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CINCINNATI, CHICAGO, ST. LOUIS, ATLANTA, NEW ORLEANS
PITTSBURG, MINNEAPOLIS, DENVER, SAN FRANCISCO

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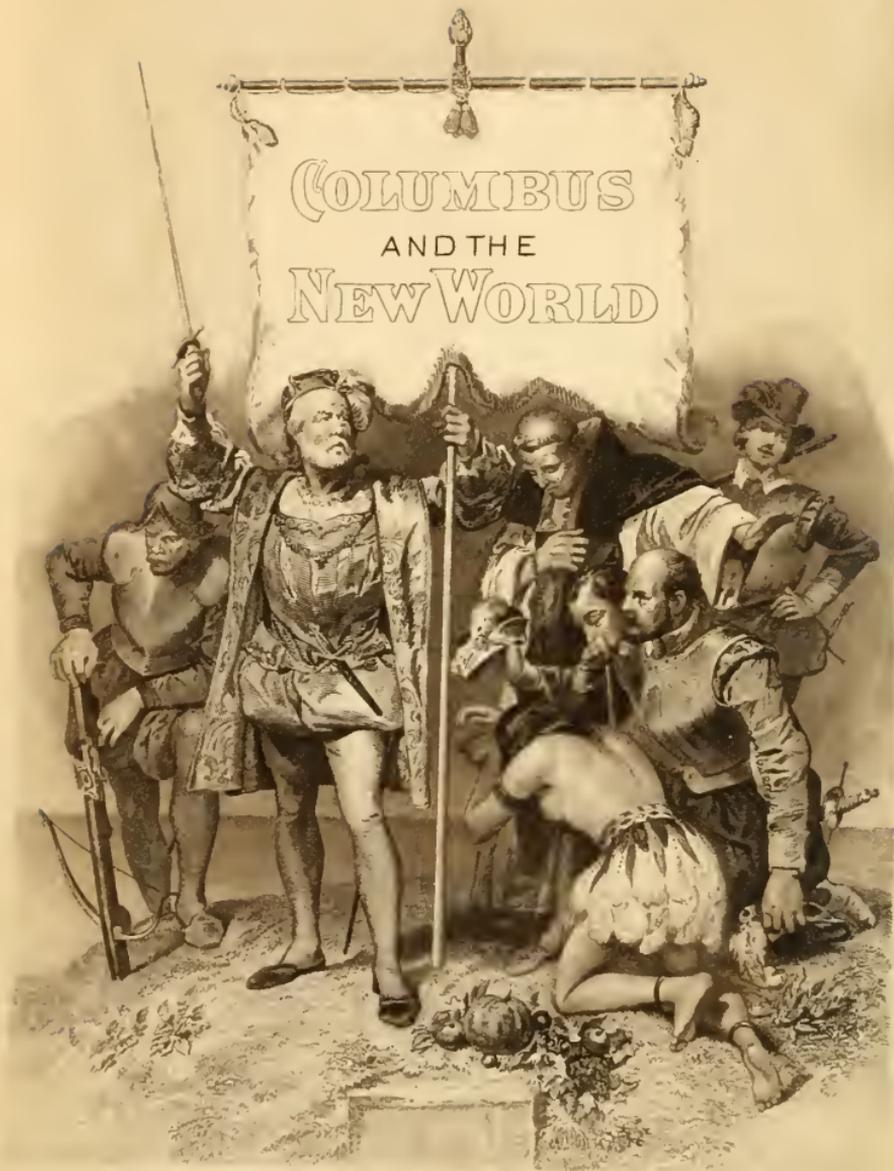
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COLUMBUS
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COLUMBUS AND THE
NEW WORLD

BY

JAMES W. BUEL, Ph. D.

Historian and Traveler

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COLUMBUS AND THE NEW WORLD.

CHAPTER I.

THE story of Columbus is at once an epic and an elegy ; a narration of bold conception, persistent courage, heroic attainment, mingled with the gall of national ingratitude and the malevolence of personal jealousies. The adventures of the Homeric Ulysses were not more illustrious with valor ; the afflictions of Niobe were not more tearful with despair. East and west of his life there were bitterness and shadows : radiant Hope tip-toeing on the pedestal of wondrous accomplishment, and Faith bowing with grief before envious and invidious rivalry. No character in the world's history was ever more highly honored for chivalrous achievement ; none more maligned by perfidy or oppressed by the spitefulness of malice. He was a product of the brave days of old, yet was he a victim to the spirit that gave birth to intolerance and persecution ; for the heroism that sought a reclamation of the holy sepulcher ; that produced Ruy Diaz Campeador (the Cid) ; that measured lances with Mohammed-al-Nasir on the decisive and bloody field of Las Navas de Tolosa, was twin brother to that purblind theopathy that established and energized the Inquisition.

