete or a triumph more splendid. 'In twenty-four days,' said the commander, 'we have crossed

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the most elevated mountains of the globe, terminated the campaign, put an end to the sway of tyrants and given liberty to Chili.' The remnant of the royalists took refuge in Talcahuano. The inhabitants formed a junta at Santiago, and as a reward for his services offered to San Martin the dictatorship of Chili, which he declined, and this power was vested in Bernardo O'Higgins.

"After this splendid victory, *the General of the Andes*, as San Martin was now called, returned to Buenos Ayres to concert a plan with the government to direct the victorious arms of the republic against Peru. As he approached Mendoza, the capital of Cuyo, all the inhabitants of the town flocked out to meet him; the youth strewed the road with roses, and all demonstrated the most lively sensations of admiration and joy at beholding the hero of the Andes and the Liberator of Chili. At Buenos Ayres, the same sentiments prevailed, and preparations were making to receive him with every mark of respect and honour; but being apprized of what was intended, he stole into the city unobserved, to the no small disappointment of the people."*

In Upper Peru, the talent and energy of Belgrano had now, in great measure, redeemed the republican cause. Serna, the chief commander of the royalist forces, was compelled to retreat before the attacks of the guerillas, and the ferocious Facon was destroyed, accidentally (or providentially), by a stroke of lightning. The Banda Oriental, under Artigas, still maintained an attitude of hostility to the rest of the republic; and two successive detachments, dispatched by the director to reduce the refractory province, under Montes de Oca and Colonel Balcarce, were furiously attacked by the Monte Videan chief, and completely defeated.

* Niles' South America.

CHAPTER III.

AFFAIRS IN CHILI —DISASTERS OF THE PATRIOTS. —VICTORY OF SAN MARTIN AT THE PLAINS OF MAYPU. —INDEPENDENCE OF CHILI SECURED. —CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED PROVINCES. —RESIGNATION OF PUEYREDON. —CONTINUED CIVIL DISSENSIONS. —FINAL RESTORATION OF HARMONY. —THE REPUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGED BY THE UNITED STATES.

IN Chili, San Martin and O'Higgins were now strenuously attempting to reduce the strong fortress of Talcahuano, the last refuge of the royalists in that country. But the viceroy of Lima contrived to throw a force of fifteen hundred men into the disputed post; and not long after, resolved to anticipate the intended attack of San Martin in Peru, landed five thousand troops, under General Osorio, at the same place. That commander, with a force of eight thousand men, now assumed the offensive, and marched for the capital of Chili. San Martin, after somewhat annoying his march, on the 19th of March, made a successful attack on the enemy, whose van was driven into the streets of Talca. But that same night the royalist general in turn attacked the encampment of the patriots with such suddenness and fury that they were completely routed, and San Martin, with the relics of his army, was compelled to retreat to the pass of Angulemu.

Undismayed by this disaster, he betook himself to the capital, where, by extraordinary exertions, a fresh army was raised, which, on the 5th of April, 1818, on the Plains of Maypu, again engaged the enemy. A most splendid victory, in which the Spanish army was nearly annihilated, was the result. The independence of Chili and Peru was secured, and San Martin, the object of enthusiastic gratitude and admiration, his project fully accomplished, returned to Buenos Ayres.

On the 25th of May, 1819, the congress of the United Provinces publicly proclaimed a constitution, of a federal nature, and not materially differing from that of the United States of America. Legislation was vested in two houses, one composed of deputies elected by the people, and the other of senators elected by the provinces. The executive power was placed in the hands of a single person, called

the director. Equality of all citizens, freedom of the press, &c., were announced. Soon after, Pueyredon, considerable disaffection to his person existing, resigned the office of supreme director, and Joseph Rondeau was chosen temporarily to fill his place, until the election of a new director under the constitution.

By a singular complication of hostilities, Artigas, who had long been bravely defending the Banda Oriental against the overwhelming forces of Brazil, after receiving the assistance and rejecting the alliance of the commonwealth, still maintained his dubious position. In February 1820, the director was defeated by the guerillas called the Monteneros, headed by Ramirez, an officer of Artigas, and such was the effect of this disaster that the authority of the central government was completely prostrated. The victor, with three thousand men, advanced within seventy miles of Buenos Ayres; and Pueyredon, with his friends, the chief objects of enmity, fled to the Portuguese for safety. Rondeau, after his defeat, returned to the capital, but his authority was at once overthrown, and a provisional government was appointed by the municipality. Treaty was then made with Ramirez, and a most rapid succession of revolutions placed the capital in the hands of one ambitious chief after another. A disgraceful secret negotiation with France by the late congress was discovered, intended to place the republic under the control of that country, and all the members who had favoured it were put under arrest.

The state of anarchy, especially in the capital, which succeeded these events is almost beyond description, and the lives of many estimable citizens were sacrificed in the civil feuds by which the whole state was distracted. The various factions under Ramirez, Carrera, and Alvear, and under Dorego and Rodriguez, were engaged in civil war, which finally, after various vicissitudes, resulted in the ascendancy of the latter at the seat of government. (October, 1820.) Carrera, indeed, still continued desperately to ravage the country; and Ramirez, the army of Artigas having been defeated and almost destroyed by the Portuguese, supplanted that chief in the command of the Banda Oriental, and threatened the city of Buenos Ayres. On the 21st of July, 1821, however, he was completely defeated by the government troops, at Francisco, and died on the field of battle, only two hundred of his men escaping. Carrera, whose whole career had been distinguished by great ferocity and carnage, was also defeated, in the following month, and on the 4th of September was shot in the public square of Mendoza. Two of

his brothers had perished on the same spot, and the only favour he asked was a burial in the same grave with them.

These civil wars at last brought to a close, the legislative junta and the executive, to quiet the rancour of the contending factions, passed an act of amnesty, and turned their attention to reforming the administration of affairs. In September, 1821, a congress from the several provinces assembled at Cordova, and efforts were made to bring about a federal union, but various sectional jealousies prevented the adoption of the plan. "The commencement of the year 1822, found the affairs of the United Provinces in a more prosperous condition; the internal enemies of the republic had been destroyed or driven out of the country; the voice of faction was silenced; the government had acquired energy and respect, and was engaged in works of improvement, in forming schools and establishing libraries, calculated to prepare the people for the appreciation and enjoyment of liberty. The papers discussed freely, and often ably, important political questions connected with their new situation. A splendid edifice for a congressional hall was erected on the same spot where, in 1780, were reared the dungeons of Oruro, in which were immured those accused of promoting the independence of Peru."* Peace was restored with Santa Fe and with other provinces heretofore at enmity with Buenos Ayres, and treaties of mutual defence and alliance were made. The Banda Oriental and its capital, Monte Video, were still retained by the Portuguese forces.

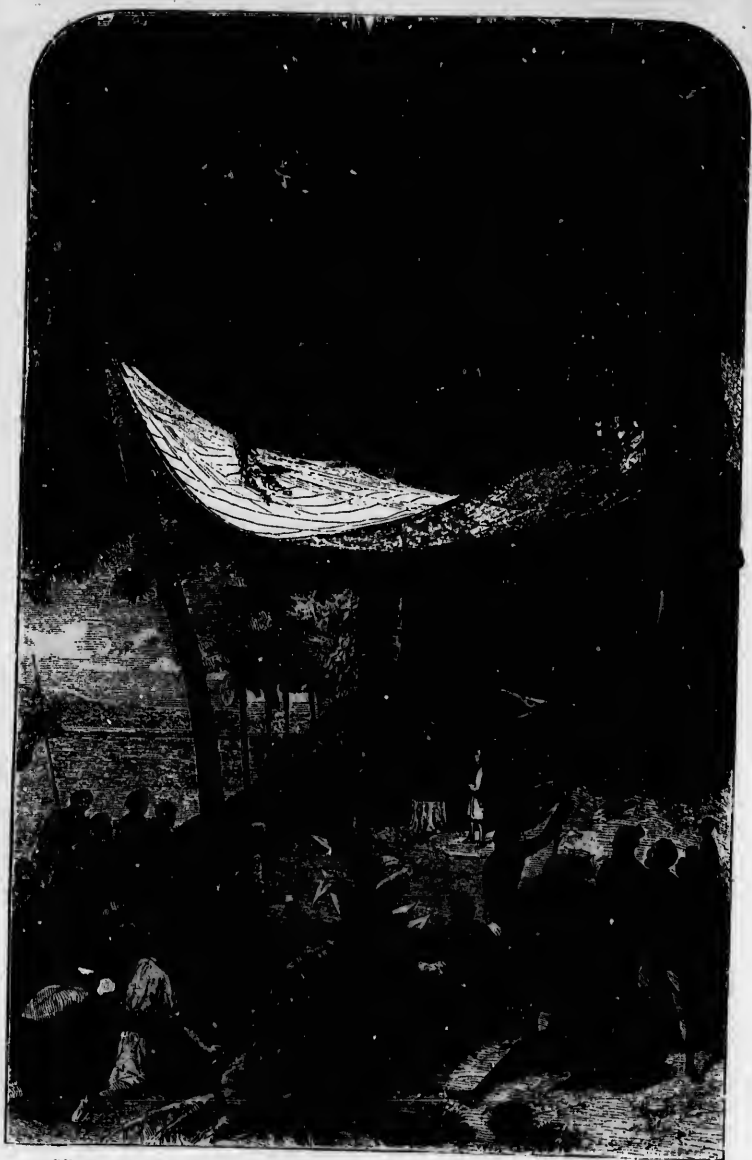
In July, 1823, strenuous attempts were made to negotiate a treaty of peace with Spain; but despite the liberal conduct of the congress, which offered twenty millions of dollars to the mother-country, to secure her against foreign invasion, the Spanish government refused to come to terms. In autumn of the same year, Mr. Rodney, the minister from the United States, and the first envoy received by the republic from any foreign power, arrived at Buenos Ayres. His presentation to the government took place with extraordinary state and parade, and was hailed with much enthusiasm by the people; but he did not long survive his arrival, dying early in the following year. In October, 1824, Alvear, the minister dispatched in return, was presented to the executive of the United States; but his term of office was equally brief, his government recalling him to command the army destined against the royalists in Upper Peru.

* Niles' South America.

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PART III.

The Portuguese in America.

B R A Z I L.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY OF BRAZIL BY CABRAL.—OF RIO DE JANEIRO BY SOUSA.—FRENCH COLONY.—AGGRESSIONS OF THE DUTCH.—THEIR CONQUESTS.—COUNT MAURICE OF NÁSSAU.—HIS SUCCESSES.—HIS RECALL.—IMPOLICY OF THE DUTCH.—THEIR EXPULSION FROM BRAZIL.

In pursuing their splendid career of African and East Indian discovery, the Portuguese, by chance, came upon a region vastly more extensive and valuable than their most coveted acquisitions in the opposite direction. Alvarez de Cabral, in 1500, sailing with thirteen vessels, on the route to India, to avoid the calms experienced on a former voyage, took a course more to the south-west, and accidentally discovered the coast of Brazil. On the 3d of May he landed, in about seventeen degrees of south latitude, at a harbour which he called Porto Seguro, erected a cross, performed mass, took possession of the country, and named it "Terra Nova de la Vera Cruz." The natives appeared of a gentle and kindly disposition, and their complexion strongly resembled that of their visitors. He sent home a vessel, with an account of the discovery, and left on shore two convicts to learn the language of the people.

Expeditions were soon dispatched from Portugal to the newly-

discovered land, and territorial disputes with Spain were settled by an agreement that Portugal should possess all the country between the two great rivers Amazon and La Plata. A dye-wood of great value was soon discovered, and imported in quantities to Portugal; and from the name of this commodity, (Pão Brases, or wood of fire,) the appellation of the territory, by degrees, was changed to Brazil. On the 1st of January, 1535, Martin Alphonso de Sousa, sailing to this coast, discovered that splendid harbour, called by the natives Nitherohy, and which, supposing it to be the mouth of a great river, he called Rio de Janeiro—the River of January. Various settlements, however—as those of San Salvador, Pernambuco, St. Vicente, and others—were founded before the natural advantages of this admirable locality were turned to account. A colony of French Protestants, dispatched by Coligni, was planted in the new country; but the clergy, by their indiscreet zeal, became embroiled with the Portuguese, and their establishment, in 1578, was attacked and broken up by the latter.

The work of settlement by the Portuguese proceeded slowly, but uninterruptedly till the year 1626, when the Dutch, ambitious of inheriting a share in the New World, established a West India Company, and dispatched a fleet to Brazil. The intruders took possession of its capital, San Salvador, and the surrounding country. War with Spain and Portugal immediately ensued, and San Salvador was recaptured by a powerful Portuguese fleet. In 1630, forty-six Dutch vessels arrived off Pernambuco, where they landed three thousand troops. That province and several others were subdued and acquired by the invaders; and so successful were they in naval operations that, it is said, during the war, they captured five hundred and forty-seven ships, fitted out against them by Spain, together with a treasure of forty-five millions of florins.

In 1636, John Maurice, count of Nassau, with the imposing title of "Governor of Brazil and South America," dispatched from Holland with a large force, landed four thousand men on the coast, and defeated the Portuguese, after an obstinate battle, near the fortress of Porto Calvo, which, with other places, he soon after took. Four years afterwards, a fleet of ninety ships was dispatched by Spain to expel the Dutch from Brazil. A desperate action with the fleet of the latter, under Huygens, lasting for three days, ensued; but the Spaniards were at last terribly defeated, and being driven on the shoals off the coast, great numbers perished by shipwreck and of

hunger and thirst. Out of the whole command, only five vessels made their way back to Spain.

In the same year (1640) Portugal made its revolt against the long-continued domination of Spain, and John, duke of Braganza, ascended the throne. Count Maurice, believing this event to be the harbinger of peace between Portugal and Holland, redoubled his exertions to extend his conquests; and before the anticipated treaty (peace in Europe, and a ten years' truce in America) was accomplished, he had taken valuable provinces and important strongholds, both in Brazil and Africa.

The acquisitions to the foreign territory of Holland, effected by this able general and sagacious governor, were soon lost by the impolicy and mismanagement of his superiors, the Dutch West India Company. That corporation, by imposing severe and ill-judged exactions on the Portuguese settlers in their conquered provinces, excited great discontent; and Maurice, who remonstrated against this unjust and hazardous policy, was recalled. With thirteen ships-of-war, and the greater part of his forces, in 1644, he left Brazil. At that time, seven provinces, thirty towns, and forty-five fortresses had been brought by his arms under the rule of Holland; and besides the native inhabitants and the soldiers and sailors, there were twenty thousand Dutch citizens and sixty thousand negro slaves in the newly-acquired territory.

The government of the colony was next entrusted to a commission of wrong-headed citizens, who, by unwise persistence in the obnoxious measures, soon drove the Portuguese to resistance. By the connivance of the Portuguese viceroy, a revolt, headed by one John Fernandez Veira, a man of obscure origin, but of talents and influence, was commenced, and conducted with such skill and bravery, that Holland, despite her utmost exertions, was unable to repress it. She dispatched fleet after fleet to the disputed territory, and, at vast expense and loss, engaged in war with Portugal; yet, by the year 1655, her efforts all in vain, was compelled to relinquish the last of her possessions in Brazil to the enemy. Since that time, the Portuguese have remained, almost without dispute, masters of the immense empire of Brazil—an empire nearly a hundred times greater in extent than the parent-country, of which it was long a colony, and in our own day erected into an independent state, rivalling, in extent and capabilities, at least, the most powerful empires of the Old World or the New.

CHAPTER II.

BRAZIL A PENAL COLONY.—THE RESULT.—OPPRESSION OF THE NATIVES.—THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.—GOVERNOR-GENERAL APPOINTED.—STORY OF CARAMURU.—BAHIA.—THE JESUITS.—WAR WITH THE CAHETES.—MEM DE SA.—HIS CRUSADE AGAINST CANNIBALISM.—WAR WITH THE AYMORES.—THEIR CHARACTERISTICS.

THE contest between the Dutch and the Portuguese for the occupation of Brazil, and the final ascendancy of the latter having been briefly sketched, we revert to the domestic condition of the colonies first planted there by the successful nation. At an early day, convicts and criminals were transported thither, who, by their violence and oppression, exasperated the natives, at first kindly disposed to the new comers. Retaliation thus provoked, the usual career of massacre and enslavement went rapidly forward; the old women and children in the villages they subdued, being butchered by the Portuguese, and the adults being reserved as slaves.

The sovereign of Portugal, by a singular policy, first colonized Brazil on the feudal system, bestowing extensive *capitanias* (captaincies or provinces) on grantees who had rendered services to the crown. Thus, Martin Alphonso de Sousa, the discoverer of Rio Janeiro, and Pedro Lopez, his brother, each received allotments extending for fifty leagues along the coast, and similar spacious tracts were ceded to others. These *capitanias* were hereditary, and the lord of each had supreme jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, in his extended domains, and made war with the native tribes, issued laws, and exacted taxes at his pleasure. The despotic exercise of this authority, at length occasioned its resumption by the crown, the lands, however, being left in possession of the grantees; and a governor-general, Thome de Sousa, in April, 1549, accompanied by the first Jesuits who ever came to America, landed in All Saints' Bay,* and assumed the general jurisdiction.

At that place he found an aged settler, named Diogo Alvarez, who, in youth, having been wrecked there, and having seen his companions devoured by the savages, had become a slave to the

* Bahia de todos os Santos.

latter. He had saved from the wreck a musket and some barrels of powder, and took occasion, by shooting a bird, to exhibit to his masters the terrific power which was lodged in those utensils. They cried "Caramuru! Caramuru!" (man of fire!) and, filled with respect for the deadly instrument and its owner, made him their chief in war, and, finally, their sovereign. By his native wives he had a numerous family, and it is said that the best families in Bahia trace their origin to him. A French vessel coming into the harbour, he loaded her with Brazil-wood, and sailed to France; but not being permitted to go to Portugal, returned to his Indian town of Bahia, which he fortified, and where De Sousa found him. He was of great service to the governor in his dealings with the native tribes.

Houses were built, and a cathedral was begun at this, the first royal settlement in the country, fortifications were made, and the new town of Bahia or San Salvador, was made the capital of Brazil. The Jesuits, with laudable zeal, dispersed themselves among the natives, and by the extraordinary faculties of persuasion and perseverance, in which they have never been surpassed by any order of men, implanted a species of religion and civilization in their breasts, withstood the oppressions of the colonists, and pioneered the way to fresh settlement and colonization. The disinterested and self-sacrificing efforts of these much-calumniated men, at that period, are worthy of the highest praise.

The first Brazilian bishop, appointed in 1552, soon fell into a dispute with Da Costa, the successor of De Sousa, and embarked for Portugal to plead his case before the king. Being shipwrecked on the coast, he was murdered, with about a hundred others, by the savage tribe of the Cahetes—in revenge of which outrage, they and their posterity were proscribed, and were hunted and butchered till nearly all were exterminated. In 1558, the celebrated Mem de Sa succeeded to the vicereignty, and endeavoured by all means in his power to reclaim the natives from their barbarous propensities, and to protect them from unlawful oppression. The house of a rich colonist, who had refused to release certain of them, wrongfully enslaved, was levelled to the ground by the governor's order.

He took equally summary measures for the suppression of cannibalism. "Three friendly Indians," says Mr. Southey,* "were seized, while fishing, by their enemies, carried off, and devoured. The governor sent to the offending tribe, commanding them to give up

* History of Brazil.

the criminals, that they might be put to death. The chiefs would have consented, but the persons implicated were powerful; the adjoining clans made a common cause with them; two hundred hordes, who dwelt on the banks of the Paraguazu, united in defence of their favourite custom; and the answer returned was, that if the governor wanted the offenders, he must come and take them. This, in despite of the opposition made by the settlers, he resolved to do. The allied natives took the field with them, with a Jesuit at their head, and with a cross for a standard. They found the enemy well posted and in considerable strength, but they put them to flight. After the battle, it was discovered that an arm had been cut off from one of the dead: as this was evidently taken by one of the allies to eat in secret, proclamation was made that the arm must be laid by the body before the army took food or rested after the battle. The next morning the enemy were pursued, and suffered a second and more severe defeat; after which, they delivered up the criminals, and petitioned to be received as allies on the same terms as the other tribes."

With all these successes, much danger and annoyance was experienced from the Aymores, a fierce and barbarous tribe, who invaded several of the provinces, and threatened San Salvador itself. "Their mode of warfare," says the author just quoted, "was as savage as their habits of life; they had no chief or leader; they never went in large companies; they never stood up against an enemy face to face, but lay in wait like wild beasts, and took their deadly aim from the thickets. In one point they were greatly inferior to the other tribes; for, being an inland people, they could not swim, and such was their ignorance or dread of the water, that any stream which they could not ford was considered a sufficient defence against them. It may well be supposed that such men would be impatient of slavery; some who were taken by the Portuguese refused to eat, and died by that slowest and most resolute mode of suicide." These ferocious and dangerous enemies, by the aid of the native allies, were finally repulsed; yet, it is said, but for the influence already acquired by the Jesuits over the minds of the natives, the Portuguese would have been exterminated by the overwhelming number of their enemies. Mem de Sa, after an active and successful administration of fourteen years, died just at the arrival of his successor.

CHAPTER III.

BRAZIL UNDER SPANISH INFLUENCE.—ENGLISH PIRATICAL EXPEDITIONS.—ODIUM INCURRED BY THE JESUITS IN PROTECTING THE INDIANS.—REVOLTS.—WAR WITH THE NEGRO NATION, THE PALMARESE: THEIR SUBDUAL: GOLD AND DIAMONDS.—FRENCH HOSTILITIES.—DEFEAT OF DU CLERC.—RIO JANEIRO TAKEN BY DUGUAY DE TROUIN.—THE CRUEL AND IMPOLITIC EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS FROM BRAZIL.

COLONIZATION proceeded so rapidly, that Brazil at one time was divided into two governments, and Rio de Janeiro was made the capital of all the provinces south of Porto Seguro. They were again united under a single administration in 1578, the year in which King Sebastian, with the flower of his court and army, perished in battle with the Moors. In consequence of that disastrous event, Portugal with her colonies, for sixty years, came under the power of the Spanish crown. Philip II. offered to the duke of Braganza, if he would relinquish his claim to the throne of Portugal, the sovereignty of Brazil, but the overture was rejected. In consequence of this change of masters, Brazil was exposed to the hostility of the English, and the freebooting expeditions of Cavendish, Lancaster, and others against its coasts, resulted in much loss by piratical spoliation. The contest with the Dutch, and their final expulsion, have been already briefly described. After that event, John IV., of Portugal, conferred on his eldest son the title of Prince of Brazil—a title afterwards customarily pertaining to the heir-apparent.

Despite the humane exertions of the Jesuits, the natives, as the colonies increased, were continually enslaved and persecuted till, in the provinces on the sea-coast, they were nearly exterminated. So great was the enmity incurred by these intrepid and benevolent men, in their attempts to relieve the sufferings of the oppressed race, that an actual revolution was excited against the government which protected them. The *Paulistas*, a mixed breed of Portuguese and aborigines, were inveterate slave-hunters and enemies of the Jesuits, and nearly succeeded in deposing the governor, who countenanced that unpopular order. In 1673, a revolt broke out in Maranhã,

headed by a Paulese, named Beckman. "Expel the Jesuits! abolish monopolies!" was the cry. The insurgents seized the town and fort, and held them till reduced by a superior force from Lisbon.

A contest far more dangerous, about the close of the century, was waged with a great body of insurgent negroes, in the province of Pernambuco. Some of these had been armed in the contest with the Dutch, and had afterwards taken up a strong position in the woods west of Porto do Calvo, which all the fugitive negroes soon made their rendezvous. "Their numbers soon became formidable. Like the first Romans, they were without women; but they supplied this want by descending suddenly on the plantations, and carrying off violently every woman of colour. They established equal laws among themselves; they occupied a fertile boundary; their numbers increased with astonishing rapidity; they made no scruple in plundering the Portuguese settlements; and they finally constituted a nation under the name of the Palmares (from the great palm forests of their region). They formed a government under an elector or monarch, named *Zombi*. They surrounded their chief town and villages with stockades, and managed to procure, even from the Portuguese planters, abundance of fire and other arms, and of ammunition. During a period of forty years, they remained unattacked and unmolested; but having increased to the number of more than twenty thousand, the Portuguese government became so thoroughly impressed with the formidable power of this new nation, that, in 1696, it was determined to extirpate the Palmares, at whatever cost of money or of men.

"John de Lancastrô, with an army of six thousand men, well provided and armed, marched against the city of the Palmares. The latter, unable to meet the former in the field, retired, to the number altogether of about ten thousand, within the defences of the town. The Portuguese advanced, and laid siege to the place; but they were greatly disheartened on beholding the formidable condition of the defences; and, being without artillery, they were unprepared to besiege the town in regular form. They were soon greatly harassed by murderous sallies from the town. Whenever the Portuguese approached, they were dismayed by a furious resistance on the part of the negroes; who, not only with fire-arms and bows and arrows, but with spouting scalding water, galled, and frequently repulsed their assailants.