If we consider the slavishly superstitious, the intolerantly bigoted, the audaciously savage age in which he lived, which was characterized by the most desperate impulses, we

will be prepared to understand and to appreciate the disposition and proclivities of Columbus; to applaud his courage, and to condone his vices. For he was not without human frailties, as will be shown, but these were national—medieval—rather than personal; errors of the times rather than passions peculiarly his own. His was an age when so-called civilization saw no wrong in banishing Jews and confiscating their property to convert it to holy purposes; which believed that true piety and loyalty to God were best manifested by burning heretics at the stake as awful examples, or by torturing the impious until they confessed the vice of their unbelief; “for,” as answered Torquemada, “were it not better to sanctify men through afflictions of the flesh than that they be suffered to continue in their evil ways to the loss of their souls and their damnation through all eternity?”

Cruel as these horrific measures were, and barbarous as these beliefs appear to us now, they were not the results of human depravity or moral debasement; so far from this being true, the people were wondrously devout, and it was the intensity of their religious, pietistical fervor that led them to adopt extreme methods for the conversion of all men to the true faith, for they honestly believed that this would alone secure for them salvation and a beatific condition after death. “What,” argued they, “is the suffering of the body on this earth, compared with the results that affect the endless life in that world to come?” They accordingly accepted literally that divine injunction which demanded, or required, the sacrifice of eye or hand should they offend, and gave it that broader significance which to them justified a sacrifice of the sinful by any means howsoever cruel.

Though we cannot excuse the slavery that tormented for opinion's sake, yet it is not entirely just to hastily condemn the spirit of the masses, whose pious convictions gave crea-

tion to the Inquisition ; for no single Church bears all the odium of persecution, any more than any one people is chargeable with the crime of bigoted intolerance. There have been transition periods in the life of all beliefs, and of all denominations, during which the dominant sect has shown jealousy and injustice. When the time shall come that such a spirit is dead, then may we conclude that there is no difference of opinion, and that the lion and the lamb have laid down in perpetual truce, and universal, enduring peace hath possessed the world.

With this understanding of the animating ambitions of the times, I beg the reader will regard the beliefs and acts of Columbus, since to present a faithful history of his life it is necessary to record many facts which would otherwise put to shame the merited fame which he won, and the results which left us such a glorious heritage—Columbia.

As the greatest men in the world's history have, as a rule, risen from obscurity, Columbus, who perhaps conferred the largest benefits upon mankind, was not an exception, but rather a conspicuous exemplification of the assertion. For so lowly was his birth that little information has been preserved respecting his youth, while his nativity, like the place of his final sepulture, must forever remain a question of contention. The time of his birth is equally a matter of conjecture, various dates being assigned between the years 1435 and 1448, though the preponderance of evidence points to the former, which we shall accordingly adopt. Cuccaro, in Montferrat, and Savona, pretend to the honor of his birth, but the place that with best reason claims his nativity is Genoa, which was probably also the birthplace of his father, whose name was Dominic Columbus, the Latin orthography, or *Colombo*, as it is written in Italian, or *Colon*, as it is called in the Spanish. Dominic married a lassie named Susana, who was daughter to one James Fantanarossa, of

the village of Bassago, who brought him a small income, but so inadequate to his needs that immediately after marriage he moved to the neighborhood of Genoa, where he set up in a small way as a wool-comber, employing one workman and a single apprentice. The house in which he thus began business, which was at once residence and shop, was just outside the limits of the municipality, and it was here that Christopher was born, and also his three brothers, Bartholomew, Pelligrino, and James afterwards called Don Diego. There was also a daughter, who married a pork butcher named Bavarello, of the vicinity, but her name and place of nativity are unknown.

The first several years of Dominic's married life were spent in the house in the Genoese suburbs, but he afterwards rented the building to an innkeeper, and moved into a somewhat more pretentious house which was located at No. 166 Mulcento Street, where he continued the business of weaver, but with indifferent success. It is maintained by many of Christopher's biographers that he was descended from a noble family that had been scattered by domestic dissensions, such as were very common among the Italians in the early centuries, and very good evidence is presented in support of this claim. While the occupation of wool-comber represented a great condescension in one who had belonged to the *noblesse* rank, we know that Christopher had a grand-uncle who held an admiral's commission in the service of Rene, duke of Anjou, which was the most illustrious of all engagements in that day, and was open only to those who had some rightful claim to distinguished ancestry. But that Columbus was a descendant of the great Lombard family, as his most enthusiastic admirers declare, there is exceeding doubt, amounting to denial.

That Dominic was a kind father, and thoroughly appreciative of the importance of education, is attested by the

fact that when Christopher, his eldest child, had reached the age of ten years, instead of putting him to service, where he might be helpful towards increasing the slender income, which indeed little more than sufficed for the support of the now considerable family, he was sent to be schooled at the University of Papia. Since the branches which distinguished that famous school were natural philosophy, astrology and geography, the conclusion is irresistible that young Christopher must have had some previous instruction to qualify him to enter upon such advanced studies. At this university he continued for a period of three years, though there were intervals in his attendance during which he was an assistant to his father in the factory, so that he acquired a fairly good knowledge of the trade and might afterwards have followed it, as did his brothers, but for an incident that lifted his feet from the dull path of obscurity and planted them in the road that led to ineffable glory, of which we, more than his own countrymen, are the chief beneficiaries.

Young Christopher did not improve his advantages to their utmost, for he was more diligent with conceits for wider fields of adventure than in application to his textbooks, a condition which brought him into antagonism with his teachers, that resulted either in his expulsion, or voluntary, but sudden and secret, withdrawal from the school. We may, without injustice to his memory, infer that he was guilty of conduct which led to his peremptory dismissal from the university, since history tells us that he ran away and took engagement as a cabin boy on a vessel lying at the port of Genoa. To a youth full of animation and a courageous spirit, the dashing waves that beat up in restless flow against the rugged beaches, and poured their monody of complainings at confinement in his ear, there must have come a longing to sail away behind his little world that

kissed the horizon scarce five leagues beyond the green hills of the shore.

To one of such a temperament as Christopher later revealed, there must have been an incentive to adventure in the wild stories of heroism on the sea, when every day had its savage incident of battle with pirates; and when every sailor who came to Genoa sat on the quays, the center of admiring crowds, telling his hair-breadth escapes, and moving youthful ambition by descriptions of strange lands visited between where the sun rises up out of the Mediterranean, and the blue mountains of the west, where he sinks down in dreamy slumber. All around him there were memories of valorous examples, for the fiery ardor of the Crusaders had not yet burned out. Fresh glories were being won by brave spirits that dared the fury of predatory Moors, whose ravages spread over the sea, and whose gilded crescents tipped lofty masts in bold defiance of the cross. Fortune and fame seemed to await the courageous, who while fighting for religion made spoils their reward, and thus the Mediterranean became a sea of battle, a rendezvous for the desperate, the daring and the adventurous.

History has not preserved the facts connected with his first maritime service, yet our small knowledge respecting his conduct, gathered from intimations made in subsequent letters to friends, leads to the belief that he shipped with a crew most likely bound upon some piratical enterprise in the Levant. This suspicion is founded upon two incidents, the particulars of which are so vaguely hinted at in his letters that they afford good reason for the belief that he was connected with Archipelago Corsairs. He admits having participated in at least one bloody engagement, and concerning another De Lorgues, his most flattering biographer, says: "In one of the combats, which has not been retraced by history, he received a deep wound, the

cicatrix of which, though long forgotten, reopened towards his latter years, and endangered his life." On another occasion he was engaged in a naval fight which resulted in the destruction of his vessel, and left him struggling in the water with only a spar between him and death. With good fortune, however, he contrived to reach the shore in safety, Providence having reserved him for a noble purpose. This last adventure is not well attested, and may be an apocryphal account by some essayist on morals not thoroughly veracious, yet the story is not an improbable one. But as Columbus refused to his death to make any statement concerning his Mediterranean service—when he had every reason to do so had it been patriotic—and since the commerce of that sea in his time was so joined with piracy as to leave the two professions scarcely distinguishable one from the other, honesty compels the presumption, if it does not confirm the belief, that several years of his life were spent with his superiors exacting tribute from merchantmen, and also in waging war against Moorish freebooters who infested the Levant.