"This was an apparently hopeless siege on the part of the Portu-

guese, until the ammunition of the besieged was exhausted, and their supplies of provisions were cut off. Scarcity was assuming the aspect of famine within the town, and a strong reinforcement having arrived in aid of De Lancastro, the place was stormed and taken. The king, Zombi, and his chief adherents, resolved not to be captured alive, leaped over the high rocky precipices of the fort, and were instantly dashed to death. The captured inhabitants were all sold as slaves; and thus terminated the first negro kingdom in America.*

The original wealth of this vast province had consisted in its inexhaustible supply of dye-woods, and not long after its settlement, the Jews, banished from Portugal by the Inquisition, introduced the culture of the sugar-cane, adding greatly to the wealth and resources of the country. Gold was not discovered until the close of the seventeenth century, nor the abundance of diamonds which the country affords, until thirty years later. The former discovery entailed immediate misfortune on the province, both in the check which it gave to agriculture and really productive industry, and in the hostile cupidity which it excited among foreign powers. In 1710, a French squadron, commanded by Du Clerc, appeared off the coast, and landed a thousand men not far from Rio Janeiro, which hitherto had been free alike from domestic sedition and foreign violence. By an artifice of the governor, De Castro, the hostile force was permitted to enter the city without molestation; but when they were fairly in the streets, he fell upon them with the garrison, killed and wounded a great number, and captured the rest. The unfortunate Du Clerc and most of his officers were secretly murdered in prison.

To avenge this defeat and outrage, private enterprise supplied the means for a powerful armament, which, under the famous Duguay de Trouin, on the 12th of September, 1711, appeared before Rio Janeiro. He lost nearly three hundred men from the fire of the batteries in the harbour; but landed his troops, erected works, and demanded of the governor, who had entrenched himself in the city, an unconditional surrender. The latter refusing, he opened a cannonade on the town, in the midst of a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning, which combination of noises, says a French author, "filled the inhabitants with terror, as though heaven, earth, and hell had broken loose on them at once." The citizens fled to the mountains; the Portuguese troops evacuated their post; the captives of

* McGregor's Progress of America.

Du Clere's expedition, who yet survived, broke forth from prison, and the victors entered tumultuously, and sacked the city. Three-fourths of the buildings, it is said, were broken open, and their contents thrown into the streets, and Trouin, endeavouring to stay the work of rapine, caused numbers of his men to be executed, but in vain. A great ransom was paid to save the town from conflagration; and besides the enormous loss from pillage, five ships of war and more than thirty merchantmen were taken or burned by the French. On the 4th of November, Trouin sailed from Rio, intending to attack Bahia, but was prevented by adverse winds, and finally returned to France. Two of his ships, with twelve hundred men, and a great treasure, foundered at sea; yet the proceeds of what remained, repaid the fitters-out of the enterprise with a profit nearly equal to their capital. No hostile expedition has since entered the harbour of Rio Janeiro, which, in 1763, was made the seat of government for Brazil in place of Bahia.

After the emancipation of Portugal from the control of Spain, frequent disputes occurred between the two nations as to the boundaries of their respective provinces in South America. In 1750, the Portuguese settlement of San Sacramento was exchanged by treaty for a number of Jesuit missionary stations on the Uruguay, and about thirty thousand converts of the Guarany tribe, with their families, were ordered to abandon their homes and remove to a strange territory.

The oppressed natives resisted this arbitrary decree, but after great slaughter, were compelled to submit; though eleven years afterwards the treaty was annulled, and the Guaranyes were permitted to return. During the enactment of this piece of oppression, the Jesuits had stood their friends, and had endeavoured to obtain reparation for their wrongs, and thus increased the odium into which their order, for some time, had been lapsing. Moreover, Pombal, the minister of Charles III. of Portugal, a man of great energy and eagerness for reform, but equally short-sighted and wrong-headed in the means he adopted, considering this extensive institution as standing in the way of his schemes of colonial aggrandizement, took the rash, unjust, and impolitic resolution of expelling from Brazil a class of men to whom, more than to any other, it was indebted for safety in the time of its weakness, for friendly intercourse with vast tribes of the aborigines, and for the extension of civilization and Christianity among them. (1760.)

His brother Pitudado, a man of similar stamp, accomplished the

work with much severity and cruelty. All the churches, colleges, houses, and other property of the proscribed order, were confiscated to the use of the crown, and great harshness was used in the enforcement of this violent measure. The unfortunate ecclesiastics, seized and transported to Europe, almost like victims in the hold of a slave-ship, were thrown into prison at Lisbon (where the survivors languished for eighteen years, till the death of the king and the fall of Pombal) or were landed in Italy without means of support. This cruel and inpolitic measure, it is said, tended greatly to the barbarism both of the natives and the Portuguese colonists. The other schemes of this arbitrary minister, including oppressive monopolies, inflicted on the colonies, resulted in similar evil and decadence.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, no events of material importance occurred in Brazil, except the transfer of the capital to Rio Janeiro, the extension of the mining settlements, some expeditions against the Indians, and an unsuccessful attempt at revolution. In 1801, Brazil attacked the Spaniards who had possession of the country of the Guaranies; those tribes, weary of the tyranny and cruelty of their new masters, welcomed their former oppressors, the Portuguese, as liberators; and the disputed territory was again acquired by the latter.

CHAPTER IV.

FLIGHT OF THE ROYAL FAMILY FROM PORTUGAL TO BRAZIL.—
 THE "CARTA REGIA."—BRAZIL OPENED TO FOREIGN TRADE
 AND CIVILIZATION.—BRAZIL ERECTED INTO A KINGDOM.
 —DOM JOHN VI.—CORRUPTION AND DISCONTENT.—
 INSURRECTIONS.—RETURN OF THE KING TO PORTU-
 GAL.—TYRANNY OF THE PORTUGUESE CORTES.—
 IRRITATION OF THE BRAZILIANS.—RESISTANCE
 OF DOM PEDRO AND HIS CAPITAL.

THE extraordinary events which, at the beginning of the present century, convulsed the European world, and which operated indirectly, but with still greater eventual effect, on the most ancient provinces of America, were not without their influence on the vast

colony of Brazil—a colony which, by consequence of those events, was destined finally to erection into an independent empire, vying, in its extent and natural resources, with the greatest and most powerful states on the globe. When, on the 29th of November, 1807, the van of the French army, under the headlong Junot, appeared on the heights above Lisbon, the prince-regent, with the rest of the royal family, hurriedly embarked on board a British and Portuguese fleet, taking all the valuables they could hastily seize; and with a great crowd of nobles and other adherents, put to sea, and steered for their distant province of Brazil. On the 28th of January, 1808, they landed amid enthusiastic rejoicing, at Bahia, where the prince granted the celebrated "Carta Regia," by which the ports of Brazil were opened to foreign commerce; and thus, in the language of the official historian of Brazil, "by that immortal diploma conferred an inestimable inheritance on this terrestrial paradise, where flourish the crowned heads of the vegetable world; trees that blossom from the trunk to the vertex; health-giving plants, that banish death to a remote old age; and, besides a thousand other equivalents for the riches of the globe, those princely fruits which the poets and enthusiasts of natural history have named ambrosia—food for the gods," &c., &c. In the March following, he proceeded to Rio Janeiro.

This famous edict was the signal for an eager revival of commerce, and no less than ninety foreign ships, chiefly British, in the following year, came into the last-named port, entrance to which (as to all others) had heretofore been interdicted in the severest manner. Civilization and improvement followed in the train of free intercourse, and Brazil, so long noted, even among South American colonies, for the slavish ignorance of its people, began to take some steps in a forward direction. In 1815, it was erected into a kingdom by the royal family who had there found refuge, and on the 5th of February, 1818, Dom John VI. was crowned as king of the united kingdom of Portugal, Algarves, and Brazil. This event, though considered by the people as an extraordinary honour and advantage, was injurious to the national character by exciting an insane desire for titles and honours, (which soon, by excessive multiplication, lost their value,) and by introducing all the corruptions of a European court. The inhabitants, at first so enthusiastically loyal as to have placed their lands, houses, and money at the disposal of the royal suite, gradually lapsed into discontent at the gross misgovernment of the favoured officials. About this time, the warfare already mentioned in the last

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article was carried on against Artigas of the Banda Oriental and against the republicans of La Plata. In 1809, Portuguese Guiana, which in 1802, by the treaty of Amiens, had been ceded to France, was recovered, by the assistance of the English.

Insurrections broke out, in 1817, in Pernambuco and Bahia, and after much bloodshed, the whole country appearing on the verge of revolution, the king, in 1821, appointed a commission to inquire into the expediency of extending the Portuguese constitution to the Brazilian government; and soon after, the prince, Dom Pedro, read to the people of the capital a royal proclamation, assuring them of the grant of such a constitution as should be formed by the Cortes of Lisbon. In the same year, the king, by invitation from that body, to preserve the integrity of his dominions, leaving his eldest son, Dom Pedro, as regent of Brazil, visited the mother-country, where the people were impatient at his protracted absence. Brazilian deputies were also summoned to attend the Cortes; but before they arrived, that assembly, with insane tyranny, had resolved on the revival of the ancient colonial system in its worst form of dependence, monopoly, and exclusion of foreign traffic.

The prince, who, on assuming the regency, was only twenty-three years of age, in despite of his earnest attempts to reform the government, and the rigid self-denial which he practised, soon found his authority set at naught by the provinces, and was reduced to a condition little better than that of governor of Rio Janeiro. Thwarted on every side, and despairing of success, he had entreated to be recalled to Europe, when, "at length," it is said, "the Brazilians were disarmed by his noble conduct; they recognized his activity, his beneficence, his assiduity in the affairs of government; and the habitual feelings of affection and respect for the House of Braganza, which for a moment had been laid asleep by distrust, were reawakened with increased strength. To these was joined an almost idolatrous sentiment of attachment for the virtues and the splendour as well as amiable qualities of the young archduchess, Leopoldina, the daughter of the emperor of Austria, and the beloved wife of the regent."

The king, on his arrival in Portugal, was in a manner compelled to sanction the illiberal views of the Cortes concerning Brazil. The consequence was renewed disaffection to the parent-country, and in 1821, an attempt was made at Rio to proclaim the regent emperor; but this was promptly suppressed, the country in general being un-

prepared for a step so decided. Two months afterwards (December 10th) arrived a rash and oppressive decree of the Cortes, reinstating the old abuses, denationalizing Brazil, and recalling the prince, with orders to travel *incognito* in Europe. The utmost irritation was excited by the receipt of these tidings, and several provinces presented strong remonstrances to the prince against obedience, the municipality of Rio declaring, in their address, "The departure of your Royal Highness from the states of Brazil will be the decree that will seal for ever the independence of this kingdom," implying the determination, in that event, to throw off the yoke of Portugal. The prince, seeing the condition of affairs, and consulting his own interests, as well as those of the kingdom, decided to remain—a decision which filled the people with enthusiastic joy. (January 9th, 1822.) A battle between the Portuguese troops and the citizens was only prevented by the retreat of the former, who, however, waiting for reinforcements from home, took up a hostile position on the opposite side of the bay. Surrounded by the forces of the prince, who managed the affair in person, they were presently compelled to embark for Europe; and a force of eighteen hundred men, which immediately afterwards appeared on the coast, dispatched to bring back Dom Pedro, was forthwith ordered home again, without even being permitted to land.

CHAPTER V.

IMPOTENT DEMONSTRATION OF THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT.—
DOM PEDRO PROCLAIMED PROTECTOR.—INDEPENDENCE OF
BRAZIL DECLARED.—PEDRO PROCLAIMED EMPEROR.—
RETREAT OF THE PORTUGUESE TROOPS.—DIFFICULTIES
WITH THE DEMOCRACY.—INSURRECTION UNDER CAR-
VALHO SUPPRESSED.—POPULAR REVOLUTION AT
RIO.—ABDICATION OF DOM PEDRO, AND HIS
RETREAT TO PORTUGAL.

ALARMED too late by the determined attitude of the injured province, the Portuguese government began to withdraw its offensive measures, but in vain. Many of the captaincies gave in their adhesion to the revolutionary cause, and all the southern departments,

forming a majority of the whole, assumed the title of "The Allied Provinces." On the 13th of May, 1822, at Rio Janciro, Prince Pedro was proclaimed by the people, "Perpetual Protector of Brazil," as an hereditary title; and whereas they would formerly have been satisfied with free trade and a moderate share of representative and domestic right of government, they now resolved on having a separate legislature, and no union with Portugal, except that afforded by the crown. In reply to the assertion of these rights, the Cortes, in September, fulminated a sounding decree against all concerned in the new order of things; nevertheless, a general assembly, convoked by the prince, met in the following year, and transformed the regency into an imperial government; and the authority of the prince was implicitly obeyed on all hands.

A squadron from Portugal, with all the troops which that feeble nation could muster, arrived at Bahia, and occupied the town; but so complete was the popular disaffection to the old rule, that the authority of the commander, Madeira, was not extended beyond the limit of the walls. A fresh angry and impotent decree of the Cortes now menaced Dom Pedro with exclusion from the throne, and proclaimed a paper blockade of the whole Brazilian coast. The prince, on his part, by manifesto, accused the Cortes of tyranny and usurpation, and formally proclaimed to foreign nations the independence of Brazil—declaring, however, that he regarded the duration in which his august father was held in Portugal, as only temporarily suspending his authority, and expressing his hope that a single monarchy would yet unite the two nations. (August 6th, 1822.)

The popular mind appearing ripe for such a measure, the municipal senate of Rio declared that, on the 12th of October, the prince would be formally proclaimed as constitutional emperor; and, accordingly, on that day, in a number of the provinces his accession was publicly announced. On the 1st of December following, his coronation as Pedro I., emperor of Brazil, was solemnized, and he took oath to defend the constitution, (as yet unframed,) provided it should be worthy of Brazil and of him. No increase of power or revenue attended this elevation to the imperial dignity. He forthwith summoned a constituent assembly, to meet at Rio Janeiro on the 3d of May, (1823,) the anniversary of the discovery of the country by Cabral.

Meanwhile, the Portuguese force at Bahia was surrounded by twenty thousand Brazilian troops, and the officers decided on retreat

from the country. Accordingly, having pillaged the city, and stripped the churches of their gold and silver ornaments, the whole command, on the 2d of July, embarked on board of eighty vessels, and set sail. Owing to the width of the bay, and the favourable wind, the Brazilian fleet, of sixty ships, under Lord Cochrane, was unable to intercept them, though sailing in pursuit, it captured several vessels. The imperial army entered the city and proclaimed Dom Pedro.

The government, installed with such general satisfaction, was not long in encountering difficulties from the more democratic element in Brazilian politics; and the absolute veto, the strongest safeguard of the imperial power, was refused by a majority of the assembly. The emperor, in reply, declared his intention of practically enforcing the disputed point, and issued a proclamation, avowing his abhorrence of despotism, whether that of *one* or of *many*. This position of the new sovereign was sustained by the army, the navy, and a majority of the people. In November, debate in the assembly became so stormy, and, it was declared, showed such tendencies to anarchy, that a body of troops was dispatched by the government to dissolve the sitting by violence. This was done, and several of the members were arrested, while Dom Pedro, in the midst of general acclamation, rode through the city. He published a proclamation, promising to provide a constitution worthy of the nation and of himself. The draft of such an instrument was circulated through the empire, and a legislative assembly was summoned.

In Pernambuco, the revolutionary spirit assumed a more formidable aspect. A plan to erect a republican government there, with a young man, named Carvalho Paes, as president, was temporarily suppressed by the imperial forces; but the troops, revolting, reinstated him in the office, and for a time his administration paid an assumed deference to the imperial government. But, taking advantage of a proclamation of the emperor's, that he was unable to guard the coast against Portugal, the president and his partisans proclaimed the latter a traitor leagued with the Portuguese, and called on the provinces of the north to form a republic, to be entitled "The Confederation of the Equator." Many gave in their adherence to this scheme, but the movement was not general, and a partisan warfare was commenced by the republican and imperial factions. To suppress this revolt, a squadron, under Lord Cochrane, carrying twelve hundred men, commanded by De Lima, was dispatched to the distracted district. The undisciplined forces of the republicans were

vanquished, and Carvalho was compelled to flee, for a time, from the country.

On the 24th of October, 1824, the emperor having granted a constitutional charter, took oath in public to observe it, and it was sworn to throughout the empire as the definitive settlement of the government. During his reign as emperor, which lasted for about ten years, Brazil made greater advances toward civilization than it had done during three hundred years of colonial rule. But from neglecting to conciliate popular feeling, and to identify himself sufficiently with the Brazilian nation, disaffection to his person, and a native jealousy of foreign influence, became at last generally excited. On the 6th of April, 1831, the people of Rio Janeiro assembled, and demanded the dismissal of certain ministers who had been newly appointed to office, and the reinstatement of others just dismissed. During the whole day this civic tumult increased; but the emperor obstinately refused compliance with the popular demand. "I will do every thing *for* the people," he said, "but nothing *by* the people."

This speech, reported to the meeting, increased the general agitation, and the troops began to side with the people. The "emperor's battalion," and the imperial guard of honour, even, took this course, and the multitude was speedily supplied with arms from the barracks. "The emperor, in these trying moments, is said to have evinced a dignity and magnanimity unknown in the days of his prosperity. On the one hand, the empress was weeping bitterly, and apprehending the most fatal consequences; on the other, an envoy from the combined assemblage of the troops and populace was urging him to a final answer. Deserted, harassed, irritated, and fatigued beyond measure, he at length found it necessary to yield to circumstances." At two o'clock in the morning, without even announcing his intention to his ministers, he took a pen, and, in a few words as possible, abdicated the throne in favour of his infant son, Dom Pedro de Alcantara. "Here," he said to the messenger, "is my abdication. May you be happy! I shall retire to Europe, and leave the country that I have loved dearly and that I still love." Having uttered these words, unquestionably true, he retired in tears, and after arranging his domestic affairs, with the empress and his eldest daughter, went aboard an English man-of-war, which lay in the harbour. Soon after, he returned to Europe, where, by British assistance, he succeeded in wresting from his brother, Dom Miguel, the crown of Portugal.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CHILD DOM PEDRO II.—THE TRIPLE REGENCY.—THE REGENCY OF FEIJO: OF LIMA.—FRESH REVOLUTION.—THE MAJORITY OF THE EMPEROR PROCLAIMED.—POPULAR TROUBLES RENEWED: DISASTROUS RESULT.—THE ROYAL MARRIAGES.—CAPABILITIES AND NECESSITIES OF BRAZIL.

IN the Campo de Santa Anna, where the popular assembly was still in full agitation, the news of the abdication was received with enthusiastic joy, and with shouts of "Long live Dom Pedro II.!" and the little prince, (only six years old,) in whose favour the instrument had been drawn, was borne in triumph through the city, and received an enthusiastic acclamation as emperor. On the 9th of April, a grand court-day was held for the little sovereign, Dom Pedro II., whose accession was celebrated with much display and appearance of loyalty. A provisional regency, on the morning of the abdication, had been provided by the deputies and senators, with the late ministers of state, and on the 17th, the general assembly elected, as a permanent regency, Lima, Costa Carvalho, and Joao Muniz. These important political changes were effected with remarkable order and tranquillity. In 1834, however, a law was passed, vesting the regency in the hands of a single person, to be elected for four years; and Diogo Feijo, a bishop and a senator, accordingly, on the 12th of October, 1835, was installed as sole regent. His administration was troubled with insurrections in Pernambuco, Rio Grande, and Para—the president of the latter place being assassinated, and the Portuguese there indiscriminately murdered. The assembly was slow in supporting his authority, and, disheartened by these obstacles, in September, 1837, he resigned the regency. In October of the following year, Pedro Lima, already, by a clause of the constitution, provisionally regent, was confirmed in that office by election.

Wearry of his authority, a party of the assembly, in July, 1840, began to agitate the question of declaring the young emperor of age, and committing the imperial authority into his own hands. Furious debate and great agitation ensued, and the citizens, eager, as usual,

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to have a hand in any political revolution, assembled in crowds, and demanded, with their accustomed impetuosity, that the young emperor's majority should be immediately proclaimed. A committee was appointed on the question, and the regent, by attempting to prorogue the assembly, inflamed the passions of the opposition to madness. The prorogation was disregarded, and the senate and deputies, in joint session, appointed a deputation to wait on the emperor, and obtain his consent to an immediate proclamation. To the intense delight and enthusiasm of the people, he consented, and ordered the regent to revoke his obnoxious decree, and to declare the assembly in session.

The next morning, (July 23d, 1840,) the senate-house was surrounded by an assemblage of eight or ten thousand respectable citizens, and while Dom Pedro II. was formally proclaimed within, as being of full age, and constitutional emperor of Brazil, the approving shouts of the multitude without, attested the popularity of the measure. At the approach of the sovereign, this enthusiasm increased beyond bounds, and continual *vivas* rent the air. He took oath before the two houses to support the constitution and the Catholic religion, and a proclamation was issued, announcing his accession. The city was brilliantly illuminated, and the greatest rejoicing and festivity prevailed. In this sudden and comparatively tranquil manner, was a youth of fourteen and a half elevated to the imperial throne of Brazil. His coronation was celebrated with great pomp and splendour, in July of the ensuing year.

The main trouble of the new government, was the inveterate rebellion in Rio Grande do Sul, where the malcontents obstinately rejected all overtures for conciliation. A change of ministers (occasioned by the treatment of this perplexing matter) was again made, and fresh disturbances arose in the empire, consequent on a disputed general election. In San Paulo and other provinces, formidable revolts occurred, and in Rio, it was said, plans for a revolution were concerted, a proclamation being posted at the street corners, calling on the people "to free the emperor from the domination which had been imposed upon him, and to rescue both the throne and the constitution from threatened annihilation." The ministry issued a proclamation, signed by the emperor, that the supremacy of the laws should be maintained at all hazards, and martial law was proclaimed in the revolted districts. Many persons in the capital were arrested on suspicion, and banished without trial. The author-

ity of the government was at last reasserted, but with the loss of many lives, and great damage to the public credit and revenue.

In 1842, a contract of marriage had been made between the young emperor and the Princess Theresa, sister of the king of the two Sicilies, and on the 3d of September of the following year, a Brazilian squadron brought her to Rio Janeiro. In the spring preceding this last event, the Prince de Joinville, arriving in command of a French squadron, had married and taken to Europe the Princess Francisca, sister of the emperor. The next year, the Princess Januaria, another sister, was married to the count of Aquila, brother of the empress; the imperial house of Brazil thus being strengthened, as it was considered, by three alliances, within a year, with the royal families of Europe.

"There is no part of the habitable globe," says Mr. McGregor,* "which possesses a greater variety of, or more splendidly munificent resources than the empire of Brazil—an empire in its area as large as seventy-seven kingdoms of the same area with Portugal, and nearly as extensive as all Europe. If we estimate its soil, climate and water-courses, Brazil appears capable of being rendered, probably three-fold, more productive than all the regions from the Atlantic to the Oural mountains, from the Mediterranean to the Arctic sea. This empire, however, does not possess in its population (which is little, if any, more in number than the inhabitants of Belgium) the power of becoming great, wealthy, or powerful, for a long period to come; unless every facility and security be afforded to the immigration of industrious Europeans, or of the citizens of the United States of North America;—unless the utmost security is guaranteed to person and property;—unless the prejudices against the persons and the religion of foreigners be forgotten;—unless the bigoted attachment of the Brazilians for hereditary customs, and for a make-shift system of agriculture and handicraft-trades, be supplanted by intelligence, industry, and enterprise;—and unless the trade and navigation of every part and port of Brazil is relieved from restrictive commercial laws, and from high duties on commodities. Then, and not till then, can they advance in that path of wealth, greatness, and power, of which they have so marvellous an example in Anglo-Saxon North America."

* "Progress of America"—an able and elaborate work of American statistics, to which the writer, in preparing this article, has been chiefly indebted.

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PART IV.

The Dutch in America.

THE NEW NETHERLANDS.

CHAPTER I.

CAPTAIN HENRY HUDSON.—HIS VOYAGES IN SEARCH OF A
NORTHERLY PASSAGE TO CHINA.—EMPLOYED BY THE DUTCH
EAST INDIA COMPANY.—SAILS IN THE HALF-MOON.—
CRUISES ALONG THE AMERICAN COAST IN SEARCH OF
A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE —DISCOVERS AND ASCENDS
THE HUDSON RIVER.—DEALINGS WITH THE INDIANS.

THE arduous endeavours of Holland to gain a footing in the wealthy regions of Brazil, her protracted struggle with Portugal and Spain, and the final expulsion of her colonists from the disputed territory, have been described in the preceding article. Her more peaceful and successful enterprise of planting a colony on the shores of North America, and her brief tenure of the most valuable region, for its extent, in the United States, may be detailed within moderate limits.