Of the distinguished relatives of Christopher there were two who might have naturally led him to an adoption of such a career. One of these, who is known to history as the elder Columbus, most probably a grand-uncle, bore a captain's commission from Louis XI. of France, who went so far beyond the limits of recognized duty as to win for himself the title of Arch Pirate. He is represented as a man of almost unexampled recklessness, and of being noted no less for his cruelty than for his boldness. Another kinsman, supposed to have been also a grand-uncle, was Colombo el Mozo, whose fame as a pirate rivals that of the elder. After achieving a wonderful renown by acts of incredible valor in the wars of the Genoese Republic, he fitted and armed a considerable fleet of his own and sailed against the

Venetians, many of whose ships he destroyed after possessing himself of their cargoes. Subsequently he went against the pirates that patrolled the African coast in quest of prizes, and delivered such decisive blows as practically to break up the industry in that section, but only to transfer it, however, to other parts of the sea.

After continuing for some years in a subordinate position, and having attained to manhood, Christopher became such a competent navigator that he obtained command of a vessel and sailed out of the Mediterranean, on cruises to lands of the northeast, especially to Spain, France and England. The known facts concerning his early life are so meager that we must rest upon the very few and brief disclosures made in his "Book of Prophecies," and these are scarcely more than the merest intimations of a very few of his acts, so that we cannot present his career either chronologically or with any attempt at completeness.

About the year 1470, Christopher took up his abode in Lisbon, whither his brother Bartholomew had gone a year before, having quitted his trade of wool-carding to become a cosmographer. The inference is gained from this known circumstance, that Christopher and Bartholomew had joined interests and were pursuing the same studies and with probably identical ambitions; for Christopher, besides being a navigator, began drawing charts at a fairly early age; and these were no doubt used by Bartholomew in illustration of his theories respecting the constitution of the system of worlds. It was this study that undoubtedly led to his conception of the earth's shape, and his belief that the India of Marco Polo might be reached by a voyage towards the west.

Columbus, as we shall henceforth call him, was only a short while in Lisbon before he saw a most bewitchingly beautiful lady while attending mass in the Church of All Saints,

and immediately lost his heart to the fair enchantress. He directly sought an introduction, and at the first interview rejoiced to discover that his attentions met with favor which encouraged him to press a lover's suit. It was not long after his meeting with the lady that he heard from her lips the affecting story of her life. Her name was Doña Felippa de Perestrello, one of the three daughters whose father had once been a grandee, of both fame and fortune. He had been a successful navigator, a large ship owner, and had rendered such valuable services to Portugal that Prince Henry rewarded him with the Governorship of Porto Santo, a fertile island near Madeira, off the northwest coast of Africa and on the route to the Canaries. A flourishing colony was here established by his endeavors, and large estates set in cultivation which were bestowed upon him as permanent grants from the crown. It was on this beautiful and prolific island that Doña Felippa and her sisters were born, and here they spent their girlhood amid surroundings dreamy, luxurious and ecstatic. The breath of perpetual summer was here redolent with the perfume of flower, and fruit, and wildwood, where an orchestra of gorgeously-plumaged birds filled the sensuous air with unceasing music, such as wakes the heart to blissful realization, and makes life as sweet as a delightful sleep vision. Ten years, nearly twenty years, thus passed in the splendors of contentment before trouble invaded this bower of acadian delight, and drove them from a garden which peris might have envied. In an evil hour a number of rabbits were imported into the island, without thought of the harm which these innocent-appearing animals might work, but they directly propagated with such amazing fecundity that in an almost incredibly brief time they became pests which resisted every effort for their destruction. Prolific as were the crops, so great was the destruction of

these animals that the raising of any kind of vegetable became an impossibility and the colony was finally forced to abandon the island to escape starvation. Sigñor Perestrello, who in the meantime had invested all his means in Porto Santo, thus found himself literally brought to poverty through the ravages of rabbits, and removing to Lisbon, with the small remnant of his fortune, died shortly after his return, leaving his children to the care of some wealthy relatives of that city.

This narrative, following the facts as recorded by nearly all of the Columbian biographers, may be amended to advantage by opposing to the general statement the theory that since Bartholomew Moñis de Perestrello colonized Porto Santo as early as 1420, he must have died upon the island, leaving his government to Pedro Perestrello, his son, who was father to the beautiful Doña Felippa, otherwise she must have been too old for a fair wedding, and could not have been the lovely woman that captured our ambitious Genoese navigator at first sight. But whatever the facts, it is true that after a reasonably long courtship Columbus married Felippa, who, though possessed of small patrimony, brought her husband no mean distinction, for she was one of the first ladies of Lisbon, and was of great advantage in extending his acquaintance among influential people, particularly the nobility.

We do not know how long he remained in Lisbon pursuing his profession as a cosmographer, but certainly the period was not great, for his restless ambition would not permit him to continue a quiet employment, and thus we learn of voyages projected and performed by him to other lands ; but these were unsuccessful, because he retired to the uninviting estates of his wife on Porto Santo, which poverty alone would have induced him to do, and there his first child, which he named Diego, was born,

In this singularly quiet retreat, whence the first colonists had been driven by a pest of rabbits, Columbus conceived bolder schemes than had ever before moved him to ambitious undertakings. In poverty his mind found relaxation from the worriments of his former surroundings, and intensified his aspirations. His passion for the glory which feats at arms invest gave place to projects that contemplated beneficent results to all the world. Here he read with renewed interest the works of Ptolemy, the first geographer, of Aristotle, Strabo and Pliny, and studied with the keenest zest Cardinal Aliaco's "Cosmographia," in which science, superstition and absurd conceits were equally blended, to the confusion of truth. But his reflections and aspirations were most largely promoted by the travels of Marco Polo, and of Sir John Mandeville, whose narratives of adventures in the far east, in a kingdom called Cathay, and in the wonderful country of Tartary, stirred him with a new ambition, and lifted him from his impoverished surroundings to a realm of idealism—of dreamy splendor.

Before reading the astounding revelations of Polo and Mandeville, picturing a land of fabulous wealth and royal aggrandizement, Columbus had arrived at a theory respecting the earth's shape, and had become convinced of its sphericity. Now his resolution suddenly became fixed to confirm this belief and at the same time to find a water-way to the rich kingdom of the Tartar Khan.

It was given to Columbus to demonstrate, but not to originate, the theory of the globular shape of the earth. Indeed, in this concept he was anticipated by writers of antiquity, just as he was preceded by voyagers to the Western Hemisphere many hundred years before his time. Aristotle and Strabo were in accord respecting the earth's rotundity, and only differed in their estimates of its size, the former being far wrong in his underestimation of the

circumference, while the latter's computation was very nearly correct, viz., 377° . Marinus, of Tyre, a geographer of great renown, of the eleventh century, also believed in the globular shape of the earth, and fixed its circumference at about 450° , while Ptolemy, in the twelfth century, disputed the claims of Marinus only by reducing the actual circumference about one-fourth. Columbus inclined to the belief of Ptolemy, estimating, as he did, that only one-seventh of the earth was water; and this supposition led him to believe that Cipango, of Marco Polo, was not more than three thousand miles westward of Portugal, whereas the real distance to that country—believed to be Japan—is by water little short of fifteen thousand miles.

If Columbus was, as represented by nearly all his biographers, a student of the ancient writers, or geographers, he must have been impressed by the many allusions made by these to lands lying far westward of the Pillars of Hercules (straits of Gibraltar). Virgil is supposed to have referred to such lands in the sixth book of the *Æneid*: "Jacet extra sidera tellus," a free translation of which may read: "Beyond the horizon lies a country."

In Strabo's *De Situ Orbis* (1472) is to be found a clear expression of belief in the existence of a large country beyond the Atlantic, which he says may possibly compare with Spain or India. Besides the general views advanced by Ptolemy, there must have met the attention of Columbus the conflict of theories between that great Alexandrian geographer and Pomponius Mela, in which the former urged that discoveries be pursued east and west, while the latter maintained that better results would follow lines of exploration north and south, for by this philosopher, as well as by Columbus himself, the world was supposed to be pear-shaped. As early as the fifth century Macrobius, a Roman, declared that the earth was composed of four continents,

two of which remained to be discovered, and this theory had several distinguished disciples preceding the Columbian age. Similar views, but somewhat more specific, and pointing towards a new world beyond the Atlantic, were expressed by Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, and Vincenzius, all before the fourteenth century.