Captain Henry Hudson, a Londoner, was one of the boldest and most skilful navigators of his day. His attempts to reach India by a northerly passage, considering the insignificance of his means, are among the very grandest and hardest exploits in the way of discovery that have ever been undertaken. On the 1st of May, 1607,

being employed, as he says, "by certaine worshipfull merchants of London for to discover a passage by the North Pole to Japan and China," with only ten men and his little son, he sailed in a small vessel from Gravesend. On the 13th of June, he made the coast of Greenland, which he explored for a considerable distance, and thence proceeded to Spitzbergen, where, in seventy-eight degrees north latitude, entangled among huge masses of ice, for a long time, he vainly endeavoured to force his way northward. He attained a latitude of eighty-two degrees, surpassing any one who had preceded him, and rivalling the most successful expeditions of modern times. Finding it impossible to proceed in the desired direction, he made an equally futile attempt to pass to the north of Greenland, and in September returned to the Thames. In the following year, with a like slender company, on the 22d of April, he renewed the attempt, trying to pass to the north of Nova Zembla; but after displaying much fortitude and perseverance, was compelled to relinquish the design, and at the close of summer to return to England. The "worshipfull merehants," discouraged by these failures, refused to fit out any more expeditions, even of the insufficient kind they had already vouchsafed to him.

Undismayed either by disappointment or neglect, "the bold Englishman," (as he was called,) betook himself to Holland, where his reputation had preceded him, and sought employment from the Dutch East India Company. That ambitious corporation, eager to extend its traffic and gain a footing in the east, furnished him with a little vessel, called the Half-Moon, and a crew of twenty men, with which, on the 25th of March, 1609, he again sailed on the expected track to India through the Arctic sea. Opposed by continual gales, fogs, and ice, he finally steered in a westerly direction, and on the 2d of July, reached the bank of Newfoundland. Keeping on along the coast, he soon after entered Penobscot bay. Here he cut down a tree and replaced his foremast, which had been carried away in a storm, and traded with the Indians for furs. Despite the friendly demeanour of the latter, the whites, conceiving a vague suspicion of treachery, at their departure, committed an act of brutal spoliation on their unfortunate hosts. "In the morning," says Juet, who kept the log, "wee manned our seute with four Muskets and six men, and took one of their Shallops," (canoes), "and brought it aboard. Then we manned our boat and seute with twelve men and Muskets, and two Stone Peeeces or Murderers," (very appropriately), "and drave

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the Salvages from their houses, and took the spoyle of them, as they would have done of vs."

Hudson had been informed by his friend, the famous Captain John Smith, that a little south of Virginia he would probably find a passage to the Indies! and accordingly he kept southward along the coast. On Cape Cod he found "goodly grapes and rose trees," and a friendly, confiding people. About the middle of August he arrived off Chesapeake Bay, where Smith, at this time, was engaged in the memorable foundation of the first English settlement in America; but, on account of contrary winds, passed without entering. Having proceeded as far south as thirty-six degrees north latitude, and seeing no indication of a passage to the Pacific, he turned northward, and discovered Delaware bay. Keeping on this course, on the 2d of September, he came to the Highlands of Neversink, since the chief landmark of commerce in the Western Continent—"a good land to fall with, and a pleasant land to see," says the journal—"a sentiment echoed in succeeding centuries, by many an anxious and sea-worn mariner." He rounded Sandy Hook, and came to anchor in what is now known as the Lower Bay of New York.

The Indians, friendly in their demeanour, thronged around the vessel in their canoes, bringing tobacco, which they exchanged for knives and beads. A party sent up the bay to explore, declared that "the Lands were as pleasant with Grasse and Flowers and goodly Trees, as ever they had seene, and very sweet smells came from them." As they returned in the evening, they were attacked by two canoes filled with Indians, twenty-six in all; two of their number were wounded, and one slain outright by an arrow in the throat. The next day the natives came alongside as usual, and Hudson, detaining two of them as hostages, weighed anchor, and on the 11th of September, passed the Narrows, and entered New York harbour. "On his right was the lovely island of Mannahata, now the site of the fairest city in the New World; and before him lay invitingly the beautiful and majestic river which still bears his name. For many leagues it is rather an estuary than a stream, and it is said that he was cheered with the belief that it would prove to be the long-sought passage to India." On the 12th he stood up the river, trading with the Indians, and by the evening of the second day had ascended to the Highlands. Here his two hostages, whom he had arrayed in red coats, made their escape and swam to shore.

Anchoring, on the evening of the 15th, somewhere near the base

of the Catskills, he found "very loving people, and very old men," and was kindly entreated. The Indians brought corn, furs, tobacco, grapes, and pumpkins for exchange, and traffic was briskly carried on along the river. Some way further up, "our Master's Mate," says the journal, "went on land with an olde Saunge, a Gouvernour of the Country; who carried him to his house, and made him good cheere. * * * Our Master" (Hudson) "and his Mate," proceeds the narrative, "determined to trie some of the chiefe men of the Country, whether they had any treacherie in them. So they tooke them down into the Cabbin, and gaue them so much Wine and *Aqua Vitæ* that they were all merrie; and one of them had his wife with him, which sate so modestly as any of our Country women would doe in a strange place. In the end one of them was drunke," &c., &c., but nothing transpired to confirm the suspicion with which Hudson seems continually to have regarded the natives. Affrighted at the apparent death of their companion, the chiefs went on shore, but the next day, seeing him alive, "came aboard," says the journal, "and brought tobacco and more Beades, and gave them to our Master, and made an Oration, and showed him all the Country round about. Then they sent one of their Company on land, who presently returned, and brought a great platter full of venison, dressed by themselves, and they caused him to eate with them. Then they made him reverence and departed."

CHAPTER II.

HUDSON TURNS HOMEWARD.—MURDEROUS HOSTILITIES WITH THE INDIANS.—HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND.—HIS LAST VOYAGE AND DISCOVERY.—SUFFERINGS DURING THE WINTER.—HENRY GREEN.—MUTINY OF THE CREW.—HUDSON AND OTHERS SET ADRIPT TO PERISH.

AFTER ascending the river in the Half-Moon for about an hundred and fifty miles, and exploring the contracted channel with his boats some distance farther, Hudson began to perceive that the track to India was yet undiscovered; and accordingly he turned his prow southward, and beat slowly down the stream. Two old men came

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aboard, one of whom, says the journal, "brought more Beades, and gave them to our Master, and showed him all the Countrey there about, as though it were at his command. So he made the two old men dine with him and the old man's wife; for they brought two old women and two yong maidens of the age of sixteene or seventeene yeeres with them, who behaved themselves very modestly."

The intercourse with the natives of the river, heretofore so friendly and agreeable, was soon converted, by a cruel and violent deed, into deadly warfare. On the 1st of October, just below the Highlands, the Half-Moon came to an anchor. "The people of the Mountaynes," says the narrative, "came aboard vs, wondring at our ship and weapons. We bought some small Skinnes of them for Trifles. This afternoone, one Canoe kept hanging vnder our sterne with one man in it, which we could not keepe from thence, who got vp by our Rudder to the Cabin window, and stole out my Pillow and two Shirts, and two Bandaleeres. Our Master's Mate shot at him and strooke him on the breast and killed him. Whereupon all the rest fled away, some in their Canoes and so leapt out of them into the water. We manned our Boat and got our things againe. Then one of them that swamme got hold of our Boat, thinking to ouerthrow it. But our Cooke tooke a Sword, and cut off one of his hands and he was drowned." The next day, seven leagues further down, hostilities were renewed. Many savages appeared, and would fain have come aboard: "but wee perceived their intent, and suffered none of them," continues the log, "to enter our ship. Whereupon, two Canoes filled with men, with their Bowes and Arrowes shot at us after our sterne; in recompense whereof wee discharged sixe Muskets, and killed two or three of them. Then above a hundred of them came to a Point of land to shoote at vs. There I shot a Falcon," (small cannon,) "at them and killed two of them; whereupon the rest fled to the Woods. Yet they manned off another Canoe with nine or ten men, which came to meet vs. So I shot at it also a Falcon, and shot it through and killed one of them. Then our men, with their Muskets, killed three or four more of them. So they went their way."

On the 4th of October, Hudson took his departure from New York Bay, and, after a month's voyage, arrived at Dartmouth, in England. Here he was detained by an order of the English court, jealous of the enterprize of the Dutch, but contrived to dispatch to his employers the journals of his voyage, and charts of the country he had explored.

The last voyage and discovery, and the melancholy fate of this famous navigator may be briefly narrated. In April of the next year (1610) he again sailed, with twenty-three men, for an English Company, in search of the North-west Passage. He first stopped at Iceland, and then doubling the southern extremity of Greenland, was involved in masses of floating ice. Getting clear of this obstruction, in July, he passed through the strait, and entered the great inland sea, both of which still commemorate his name. For a month he steered southerly, and then was brought up by the land. The vessel was hauled aground, and a most dismal winter was passed by the crew. Grievous suffering was endured from cold and hunger, and mutinous discontent among the men, aggravated by the impatience and irritability of their commander, soon ripened into a tragical consummation.

"You shall vnderstand," says Habakkuk Pricket, (who wrote a narrative of the voyage,) "that our Master kept (in his house at *London*) a young man named *Henrie Greene*, borne in *Kent*, of Worshipfull Parents, but by his lend life and conversation hee had lost the good-will of all his friends and spent all that hee had. This man our Master would have to Sea with him, because hee could write well; our Master gave him meate, and drinke, and lodging, and by meanes of one Master *Venson*, with much adoe, got four poundes of his Mother to buy him clothes, wherewith Master *Venson* would not trust him, but save it layed out himselfe * * * * * So *Henrie Greene* stood vpright and very inward with the Master, and was a serviceable man every way for manhood; but for Religion hee would say hee was cleane paper, whereon he might write what hee would." During the winter, the effects of the gunner (who had died early in the season), were put up for sale at the main-mast, as usual, and Greene wished to purchase a certain "gray gowne," belonging to the deceased, and no doubt very desirable in the rigor of an arctic winter. But Hudson, being dissatisfied with him, said he should not have it, and sharply reminded him that none of his friends at home would trust him with the value of twenty shillings.

"The jealous and irritable temper of mariners, long pent together in disastrous voyages, is well known; and when to this source of dissension are superadded privation, suffering, and the constant dread of starvation, it is hardly surprising that their minds should be filled with morbid imaginings, and that trifles should assume unnatural importance. In many a dreary narrative of the seas, we

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find matters of no greater moment than this wretched 'gray gowne,' magnified into importance, and the cause of the most lamentable quarrels and mutinies." "You shall see," says Master Pricket, "how the Devil out of this wrought with *Henrie Greene*."

About the middle of June, the little crew of forlorn adventurers again got under way, but were soon once more fast in the ice. The scanty remainder of ship-stores had been already divided by the captain, "(and hee wept when hee gaue it,)" and he now incurred fresh ill-will by compelling the crew to produce for the common benefit any remnant of private stores which they might still have in their chests. A barbarous plot was now hatched up by Greene and Wilson the boatswain, to set the captain, with the sick and disabled, adrift in the ship's boat, as the most likely mode of saving the lives of the remainder; and, accordingly, the unfortunate Hudson, with his young son and six others, (mostly sick or lame,) were treacherously seized and put aboard the boat towing astern. Before the ship was clear of the ice, the mutineers cut the line, and left their unfortunate victims to perish of cold and hunger. On their way homeward, four of them, including Greene and Wilson, were killed by the savages, and old Juet, whose crime, as well as that of Greene, was enhanced by past friendship and favours received from Hudson, perished of hunger on the voyage. The company, the next year, dispatched the same vessel, under Captain Thomas Button, to search for the deserted commander, and to complete the supposed discovery of the North-west passage; but neither object was accomplished.

CHAPTER III.

VOYAGES OF THE DUTCH TO MANNAHATA.—EXPEDITION OF BLOK AND CHRISTIAANSE.—NEW AMSTERDAM (NEW YORK) FOUNDED.—COLONY PLANTED ON THE DELAWARE: SINGULARLY DESTROYED.—GOVERNORS MINUIT AND VAN TWILLER.—SETTLEMENT OF THE SWEDES ON THE DELAWARE.

In the year 1810, following the discovery of the Hudson, private individuals in Holland dispatched a vessel to traffic for furs with the Indians inhabiting its shores; the success of this expedition led to

several others; and some little trading stations were established on the island of Mannahata (Manhattan or New York). In 1614, a corporation, entitled "The Amsterdam Licensed Trading West India Company," was chartered, (with a monopoly of commerce in the newly-found region,) which, that same year, dispatched thither two vessels, under Adrian Blok and Hendriek Christiaanse. The former, arriving first at Mannahata, and losing his vessel by fire, set to work with much energy to build another, in which he again set forth on a voyage of discovery. Passing through that narrow strait, which, from its furious tides, his crew called *Helle-gadt* (Hell's Gap)—a name which, with slight alteration, it still retains—he passed through Long Island Sound, and proceeded as far as Cape Cod, where he found his consort. The two captains cruised westward along shore in company, surveying the coast, and naming the islands. They discovered Narraganset Bay and the Connecticut and Housatonic rivers; and Block island, which they passed, still commemorates the name of its discoverer.

Ascending the Hudson, they built a fort on Castle Island, a little below the present city of Albany; and in the following year another was erected on Manhattan, where New York now stands, and whither for many years the Dutch vessels came regularly to receive their cargoes of furs. Their powerful neighbours, the Iroquois or Five Nations, long at deadly feud with the Canadian French, viewed with satisfaction the establishment of rival settlements, and maintained friendly relations in general, both with the Dutch and English. Though once disturbed by a visit from Captain Argall, from Virginia, who claimed the country in behalf of his government, and occasionally by the bucaniers, the Dutch continued to maintain their traffic, and slowly to extend their settlements. In 1621, a new corporation, entitled "The West Indian Company of the New Netherlands," was chartered by the States-General of Holland, which, in 1623, dispatched a large number of settlers, under Captain Mey, to their colony of Mannahata. He relieved the wants of that little settlement, (which no ship had visited for two years,) and, after exploring the coast some way to the eastward, turned south, and finally entered Delaware river. Cape May, named after him, commemorates the visit. He passed up the river, and, on Gloucester point, a few miles below the present city of Philadelphia, founded a settlement, which he named Fort Nassau, but which, after a brief tenancy, was abandoned. Fort Orange, on the site of Albany, was built the same year.

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INTERVIEW BETWEEN GOVERNOR HAINES, OF CONNECTICUT, AND THE DUTCH NAVIGATOR, DE VRIES.

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Two years afterwards, (1625,) the company sent two more ships, under command of Peter Minuit, the first governor of "The New Netherlands," (as the country was now called,) with a number of Walloon emigrants, who settled on Long Island, where the "Wallabout," or "Walloon-bend" still distinguishes the place of their selection. In 1630, De Vriez, a skillful navigator, who had served in the East Indies, was sent, with thirty or forty people, to found a new colony on the Delaware. On the site of what is now known as Lewistown, on the southern shore, he built a small fort, which he called Hoeren-kill, and having landed the settlers, with their stock and supplies, sailed for Holland, leaving one Gillis Osset in command.

"The new settlement had but a brief existence, and owed its destruction to an incident singular enough. The Dutch, by way of taking formal possession of the country, had erected a pillar, to which was affixed a piece of tin, inscribed with the arms of Holland. This tinsel bit of heraldry, ere long, was appropriated by an Indian chief, who, unconsious of its high import, converted it into tobacco-pipes for his private smoking. At this insult, as he deemed it, to 'Their High Mightinesses, the States General,' Osset became ridiculously enraged. Vindication of outraged dignity is generally vehement in proportion to the paucity of the aggrieved attribute; and the Dutch commander, with strange infatuation, refused to be satisfied with any excuse or reparation which the Indians could offer. Seeing him thus unappeasable, and perhaps supposing the crime to be of a heinous religious nature, they finally cut off the head of the offending chief, and brought it, a grisly token of submission, to the fort.

"Osset stood aghast at the consequences of his obstinate sulkiness, and told the Indians that they should only have brought the culprit before him for reproof. But the mischief had been done, and the friends and relations of the murdered chief resolved on a sweeping and terrible revenge. All was contrived with savage artifice and secrecy. The colonists were mostly engaged in tillage, and only a few remained at the fort. These were massacred by some warriors who entered under pretence of selling beaver-skins. The Indians then walked slowly to those in the fields, and fell to conversing in a friendly manner. Not the slightest suspicion was awakened until, at a given signal, the savages fell on them, and butchered them to a man. The entire colony, consisting of thirty-four men, perished at a blow.

"In December, De Vriez returned from Holland, and the utter



silence of the dwellings forewarned him of misfortune. Bones and skulls lay bleaching on the shore. The Indians, with whom he was soon in friendly intercourse, informed him, with all the circumstances, of the murder of his countrymen.*

In 1633, Minuit was replaced in office by Wouter Van Twiller, under whom Fort Amsterdam (the settlement at Mannahata) continued to increase. Wind-mills, in emulation of the mother-country, were built, and negro slaves were imported. A church and a species of state-house were also erected. Minuit, deposed from office, entered the service of Christina of Sweden. Her father, the great Gustavus, had already planned the foundation of a settlement in America, and had devoted a large sum (\$100,000) to the object. Oxenstiern, the Swedish minister, prompted by this circumstance, and by the persuasions of Minuit, readily came into the scheme; and, about the year 1633, an expedition was dispatched to the Delaware, which erected a fort, called after the queen, Christina, and made a settlement near Wilmington. The footing thus obtained by the Swedes was afterwards a source of no small trouble and uneasiness to their Dutch neighbours.

CHAPTER IV.

GOVERNOR KEIFT.—GOVERNOR STUYVESANT: HIS CHARACTER: HE STUDIES THE SWEDES.—EXTENSIBLE CLAIMS OF THE ENGLISH.—GRANT BY CHARLES II. TO THE DUKE OF YORK.—NEW AMSTERDAM TAKEN BY COLONEL NICOLLS: RETAKEN BY THE DUTCH.—FINAL CESSION TO ENGLAND.

IN 1638, William Keift, in place of Van Twiller, was appointed governor of the New Netherlands, and was speedily involved in difficulties with the gradually encroaching English. He forbade them to trade at the fort of Good Hope, (a small Dutch post in Connecticut, where the city of Hartford now stands,) and broke up by force a settlement which they had made on Long Island. In 1643, the English colonies, now greatly superior in strength to their neighbours, entered into a league against them. The horrors of Indian warfare were soon added to the other troubles of the country. Keift,

* Discoverers, &c., of America.

on suspicion of hostile intentions, had attacked a party of the natives, and had massacred nearly a hundred of them. An Indian war, lasting for two years, and effectually checking the progress of the settlement, was the result; but was finally terminated by treaty. "To Keift, in 1647, succeeded Peter Stuyvesant, the last and most famous of the Dutch governors. His memory, immortalized by the more comic muse of Irving, always presents itself in the shape of a weather-tanned, fierce-looking, silver-legged old warrior, with an air of obstinate determination, quite sufficient to justify his popular sobriquet of *Hardkoppig Piet*, or Peter the Headstrong. He became speedily embroiled with all his neighbours; but justice must admit that the right was on his side—that the Dutch were the aggrieved party—and that in the contests which troubled his administration, he displayed all the qualities of a gallant soldier, an energetic magistrate, and a faithful servant of his employers." By his wise and humane government, he maintained peace with the Indians; and by removing oppressive restrictions on commerce, greatly forwarded the interests of his colony. The company, with a liberal and far-sighted policy, in advance of the age, prohibited all religious persecution, and sought to make the New Netherlands a refuge for the exiled believers of any creed. "From France, the Low Countries, the Rhine, Northern Germany, Bohemia, the mountains of Piedmont, the suffering Protestants flocked to this trans-atlantic asylum."

The new governor, a man of quick temper and of military ardour, was not likely to submit to aggression from his neighbours; and a piece of treacherous violence, committed by Risingh, the Swedish governor, afforded him an opportunity to wrest back the territory which the latter had gained by a species of encroachment. On the Delaware river, where Newcastle now stands, the Dutch had planted a post, named Fort Casimir—an object of much jealousy to the Swedes. Risingh, with thirty men, under pretext of a friendly visit, had entered this fort, and had been hospitably entertained; but treacherously seized it, with all the houses and other property of the company, which it protected. To avenge this outrage, the sturdy governor, with a force of six hundred men, sailed up the Delaware, and, after retaking Fort Casimir, marched into "New Sweden," as the country was called, and laid siege to Fort Christina itself. Risingh was compelled to surrender, and the whole settlement was incorporated with the Dutch province—most of the settlers remaining and submitting peaceably to the rule of the new government.

The lustre of this triumph was soon overshadowed by the successful rapacity of a more formidable foe; and the little province, so peacefully settled, and, for the most part, so moderately and wisely governed, was destined to be absorbed in the overwhelming progress of a people the most active, aggressive, and retentive of conquest which the world has ever seen. The troubles with the eastern English colonies had, for a time, been settled by a treaty, which admitted the latter to a share of Long Island. "But, as the importance of the trans-atlantic possessions became more obvious, these questions of priority of settlement were merged in the more decisive contest between the arrogant assumption of the British crown, and the just, but feebly-defended rights of the states-general. There could hardly be a claim more untenable than that advanced by England to the possession of the little settlements which the Dutch, with such patient and persevering industry, had reclaimed from the wilderness. The whole country which they occupied had been unquestionably first explored by Hudson, sailing in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and had immediately afterwards been settled by Hollanders in advance of any other nation. Purchase and treaty with the natives had added confirmation to their title. These perfectly unassailable grounds of possession the English attempted to invade, by claiming that Hudson was an Englishman, whose discovery must therefore enure to the benefit of his own country, and that Cabot, sailing by these coasts an hundred and fifty years before, had thus secured the right to the whole to those who employed him. This proposition, it is needless to say, was of a self-stultifying nature, for, if Hudson was an Englishman, Cabot was a Venetian, and, according to this rule, the whole country must have belonged to the little republic of Venice. Moreover, there was no evidence that Cabot had ever even seen the inlets and recesses which the Dutch had selected for the site of their settlements."*

Charles II., of England, not long after his restoration to the throne, prompted by enmity to Holland, and a desire to extend his territories in North America, made a grant to his brother, the duke of York and Albany, (afterwards James II.,) of a vast tract of land, including all the Dutch settlements. To put the grantee in possession, a fleet, carrying three hundred soldiers, under command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, with Sir George Carteret and Sir Robert Carr, was dispatched to America; and in August of 1664, came to

* Discoverers, &c., of America.

anchor before the little capital of New Amsterdam. The governor, demanding the purport of this armament, was informed by Nicolls that his orders were to take possession of the town and country, and offered the fairest terms in case of surrender. Stuyvesant, without a force sufficient to repel the hostile squadron, and beset by the clamorous cowardice of the council and the citizens, remained for some days in a state of great perplexity and irritation, refusing to consent to a capitulation, and keeping the town in grievous suspense and agitation. Compelled by circumstances, he finally signed a surrender on the most honourable terms, and then, disgusted with foreign aggression and domestic pusillanimity, retired in wrath to his country-seat in the *Bouwery*, where he passed the remainder of his days.

The English, taking undisputed possession of the country, in honour of the proprietor, changed the name of New Amsterdam to New York, and that of Fort Orange to Albany. In compliment to the family of Carteret, which came from the isle of Jersey, the southern portion of the New Netherlands received the title of New Jersey.

The new rulers of the country, Nicolls and his successor, Lovelace, governed in an arbitrary manner, admitting no authority except such as was lodged in their own hands and in the officers of their appointment, and imposing grievous and unreasonable taxes on the original colonists. The latter governor, it is said, even avowed the policy of exacting such burdensome imposts, that "the people might have no leisure to think of any thing except how to pay them." The greatest discontent, consequently, prevailed, and remonstrances so vehement were sent in, that they were condemned to be burned, as treasonable, by the common hangman. Hostilities being resumed between Holland and England, in 1673, a small Dutch squadron, under command of Evertsen, appeared before New York. Through the treachery of John Manning, who commanded the fort, it was surrendered without a shot being fired; the country was regained with the same facility with which it had been lost; and a council of the Dutch being called, Antony Colve was chosen as colonial governor. Early the next year, however, a treaty of peace was concluded, by which each party agreed to surrender conquests made during the war; and the New Netherlands falling within the scope of this agreement, were accordingly at length formally relinquished to the English aggressors.

PART V.

The French in America.

CANADA.*

CHAPTER I.

EARLY FISHING VOYAGES.—GIOVANNI VERRAZANO.—HIS VOYAGE IN THE DAUPHIN.—ARRIVES AT NORTH AMERICA.—DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY.—ITS INHABITANTS.—VERRAZANO COASTS NORTHERLY.—KIDNAPPING.—THE GREAT HARBOUR.—FRIENDLINESS OF THE INDIANS.—VERRAZANO SAILS TO LABRADOR.—RETURNS TO FRANCE.—HIS SUBSEQUENT FATE.

FOR some time after the discovery of the New World, no national attempt seems to have been made by the French to secure a foothold on its shores. The Basque and Breton fishermen, the most hardy and enterprising of their day, not long after the memorable voyage of Cabot, discovered and turned to account that mine of wealth—more certain and enduring than those of Potosi or Mexico—the

* The origin of this word is uncertain. "In 1525, one Stephano Gomez sailed from Spain to the island of Newfoundland, and, it would seem, entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and traded on its shores. According to the Spanish accounts, his people, disappointed in their expectations of treasure, frequently repeated the words 'Aca nada,' ('here is nothing,') and thus conferred on the whole province the name of Canada. This title, however, is more probably derived from the Iroquois word, 'Kannata,' signifying a cluster of cabins."

Great Bank of Newfoundland. Cape Breton still attests by its name the early presence of these hardy mariners.