In addition to the theories which gave creation to the idea of a western continent long before the time of Columbus, there were not wanting evidences supporting the claim that this unknown country had been many times visited and described. A story was told, first by an anonymous writer, in about 1482, and afterwards repeated and adopted by several creditable authors, to the effect that a Spanish pilot named Sanches, while attempting a passage between Madeira and the Canaries, was driven out of his course by a storm and landed on the shores of an island said to have been Hayti. Subsequently this pilot came to Lisbon and found lodgment with Columbus, to whom he related the facts and in whose house he died. It is also declared, by not a few reliable writers, that John Costa Cortereal made a voyage westward and reached the ice-bound coast of Newfoundland in the year 1463, and was followed thither by his brother a year later, on which voyages, however, they both perished. Niccolo Zeni, or Zeno, towards the close of the fourteenth century, started on a voyage from Venice in quest of new lands beyond Hercules' Pillars, and after sailing among the islands of the west for nearly one year, became pilot to an island chief named Zichmni, where he was some time afterwards joined by his brother, Antonio. Four years later Niccolo died in a country called Frieslanda, but Antonio continued in the service of Zichmni ten years longer, at last returning to Venice, bringing not only an account of a strange world beyond the Atlantic, but also maps, letters, etc., referring to the country. It was not, however, until

1558 that a descendant of the Zenis discovered these valuable documents and caused them to be published, accompanied by a narrative of the voyages. After a thorough study of the subject the following names have been identified on the Zeni map: Egronelant, Greenland; Islanda, Iceland; Estland, the Shetland Islands; Frisland, the Faroe group; Markland, Nova Scotia; Estotiland, Newfoundland; Drogeo, coast of North America, about Labrador; Icaria, Ireland. Long anterior to this (270 B. C.) there was an account, incorporated in ancient geographies, of a voyage by the Grecian navigator, Pytheas, to unknown lands of the far west, and a map was drawn by Lelewel showing the discoveries of Pytheas, upon which is represented the island of Atlantis, and the shores of a country which corresponds with Brazil.

Among other voyagers who are said to have visited the new world before the time of Columbus was a Pole named John Scolvus, or Kolno, who, while in the service of Denmark, in 1476, was on the coast of Labrador; and a Dieppe navigator named Cousin, who, while bound for some point on the coast of Africa, was blown far out to sea and reached South America in 1488. And on a chart prepared by the Pizigani brothers, dated 1367, there appear islands which may be identified with Madeira, the Azores, the Canaries, and also two islands, called respectively "Antilla" and "De la man Satanaxio," which are undoubtedly the same as Cuba and Hayti, while some knowledge of the two Americas is implied.

Besides these testimonies supporting Columbus in his belief that land, or India, might be reached by sailing directly westward, there were other evidences, though less convincing. On more than one occasion pieces of wood, rudely carved, had been picked up on the coast of Madeira and on the shores of the Azores had been found very large

pine trees of an unknown species washed up by the sea. Columbus had also been told that on the isle of Flowers there had been found on the strand the corpses of two men of a race which none of the islanders had ever before seen. But this story, like that told by Martin Vincente, of finding a piece of carved wood more than thirteen hundred miles west of Europe; and of Antonio Leme, who claimed to have discovered a large island five hundred miles west of Madeira, is undoubtedly apocryphal, and comparable to many preposterous stories current at that time. Historians seem to be unmindful of the fact that there is no ocean current sweeping the American shores that would carry objects to the Azores or Madeira; and if there was such a current bodies of men would not be preserved, even in salt water, for a time necessary to drift them such a distance. Some have thought that long-prevailing winds from the west might have wafted these curious relics of a land beyond the Atlantic to the shores where they were found, but this supposition is as improbable as is the story of St. Brandan, then current, of having visited an island to the west that was peopled by demons and the ghosts of men drowned at sea.

But absurd as were many of the tales told by the superstitious and unveracious sailors, they doubtless had more or less effect upon Columbus, who was not disposed to reject the improbable when it might be turned to his advantage, either in strengthening his own faith, or helping to spread belief in a western passage to India in others.

The age in which Columbus lived was not one of unbounded liberty of either speech or conscience, and a degree of circumspection was necessary in putting forth any theory that controverted the opinions of the times, for otherwise public avowal was likely to be followed by public condemnation. For this reason Columbus acted with a discretion which showed that he was no less adroit than opinionated; appre-

ciating the influence of scientists, and having already learned the views of Paul Toscanelli, the most distinguished Italian scientist of that time, through a letter which the latter had written to the King of Portugal, Columbus made bold to crave an expression of Toscanelli's opinion respecting his scheme. Probably the result was what he had anticipated, but whatever may have been his expectations, in a reasonable interval Columbus received from the distinguished Florentine a copy of the letter written to Portugal's King, bearing date of June 25th, 1477, in which communication the probability of reaching India by a voyage to the west was stated, and in a subsequent letter the project advanced by Columbus was commended.