In 1523, Francis I., moved, perhaps as much by jealousy of his Spanish and Portuguese rivals as by any abstract zeal for discovery, fitted out four vessels, the command of which was confided to Giovanni Verrazano, a noble Florentine, who, like his eminent Italian countrymen, Columbus, Cabot, and Vespuceius, wanting appreciation and encouragement at home, had carried his genius and enterprise to the service of a foreign court. This expedition failed, on account of an adverse storm, but the enterprising commander, in the following year, in a vessel called the Dauphin, with fifty men, again set sail, from the island of Madeira, and steered westward. On the 20th of February, (1524,) "we were overtaken," says Verrazano, (in his letter of report to the king,) "with as sharpe and terrible a tempest as ever any saylers suffered, whereof, with the divine helpe and mercifull assistance of Almighty God, and the goodnesse of our shippe, accompanied with the good happe of her fortunate name," (a courtly allusion,) "we were delivered, and with a prosperous winde followed our course West and by North. And in other 25 days we made above 400 leagues more, when we discovered a new land, never before scene of any man either aneient or moderne."

This land, it is probable, was Carolina or Georgia, from the nature of the forests, which he describes as "mighty great woods, some very thicke and some thinne, replenished with divers sorts of trees as pleasant and delectable to behold as it is possible to imagine. And your Maiestie may not think these are like the woodes of *Hercynia* or the wilde deserts of *Tartary*, and the northerne coasts, full of fruitlesse trees; but they are full of *palme trees*, bay trees, and high cypresse trees, and many other sorts of trees unknoven in *Europe*, which yeeld most sweet savors farre from the shoare, the property whereof we could not learn,—neither doe wee thinke that they, *partaking of the east world round about them*, are altogether voyd of drugs or spicery, and other riches of gold, seeing the colour of the land doth so much argue it." The belief in treasure, in spices, and especially in the immediate vicinity of the East Indies, was one of which all early voyagers to America, from Columbus down, were with the utmost difficulty disabused.

After sailing in vain fifty leagues to the south in quest of a port, the commander again turned northward, and finally made a landing on the open beach. The Indians, in great numbers, came to meet

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the discoverers, and evinced a friendly and hospitable spirit. They are described as looking "not much unlike the Saracens,"—"with a cheerfull and steady looke, not strong of body, yet sharpe-witted, nimble, and exceeding great runners." Their only clothing was a species of cineture, made of small furs, "which they fasten," says Verrazano, "unto a narrow girdle made of grasse very artificially wrought, hanged about with the tayles of other beastes, which dangle to their knees. Some of them wearo garlands made of byrdes feathers." Still pursuing the grand *ignis fatuus* of his day, he holds that they are "like to the people of the east parts of the world, and especially to them of the uttermost parts of China."

Sailing north easterly along the coast, he "saw every where great fires, by reason of the multiude of the inhabitants," but from the want of harbours, could not effect a landing. A young man, who swam through the surf with presents to a multitude of Indians ashore, being nearly drowned, was rescued by them from the waves, and carried ashore with great kindness; "then setting him on the ground at the foote of a little hil against the sunne, they began to behold him with great admiration, marveilling at the whitenesse of his fleshe; and putting off his clothes, they made him warm at a greate fire, not without our great feare which remained in the boate, that they would have rosted him at that fire, and have eaten him." With all manner of caresses and kindness, they revived him, and restored him to his companions.

The usual return for this kindly treatment was speedily made. Sailing farther on, the French landed, and twenty of them explored the country. They found in the woods an old woman and a young one, each with three children on her shoulders. "Our men," says the cool commander, "tooke a childe from the olde woman to bring into France, and going about to take the yung woman, which was very beautiful and of tall stature, they could not possibly, for the great outeries she made, bring her to the sea; and especially," (he continues apologetically,) "having great woods to passe thorow and being farre from the shippe, we purposed to leave her behind, *bearing away the childe onely.*"

Still keeping along the shore, he found the land well peopled, and finally entered a great harbour, which he describes as lying "in the Paralele of Rome, in 41 degrees and 2 terces," and which, from his description, may have been either the entire region of waters lying around New York, or those of Narragansett bay. Many canoes came

off to his vessel, filled with Indians—among them, he says, “2 kings of so goodly stature and shape as is possible to declare.” Here he staid fifteen days, enjoying the most friendly intercourse with the natives—“oftentimes,” he says, “one of the two kings coming with his queene and many gentlemen, for their pleasure, to see us. * * * The Queene and her maids staid in a very light boat, at an lhand a quarter of a league off, while the King abode a long space in our ship, uttering divers conceits, with gestures, viewing with great admiration all the Furniture of the Shippe, demanding the property” (use) “of every thing particularly. He took likewise great pleasure in beholding our apparell, and in tasting our meats, and so courteously taking his leave departed.” Great companies of the Indians came aboard in their canoes, with all friendliness and hospitality. “They are very liberal,” says the narrator, “for they give what they have.”

From this haven, on the 5th of May, he took his departure, and sailed for a hundred and fifty leagues along the coast, noting its variations, and the difference of climate. The people were much more savage than those he had lately seen. “Looke,” he says, “how much the former seemed to be courteous and gentle, so much were these full of rudeness and ill-manners. * * * If at any time we desired by exchange to have any of their commodities, they used to come to the sea-shore upon certaine craggy rocks, and we standing in our boats, they let downe with a rope what it pleased them to give us, crying continually that we should not approach to the land, demanding immediately the exchange, taking nothing but knives, fish hooks, and tooles to cut withall, *neither did they make any account of our courtesy.* And when we had nothing left to exchange with them, when we departed from them, they showed all signes of discourtesie and disdain, as were possible for any creature to invent.” These ill-conditioned people, so deficient in appreciation of French politeness, probably inhabited the rugged coast of Maine.

Verrazano cruised along the shore, it would seem, for about two thousand miles, as far as the desolate coasts of Labrador or Newfoundland, and then, his provisions being mostly spent, returned to France. The subsequent fate of this old navigator is involved in much mystery. “A short time after his arrival,” says Charlevoix, “he fitted out another expedition, with the design of establishing a colony in America. All that we know of this enterprize is, that, having embarked, he was never seen more, and that it never has

been ascertained what became of him." It is asserted, however, in Ramusio's collection of voyages, that Verrazano and those who went ashore with him, were killed and devoured by the savages off Cape Breton; and it is said elsewhere that the same catastrophe happened on shipboard. But nothing certain has come down to us respecting the nature of his expedition or the fate of himself and his companions.

CHAPTER II.

JACQUES CARTIER DISCOVERS THE ST. LAWRENCE.—HIS SECOND VOYAGE.—QUEBEC.—HOCHELAGA, OR MONTREAL.—FRIENDLY INDIANS.—TREACHEROUS KIDNAPPING BY CARTIER.—EXPEDITION OF ROBERVAL AND CARTIER.—MISFORTUNES AND FAILURE.—ATTEMPTS UNDER HENRY IV.—PONTREAVE, CHAMPLAIN, AND DE MONTS.—THEIR EXPEDITION.

IN 1534, at the instance of High Admiral Chabot, the king provided means for another voyage of discovery in the same direction. Jacques Cartier, the commander, on the 20th of April, with two small vessels, and a hundred and twenty men, sailed from St. Malo, and in twenty days made the rocky heights of Newfoundland. Passing through the Straits of Belle Isle, he entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and coasted along its shores, delighted with the beauty of the scenery and the gentleness of the native inhabitants. He entered the river St. Lawrence, and took formal possession of the country, after the usual fashion, in the name of his master; and having seized, by stratagem, on two of the natives, sailed for France. The court, encouraged by his favourable report, determined to found a colony in the newly-explored region.

Accordingly, in May of the following year, with three vessels, he again proceeded to the great river which he had discovered, and passing up it, early in the autumn, arrived at a beautiful island, covered with vines, which he called the Isle of Bacchus. It is now known as the Isle of Orleans, lying a little below Quebec.* At the

* "The derivation of this name has been often contested. Some say it is nearly the original Indian term *Quebaio*; others, that it is derived from *Caudesbec*, on the

mouth of the river St. Charles, just below the high and rocky promontory on which that city now stands, the French resolved to take up their winter-quarters. An Indian chief, named Donnacona, attended with many canoes, came to welcome them, placing his arm around the admiral's neck, and exhibiting much courtesy and kindness. When the strangers landed (near Stadacona, his village,) this friendly chief, with five hundred of his tribe, was waiting on the shore to receive them; and the French, who had never seen (nor probably heard of) the custom of smoking, so widely prevalent among the native tribes of America, were astonished to behold their hosts vigorously imbibing from long reed pipes the potent fumes of tobacco. The instrument once lighted, reports Cartier, (a better sailor than anatomist,) "they suck at the other end so long that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till it comes out of their mouth and nostrils as from the chimney of a house."

Learning that a large town, called Hochelaga, lay at some distance up the river, Cartier determined to proceed to it, and, with thirty-five of his men, ascended the stream, receiving much kindness and hospitality from the natives who inhabited its shores. At Hochelaga, where he arrived on the 2d of October, more than a thousand Indians were waiting on the shore to give him welcome. Their town, circular in form, and surrounded by a strong rampart of palisades, consisted of fifty great houses, which were well supplied with Indian corn, beans, dried fish, and other simple articles of native fare. It stood in a vast field of corn, and hard by was a mountain, to which the French gave the name of Mont Royale, since corrupted into Montreal, and applied to the European city which has replaced the rude village of Hochelaga. These people, regarding the white men with a superstitious veneration, brought their sick—among them their king, Agohanna, a paralytic—to their guests, entreating that they might be healed. Cartier, disclaiming the powers attributed to him, made, however, the sign of the cross over the sufferers, gave them chaplets, and read a portion of the gospel of St. John, praying for their conversion.

Returning to Quebec, the voyagers suffered terribly from the extreme cold of winter, and twenty-five of them perished of scurvy.

Seine; while other authors maintain that it had its origin in the exclamation of Cartier's pilot, on first beholding the majestic cape, 'Quel bec?' ('what a beak!' or 'promontory,') *bec*, in the Norman, corresponding to the old English *Ness* or *Nose*, as a general term for any remarkable headland."

They experienced great kindness from the natives, which, as usual, they repaid by a piece of atrocious perfidy. Their kindly host, Donnacona, with several other Indians, was entrapped aboard ship and made prisoner; on which, says Cartier, his people were inconsolable with grief, and came howling round the vessel like so many wolves. Leaving their encampment in May, 1536, these cruel and ungrateful men returned to France.

Attracted by reports of the beauty and fertility of the country watered by the Great River, the Sieur de Roberval, in 1540, procured from the king the office of viceroy over "New France," as the lately-discovered region was now termed. Cartier, his lieutenant, with several vessels, sailed in May, 1541, and at the end of three months arrived at Quebec. The Indians, remembering past injuries, were unfriendly, and he passed an uncomfortable winter, continually dreading attack, at Cape Rouge, a few miles further up the river. In June of the following year, Roberval, with three vessels, came to the Road of St. Johns, in Newfoundland, where, to his surprise, he was joined by Cartier. Disappointed and moody, the latter refused to prosecute the enterprise, and, with his people, sailed silently away in the night. He died not long after his return to France. Roberval, with his immediate command, proceeded up the river, and passed the winter in the quarters of his lieutenant, losing fifty of his men by scurvy. Other losses succeeded; the crews were sick, discontented, and seditious; in 1543 he made his way back to France. Six years afterwards, he again sailed on a fresh expedition to the country; but nothing was ever learned of the fate of him or his companions.

Discouraged by these repeated failures and losses, the French, for half a century, made no further attempts to colonize this inhospitable province, but confined themselves to fishing and traffic with the natives on the coast. It was not until 1598, that the spirit of enterprise, under the auspices of Henry IV., was once more awakened. In that year, the Marquis de la Roche, as viceroy of New France, sailed for Nova Scotia, but accomplished nothing in the way of settlement, except to leave forty wretched convicts on Sable island, where most of them, in a few years, perished from want and exposure. Private enterprise proved more fortunate, and led the way to better judged and more successful efforts on the part of government. Pontgravé, a merchant of St. Malo, a man of great enterprise and judgment, had for several years voyaged to the Saguenay, and

brought cargoes of valuable furs, obtained by traffic with the Indians. In 1603, under the patronage of De Chatte, governor of Dieppe, and successor in office to De la Roche, he fitted out an expedition to New France, taking with him, as associate in command, Samuel de Champlain, a naval officer, of high repute for his services in the East Indies.

Arriving in the St. Lawrence, and leaving their ships at Tadousac, the voyagers ascended as far as Hochelaga or Montreal—but the Indian village, so thrifty and populous in the days of Cartier, had by this time, it would seem, nearly, if not quite, disappeared. War or pestilence had probably terminated the brief and uncertain tenure by which this, like all uncivilized tribes, held its possession of a home. The explorers returned to France, where the Sieur de Monts, who had succeeded De Chatte in office, fitted out four ships to effect the colonization of New France. With Champlain, Potrincoart, and many other adventurers, in 1604, he proceeded to the Bay of Fundy, where, on a small island, he wintered—the scurvy, as before, making terrible ravages among his people. At Port Royal (now Annapolis) in Acadia (now Nova Scotia) he built a fort and planted a settlement, which, for ten years, continued to increase and prosper, but which, in 1614, was attacked by a force from Virginia, under Sir Samuel Argall, and was broken up. (See Acadia.)

CHAPTER III.

CHAMPLAIN FOUNDS QUEBEC: MAKES WAR ON THE IROQUOIS:
 FOUNDS MONTREAL.—EXPEDITIONS WITH THE HURONS.—HIS
 DISCOURAGEMENTS.—INCONSIDERABLE SETTLEMENTS.—
 CANADA TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH.—RESTORED.—
 THE COMPANY OF NEW FRANCE.—DEATH OF
 CHAMPLAIN: HIS CHARACTER.

In 1608, Champlain, dispatched from France with two vessels, to trade at Tadousac, took advantage of the opportunity to found a permanent colony on the shores of the St. Lawrence. After a careful survey of its shores, he selected for the site of his settlement that splendid headland, known, even at that early day, as Quebec, the

same where Cartier had passed his first winter. This was in July, and during the brief remainder of a Canadian summer, buildings were erected, and preparations were made for the long winter. When the spring came on, Champlain, desirous of effecting fresh exploration, and little scrupulous in his choice of means, accompanied a party of Algonquins, with whom he had made friends, on a hostile expedition against their ancient enemies, the Iroquois. Passing up the St. Lawrence, they reached a river running from the south, and by this outlet made their way to that beautiful lake which still bears the name of its first European discoverer—the Champlain. Near the southern extremity of this lake they entered a smaller one, now known as Lake George, and on its banks had a desperate fight with some two hundred of the Iroquois, who were entrenched in a rude fort. The fire-arms and the skillful manœuvres of the French secured the victory to their allies; a number of the enemy were killed, and ten or twelve were taken prisoners; the latter, despite the remonstrances of Champlain, were put to death with the cruel tortures customarily practised among these barbarous tribes.

Returning to France, the adventurer was received with much favour by Henry IV., and in the following year (1610) again sailed for the St. Lawrence, reaching the mouth of the Saguenay in the wonderfully brief passage, considering the age, of eighteen days. Quebec was in a prosperous condition, and he now laid the foundation of a small settlement at Montreal—destined, in time, to become one of the fairest cities in America. Strangely regardless of principle or policy, he continued his system of accompanying and assisting the savages in their wars with the Iroquois, thus incurring for himself and his people the deadly enmity of those powerful tribes—an enmity fated, at a future day, to result almost in the ruin of the colonies planted with such toil and perseverance. Having once more gone to France, and incorporated a company to further his plans of colonization, he returned to Montreal, where the Hurons and other Indian allies of the French were preparing for a grand expedition against their ancient enemies. As usual, he joined them; but this time the expedition was defeated, and the allies retreated in disgrace, carrying off their wounded, among whom the Frenchman was one, in a singular manner. "Their bodies were bent into a circular form, bound with cords, and thrown into a basket, where they lay like infants in swaddling clothes, unable to stir hand or foot. Champlain feelingly describes the agonies he endured while

being carried twenty-five or thirty leagues in this position; on being relieved from which, he felt as if he had come out of a dungeon." Despite his misfortunes, he explored, on this expedition, a great extent of country, even reaching Lake Nipissing and Lake Huron. In all these arduous efforts in behalf of the new province, during which he repeatedly went to France, he obtained little aid in prosecution of his schemes, either from the crown or the company; and his utmost energies, at times, were required to prevent the emigrants from breaking up their settlements, and relinquishing altogether the attempt to colonize these inclement regions.

Religious dissensions between the Catholics and Huguenots soon sprung up in the little community, and Champlain, a zealous Romanist, with grief saw himself compelled by policy to allow some toleration to the latter. The Iroquois, in 1621, to revenge past injuries, sent three strong war parties against the French and Hurons, on the latter of whom they inflicted a considerable massacre. A stone fort was built for the protection of Quebec, which, at this time, had only fifty inhabitants, but which soon received a considerable addition of emigrants. In 1627, the "Company of New France," chartered under the auspices of the famous Richelieu, went into operation, with full dominion and sovereignty (saving certain feudal acknowledgments to the crown) over nearly all the vast regions now known as British America, with the right to confer titles of a high order, and to select governors and other officers to rule their provinces. This powerful corporation, aided by gifts from the crown, undertook that, by the year 1643, six thousand additional colonists should be transported to the province; but its attempts were thwarted by misfortune, and in 1629, the little settlement of Quebec was taken by an English force, and all Canada was compelled to submit to the victors. In 1632, by the treaty of St. Germain, it was restored to France, little value at that time being attached by either nation to the feeble settlements thinly scattered over that inhospitable region. "At this period, the fort of Quebec, surrounded by a score of hastily-built dwellings and barracks, some poor huts on the island of Montreal, the like at Three Rivers and Tadousac, and a few fishermen's log-houses elsewhere on the banks of the St. Lawrence, were the only fruits of the discoveries of Verrazano, Jacques Cartier, Roberval, and Champlain, the great outlay of La Roche and De Monts, and the toils and sufferings of their followers for nearly a century."

Under the active administration of Cardinal Richelieu, however,

efficient means had been taken to promote the prosperity of the recovered colony; and the company, whose operations had been suspended by the late disasters, in the following year (1633) again placed Champlain in command of the colonies, and dispatched an expedition, carrying more property, it was supposed, than the entire province at that time contained. This expedition increased the population, and materially promoted the prosperity of New France; but the death of Champlain, which took place soon after, was a severe blow to the infant colony. "He died in 1635, leaving a high renown for courage, for patient and indefatigable industry, and for fervent piety—the latter, it seems to us, hardly deserved, considering his unprincipled interference in Indian warfare, and his bigoted exclusion of Protestant settlers from the forlorn refuge of the Canadian wilderness. He certainly bequeathed to the state which he had founded with such pains and perseverance, a deep and deadly native hostility, destined to involve it, at a later period, in almost total destruction." "To him, however," says an elegant author,* "belongs the glory of planting Christianity and civilization among the snows of these northern forests; during his life, indeed, a feeble germ; but, sheltered by his vigorous arm—nursed by his tender care—the root struck deep. And now a million and a half of Christian people dwell in peace and plenty upon that magnificent territory, which his zeal and wisdom first redeemed from the desolation of the wilderness."

* Warburton—"Conquest of Canada."

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CHAPTER IV.

ADMINISTRATION OF MONTMAGNY.—UNPROSPEROUS CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE.—D'ARGENSON.—D'AVANGOUR.—TRIUMPHS OF THE IROQUOIS.—EARTHQUAKE.—REINFORCEMENTS FROM FRANCE.—MENEY.—TRACY.—DE COURCELLES.—THE COMTE DE FRONTENAC: HIS CHARACTER.—TURBULENT ADMINISTRATION.—DE LA BARRE: HIS EXPEDITION AGAINST THE IROQUOIS: ITS FAILURE.—CELEBRATED SPEECH OF GARANGULA.—MAGNANIMOUS CONDUCT OF THE IROQUOIS.

MONTMAGNY, the successor of Champlain in the government of Canada, wanting in the enthusiasm and experience of that famous commander, was unable efficiently to promote the increase and prosperity of the province. The foundation of the college of the Jesuits and of other religious establishments, which, prompted by the pious zeal of French ecclesiastics and of ladies of rank, took place about this time, were the most important events which distinguished the early years of his administration. The company, after the death of Champlain, did nothing towards settling or cultivating the country, but confined themselves to the more profitable trade in furs, and erected forts only for the convenience and protection of that enterprise. The affairs of the colony languished, and the Iroquois, with very natural enmity, continued to harass the weaker settlements. Montreal, it is said, would have been completely destroyed or abandoned, but for the timely arrival, in 1647, of an hundred emigrants from France, under M. D'Aillebout.

When, in 1658, the Marquis d'Argenson arrived in Canada as governor-general, the condition of that province was miserable in the extreme. Neglected by the company, its prosperity had continued to decline, even the fur-trade becoming almost extinct; and the Iroquois, having wreaked terrible vengeance on their ancient foes, the Hurons and Algonquins, seemed on the point of overpowering the French altogether. A great number of settlers were massacred by them at Montreal; and Quebec itself, surrounded by a force of several hundred warriors, was nearly in a state of actual

siege. To D'Argenson, in 1661, succeeded the Baron D'Avangour, a man of stern, inflexible character, whose prompt action saved the settlements from destruction. His urgent representations to Louis XIV. of the importance of the province and its defenceless condition, induced that sovereign to dispatch a force of four hundred men for its protection—the timely arrival of which inspired fresh hope and courage in the almost despairing colonists.

In the year 1663, a tremendous earthquake, continuing at intervals for the space of six months, spread dismay among the settlers, and extraordinary convulsions of the earth and the rivers are said to have taken place. The St. Lawrence, for a hundred and thirty miles, was discolored and impregnated with sulphurous matter.

The company of New France, by their mismanagement and imbecility, having reduced the colony to the lowest state, in 1664 surrendered their charter, which was transferred to another almost equally incapable association, the Company of the West Indies. The Baron d'Avangour, recalled at his own request, was replaced by M. de Mesey, who, quarrelling with the bishop of the province, was also deposed, and the Marquis de Tracy, for some time viceroy over the French possessions in America, in June, 1665, arrived in Canada from the West Indies, as governor in his stead. The arrival of a regiment of French soldiers, provided for the defence of the colony, enabled him to take more efficient means of defence against the Iroquois, and three forts were erected on the river Richelieu (Sorel or St. John's) to check the incursions which they habitually made by that passage from Lake Champlain. Nevertheless, by other routes they renewed their ravages with such fury, that all the vigilance of the governor and all the force of the colony was required to protect it from destruction. Having provided in the best manner possible for its defence, in 1668 he returned to France, leaving M. de Courcelles governor in his stead.

Many of the military officers, having received grants of land, with seigniorial rights, settled in the province, and many of the soldiers were also distributed among the settlements, adding materially to the strength of the inhabitants. Three hundred courtesans, dispatched from France, were all disposed of in marriage within a fortnight after their arrival; and much encouragement was given by the government to the formation of families and the increase of a legitimate population. During the administration of Courcelles, much of Canada was explored; and the original inhabitants, by the

ravages of small-pox and the introduction of ardent spirits, were terribly diminished in number. His influence had been wisely and humanely exerted to check hostilities among the Indians, and the result had been favourable to the peace of the colony itself.

The Count de Frontenac, who, in 1672, succeeded De Coureelles, built, in the same year, the important fort which bore his name, on the site of the present town of Kingston. He was an able soldier, and a man of high qualities; but violent and obstinate in the prosecution of his plans. He was soon involved in dispute with the clergy and with the inferior officers of the colony, and resorted to extreme measures to enforce obedience. "The intendant-general, M. de Chezneau, having neglected some orders, was imprisoned; the procureur-general was exiled; the governor of Montreal was put under arrest; and the Abbé de Salignac Fenelon, at that time in Canada, superintending the seminary of St. Sulpicius at Montreal, was imprisoned, under pretence of having preached against M. de Frontenac." In one point of controversy, the clergy, to their honour, were in the right—that respecting the traffic of brandy for furs with the savages, which the governor insisted on continuing, but which, through the influence of the bishop, was finally suppressed by an order from the king. After remaining in office for ten years, this able and patriotic, but too unscrupulous man, was recalled to France. During his administration, considerable progress was made in discovery and settlement, and, in especial, the wonderful expeditions of Marquette and La Salle resulted in the opening to mankind of a region the most important in North America. (See Louisiana.)

Soon after the accession of M. de la Barre, who was next appointed governor, Indian hostilities, of a most serious nature, were renewed. The English, anxious to engross the trade in furs, had formed an alliance with the Iroquois or Five Nations, and the rivalry between the colonial agents involved the French in new difficulty with their ancient foes. That powerful confederacy had recommenced hostilities, by plundering the French traders who were supplying the rival tribes with arms, and had made such formidable preparations, that the destruction of the French settlements (at this time numbering only nine thousand inhabitants) seemed far from improbable. To avert or anticipate the threatened evil, the governor, with a force of a thousand men, marched toward their country, at the same time, however, making overtures of peace to the hostile con-

federacy. Sickness broke out among his troops, and rendered the command unfit for service; yet, when he met Garangula, the old sachem of the Onondagas, with other deputies from the Five Nations, at Knihoage, on Lake Ontario, where a conference had been appointed, he assumed a lofty and exacting tone. Recapitulating the injuries received by the French, he demanded satisfaction, and threatened the destruction of the offending tribes, in event of refusal. The speech of the old chief, in reply, is justly considered—for spirit, for satire, and forcible expression—as one of the most striking specimens of Indian eloquence. Having heard the Frenchman to an end, he took two or three turns about the apartment, then stood before the governor, and, after a courteous and formal preamble, addressed him thus:

“Yonondio,* you must have believed, when you left Quebec, that the sun had burnt up all the forests which render our country inaccessible to the French, or that the lakes had so far overflowed the banks, that they had surrounded our castles, and that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, surely you must have dreamed so, and the curiosity of seeing so great a wonder has brought you so far. Now you are undeceived, since I, and the warriors here present, are come to assure you that the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks are yet alive. I thank you in their name for bringing back into their country the calumet which your predecessor received from their hands. It was happy for you that you left under ground that murdering hatchet which has been so often dyed in the blood of the French.

“Hear, Yonondio: I do not sleep; I have my eyes open; and the sun which enlightens me, discovers to me a great captain, at the head of a company of soldiers, who speaks as if he were dreaming. He says that he only came to the lake to smoke on the great calumet with the Onondagas. But Garangula says, that he sees the contrary; that it was to knock them on the head, if sickness had not weakened the arms of the French. I see Yonondio raving in a camp of sick men, whose lives the Great Spirit has saved by inflicting this sickness upon them.

“Hear, Yonondio: our women had taken their clubs, our children and old men had carried their bows and arrows into the heart of your camp, if our warriors had not disarmed them and kept them back,

* A term applied by the Indians to the governor of the French, as that of Corlaer to the governor of the English.

when your messenger, Akouessan, came to our castles. It is done, and I have said it.

"Hear, Yonondio: we plundered none of the French, but those that carried arms, powder and ball to the Twightwies and Chictaghicks, because those arms might have cost us our lives. Herein we follow the example of the Jesuits, who break all the kegs of rum brought to our castles, lest the drunken Indians should knock them on the head. Our warriors have not beaver enough to pay for all those arms that they have taken, and our old men are not afraid of the war. This belt preserves my words."*

In the same lofty strain he asserted the independence of his nation, and the propriety of keeping their enemies in check; concluding, however, by presenting the governor a gift of beaver skins, and inviting all present to an entertainment. Some reparation was finally promised, but only on condition that the French forces should be immediately withdrawn; and with this unsatisfactory termination of his expedition, the governor was compelled to return. The English, it is said, reproached their allies for not having pushed the war, finding the enemy at such a disadvantage; but that high-spirited people, with equal boldness and magnanimity, replied, "Yonondio is our father, and Corlaer" (meaning the governor of New York) "our brother; but neither of them is our master. He who created the world, gave us the land which we occupy; we are free; we respect both; but neither has a right to command us; and no person ought to take offence that we prevent the earth from being troubled." In this affair, the demeanour and attitude of the native tribes appear to the highest advantage in contrast with those of the Europeans of either nation. Shrewdness, national spirit, courage and moderation distinguished their conduct of the whole transaction.

* At the end of each heading or section of a set Indian oration, it was customary for the speaker to present a belt of wampum, to be kept in perpetual remembrance of that portion.

CHAPTER V.

DE NONVILLE GOVERNOR.—HIS TREACHERY TO THE IROQUOIS
—RENEWED HOSTILITIES.—TREATY OF PEACE.—BROKEN
BY TREACHERY.—EXTRAORDINARY STRATAGEM OF LA
RAT, A HURON CHIEF.—TERRIBLE INVASION BY THE
IROQUOIS, AND MASSACRE OF THE FRENCH.—DES-
PERATE CONDITION OF THE COLONY.

Not long after the expedition of La Barre, and its disastrous result, the Marquis de Nonville, with a strong reinforcement, arrived in Canada as governor-general. With two thousand troops he proceeded to Fort Catarqui, or Frontenac, and at once renewed the quarrel with the Iroquois, on the frivolous pretext that they stood in the way of the conversion of the other American tribes. Louis XIV. had sent a cruel and mean-souled request for a number of warriors of this rebelling nation as slaves to man his galleys; and De Nonville, the fitting agent of such a master, under various pretences, indeed a number of the Iroquois chiefs to meet him at Fort Frontenac, where they were immediately seized, loaded with irons, and dispatched to France. This treacherous deed, the eternal dishonour of all concerned in it, again lit up the flame of revenge among the injured nation; the country was ravaged around the fort, and a French vessel, on Lake Ontario, laden with stores and provisions, was captured by a great fleet of canoes. The governor, with a force of three thousand French and Indians, marched into the Seneca country, but was enabled to bring the enemy into action only once, when, owing to the inferiority of their number, they were defeated. Nevertheless, a fort which the governor had erected at Niagara, was destroyed, and Frontenac itself was besieged. Ere long, twelve hundred warriors were within a short distance of Montreal, and, apprehending the immediate destruction of that settlement, the false-hearted governor listened to overtures for peace. The Iroquois deputies, protected by five hundred warriors, assumed a lofty tone; and De Nonville, forced to comply with their conditions, agreed to send at once for their chiefs who had been shipped to France, and were then chained to the galleys of Louis XIV. An extraordinary piece of treachery and un-

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ning, devised by a chief of the Hurons, prevented this treaty from taking effect, and renewed all the horrors of savage warfare.

Adirio or Kondiaronk, also called Le Rat (the Rat) was among the first of the diminished tribe of the Hurons, both in war and council; the ruling passion of his soul was hatred to the Iroquois, the ancient enemies and formerly almost the exterminators of his race. In this war, at the request of Nonville, he had set forth, with a hundred warriors, to inflict some notable vengeance on his hereditary foes; but stopping at Frontenac, had learned of the treaty. Though madened at the idea of losing his anticipated revenge, he suppressed all emotion, and quitted the fort, apparently to return to his own country. A most deadly scheme of incendiary treason was hatching in his mind, which, with all its revolting details of cruelty, duplicity, and perfidy, he carried into effect with the most singular boldness and success.

"Instead of returning to Makimakinak," relates Mr. McGregor, "he proceeded with his warriors to the cascades, which are about thirty miles above Montreal, and where he knew the Iroquois deputies, with their hostages, would pass. Here he remained in ambush, waiting for the deputies, who arrived in a few days, accompanied by forty young men. He surprised them as they landed from their canoes, killed several, and made the remainder prisoners. He then told the captives that he was directed by the governor to occupy that position, in order to intercept a party of Iroquois warriors, who were to advance by that route to plunder the French settlements, and that he must immediately conduct them as prisoners to Montreal, where there was not the least hope of mercy for them. The deputies, amazed at this intelligence, and their passions having been aggravated to fury by recollecting that their chiefs were not yet sent back from France, considered the conduct of M. de Nonville, and especially this last apparent act of infamous perfidy, more horrible than all that their imagination had attributed to demons. They then related the object of their mission to Le Rat, who feigned astonishment; and after remaining a short time silent, and seeming affected with sorrow, assumed a ferocious air and tone, and declaimed, with all the force and ingenuity of his eloquence, against M. de Nonville, for having made him the instrument of the most diabolical treachery. He then released the prisoners, and told them to return and tell their tribes that the governor of the French had made him engage in a deed so horribly atrocious, that he should never rest till he had satiated his

revenge by the destruction of the French settlements. The Iroquois believed Le Rat; and his apparent clemency in setting them at liberty so fully persuaded them of his sincerity, that they assured him that the Five Nations would immediately ratify such terms of peace with the Hurons as they might then agree upon. He then gave them fusils, powder, and ball, to defend them on their way back; and, under the pretence of replacing one man whom he had lost in attacking the Iroquois, he retained an Indian of the Chouanan tribe, with whom he returned to Makilimakinak.

"This unfortunate prisoner, who believed himself safe, from Le Rat telling the Iroquois that he would retain him as an adopted son, was delivered to the French commandant of that post, who was still ignorant of the proceedings of M. de Nonville, and who, through the statements made by Le Rat, condemned the unhappy wretch to be shot.

"Le Rat had an old Iroquois slave, for a long time in his possession, to whom he afforded the opportunity of witnessing the execution of his adopted countryman by the French, all the circumstances of which, however, he carefully concealed from him. He then told the Iroquois, 'I now give you your liberty; return to your country, and there spend the remainder of your days in peace. Relate to your people the barbarous and unjust conduct of the French, who, while they are amusing your nation with offers of peace, seize every opportunity of betraying and murdering you; and that all my persuasions could not save the life even of one man of your tribe, whom I adopted to replace the warrior I lost at the cascades.'

"The Iroquois returned to his country, and related what he had witnessed, together with all that Le Rat had told him. The Iroquois warriors, as might be anticipated, were even before this sufficiently exasperated; but this last stroke of Le Rat's policy made their very blood boil furiously for revenge; yet they dissembled their feelings of resentment so completely, that M. de Nonville (who declared that he would hang Le Rat whenever he could be captured) still expected deputies from the Iroquois to ratify a peace."

These deputies presently arrived at the island of Montreal in the shape of twelve hundred warriors, armed to the teeth, and inflamed to madness by fury and revenge. All the houses and corn-fields of the settlement were burned; men, women, and children were massacred indiscriminately; a hundred regular troops, with a small force of Huron allies, were defeated and cut to pieces; and the triumphant

enemy, having laid waste the island with fire and sword, and having lost only three of their number, departed, carrying off two hundred prisoners, reserved for death and torture. Nearly a thousand of the French are said to have perished or been captured in this terrible invasion. The governor found it impossible to disabuse the offended tribes of their belief in his treachery, thus reaping in full the bitter fruits of his original perfidy. The war was continued, and famine and disease were added to the calamities of the French. Fort Niagara and Fort Frontenac were successively abandoned by their garrisons, and the unfortunate colony, devastated by pestilence, involved in war with the English, and exposed to the still more terrible ravages of Indian hostility, seemed reduced to an almost desperate condition.

CHAPTER VI.

REAPPOINTMENT OF M. DE FRONTENAC.—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE IROQUOIS.—DESTRUCTION OF SCHENECTADY, ETC.
 —UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION OF PHIPPS AGAINST QUEBEC.—RENEWED WARS WITH THE IROQUOIS.
 —EXPEDITION OF FRONTENAC.

IN this extremity, it was found absolutely indispensable, that a man of the first order of talents should be placed at the head of affairs in Canada; and the Count de Frontenac, whose former administration, though self-willed and arbitrary, had been marked by enterprise, energy, and policy, was at once reinstated in the office of governor. (1689.) He brought with him to America the Iroquois chiefs, so treacherously seized by his predecessor, and such was the fascination of his manners, that he completely won their friendship—Oureouharé, the principal of them, ever after remaining strongly attached to his person. By the advice of that chief, he sent four of them as a deputation to their people, with overtures of peace; and the friendly adviser, adding a persuasive message, announced his intention not to quit the count till the affair was satisfactorily adjusted.

But the hostile nation, embittered by ancient wrong, and haughty with recent triumph, replied in lofty terms. The tree of peace, they said, planted by Yonondio (the governor) at Frontenac, had been

watered with blood and polluted by treachery. Let atonement be made, and all the captives be delivered, and he might then "plant again the tree of peace, but not in the same spot." Hostilities were presently renewed, and Frontenac, perceiving how greatly the enemy were encouraged by the alliance and instigation of the English, (now at open war with France,) resolved to make the latter feel, in turn, the terrors of savage enmity. An expedition, which, in 1690, he fitted out from Quebec, consisting of a hundred French, and a force of Indian allies, surprised Schenectady, then the frontier town of the New York settlements. Sixty-three of the inhabitants were massacred, and the rest carried prisoners into Canada. The English village of Sementels was also surprised and destroyed by another party, and the Iroquois in their turn also met with a signal defeat. This active and cruel policy confirmed the latter in their hatred, but increased the fidelity and attachment of the Hurons, Ottawas, and other Indian allies of the French, who rejoiced in the return and the sharp measures of "their great father," the count.

In the same year (1690) an expedition of thirty-four vessels, fitted out for the conquest of Quebec, under Sir William Phipps, sailed from Boston, and, having captured all the ports of Newfoundland and Acadia, entered the St. Lawrence. On learning this disastrous news, the count hastened to put the town in a state of defence, and peremptorily rejected a summons to surrender, which the English commander dispatched in advance of his fleet. On the 18th of October, the English, sustaining much loss from the sharp shooting of their enemies, disembarked near the river St. Charles, not far from the city. An action ensued, in which the assailants had at first the advantage, but were finally repulsed by the garrison, though the latter were very inferior, both in number and appointments. The English were finally compelled to abandon the attempt, and to reëmbark, leaving their cannon and ammunition. Despite this mortifying result, there is little doubt that Phipps, from the vast superiority of his forces, both military and naval, by a well-directed attack, could have carried the place; and the French, it is said, devoutly returned thanks to God for having, by a special providence, deprived the enemy of common sense. On the 23d the hostile fleet sailed down the river, and seven or eight of the vessels were soon after lost in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The Iroquois, the next year, renewed hostilities, landing, with a thousand warriors, on the island of Montreal, burning houses, and carrying off prisoners, whom they put to death with cruel tortures.

Other incursions were made, and in the skirmishes which ensued, many lives were lost on both sides—among them, those of several French officers of high rank; and the French at last, by way of retaliation, almost vied with the savages in the cruelties inflicted on their captives. Under their famous chief, Black Kettle, the Iroquois made continual forays into the French territory, rendering seed-time and harvest extremely dangerous, making the forts the only places of safety, and boasting that their enemies should have no rest except in the grave. Nevertheless, Frontenac, by his unremitting vigilance and vigour, so far kept them at bay, that, in 1692, the cultivation of the land was resumed, and the traffic in furs once more renewed.

Two years afterwards, the hostile tribes made overtures of peace, and Ourcoularé, who went into their country, returned with thirteen French prisoners, some of them persons of distinction, who had long been held in captivity; but owing to the insidious interference of the English, nothing of importance was finally effected. The next year (1695) Fort Cataragui, or Frontenac, which had been abandoned and destroyed, was rebuilt, and in June of 1696, the French, having mustered all their forces—regular, provincial, and Indian—made a grand invasion of the enemy's country. "De Callieres commanded the left wing, the Chevalier de Vaudreuil the right; while the count, then seventy-six years of age, was carried in the centre in an elbow-chair." No warriors, however, appeared to oppose the march of this formidable force, and the principal fort of the Five Nations was found already reduced to ashes. Only a single prisoner was taken, an aged warrior, nearly a hundred years old, whom the French, with almost inconceivable barbarity, delivered to their savage allies to be tortured to death. With unmoved fortitude, he endured their utmost cruelty, deriding them to the last as slaves of a contemptible race of intruders. Nothing of moment was accomplished by this expedition, the Iroquois retreating without offering battle during the advance, but harassing the invaders severely on their return.

They prosecuted the war with vigour, but with their allies, the English, met with repeated disasters; and the famous Black Kettle was surprised and killed while hunting, by a party of Algonquins. Negotiations for peace were again opened, but were retarded by the death of Ourcoularé, the friendly mediator between his countrymen and the French. The peace between France and England, concluded

in 1698, opened the way for a more successful attempt, and a jealousy against the English, lately sprung up among the Iroquois, furthered the advancement of the project. Just as the negotiation was being concluded, on the 29th of November, 1698, the Count de Frontenac died, at the age of seventy-eight years, twenty of which had been passed in Canada, during an administration, from important and interesting incidents, the most memorable in the history of that province. Though the commencement of his official career was marked by violence and self-will, yet, with little assistance from the mother-country, he had preserved a colony which he found on the verge of destruction, and ere its close he had regained the confidence of the king, the respect of his subordinates, and in a great measure the esteem and good-will of the long-hostile savages.

CHAPTER VII.

DE CALLIERES.—PEACE WITH THE IROQUOIS.—SINGULAR RESOLUTION OF THE FRENCH PRISONERS.—DE VAUDREUIL.—EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA: DISCONCERTED BY THE IROQUOIS.—UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION OF NICHOLSON.—TREATY OF UTRECHT.—EXTENSION AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE PROVINCE.—DE BEAUHARNOIS.—PEACE AND PROSPERITY OF CANADA.

THE office of governor, left vacant by the death of Frontenac, was conferred on De Callieres, an able officer, who had been commandant of Montreal, and who was high in favour with the Indian allies of the French. It is said that on war parties and other solemn occasions, he would dance the war-dance with them, brandishing his hatchet, and enacting all the savage pantomime of a warrior bound against his foes. His administration was marked by excellent prudence and policy; and by the year 1700, a treaty of peace was finally effected with the Five Nations, for so many years involved in such deadly hostility with the Canadians. Numerous prisoners, on both sides, were restored; but, singularly enough, while the savages sought their forest-homes with eagerness, "the greater part of the French captives were found to have contracted such an attachment to the wild freedom of the woods, that neither the commands of the king

nor the tears and entreaties of their friends could induce them to quit the savage associates with whom they were united."

The memorable war waged by Louis XIV. for the oppression of Europe, and its disastrous results to the French, at Blenheim, Ramillies, and other defeats, left the Canadian colonies dependant on their own resources; and the death of the able De Callieres, which occurred in 1703, was a misfortune which was severely felt. "His loss was great to Canada; and although his powers of mind wanted the splendid points which cast such brilliant lustre, on the government of M. de Frontenac, yet, from his great excellence of character, he was beloved and respected by all; and having never violated his word to the Indians, he always retained their implicit confidence." The Count de Vaudreuil, agreeably to the general wish of the people, was appointed to succeed him.

The English, now confident of expelling their rivals from America, called on the Iroquois to renew hostilities; but that high-spirited people, with honourable feeling, replied that when they made a treaty, they did so to keep it; whereas the English and the French seemed to do so only for the purpose of breaking it; and one chief plainly intimated his opinion that both nations were drunk. Some minor hostile operations having occurred, the English, in 1709, dispatched a great force from New York to effect the conquest of Canada; and a large body of Iroquois and Michigans, according to requisition, joined the expedition. A singular story is told of the artful means used by the latter to disconcert the project of their allies. A force dispatched by the governor to interrupt their progress having failed to accomplish its object, and the English being exultant with the prospect of success, an Iroquois chief harangued his countrymen on the impolicy of permitting the latter to completely overwhelm their enemies. "What will become of us," he said, "if we destroy the French, who keep the English in check? The latter will then assuredly crush us, in order to possess our country. Let us not, therefore, foolishly bring certain ruin on ourselves, merely to indulge our passions or please the English. Let us rather leave the French and English in a position which will make either of them set a high value on our friendship."

The allied army halted on the bank of a small river, waiting for artillery and ammunition, and the Iroquois busied themselves in hunting—casting, *it is said*, the skins of various wild beasts into the stream above the encampment, and thus poisoning its waters, to the

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great detriment of their English confederates. This story, so often repeated by historians, may fairly be doubted, both on grounds of moral probability and physical possibility; but it is certain that a fatal disease, carrying off many of the whites, appeared in the camp, and that this, with the want of cordial coöperation among their Indian auxiliaries, caused them to relinquish the enterprise and return to New York. A second expedition of a formidable nature, under General Nicholson, in 1710, was dispatched against Canada; but that commander, learning that a fleet destined to aid his operations and besiege Quebec, had been dispersed, with the loss of eight large vessels, was compelled to abandon the attempt and retrace his steps. The treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, restored peace to the contending nations, though only by the cession to the English of Acadia and Newfoundland. That the French, unassisted by the mother-country, should have been able to retain their possessions in Canada against the overwhelming forces of their allied enemies, is something wonderful; for there were at this time only four thousand five hundred men, between the ages of fourteen and sixty, capable of bearing arms, in the whole province; while the effective force of their rivals was about sixty thousand. This improbable result was due in part to the valour and genius of their officers, in part to the incapacity and sluggishness of the English commanders, and still more, no doubt, to the strength of their position and the inhospitable nature of the climate and the country.

During the remainder of De Vaudreuil's administration, which lasted till his death in 1725, the colony enjoyed peace and prosperity, and cultivation and traffic were extended. For the twenty-one years in which he held office, he enjoyed the confidence of his government and the deserved attachment and esteem of the people committed to his charge.

The Chevalier de Beauharnois, who succeeded him, also held the office of governor for twenty years—a period which, under his active attention to the interests of the province, was characterized by marked improvement and extension of colonization. From Quebec to Montreal the St. Lawrence was now fringed with cultivated farms; the important fortress of Crown Point, with others, was erected for the protection of the province, and the settlement at Detroit was raised into some importance. The enmity in which the French had so long been involved with various powerful tribes of Indians, was now overcome; and the amiable and courteous manners of the former, and their fre-

quent intermarriages with the natives, had secured them the friendship and alliance even of the races whose enmity and whose league with the English, had so often threatened the destruction of the colony. During the contests with the latter, which distinguished much of the first part of the eighteenth century, Canada, for the most part, enjoyed the blessing of peace, the struggle being principally confined to Nova Scotia. (See Acadia.)

CHAPTER VIII.

ENCROACHMENTS OF THE FRENCH.—FORT DU QUESNE.—THE FRENCH WAR.—EXPEDITION OF BRADDOCK: HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH.—COLONEL WASHINGTON.—EXPEDITION AGAINST CROWN POINT.—DEFEAT OF DIERSKAU.—THE MARQUIS DE MONTCALM: HIS SUCCESSES.—GREAT EXERTIONS OF THE ENGLISH: THEIR SUPERIOR FORCE.—DEFEAT OF ABERCROMBIE AT TICONDEROGA.

A RAPID succession of governors, after the death of Beauharnois, (1745,) held the province of Canada, the Marquis Du Quesne, the fourth of them, arriving in 1752. This able and ambitious officer of the crown pursued a steady system of encroachment on the English colonies, and even erected a fort, bearing his own name, within the confines of Virginia. General alarm was excited among the rival settlements. Canada, by this time, had greatly increased in population, the inhabitants, it was said, numbering ninety thousand. In 1555 the marquis was succeeded by De Vaudreuil Cavagnal, and the same year the last and most memorable of the French-American wars broke out. The unfortunate General Braddock, a man of great energy and bravery, but obstinate and wrong-headed, at the head of twenty-two hundred regular and provincial troops, set forth on an expedition against the French on the Ohio. The baggage and artillery being delayed by the roughness of the country, he pushed ahead with thirteen hundred picked men, despising the warnings of danger which he received from those better acquainted with the country and the system of warfare. He had approached within five miles of Fort Du Quesne, and was just crossing the

Monongahela, when a deadly fire was opened on his ranks by a force of two hundred French and six hundred Indians, lurking in the covert of a wood. The main body hastened up, with the artillery, and Braddock used every exertion to inspirit his men. Five horses were shot under him, and he soon fell, with a mortal wound. Sixty of his officers were killed or disabled; and his troops, falling on all sides from the fire of their invisible opponents, were thrown into hopeless panic and confusion. The provincials, under Colonel Washington, a young officer who had accompanied Braddock as aid, alone made effectual resistance, and covered the retreat of the discomfited regulars. On this terrible occasion, the loss of the English in killed and wounded was seven hundred men, while that of the enemy was only about sixty. The expedition was entirely abandoned.

In the same year an army of six thousand men, under General Johnson, was dispatched against the French fortress of Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. To oppose this force, Baron Dieskau, with two thousand men, was sent from Montreal, and after passing to the upper extremity of Lake Champlain, landed his troops, and marched toward the camp of the enemy. In a narrow defile he defeated a large force of English and Mohawk Indians, sent in advance to intercept him, and then proceeded to assault the English camp. It was, however, protected by a breastwork of fallen trees, and by an almost impenetrable swamp. The assailants were repulsed, with the loss of a thousand men, and the survivors retreated to Crown Point. Dieskau, mortally wounded, fell into the hands of the English. Nevertheless, the successful general did not proceed against Crown Point; and even suffered the French to fortify themselves at Ticonderoga.

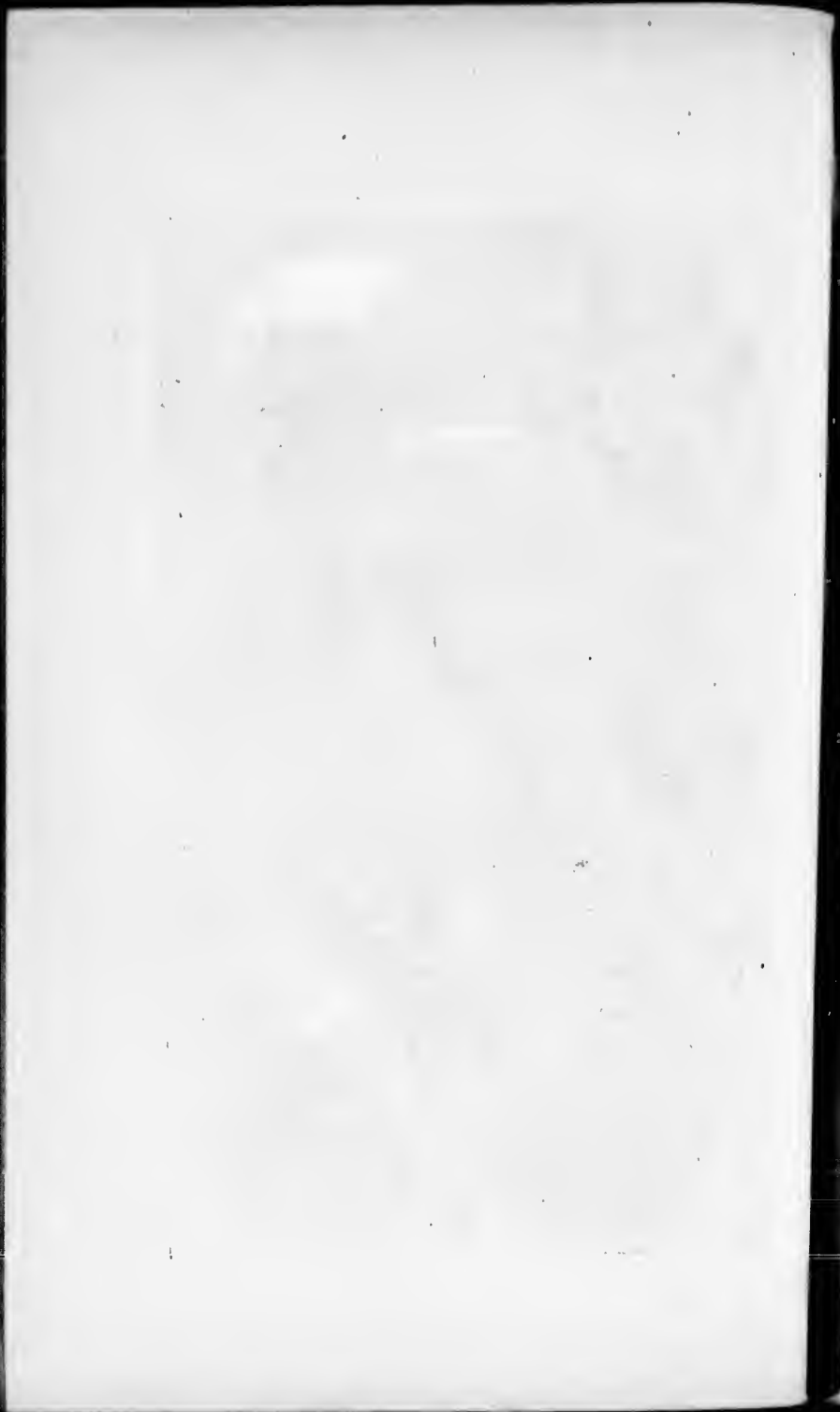
In the two succeeding years (1756, 1757) the gallant Marquis de Montcalm, placed at the head of military affairs in Canada, gained a series of brilliant successes, ending with the reduction of Forts Oswego and William Henry. The garrison of the latter, two thousand in number, after the surrender, were attacked by the Indians of Montcalm's army, and a number were killed; but the reports of the massacre appear to have been extraordinarily exaggerated. Most of the command found protection in the French camp, and the greater part of the remainder, who fled into the woods, reached Fort Edward in safety. At the close of this period, in spite of the exertions of the English, the French still held possession of nearly all the disputed territory, except Acadia; and a long chain of military

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THE DEFEAT OF THE ENGLISH AT CROWN POINT, 1759.



posts, extending from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the headwaters of the Ohio, still remained in their hands, and protected their acquisitions. They had driven the English from Lake George, and compelled the Iroquois to observe neutrality. A terrible Indian war was also devastating the north-western frontier of the British colonies.

Under the vigorous administration of Pitt, however, the war was prosecuted with energy; and the British-American colonies, stimulated by his promises and requisitions, made extraordinary preparations for the conquest of the French provinces. Including a large force of regulars which had been shipped from England, the entire levies available for this object amounted to fifty thousand troops; whereas the whole population of Canada, capable of bearing arms, did not exceed twenty thousand. The first operation of this overwhelming force was the capture of the strong fortress and town of Louisburg (see Cape Breton, Acadia, &c.), and the result was that the entire control of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the adjacent islands, passed finally into the hands of the English.

Meanwhile, General Abercrombie, with sixteen thousand men, passing down Lake George, made a fierce assault on Ticonderoga, garrisoned by some two thousand French soldiers. But the defences proved much stronger than had been supposed; and after a desperate struggle, lasting for four hours, and the loss of two thousand men, in killed and wounded, the British commander drew off his forces and retreated, with disorder and precipitation, to Fort William Henry. Fort Frontenac, feebly garrisoned, was not long after taken by a force of English provincials, who, however, lost five hundred of their number from sickness. Another force dispatched against Fort Du Quesne, after meeting with some reverses, succeeded in compelling the French to evacuate that important post.

CHAPTER IX.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONQUEST OF CANADA.—ARMAMENT UNDER WOLFE DISPATCHED TO QUEBEC.—DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH ON THE HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM.—DEATH OF WOLFE AND MONTCALM.—SURRENDER OF QUEBEC: BESIEGED BY DE LEVI.—CONCENTRATION OF THE ENGLISH FORCES.—FALL OF MONTREAL AND OF CANADA: CESSION TO ENGLAND.

ENCOURAGED by the fall of Louisburg, and exasperated by defeat and loss in other quarters, the English now made extraordinary exertions for the final conquest of Canada. General Amherst, with twelve thousand troops, advanced by way of Lake Champlain, and the important stations of Ticonderoga and Crown Point were abandoned by the French, obliged to concentrate their comparatively feeble forces for the protection of Quebec. To attack this ancient capital and stronghold of the Canadian French, General Wolfe, a young officer, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Louisburg, was entrusted with the command of eight thousand men, aided by a powerful fleet, with which, in June, 1759, he made his appearance in the St. Lawrence.

The brave Montcalm had made every exertion for the defence of the city, and had concentrated there an army nearly as large as that of the enemy, but composed mainly of Canadians and Indians. The supply of provisions was also very limited. Wolfe landed on the isle of Orleans, and first attempted the French camp at Montmorency, near the city, the fire of the ships-of-war covering his disembarkation. (July 31st.) But the French, strongly posted, and fighting gallantly, repulsed the assailants, who were compelled to retire with the loss of an hundred and eighty-two killed, and more than six hundred wounded.

At a council of the officers of the invading army, it was now resolved to make an attempt on the opposite side of the city, where the lofty heights of Abraham present their almost inaccessible front upon the river. To mislead the enemy, the ships moved a number of miles above Quebec, and De Bougainville, who, with a force of fif-

teen hundred men, had been dispatched by Montcalm to oppose them, deceived by this manœuvre, also moved up the river. On the night of the 12th of September, the vessels, dropping silently down the stream, disembarked the whole force of British troops at Wolfe's Cove, just below the face of the precipitous bluff. Grasping the bushes to aid their perilous ascent, the soldiers succeeded in climbing to the summit, and on the plains above were soon arrayed in order of battle. Montcalm, on learning the disastrous intelligence, at once perceived that nothing but an immediate victory could save the city, and marched with all speed to the scene of action.

Some fifteen hundred skirmishers and Indians, who arrived first, kept up a desultory discharge of musketry from the bushes; but the British army mostly reserved its fire until the main body of the enemy, advancing briskly, had approached within forty yards of their lines. Almost at the first volley, both generals fell, mortally wounded, and the French were immediately thrown into confusion. Their defeat was completed by frequent charges of the bayonet, aided by the Highland broadsword. Wolfe, carried to the rear, and hearing the cry, "they run," inquired "who run?" and being told that it was the enemy, gave directions for ensuring the victory, and exclaimed, "Now, God be praised! I die happy." Hardly was the battle over, when De Bougainville, who hurried to the scene of action, and whose presence, a little earlier, might have changed the fate of the day, appeared; but seeing the defeat of his commander, at once retreated. On the 18th, the city capitulated on honourable terms, the French troops not being made prisoners of war, but conveyed to their own country.

Amherst, who had taken Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and Johnson, who had taken Fort Niagara, were unable, from the lateness of the season, to join, according to the plan of the campaign, the victorious forces of Quebec. General De Levi, now the chief French commander, had, meantime, assembled ten thousand troops at Montreal, and in the following spring (April 27th, 1760) landing his forces, took up a position on the heights of Abraham, and laid siege to the city. The garrison, under General Murray, consisted of six thousand men; but in consequence of the ravages of scurvy, only half of them were fit for duty. The general, considering the event of the siege doubtful, resolved to anticipate matters, and, accordingly, with all his available force, on the 27th, attacked the enemy at Sillery. Overwhelmed by superior numbers, he was

repulsed with great loss, and, retreating to Quebec, directed all his energies toward putting that stronghold in a state of defence. The arrival of a fleet, under Admiral Scranton, in the middle of May, compelled the French to raise the siege.

They retreated to Montreal, where the Marquis de Vaudreuil, having concentrated his troops, made an effort to hold out against the combined forces of General Amherst and those of Quebec and Niagara, which had now united in offensive operations. He was compelled, however, on the 8th of September, of the same year, to sign a capitulation, surrendering the city and the whole of Canada to the British. Very liberal terms were accorded by the victors, the free exercise of the Catholic faith being guaranteed to the inhabitants, and the property of the religious communities preserved inviolate. By the treaty of Paris, concluded in 1763, the possession of Canada, as well as of the other conquered provinces, was formally ceded by the French court to the British government.

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ACADIA, ETC.

CHAPTER I.

EXPEDITION OF DE MONTS AND CHAMPLAIN.—FIRST SETTLEMENT OF ACADIA.—PORT ROYAL.—MORTALITY AMONG THE COLONISTS.—LESCARBAT.—THE JESUITS.—SETTLEMENT AT MOUNT DESERT: BROKEN UP BY THE ENGLISH.—DESTRUCTION OF PORT ROYAL.—ALEXANDER.—LA TOUR.—CESSIONS AND RESESSIONS OF ACADIA.—HOSTILITIES OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES.—PIRATICAL EXPEDITIONS.—FINAL SUBJECTION OF ACADIA TO THE ENGLISH.

NOVA SCOTIA (at that time called Aeadia) was included in the extensive province of New France, over which, in 1603, De Monts was appointed governor. In March, 1604, accompanied by Champlain, the famous founder of the Canadian colony, and other adventurers, he sailed with four ships from Havre, and on the 15th of May arrived at a harbour of Acadia, which he called Port Rossignol. At Port Mouton, he landed and made an encampment, and afterwards cruising along the shore, passed by the Bay of Fundy into a beautiful and extensive basin, now known as the harbour of Annapolis. With the beauty and convenience of this location, Potrincoart, one of his companions, was so charmed, that he resolved on making a settlement there, naming it Port Royal.

De Monts next discovered the river of St. John, on the west side of the bay, and immediately afterwards the St. Croix, on a small island at the mouth of which he resolved to winter. The situation proved unfavourable, and out of seventy-six colonists, who had remained with him, thirty-seven perished of the scurvy. Pontgravé, the associate of Champlain, arriving from Europe, joined the survivors; St. Croix was abandoned, and all betook themselves to Port Royal. During the next winter, De Monts was absent in France,

leaving Champlain, Pontgravé, and Campdore in command of the colony, and did not return until the summer of 1606. In August of that year he again sailed homeward. The settlement owed its existence, in these early days, almost entirely to the perseverance and sagacity of Lescarbot, a lawyer, who had accompanied Potrin-court, and who insisted on the necessity of depending on the cultivation of the soil for subsistence, and not on supplies from Europe, or a precarious traffic with the Indians. The succeeding winter proved mild, and the colonists employed themselves in hunting and in building; but, with the spring, arrived the disagreeable news that the charter given to De Monts had been revoked, and that the colony could no longer depend on his assistance.

Potrin-court now sailed for France, where he obtained from the king a grant of Port Royal, on condition of taking out two Jesuits, to convert the savages. These gentlemen he strictly excluded from any share in the management of the colony, informing them "that their duty was limited to teaching men the way to heaven, and that it remained for him to govern and direct those under him on earth." In consequence of this treatment, they dispatched an ill account of him to France; and in 1613 a vessel sent from that country, with two more priests and some emigrants, carried away the Jesuits from Port Royal, and sailed to the island of Mount Desert, not far from Penobscot Bay. Here a settlement, named St. Saviour's, was founded, and the erection of buildings was commenced; but while thus engaged, the peaceful colonists were surprised by an English ship-of-war, under Captain Argall, of Virginia, who seized all their property, and made them prisoners. One of the Jesuits, while urging his people to defend themselves, was shot through the head; and two vessels, at anchor off the port, were seized, in one of which a part of the colonists were sent to France, and the rest in the other to Virginia.

Despite the peace existing between the two nations, the same piratical commander, in 1615, again set forth from Virginia to complete the destruction of the feeble colonies of the French. Piloted by one of the Jesuits, he proceeded to Port Royal, then commanded by Biencourt, the son of Potrin-court, and levelled the fort, the governor vainly attempting to propitiate him by negotiation and fair offers. Some of the French fled to Canada, some joined the native tribes, and the rest were sent prisoners to England. "This outrageous destruction of Port Royal," says an English author, "during a time of profound peace between England and France, could never

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be defended on the slightest ground of justice or provocation; and must be attributed principally to the thirst for plunder, and to religious bigotry. By this atrocious violation of private property, the first settlement made in North America was destroyed in 1615, after prospering for ten years, and without experiencing a share of that ferocious opposition, from the natives, which proved so fatal to the early attempts of England at colonization."

Though the settlement was thus broken up, numbers of French and Dutch continued to resort to the shores of Acadia, for fishing and trading with the natives, and Sir William Alexander, to whom James I. had given a patent of the country, under the title of Nova Scotia, made an ineffectual attempt to found a colony there. In 1627, with a French Calvinist, named Kircht (Kirk), he sailed for the province, (where Port Royal had commenced a second feeble growth) and, after capturing a fleet of French transports, destined for that settlement and for Quebec, again reduced the place. He made no settlements, however, to replace those which he had destroyed; and two years afterwards, transferred the province to La Tour, a French Protestant, who had formed English connections. This gentleman proceeded to Nova Scotia, where his son Etienne held a fortress for the French at Cape Sable, but was unable to enforce his submission to the English patent, and returned without effecting a settlement.

In 1632, by the treaty of St. Germain, Canada, Acadia, and Cape Breton were ceded to France, and were placed under the control of the "Company of New France." (See Canada.) Etienne La Tour, whose chief establishment was on the River St. John, by his rivalry in the fur-trade, gave great annoyance to the governors appointed by the company; and M. Denys, the third of them, was completely ruined, and compelled to leave the colony. When, in 1654, the province was reduced by a force dispatched by Cromwell, the successful intriguer transferred his allegiance to England, and received a grant of his lands, &c., from the hands of that sovereign. The whole, however, by the treaty of Breda, was again ceded to France, and again became repeatedly the subject of aggression and violence from the neighbouring English colonies.

Sir William Phipps, in 1690, took Port Royal, again destroyed the fort, and burned the French establishments at Chedebucto. The French, in retaliation, demolished the English fort at Pemaquid, and Colonel Church, in turn, sailed up the Bay of Fundy (1696), burned their houses, killed their cattle, and destroyed the dikes which they

had built to protect their meadows from the sea. In 1704, that energetic, but cruel and unscrupulous commander, with six hundred troops, made a second piratical excursion from New England to the devoted colony. He seized all the property and burned all the houses at Passamaquoddy, and sent an expedition in boats, which plundered and destroyed three thriving villages at Minas. The fortress at Port Royal, which had been rebuilt, proved too strong for him, and after sailing up the Basin of Minas, and laying waste all the settlements there, he returned with his plunder to Massachusetts. In 1707, a thousand troops, with two ships of war, were again dispatched from New England against Port Royal, but were repulsed with spirit by the governor, M. Subercase; and a second attempt, afterwards made by the same force, proved equally futile.

The English, their pride piqued by these successive failures, now made preparations on a scale which should ensure success; and in 1710 an armament consisting of nineteen vessels, bearing five regiments, under command of General Nicholson, arrived at Port Royal.

The troops were landed and batteries were erected; and after a heavy cannonade on both sides, the brave governor, compelled by superior force, capitulated on honourable terms. Acadia thus again came finally into possession of the English. The cruel treatment of the inhabitants and their lamentable expulsion from their homes will be briefly described in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER II.

ACCOUNT OF THE ACADIANS.—THEIR INNOCENCE, SIMPLICITY, AND HAPPINESS.—DESCRIPTION BY RAYNAL.—ENMITY OF THE ENGLISH.—MASSACRE AT KENNEBEC: REVENGED BY THE INDIANS.—FURTHER HOSTILITIES.—CRUEL EXPULSION OF THE ACADIANS.—THEIR TRANSPORTATION AND SUFFERINGS.—AFFECTING MEMORIAL.—THEIR FATE.

ACCORDING to the accounts of contemporary writers, there has seldom been a community so prosperous in its simplicity or so happy in its isolation and obscurity as the little colony of Acadia. The

rich lands of that province, protected from the sea by well-constructed dikes, and improved by intelligent husbandry, afforded an ample subsistence to all the inhabitants; and the rarity of foreign intercourse left their affections and manners in a state of primitive ingenuousness. Though far from warlike in their habits, a spirit of patriotism and attachment to the mother-country was strongly implanted in their minds. In the words of the Abbé Raynal, "such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country, that the Acadians, who, in submitting to a new yoke, had sworn never to bear arms against their former standards, were called French neutrals.

"No magistrate was ever appointed to rule over them, and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents, or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new sovereign seemed to have forgotten them, and they were equally strangers to him. * * * * *

"Their manners were, of course, extremely simple. There was never a cause, either civil or criminal, of importance enough to be carried before the Court of Judicature established at Annapolis. Whatever little differences, from time to time, arose among them, were amicably adjusted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their pastors, who had likewise the keeping of their wills, for which, and for their religious services, the inhabitants voluntarily gave them a twenty-seventh part of their harvests.

"These were plentiful enough to supply more than a sufficiency for every act of liberality. Real misery was entirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved before it was felt, and good was universally dispensed without ostentation on the part of the giver, and without humiliating the person who received. These people were, in a word, a society of brethren, every individual of whom was equally ready to give, and to receive, what he thought the common right of mankind.

"So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all those connections of gallantry which are so often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an instance in this society of an unlawful commerce between the two sexes. (!) This evil was prevented by early marriages; for no one passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a house, ploughed the lands about it, sowed them, and supplied him with all the necessaries of life for a twelvemonth. Here he received the

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partner whom he had chosen, and who brought him her portion of her father's flocks. This family grew up, and prospered like the others. They altogether amounted to about eighteen thousand souls.

"Who will not be affected," he continues, "with the innocent manners and the tranquillity of this fortunate colony? Who will not wish for the duration of its happiness? Who will not construct, in imagination, an impenetrable wall, that may separate these colonies from their unjust and turbulent neighbours? The calamities of the people have no period; but, on the contrary, the end of their felicity is always at hand."

This peaceful and happy association, so eloquently described, was destined to a brief tenure of its innocent prosperity. The neighbouring British settlers, harassed by Indian hostilities, and ascribing them to the influence of the French, were not long in taking a sharp and cruel revenge. A force sent from Massachusetts surprised the French and Indian establishment at Kennebec, and slaughtered most of the inhabitants. Among them was the venerable Father Rallé, who had lived for forty years as a missionary among the Indians, and who was murdered at the foot of a cross erected in the centre of the village. In revenge for this deed, an Indian force committed equal cruelties at Canseau, Dartmouth, and Halifax, selling their prisoners to the French at Louisburg. The governor of that town, in answer to the remonstrances of the English, replied, and probably with truth, "that he had no control over the savages, and that the premiums given for English prisoners were paid from feelings of humanity, to prevent the horrible tortures and death which the savages would inflict." The latter still continued hostilities, "incessantly committing murders along the coast; and it was impossible to guard the colonists effectually against enemies, who sprung with the agility and fury of tigers from the thickets, or who came along silently in their birch canoes during night."

An English expedition being dispatched to Chignecto, the inhabitants, dreading the fate of Kennebec, burned their houses and joined La Corne, the commander of a Canadian force, who had come down to Acadia, and had erected several forts there. In 1754 an English force reduced several of these hostile stations, and Major Lawrence, the English governor of Nova Scotia, resolved, unless the Acadians would take the oath of allegiance to the English crown in the fullest terms, they should be transported from the country. The unfortunate inhabitants, most of whom had peaceably submitted to the

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new rule, entreated that they might be allowed to remove into Canada or Cape Breton; and offered to swear full allegiance to the British sovereign, if permitted to remain, only excepting bearing arms against their countrymen and the Indians.

But a cruel policy, fearing to strengthen the other French colonies, prevented the authorities from acceding to either of these requests, and Colonel Winslow, without any intimation of his purpose, summoned the Acadians to appear before him at Grand Pré. About four hundred men, who complied with this requisition, were imprisoned in the church at that place, and, to their consternation, were informed that all their lands and flocks were confiscated, and that they and their families were to be transported to the British colonies.

At this time, the stationary population of Acadia amounted to about twenty thousand, who were living in ease and prosperity on their farms, when thus ruthlessly summoned to exile and separation. On learning the terrible decree, "many of them," says Mr. McGregor, "fled to the woods, and joined the Indians; others found their way to Canada, and to the island of St. John's, near Prince Edward's. The settlements at Chignecto and Minas were subjected to conflagration; and all their villages and farms laid waste, and their houses and churches reduced to ashes. The wretched inhabitants, deprived of food or shelter, were obliged to surrender, or fly to the woods, in order to escape finally to Canada, the island of St. John's or Cape Breton. Some found their way to, and established themselves in Hayti and Louisiana. From seven to eight thousand surrendered at discretion; and Colonel Winslow, in sending them away from a country to which they were so much attached, acted with far more kindness and delicacy than his orders strictly allowed. Their treatment in the southern colonies, to which they were transported, was cruel and undeserved; they experienced the treatment, not of prisoners of war, but of condemned convicts. Several families found their way to France, where they arrived utterly destitute."

In an affecting, but, it is almost needless to say futile, memorial to the British sovereign, (George III.,) the exiled Acadians, from their places of banishment, stated the inhumanity of their treatment, their conscientious scruples as to the required oath, and besought redress. "Thus," they conclude, "we, our ancient parents and grand-parents, (men of great integrity, and approved fidelity to your majesty,) and our innocent wives and children, became the unhappy victims of those groundless fears; we were transported into the English colonies,

and this was done with so much haste, and so little regard to our necessities and the tenderest ties of nature, that, from the most social enjoyments and affluent circumstances, many found themselves destitute of the necessaries of life; parents were separated from children, and husbands from wives, some of whom have not, to this day, met again; and we were so crowded in the transport-vessels that we had not room even for all our bodies to lie down at once, and consequently were prevented from carrying with us proper necessaries, especially for the comfort and support of the aged and weak, many of whom quickly ended their misery with their lives; and even those among us who had suffered most deeply from your majesty's enemies, on account of their attachment to your majesty's government, were equally involved in the common calamity—of which René Leblanc, the notary public, before mentioned, is a remarkable instance: he was seized, confined, and brought away among the rest of the people, and his family, consisting of twenty children and about an hundred and fifty grand-children, were scattered in different colonies;—so that he was put ashore at New York, with only his wife and two youngest children, in an infirm state of health, from whence he joined three more of his children at Philadelphia, where he died, without any more notice being taken of him than of us, notwithstanding his many years' labour and deep sufferings for your majesty's service.

“The miseries we have since endured are scarce sufficiently to be expressed, being reduced, for a livelihood, to toil and hard labour in a southern climate, so disagreeing with our constitutions that most of us have been prevented by sickness from obtaining the necessary subsistence for our families, and are therefore threatened with that which we esteem the greatest aggravation of all our sufferings, even of having our children forced from us, and bound out to strangers, and exposed to contagious distempers, unknown in our native country.

“This, compared with the ease and affluence we enjoyed, shows our condition to be extremely wretched. We have already seen, in this province of Pennsylvania, two hundred and fifty of our people, which is more than half the number that were landed here, perish through misery and various diseases. In this great distress and misery, we have, under God, none but your majesty to look to, with hopes of relief and redress. We, therefore, hereby implore your gracious protection, and request you may be pleased to let the justice of our complaints be truly and impartially inquired into, and

that your majesty would please to grant us such relief, as in your justice and clemency you shall think our case requires, and we shall hold ourselves bound to pray," &c.

This simple, truthful, and touching appeal, with others of the like character, availed them nothing with the heartless and obstinate sovereign to whom it was addressed. Great numbers perished in the southern colonies, and such as were finally suffered to return, found their ancient homes in the possession of the invaders.

Such was the tragical fate of a community, the most remarkable for its quiet prosperity, for its innocent enjoyment, and for its patriarchal simplicity of manners, perhaps ever known in history, and almost realizing the fabled happiness of the ancient Arcadia itself. If, as an historical event, its importance be comparatively small, the interest which invests all unmerited human misfortunes will yet keep the mournful facts in remembrance, and the fate of Acadia, familiarized and eternized by the genius of "Evangeline," will ever remain one of the most touching and memorable episodes in American annals.

CAPE BRETON, ETC.

SESSION OF THE FRENCH PROVINCES TO ENGLAND.—LOUISBURG
FOUNDED ON CAPE BRETON: ITS IMPORTANCE.—EXPEDITION
OF PEPPERALL.—LOUISBURG TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH:
CEDED TO FRANCE.—EXPEDITION OF AMHERST.—
BRAVE DEFENCE OF LOUISBURG: ITS SURRENDER AND
DESTRUCTION.—ST. JOHN'S: CAPTURED BY THE
ENGLISH.—INDIAN TROPHIES DISCOVERED THERE.

THE early resort of the French fishermen to the bank of Newfoundland has been mentioned. On the island of the same name, at Placentia Bay, they made a small settlement, and were in the habit of frequenting other portions of the coast; but the whole, by the treaty of Utrecht, was ceded to Great Britain. The island of Cape Breton, (a name first applied by the early French voyagers to its eastern point, and afterwards extended to the whole,) was first settled in the year 1714, by some colonists from Newfoundland and Acadia, principally for convenience of fishing. By the treaty of Utrecht, in the following year, Acadia, Newfoundland, and other portions of "New France," were ceded to England; but Canada, Cape Breton, and St. John's island (Prince Edward's) were retained by the mother-country.

These diminished possessions now assumed fresh importance in the eyes of the French; and especially with a view to commanding the mouth of the St. Lawrence and protecting the fisheries, it was determined to found a military post on Cape Breton. Accordingly, in the year 1720, the town and harbour of Louisburg were fortified, and were eventually made one of the most important strongholds of the French in all America. Its value to that people was great, especially from the commanding position which it occupied near the fisheries—in which, at some times, six hundred vessels and twenty-eight thousand seamen were constantly employed. No pains or outlay was spared by the French government in providing for its strength and defence. "There is hardly a settlement," says a writer

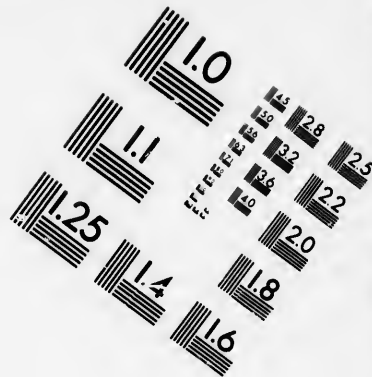
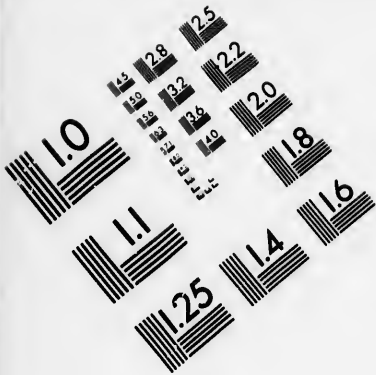
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of the day, "that has been attended with more expense to the French nation than this of Louisburg. It is certain that they have laid out about thirty millions of livres; and so cogent were the motives which induced them to put this scheme into execution, that the preservation of Louisburg will always be considered as an object of too great importance not to sacrifice every thing to it. Cape Breton protects the whole French trade of North America, and is of equal consequence in regard to their commerce with the West Indies. If they had no settlement in this part of North America, their vessels, returning from St. Domingo or Martinique, would no longer be safe on the Great Bank of Newfoundland, particularly in time of war; lastly, as it is situated at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, it absolutely commands the river of that name."

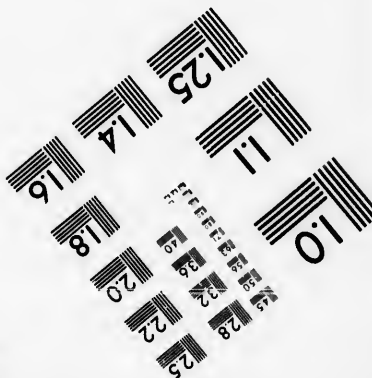
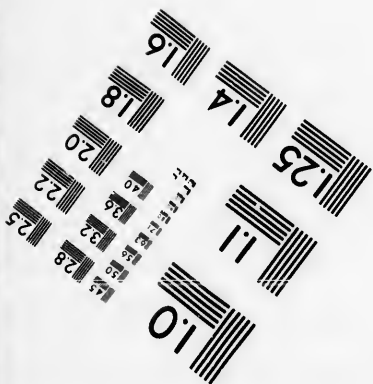
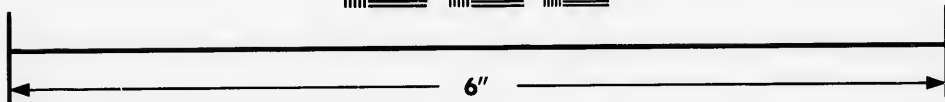
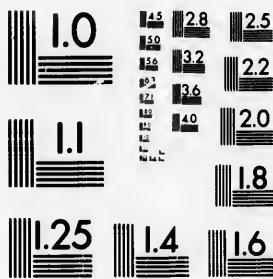
The English, continually engaged in warfare with their neighbours, were not long in making demonstrations against a place of such value to the enemy, and so easily accessible by sea. In 1745, a force of four thousand men, under command of Colonel William Pepperall, was dispatched against Louisburg from New England—a spirit of fanatical enmity to the French and to Catholicism being, it is said, one of the principal exciting causes. Their banner bore the legend, "*Nil desperandum, Christo duce,*" supplied by the famous Whitfield; and a species of erusading spirit distinguished the expedition. This force, conveyed to the scene of action in transports, was joined by an English squadron, under Commodore Warren, who had just captured a French seventy-four, with a great supply of stores; and the whole armament, both naval and military, laid siege to Louisburg. On the 18th of June, after a brave resistance of forty-nine days, the garrison was compelled to surrender, and the English took possession of the town, with stores and merchandise of immense value. Some time afterwards, by hoisting the French flag, they decoyed into the harbour and captured several ships, richly laden, their value being estimated at several millions of dollars. St. John's (Prince Edward's) also fell into the hands of the English, and many of the inhabitants were transported to France.

By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, Cape Breton, in exchange for Madras, was restored to France, with which power it remained until the memorable expedition under Boscawen and Amherst, with Wolfe and Lawrence, in the year 1758. This armament, one of the most powerful ever dispatched to America, consisted of twenty-three ships of the line, eighteen frigates, and sloops-





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of-war and transports amounting to an hundred and fifty-seven ships, and of sixteen thousand soldiers. From the 8th to the 26th of July, the garrison, under their governor, M. de Drucourt, defended the place with extraordinary bravery; and Madame de Drucourt, the intrepid wife of the commander, appeared every day upon the ramparts, animating the soldiers to fresh vigilance and exertion. Despite these heroic efforts, the French, overpowered by the vastly superior force of the besiegers, were finally compelled to surrender, and thus, on the 26th of July, 1758, Cape Breton passed finally into the hands of the English.

At that time, the population of Louisburg, exclusive of the troops, was about five thousand. The merchants and the greater part of the inhabitants were sent to France in English vessels; but all the officers of government, both civil and military, and all the troops, numbering nearly six thousand, were dispatched to England as prisoners of war. More than two hundred pieces of artillery, besides stores and munitions of great value, fell into the hands of the victors. Fearing lest this important post might be recovered by the French, the British government caused the town and the massive fortifications to be demolished, and, despite the natural advantages of the place, they have ever since remained in ruins.

The island of St. John's, or Prince Edward's, discovered, it is said, by Cabot, and afterwards seen by Verrazano, was not colonized by the French, except in some unimportant fishing stations, until after the treaty of Utrecht. Considerable numbers then flocked thither from Acadia and Cape Breton; and the colony became of some importance, both for its fisheries and for supplying Louisburg with provisions. At Port La Joye, (now Charlotte Town,) a small garrison was stationed. At the time of its surrender to the English, in 1758, the population was about six thousand. This island had been for many years the resort of the Mic-Mac Indians, noted for their murderous and continued hostility to the English. The latter averred that even during time of peace, these aggressions and massacres were encouraged by the French of St. John's; and Colonel Rollo, who, after after the surrender of Louisburg, was dispatched by General Amherst to take possession of the island, asserted that on its capture, a vast number of scalps, the trophies of Indian cruelty, were found hung up in the house of the French governor. On the conclusion of peace in 1763, this colony and that of Cape Breton were annexed to the government of Nova Scotia.

LOUISIANA.

CHAPTER I.

THE RIO GRANDE.—THE CANADIAN FRENCH.—REPORTS OF THE INDIANS.—FATHER MARQUETTE AND M. JOLIET: THEIR EXPEDITION IN SEARCH OF THE MISSISSIPPI: VOYAGE DOWN ITS STREAM --PAINTED MONSTERS.—THE MISSOURI.—OHIO.—ARKANSAS.—RETURN VOYAGE.—DEATH OF FATHER MARQUETTE.—ENTHUSIASM OF THE FRENCH AT HIS DISCOVERY.

IN the account of Florida, mention has been made of a majestic river, discovered by the famous De Soto, in 1541, and described as the Rio Grande. The disastrous fate of the expedition which he commanded, seems to have deterred the Spaniards for more than a century from making any further attempt in the same direction. For an hundred and thirty years nothing more was known of that mighty stream, the effluence of a continent, and now, without question, the most important in the world. The enterprising spirit of the Canadian French, in their expeditions of war, of traffic, or of survey, had made them acquainted with extensive regions lying around the great lakes, and the streams which flow into them. From the reports of the Indians dwelling in those remote territories, the existence of a great river in the west was ascertained; and the opinion of geographers was divided as to the probable place of its disembogement. It was thought by some that it must flow into the Gulf of California; by others, into the Atlantic, near the coast of Virginia; and by others, on better grounds, that its outlet could be in no other region than the Gulf of Mexico.

Under the enterprising administration of Count Frontenac, two men were found daring enough to attempt the task of its discovery and survey. These were Father Marquette, a missionary, eminent for his piety and his zeal in the conversion of the natives, a great

traveller, and familiar with their languages, and M. Joliet, an adventurous citizen of Quebec. With five other Frenchmen, on the 13th of May, 1673, these venturesome explorers, in two canoes, took their departure from the remote outpost of Michilimaekinac. Passing the tribes of the "Folles Avoines" or Wild Rice, (so called from the native grain on which they chiefly subsisted,) the voyagers received many warnings from that friendly people, of the perils to be encountered on their proposed journey—"of the dangers of the river, of the savage tribes which dwelt on its banks, and of the terrible monsters (alligators) which swarmed in that region of heat whither it flowed." But the pious father only replied, that he had no fear of these terrors, and would gladly lay down his life to further the salvation of souls in those distant regions.

Entering Green Bay, at the north-west of Lake Michigan, the adventurers ascended the Fox river, and found friendly entertainment among the Miamis, a people already in a degree converted by the exertions of a zealous missionary, the Father Allouez. In the centre of their principal village was a large cross, covered with offerings to the Great Spirit, in token of thankfulness for success in hunting. On the 10th of June, the associates left this river, and, guided by the natives, transported their canoes to another, running in a different direction, which, they were told, would lead them to the Great River, the object of their search. Down this stream (the Wisconsin) they paddled for forty leagues, observing deer and buffalo on the banks, and on the 17th entered the majestic "Meate Chassipi," or Father of Waters, which, under the name of the Mississippi, still retains nearly its original native appellation.

Down this great stream they floated for sixty leagues, without seeing any sign of human habitation—landing, toward evening, to cook their food, and anchoring in the river, for security, during the night. At length, seeing foot-prints on the shore, they landed, and Marquette and Joliet, following a path which led, for two leagues, through the prairie, came to three villages of the Illinois, who received them with much kindness. The pipe of peace was solemnly smoked, presents were interchanged, and on the following day more than six hundred of this friendly people accompanied them to their canoes, and bade them adieu with every token of good-will. Pursuing their course, they beheld, on the face of a lofty precipice, fronting the river, and apparently inaccessible to man, the figures of "two monsters," painted in green, red, and blue, and so well exe-

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cuted that it seemed doubtful if they were the work of savages. These effigies are, or were recently, in a state of good preservation.

They had now learned of the existence of a great river, called the Pekitanoni, or Missouri, flowing into the Mississippi, and ere long were involved in its turbid flood, which, swelled with rains, rushed furiously down, bearing great masses of driftwood. From a village named Oumissouri, on the shore of this stream, its present name is derived. At the mouth of the Ohio, to their surprise, they found savages armed with muskets, which, with other European articles, the Indians said, had been purchased of white men from the east. Entering their dwellings, Father Marquette smoked with them the calumet of peace, as usual, and gave them what instruction he could in Christianity. Still floating southward, about the thirty-third degree of latitude, he came to an Indian village, named Metchigamea. The people here were at first hostile, but being propitiated by the un-failing calumet, listened to such religious instruction as the good father was able to impart. Ten leagues below this place, at a village called Akamsea, (Arkansas,) he was informed, by the aid of an interpreter, that the sea was only five days distant. Concluding that the object of their expedition was secured by this supposed ascertainment of the debouchement of the stream into the Gulf of Mexico, and dreading the cruelties of the Spaniards who dwelt upon its shores, the explorers thought it prudent to return.

Ascending with great toil and difficulty against the current, they finally came to the Illinois river, up which they passed with greater ease to Lake Michigan, where they arrived in September. In the four months which they had consumed in their arduous expedition, a vast accession had been made to geographical knowledge, and the way to one of the richest and most valuable regions on earth had been laid open to mankind. More than two thousand five hundred miles had been traversed, in their frail barks, amid a thousand dangers, by these adventurous men. Father Marquette drew up a brief narrative of the expedition, and constructed a map of the route, which represents, with tolerable distinctness, all the great features of the river and the country he had explored.

At the lake, he parted from Joliet, who hastened with the tidings to Quebec, while the good missionary remained with his savage friends. "Indifferent to renown, and zealously occupied with the salvation of souls, he again took his way to the wilderness, and busied himself as a missionary among the Miamis. Death soon

overtook him in his pious pilgrimage. On the 18th of May, 1675, coasting in his canoe along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, he entered a small river. Here he landed, built an altar, and performed the mass, saying that his voyage, he believed, was destined to end there. He then retired into the wood, desiring his two companions to leave him alone for the space of half an hour. At the end of that time they made search, and found the good father, his presentiment fulfilled, lying quietly dead in the shade of the eternal forest. In this obscure, but not unfitting manner, perished a man, illustrious for his courage, endurance, and enterprise, and endeared to remembrance by his pious and philanthropic labours for the souls of his fellow-men."

At Quebec, the tidings brought by Joliet were received with extraordinary enthusiasm, and the achievement of the two associates was justly considered the greatest and most important discovery of the age. All day the bells rang aloud, and the bishop and clergy, with all the authorities of the city, went in solemn procession to the cathedral, where a *Te Deum* was sung, and a high mass performed, in honour of the memorable occasion.

CHAPTER II.

LA SALLE: HIS ATTEMPTS TO REACH CHINA.—GRANT OF THE KING.—TONTI: THEIR EXPEDITION TO THE WEST: DISCOVERED BY TREACHERY.—ACTUAL AND PRETENDED DISCOVERIES OF FATHER HENNEPIN.—VOYAGE OF LA SALLE TO THE OUTLET OF THE MISSISSIPPI: HE TAKES POSSESSION OF THE VALLEY.—THE RETURN.—IMITATION OF INDIAN FEROCITY.

THE magnificent enterprise so splendidly commenced by Marquette, was ere long completed by an adventurer, his equal in courage, enthusiasm, and patient endurance. Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle, a young man who had been a member of the order of Jesuits, was at this time in Canada, engaged in the undertaking of finding a westerly passage to China. He proceeded, however, on this chimerical expedition no further than the spot now known as La Chine,

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(China,) a name attesting his expectations and disappointment. Becoming possessed with an equally fallacious idea that the Missouri, flowing from the westward, might lead him to the desired region, he offered his services to Count Frontenac, who advised him to apply for aid at the court of France. Accordingly, he repaired thither, and, by the favour of Colbert and the Prince de Conti, obtained of Louis the desired equipment. The command of Fort Frontenac, and a monopoly of the fur-trade in that region, were likewise granted to him, and with the Chevalier Tonti, a brave Italian officer, with only one arm, he repaired to Quebec.

Having put the fort in a state of defence, the adventurer employed himself in building a vessel and in making explorations. In September, 1679, the two associates went on board of her, at Lake Erie, taking forty-four men—among them, “the Reverend Father Hennepin, famous for his discoveries, and notorious for his lies and impositions.” At the river St. Joseph, on Lake Michigan, La Salle built a fort, and thence passed to the Illinois, which he descended. The country proved fertile and populous, no less than five hundred houses being found in one village, and the savages were friendly and hospitable. The treason of some of his followers, for the time, disconcerted this promising enterprise, and nearly resulted in the destruction of all concerned. Averse to proceeding, they first attempted to excite opposition among the Indians, by insinuating that La Salle was a spy of their enemies, the Iroquois; and this device proving of no avail, these wretches administered poison to him and his chief adherents, at a Christmas dinner. By the timely aid of remedies, the sufferers recovered, and their intended murderers fled into the wilderness, beyond the reach of pursuit. Compelled, by this reduction of his force, to return to his posts for recruits, La Salle left Tonti in command of a small fort on the Illinois, and dispatched Father Hennepin, with four companions, to ascend the Mississippi.

That enterprising priest succeeded in exploring the river upward for a great distance, and discovered the Falls of St. Antony. After enduring great sufferings, and being detained a captive among the Sioux Indians, he finally made his way back to Canada, where he published an account of his explorations. Years afterwards, when La Salle, the true surveyor of the Mississippi, was dead, he put forth another version of the affair, in which he claimed that he had explored that river, on this occasion, to its outlet, but the falsity of

which is sufficiently proved, by the fact that he pretends to have ascended it from the Gulf of Mexico to the Illinois river, in a canoe, with only two men, in twenty-two days. So notorious, indeed, was his bad faith in these transactions, that his common epithet in Canada, we are told, was "*Le Grand menteur*" (the Great Liar). "By this impudent fabrication, he secured to himself a reputation somewhat like that of Vespuceus, whose fraudulent attempt (or that of his admirers) to wrest the glory from a true discoverer, obscures the renown of his real and meritorious achievements."

La Salle, having collected twenty men at his posts, resumed his enterprise, and on the 2d of February, 1682, embarked on the Mississippi. He passed the Missouri and the Ohio, as well as the Arkansas, the termination of the voyage of Marquette. The river seemed interminable in its windings, yet he kept on, and was kindly received by the powerful tribe of the Natchez. On the 27th of March he passed the mouth of Red River, and on the 7th of April arrived at that strange region, neither land nor water, where, through many channels, the turbid torrent of the Mississippi mingles with the gulf. "The country immediately around the outlet of this vast stream was desolate and uninteresting. Far as the eye could reach, swampy flats and inundated morasses filled the dreary prospect. Under the ardent rays of the tropical sun, noisome vapours exhaled from the rank soil and sluggish waters, poisoning the breezes from the southern seas, and corrupting them with the breath of pestilence. Masses of floating trees, whose large branches were scathed by months of alternate immersion and exposure, during hundreds of leagues of travel, choked up many of the numerous outlets of the river, and, cemented together by the alluvial deposits of the muddy stream, gradually became fixed and solid, throwing up a rank vegetation."*

The discoverer, exulting in the completion of his achievement, proceeded to take formal possession of the vast regions watered by the river he had explored—bestowing on them, in honour of his sovereign, the name of Louisiana. From the top of a high tree a cross was suspended; a shield, bearing the arms of France, was set up; and a solemn *Te Deum* was chanted, in gratitude to Heaven for the success of this memorable enterprise. The more important operation of attempting to ascertain the latitude, produced a result entirely fallacious.

* Warburton—"Conquest of Canada."

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Returning with great difficulty against the fierce current of the Mississippi, swollen, it is probable, at this season, with floods, the French experienced much annoyance from the attacks of the treacherous Quinipissas, whose hostility they had already tasted in coming down. Having slain several of these assailants, the adventurers, emulating the savage custom of their foes, scalped the bodies, and carried off the usual ghastly trophies of Indian warfare. This ferocious practice, indeed, seems always to have had a singular fascination for men once thoroughly committed in hostility with the savages. Near half a century later, if the old ballad may be trusted, we find the English (and especially their chaplain, the Reverend Mr. Frye,) indulging a similar taste at a battle on the frontier of Maine; and, indeed, at a much later date, our backwoodsmen were frequently in the habit of emulating, in this respect, the most barbarous tribes which they encountered.

CHAPTER III.

EXPEDITION OF LA SALLE BY SEA IN QUEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.—HE MISSES THE ENTRANCE.—LANDS AT THE BAY OF ST. BERNARD.—FOUNDS A COLONY.—MISFORTUNES AND DISCOURAGEMENTS.—HE SETS FORTH OVERLAND FOR CANADA.—HIS DEATH.—FATE OF THE SURVIVORS OF THE EXPEDITION.—OF THE COLONY OF ST. LOUIS.

HAVING arrived at Quebec, La Salle, unable to obtain the requisite means for following up his grand discovery, again embarked for France, and again preferred his suit at the court of Versailles. Four vessels, one a large frigate, were placed at his command, and with a brother and two nephews, seven priests, a number of artisans and volunteers, with a hundred soldiers, and sufficient crews, in all two hundred and eighty souls, on the 24th of July, 1684, he sailed from La Rochelle for the mouth of the Mississippi. The sullenness and mutinous disposition of Beaujeu, the captain of the frigate, at an early day, produced loss and trouble to the expedition, and eventuated in its entire discomfiture. Arriving in the Gulf of Mexico, the voyagers searched in vain for the expected outlet. "Nothing is

more difficult than to discover, from sea, the entrance even of the largest river, on an unknown coast, unless the position has been accurately determined beforehand, and the attempt is doubly embarrassing, where the stream, like that of which he was in search, debouches, through numerous outlets, upon a marshy shore."

Accordingly, after a long and fruitless search for the desired entrance (which, it seems, they passed on the 10th of January, 1685) Beaujeu, disregarding the orders of La Salle, kept westward for a hundred leagues, and anchored in the Bay of St. Bernard, not far from the present site of Galveston. Finding a large stream flowing into this bay, the governor supposed that it might be one of the western mouths of the Mississippi, and concluded to make a landing. His expectations, indeed, had been miserably disappointed on discovering the nature of his outfit. The alleged artisans proved mere impostors; the soldiers were decrepid and worn-out invalids, disbanded as unfit for service. This heterogeneous and ill-assorted crowd, to the number of two hundred and twenty, being landed, Beaujeu hastily deserted them, and sailed recklessly away. The commander, though much discouraged by these untoward circumstances, set to work and built a fort, which he called St. Louis. He next spent four months in coasting along the shore with canoes, vainly seeking the Mississippi, and unable to obtain any information from the unfriendly savages. In April, he set forth towards New Mexico, in hopes of discovering mines, but with equal ill-success.

Tonti, who had been left in command of a fort on the Illinois, according to previous agreement with La Salle, now descended the Mississippi to the sea, where he expected to find his associate and the projected colony; but, after searching the shores of the gulf for months in vain, sadly relinquished the attempt, and returned to his station on the Illinois.

The unfortunate little colony founded by La Salle, its numbers diminished by losses in every expedition, was fast verging to extinction. In less than two years from its foundation, only thirty-seven men were alive, and famine and Indian hostility threatened the speedy destruction of the whole. The dauntless commander, his spirit unbroken by misfortune or disappointment, continued to project fresh schemes of adventure and discovery. With sixteen companions, on the 12th of January, 1686, he set forth on the terrible enterprise of traversing the wilderness, and penetrating overland to Canada. Among them was his young nephew Moranger,

a youth of haughty temper, who incurred the enmity of the rest, and a mutinous spirit soon broke out. One of the party, named Laneclot, two days' journey from the fort, being taken ill, was permitted to return. His brother earnestly desired to bear him company, but La Salle refused to allow it, on account of the weakness of his force. The invalid, returning alone, was murdered by the Indians; and the surviving brother, from that moment, thought only of revenge. For two months, while the expedition slowly made its way toward Canada, he nourished schemes of vengeance, without the opportunity to put them in execution. With his accomplices, he then commenced with the murder of Moranger; and having concealed themselves in a cane-brake, shortly after, they fired from ambush at their unfortunate commander. He fell mortally wounded, and presently died, on the 19th of May, 1686, it is said, near the western branch of the Trinity. "Thus obscurely perished one of the bravest and most indefatigable of the many brave and unconquerable spirits who, at the cost of their lives, have won renown as pioneers in the New World. His memory will always be associated with the great river which he explored and laid open to mankind."

The assassins, to avoid the vengeance of the friends of their victim, hastily quitted the party, and struck a new track in the wilderness. They all perished, either at the hands of each other, or of the hostile savages. The little company of survivors, now reduced to seven, still kept on their toilsome journey to the north-east. The Indians through whose country they passed, treated them kindly; and four months after the death of their commander, they arrived at the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi. Here, to their surprise, they found a cross, which had been set up by certain companions of Tonti, whom, in ascending the Mississippi, he had left at this place. Encouraged by this solitary sign of Christianity and civilization, they pursued the journey to Canada, and, wonderful to state, finally succeeded in reaching it.

The miserable remnant of the colony, left by La Salle at Fort St. Louis, soon perished under the hostilities of the tribes surrounding that little station. Five children only were spared, who afterwards falling into the hands of the Spaniards, revealed the unhappy fate of the settlement. Of the two hundred souls of which it was composed, these, and the seven companions of La Salle who made their way to Canada, alone survived. Such was the miserable result of the first attempt to colonize the richest and most valuable region of all North

America—an attempt, unhappily, only the prototype of successive efforts in the same direction. The colonization of Louisiana, like that of its neighbour, Florida, for a long series of years presents little except continually renewed misfortune, suffering, and mortality.

CHAPTER IV.

NEGLECT OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.—EXPEDITION OF LEMOINE D'IBERVILLE: HE FOUNDS SETTLEMENTS AT BILOXI, MOBILE, AND ISLE DAUPHINE.—TONTI.—UNPROSPEROUS CONDITION OF LOUISIANA.—DEATH OF D'IBERVILLE.—HIS BROTHER BIENVILLE.—CROZAT.—THE MISSISSIPPI COMPANY.—GREAT IMMIGRATION, SUFFERING, AND MORTALITY.—NEW ORLEANS FOUNDED.—CONTINUED IMMIGRATION.—VAST EXTENT OF LOUISIANA.

For ten years after the death of La Salle and the destruction of his colony, the French made no attempt to settle the Mississippi Valley—the few adventurous voyagers who had resorted there from Canada betaking themselves to hunting and to traffic in furs, and gradually assimilating with the Indians in character and habits. In 1697, Lemoine D'Iberville, a brave Canadian, distinguished for his naval services, represented to the court of France the importance of this neglected region, and obtained the means for a fresh attempt at settlement on the Gulf. With two vessels, on the 17th of October, of that year, he set sail from Rochefort, and directed his course to the Bay of Pensacola. The Spaniards there remonstrated against his alleged intrusion, yet he proceeded, and examined the harbour of Mobile, the river Pascagoula and the Bay of Biloxi, and finally arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi. The certainty of this discovery was confirmed by the extraordinary incident of a letter, written by Tonti thirteen years before, giving an account of the country, with most valuable directions, being preserved by the Indians, and handed to D'Iberville.

He passed up the Mississippi, and, entering the outlet still bearing his name, discovered Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, and the

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Bay of Biloxi. Here he founded a small settlement, which, however, on account of the disadvantages of the site, was afterwards removed to the Bay of Mobile, and thence again to the Isle Dauphine, where it finally found a resting-place. A fort called Balize was also erected at the mouth of the Mississippi; and after completing these and other works in furtherance of colonization, D'Iberville, leaving his brothers Saurolle and Bienville in command, proceeded to France for fresh assistance in his enterprise. In December, 1699, he returned, and soon after received a visit from the brave and adventurous Tonti, who, having heard of the foundation of the new colony, with only seven companions, had descended the Mississippi to greet him. After a few years of doubtful prosperity, a terrible fever desolated the little colony, carrying off Saurolle and eventually D'Iberville, and leaving only a hundred and fifty-five souls alive. These were in a miserable condition, the spots on which they were located—Biloxi, Isle Dauphine, and the Balize—being little more than deserts. The fruitless search for gold and the trade in furs engrossed their attention, to the neglect of husbandry or permanent occupation of the country. Bienville, the surviving brother, by his perseverance and talent for command, still managed to sustain the feeble interest of France in these distant regions. A considerable extent of the vast wilderness, now so populous, was surveyed. Red River and the Missouri had been ascended to great distances by enterprising adventurers, and small settlements were planted on the Yazoo and the Washita.

The Protestant exiles, driven from their homes by the cruelty of Louis XIV., but still retaining the true French loyalty and affection for their country, now offered that, if tolerated in the exercise of their religion, four hundred families of them would remove to Louisiana. But that bigoted sovereign, by nature and education one of the vilest and most tyrannical that ever disgraced a throne, replied "that he had not expelled them from his kingdom to form a republic of them."

By 1712, there were only twenty families in Louisiana, living in the most abject poverty, and destitute of the means of escaping from their forlorn situation. In that year Antoine Crozat, who had amassed a vast fortune by trading to the East Indies, purchased from the crown a grant of the entire country, with a monopoly of commerce for sixteen years. His object was not colonization, but contraband traffic with Mexico, in order to secure a return of the precious metals;

and this project failing, from the dishonesty of his agents, in 1717 he transferred his privileges to that famous or infamous company, whose history, both in Europe and America, is one tissue of gross ignorance, of stupendous fraud, of suffering, and of ruin. At this time, though numerous emigrants, at different periods, had arrived, the whole population—so great had been the mortality—was only seven hundred.

The Mississippi Company, under the guidance of the notorious John Law, had procured a charter, conveying entire control, except a mere nominal reservation of sovereignty, over the ill-starred province; and by the artful management of that subtle schemer, a mania, wilder than had ever been known in France, was excited for speculation in the new enterprise. Fabulous stories of gold and silver mines, of unimaginable riches, were eagerly circulated: the stock of the company rose enormously; and an immense quantity of paper money, amounting to more than two hundred millions of dollars, was put into circulation. The history of the wide-spread ruin and national bankruptcy in which France was involved by the collapsing of this famous bubble, does not immediately pertain to our subject. No single scheme of speculation, it is probable, ever entailed such universal misfortune on a community.

During the years 1717 and 1718, the company, with rash and indiscriminating haste, dispatched to Louisiana several thousand emigrants, French and foreigners. These unfortunate people, crowded on ship-board, ill provided with food and necessaries, arriving at their place of destination, found that the ports of Old Mobile and the Isle Dauphine were completely destroyed, the latter in consequence of the accumulation of vast sand-banks. They were set on shore at Biloxi, without provisions or means of future support, and utterly ignorant of the country to which they had been so rashly transported. Crowded on this barren shore, they mostly perished, of want, exposure and disease; and the few who survived were finally transported to the Mississippi. Discouraged by these misfortunes, and regarding the land as better fitted for a penal settlement than for a prosperous colony, the French added to the misery of the unfortunate few who still inhabited Louisiana, by sending out none but convicts and felons to that miserable country. "Hundreds," we are told, "of the most degraded and miserable objects, in a complete state of nakedness, presented themselves at some Spanish and English trading posts: others perished of a disease which they themselves had introduced; but

the far greater number wandered through the forests until hunger and fatigue terminated their wretched lives." The very soldiers of the garrisons, at one time, were compelled to retreat into the Indian villages, to avoid perishing of hunger.

Bienville, to whose sanguine energy the colony was mainly indebted for its preservation, in 1718, had selected the site of New Orleans, as that of the principal settlement; and the result evinces his foresight and judgment. When, in 1719, the Spaniards retook Pensacola, the same gallant officer, collecting the slender force of French soldiers in Louisiana, in turn expelled them from that settlement; and after a series of protracted hostilities, in which it changed hands three times during five months, retained possession of the disputed territory. It was, however, at the peace of 1721, restored to Spain, its original possessor.

In 1720, twelve hundred more settlers arrived from France; and an order was obtained from the regent, forbidding the transportation of any more convicts to Louisiana. Negro slaves, in considerable numbers, at this time, were imported. A great scarcity of provisions, produced by the arrival of so large a number of new comers, induced riots and great trouble in the colony, and when, not long after, a ship, expected from France with supplies, arrived with fresh crowds of hungry emigrants, the difficulty was increased. Bienville, by dispatching a vessel to St. Domingo for provisions, finally relieved their privations.

In 1722, the explosion of the bubble so artfully blown up by Law was felt in the distant and ill-founded colonies which had been the pretext for its formation; and assistance, even misdirected as it had been, from this source, was cut off. M. Duvergier, appointed by the company almost supreme director of affairs in Louisiana, sought rather the extension of its territory than the improvement of its character or prosperity. Over how vast a surface of country the little settlements of the French were already scattered may be judged from the division of Louisiana, which was made about this time, into nine cantons—those of New Orleans, Biloxi, Mobile, Alibamon, Natchez, Natchitoches, Yazoo, Arkansas, and Illinois, each under a separate judiciary. Bienville was now reinstated in office as "President of the Council," and by his influence the seat of government was fixed at New Orleans, then a small village of two hundred inhabitants. Two years afterwards (1724) the entire population of the colony amounted to five thousand souls. In 1728, Bienville,

having devoted twenty-nine years of his life to the care of this remote province, of which he had been one of the earliest founders, returned to France, leaving M. Perier to succeed him in the command.

CHAPTER V.

HOSTILITY OF THE NATCHEZ.—THEIR INJURIES.—VAIN REMONSTRANCE.—PLAN FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FRENCH.—MASSACRE AT FORT ROSALIE.—CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE NATCHEZ.—FLIGHT AND FINAL DESTRUCTION OF THE TRIBE.—WAR WITH THE CHICASAWS.—DISASTROUS CAMPAIGN OF D'ARTEGRETTE AND BIENVILLE.—GREAT LOSS OF THE FRENCH AND THEIR ALLIES.—UNSATISFACTORY RESULT OF A SECOND CAMPAIGN.

THE erection of Fort Rosalie, on the Mississippi, was viewed with some jealousy by the Natchez, a powerful tribe of neighbouring Indians; injudicious attempts to collect tribute had given them additional offence; and in alliance with the Chickasaws and other tribes of Louisiana, they concerted a general attack on the French. The latter, having succeeded in detaching the Choctaws from the hostile league, the Chickasaws also deferred their intended campaign, but the Natchez, excited by fresh injury, rushed at once into a war of extermination. Chepar, the commandant of the fort in question, wishing to lay out a plantation, with equal cruelty and impolicy, ordered the chief of a neighbouring village to yield it up for his use. In vain did the latter remonstrate. "When you and your brothers," he said, "came here to ask us for land, we did not refuse it; there was enough for you and for us; we might have hunted in the same forests, and been buried in the same place. Why will you drive us from the cabins where we have received you with kindness, and smoked with you the calumet of peace?" The commandant, however, was blindly inexorable in his demand; and the injured tribe, in close council, resolved on signal vengeance. A singular device for ensuring concert in the intended assault was adopted—a bundle of reeds being

sent to each of the allied chiefs—one, commencing with the next new moon, to be drawn daily from the stock, and the last to mark the day of retribution.

On the 28th of November, 1729, the Indians, each bearing his tribute of corn, presented themselves before the fort. Permitted to enter, in great numbers, without any precaution, they dispersed themselves through the fortress and among the dwellings; and at a given signal, raising their tomahawks, fell on the garrison, and committed an indiscriminate slaughter. Taken by surprise, nearly all the Frenchmen were put to death; eighty women and a hundred and fifty children were made prisoners; and the negro slaves joined the ranks of the assailants. Seven hundred of the French, it is said, thus perished at a single blow; and the Yazoos, emulating the example of their Natchez allies, surprised the fort in their territory, and put all its tenants to death.

The French, burning for revenge, first massacred a company of Chonchas, dwelling near New Orleans, who were put to death by the negro slaves, with great cruelty. The Choctaws, enraged at the engrossment of spoil by the Natchez, now proffered their services to Perier, and twelve hundred of them, commanded by a Frenchman, were dispatched against Fort Rosalie, which the Natchez had reconstructed and occupied. This army defeated them, with the loss of eighty warriors, and recovered fifty of the women and children. A force of colonists, of equal number, provided with artillery and attended by a body of friendly Indians, soon followed, and for several days the assault was fiercely pressed, the besieged defending themselves with great resolution. Terms of capitulation were finally agreed on, and the rest of the prisoners were restored; but the Natchez, seeing that Loubois, the French commander, intended to break faith with them, privately escaped by night across the river, and a portion of them joined the Chicasaws. The rest of the fugitive tribe, having concealed themselves in the woods near Black River, were pursued by Perier, the governor, in the winter of 1731, and were mostly killed, in attempting to escape from their fort, or were forced to surrender. The prisoners were sent to St. Domingo and sold as slaves. The remainder of the tribe, on learning these disastrous tidings, fell with great fury on the Tunicias and other Indian allies of the French, and committed much slaughter among them; but finally attacking a French fort, were repulsed with severe loss, their chief, the Great Sun, being among the killed. The few sur-

vivors of this once powerful tribe took refuge among the Chicasaws and other nations, by whom they were adopted; and the name of the Natchez, as a people, became extinct; though, like that of Tuscaloosa, of Mauvila, and many another euphonious Indian title, still perpetuated in the appellation of a modern city.

In 1732, the Mississippi Company abandoned their charter, leaving Louisiana with a population of about five thousand white inhabitants and half that number of blacks. The prosperity of the colony, despite its terrible misfortunes and losses, was now settled on a permanent base—agriculture, which in those fertile regions so amply repays the planter, having become its principal occupation. Indian hostilities, however, with hardly an interval of peace, were presently resumed. The Chicasaws had afforded an asylum to the Yazoos, to the survivors of the Natchez, and to the runaway negroes; nay, they even hatched a plot for the destruction of the white settlements by exciting an insurrection of the slaves. Other acts of open hostility were committed, and Bienville, who in 1735 returned and resumed the office of governor, perceived the necessity of conciliation or war. All his efforts at the former having failed, he sent for D'Artegrette, the commandant of Fort Chartres, on the Illinois, to join him with all his available force. That officer, already distinguished for his activity in the war with the Natchez, with a force of twelve hundred men, mostly Illinois Indians, rapidly descended the Mississippi, and marched into the country of the hostile nation. The Chicasaws were well entrenched, and were commanded by English officers. D'Artegrette, after waiting ten days in vain for Bienville, attacked them, but after taking two of their forts, was wounded and taken prisoner, with several of his friends. The Illinois fled, and Bienville, arriving just too late, attacked a fort defended by a body of English, before which, it is said, he lost two thousand of his followers, and was compelled to make a miserable retreat, marching for a hundred miles without food, and the enemy being in hot pursuit. The unfortunate D'Artegrette and his fellow-prisoners, after the defeat of their friends, were tortured to death at the stake, after the customary cruelty of the savages.

In 1739, Bienville, acting in concert with Beauharnois, the governor of Canada, and aided by a strong force of French and Indians from that province, set forth on a fresh campaign against the Chicasaws. The united forces of the two colonies, amounting to three thousand six hundred men, of which one-third were Europeans,

rendezvoused in August at the site of the present town of Memphis. After building a fort, named L'Assomption, a series of misfortunes overtook them in the failure of provisions, the excessive heat, and a fatal disease, which carried off numbers of them and disabled many of the survivors. Nevertheless, a considerable body of the army advancing toward the Chicasaw country, that people, struck with dismay, made overtures of peace, alleging, in apology, that they had been excited to hostility by the English of Carolina. They gave up two of the latter who were among them; and a treaty being concluded, the pipe of peace was solemnly smoked and the tomahawk formally buried. Nevertheless, the Chicasaws still continued afterwards to give much trouble to the French, and, assisted by their English allies, maintained possession of a very extensive territory.

CHAPTER VI.

PROSPERITY OF LOUISIANA.—UNDISTURBED BY WAR.—SUGAR-CANE INTRODUCED.—COMMENCEMENT OF TROUBLES WITH THE ENGLISH.—THE OHIO COMPANY.—RESISTED BY DU QUESNE.—THE VIRGINIA EXPEDITION UNDER WASHINGTON.—WAR WITH THE FRENCH OF CANADA, ETC.—TAKING OF PORT DU QUESNE.—OVERTHROW OF THE FRENCH IN CANADA.—PUBLIC RELINQUISHMENT OF A PART OF LOUISIANA TO ENGLAND, AND SECRET CESSION OF THE REMAINDER TO SPAIN.—VAIN REMONSTRANCE.

In the year 1741, Bienville, who for so many years had held command of the province, to the regret of all the inhabitants, took his final departure. The country, however, continued to prosper, and commerce, freed from restrictions, began to assume some importance. The obstinate warfare waged between the English colonies and the Canadian French, at this time, did not much affect the tranquillity of the remote province of Louisiana. In 1761, a most valuable accession to the wealth of the country was made, in the introduction of the sugar-cane, which certain Jesuits of St. Domingo sent to their brethren on the Mississippi, and which, in our own day, has assumed

the first importance, as the staple of that productive region which fringes its shores.

In the following year, the Chicasaws having recommenced their ravages, Vaudreuil, the successor of Bienville, marched against them with a force of seven hundred French soldiers and a large body of Indian allies. He laid waste their country, and left an additional force at the Fort of Tombekbee, to keep them in check, but, for want of artillery, was unable to take their fortified places.

The provinces of Canada and Louisiana, nearly as distant from each other as from the mother-country, had now, with admirable military skill, been almost completely connected by a chain of posts extending from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to that of the Mississippi. The extent of country over which the French asserted their claim, and great part of which, however sparsely, they occupied, was vastly greater than that of their neighbours, the powerful English colonies—though the population of the latter now exceeded a million, while that of both the French provinces was but little more than a twentieth of that amount. It may well be supposed that the former, so long and obstinately striving to wrest Canada from the few but valiant hands which held it, would not entirely overlook the far richer and more feebly-defended regions of Louisiana.

After the conclusion of peace between the rival nations, in the middle of the eighteenth century, an association, called the Ohio Company, had obtained from the English crown a large grant of land lying within a district to which both had laid claim. The governor of Canada, Du Quesne, having remonstrated in vain against its occupation, made prisoners of the company's servants; and proceeded vigorously in the work of completing his cordon of military posts. In 1754, the province of Virginia dispatched Washington, then a young officer of twenty-one, with a provincial regiment, to check what was in turn considered an encroachment on its territorial right; and in a skirmish with the French, the commander of a small force of that people, with ten of his men, was killed. The Virginians, entrenching themselves against a larger force, were in turn compelled to capitulate. War was at once vigorously recommenced, the eventful progress of which against the French of Nova Scotia and Canada has been already detailed. In 1758, the year before the fall of Quebec, Fort Du Quesne, the connecting link between the two French provinces, was taken by the English, the garrison setting it on fire, and escaping in boats down the Ohio, and

proceeding to New Orleans. The victors rebuilt it, and named it after the celebrated minister then at the head of British affairs; and at the present day, under the name of Pittsburgh, it is one of the most flourishing cities of the interior of America.

With the capture of Quebec and the overthrow of their power in Canada, the French seem to have lost that enterprising spirit, which, with such feeble means, had brought such immense territories under their sway; and Louisiana, its wealth and resources not yet appreciated, was regarded as only the poor remnant of a once powerful French-American empire. At the treaty of Paris, which soon followed that event, they yielded to the English nearly all east of the Mississippi, reserving only the island of New Orleans, and making that river, with Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas, the boundary between the possessions of the two nations. By the surrender of Acadia, Canada, and other northern possessions, the population of Louisiana received a considerable accession—many of the French colonists, expelled from their homes, or declining the rule of strangers, taking refuge there.

A far heavier blow to the nationality of the diminished province followed speedily afterwards. By a secret article of the treaty of Paris, Louis XV. had agreed to surrender the remainder of Louisiana to Spain, as a compensation for the loss of Florida, which the latter had been compelled to cede to England. For some time this arrangement was kept private, but when it eventually transpired, the unfortunate colonists were seized with dismay and mortification. In the general grief and excitement, all occupations were abandoned, and at a meeting of the most respectable inhabitants of the province, at New Orleans, it was resolved to remonstrate strongly with the home government. M. Milhet, the wealthiest and most influential merchant of that city, was dispatched to France, and with the aid of the aged Bienville, then eighty-seven years old, but still warmly attached to the colony he had founded, pressed his suit with the Duke de Choiseul. But that minister, who was himself the author of the obnoxious measure, parried all his attempts, and the unfortunate envoy could not even obtain an audience with the king.

CHAPTER VII.

ARRIVAL OF ULLOA AS SPANISH GOVERNOR: HIS OBSTINACY.
HIS EXPULSION FROM THE COUNTRY.—ARRIVAL OF O'REILLY:
HIS PERFDY AND CRUELTY.—FIVE CITIZENS EXECUTED.
—TYRANNY OF O'REILLY.—GREAT EMIGRATION FROM
LOUISIANA: THAT PROVINCE RECEDED TO FRANCE:
SOLD BY NAPOLEON TO THE UNITED STATES.

A YEAR after the treaty, D'Abbadie, the governor of Louisiana, had received orders from his court to surrender that province to any Spanish officer empowered to receive it; yet, singular to state, whether from policy or mere carelessness, two more years elapsed before any such claimant appeared. The unfortunate colonists were beginning to cherish the hope that they might yet be spared, when the return of Milhet, with an account of his failure, and the reception of a letter from Don Antonio de Ulloa, announcing his arrival as Spanish governor, (1766,) put an end to these fallacious expectations. The citizens, exasperated at being thus involuntarily transferred to a foreign power, now resolved on opposing it to the extent of their feeble ability; and Lafreniere, the attorney-general, encouraged this spirit of resistance, citing the example of the English North American colonies, then just involved in controversy with the mother-country. It was strenuously demanded of the council that they should warn Ulloa to quit the country. That officer, who had landed, with only two companies of infantry, at New Orleans, did not for some time, it seems, aim at any thing more than a species of toleration of his presence there. The force he brought was large enough to excite odium, but not awe in the people; and the yellow fever, which now for the first time made its appearance in New Orleans, and which was ascribed by the citizens to the coming of these intruders, increased the popular ill-will. As yet Ulloa had produced no credentials of authority to the French officials, and the council, pressed by public opinion, at length, in 1767, demanded that he should present them or quit the country. With true Spanish obstinacy, not having sufficient force to compel obedience, he preferred the latter, and embarked on board a vessel of his own

country. The same night her cables were cut by a party of gay young Frenchmen, excited by wine, and she drifted down the stream.

After his departure, the citizens convened, and dispatched envoys to the French court with fresh remonstrances against their expatriation, but in vain; and in July, 1767, they learned with consternation that the Spanish captain-general, O'Reilly, (an Irishman by birth, a Spaniard by choice,) with a force of about five thousand men, had entered the Mississippi. Before such an overwhelming demonstration, the feeble province had no resource but submission; and deputies were accordingly dispatched with it to O'Reilly. That perfidious commander received them with much courtesy, and assured them both of amnesty for past offences, and a mild and paternal government for the future. Nevertheless, he cherished a deadly hatred against the French, which, superadded to natural arrogance and cruelty, was not long in making its murderous manifestation.

Taking on himself all the state and mock royalty of a petty sovereign, he soon had under arrest a number of the most prominent citizens in the state, especially those connected with the late demonstration of resistance. Lafreniere and four others, after the travesty of a trial, were sentenced to be hung; but were finally executed by shooting—a fate which they met with much courage and magnanimity. Six others were sentenced to imprisonment for life or for a term of years, and were presently consigned to the dungeons of the Moro, at Havana. In open infraction of the treaty, the tyrant then proceeded arbitrarily to change the form of government, which, by that instrument, had been assured to the province, and to substitute the laws of Castile for those of France. The people, unable to resist these oppressions, rendered a sullen submission. The greater part of the wealthy and enterprising portion of the population had already taken refuge in St. Domingo, whence, a few years afterwards, the tide of fugitives, driven by servile insurrection, was destined again to flow to Louisiana. This emigration was finally stopped by an order of the governor, lest his territories should be utterly depopulated. In 1770, he took his departure, and the province was annexed to the captain-generalship of Cuba. His successor in the administration, Nuzaga, governed kindly and well, and the colony, though restricted in its commerce, enjoyed some degree of prosperity.

It only remains to notice the final transfer of this valuable territory, together with the brief reëstablishment of its French nationality. By the treaty of 1800, Spain had agreed to restore Louisiana to

France; but this article, for reasons of state, was kept secret until 1803, when, to the great joy of the colonists, who had never relinquished their attachment to the parent-country, it was made public. But the United States, having a far deeper interest at stake than either of the foreign powers which thus transferred the province from hand to hand, lost no time in opening negotiations with the French government for its cession to their own jurisdiction. Napoleon, aware of the difficulty (considering the inferiority of the French marine to the English,) in retaining this distant territory, was not unwilling to see it transferred into the hands of a friendly, or at least neutral power, rather than be exposed to capture by the enemy. Accordingly, on the 30th of April, 1803, a treaty was signed, by which the United States were to acquire the whole of Louisiana, paying the inconsiderable sum of fifteen millions of dollars, and admitting the vessels of France and Spain, duty free, for twelve years, into the ports of that province. An article of this instrument, drawn up by the hand of the First Consul himself, assured the inhabitants of full equality with all other citizens of the Union, and provided for their speedy incorporation into the confederacy. In delivering the document, he remarked, "Make it known to the people of Louisiana that we regret to part with them; that we have stipulated for all the advantages they could desire; and that France, in giving them up, has ensured to them the greatest of all. They could never have prospered under any European government as they will when they become independent. But, while they enjoy the privileges of liberty, let them remember that they are French, and preserve for their mother-country that affection which a common origin inspires."

On the 30th of November, 1803, the Spanish commissioners gave formal possession of the country to the French prefect, Laussat, presenting him with the keys of the capital. For thirty-four years it had been under possession of the Spaniards, but had in no degree lost its nationality or affection for the parent-country. For twenty days the tri-coloured flag, displayed with a melancholy pleasure, waved over the recovered city, the last of those splendid possessions once held by the French in North America. At the end of that time (December 20th) it was lowered, and replaced by the stripes and stars, and quiet possession of the territory was taken by the United States' authorities.

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