Toscanelli, besides being a great cosmographer, astronomer, mathematician and astrologer, was a man of vast influence, who found a hearty welcome at the pontifical court of Rome, and who was chief adviser to the King of Portugal on subjects connected with geography and navigation. When, therefore, the views of Columbus received the indorsement of a man of such eminence as Toscanelli, and in which there was a concurrent expression from Canon Fernando Martinez, he had obtained a recognition that justly increased his enthusiasm and determination, besides serving him greatly in converting others to similar opinions. Nor did Toscanelli content himself with submitting proofs adduced from his own knowledge as a cosmographer, for so interested was he in confirming the theories of Columbus, that he added to his letters the concurrent testimonies which he had gathered from records and correspondence with navigators, and thus materially assisted in leading others to embrace the beliefs which Columbus was seeking means to demonstrate. These opinions of leading scientists of the time served to renew interest in older sea tales, in which unknown islands were represented as having been

seen by shipwrecked mariners and super-pious bishops. It was this excited condition of the public mind, no doubt, that prompted Antonio Leone, of Madeira, to seriously relate to Columbus an account of his voyage a hundred leagues to the west and his having sighted three considerable islands, upon which, however, he did not land.

Others pretended to have seen islands suddenly rise out of the sea, and as mysteriously sink from sight again, while there was a legend, now often recounted, to the effect that on one island in the far west seven bishops had taken refuge in their flight (whether by ship or wing is not related) from the Moors and found thereon seven splendid cities, presumably with all the comforts to which they had before been accustomed.

But the evidences of previous discoveries of a western continent, and the belief entertained by many that Cipango, of Marco Polo, might be reached by a voyage to the west, in no wise detracted from the honors won by Columbus, since results rather than accidents, theories and unimproved chances, concern us most. Many men saw apples fall from a tree before Newton observed such a natural accident, yet it was reserved for him to discover in a falling apple the law of gravitation. And if America had been visited, however often, before the time of Columbus, the honor and glory were nevertheless reserved to him of making the discovery valuable to mankind.

CHAPTER II.

BEFORE the end of the year 1477 Columbus had become so enthusiastic in his determination to sail in quest of eastern lands that he returned with his family to Lisbon, and having obtained a ship he sailed in a northwesterly direction, by England, along the Scandinavian shores, and thence west to Iceland. Here he tarried awhile with Icelandic bishops, from whom it is reasonably supposed he obtained information of the discovery of Vineland by the Northmen—the Viking Navigators—as early as the year 985. It is certain that the story of discoveries and settlements on the American shore—then called Vineland—was preserved in the Scandinavian Sagas, and all the attendant circumstances of the voyagers of Herjulfson, Leif Erickson, Thorwald, Thorstein and Thorfinn were familiar through repetition of the history around the yule logs of the Iceanders, where it was customary to recite the Sagas.

What he learned in the land of Ultima Thule of Ptolemy—Iceland—served the more to indelibly impress Columbus with the truthfulness of his theory; besides which specific information, he had observed, through the philosophic instinct that was in him, the length of time it took the sun to traverse the length of the Mediterranean, and calculated time and distance so as to determine an arc of the earth and thus measure its circumference. There was practically a unanimity of opinion at this period as to the hemispheric shape of the earth, though several of the most distinguished scientists of the age had advanced the theory of its spher-

ricity ; but not a few cosmographers, and nearly all ecclesiastics, ridiculed as preposterous the idea of the earth being other than a plane capped with a dome, the edges of which marked the horizon, beyond which were darkness and possibly nameless things. To counteract so general an opinion, not wholly disconnected with pious faith, Columbus was for a while distressed for opportunity to explain his theory before influential bodies.

It is no discredit either to Columbus or to the Church to venture the suspicion that, in order to obtain audiences which other means appear to have denied him, he now assumed a degree of religious devotion and intense piety which had not previously characterized his life, and that his purpose may have been to gain the confidence of ecclesiastics through whom alone, he justly reasoned, could he reach the ears of those whose assistance he required. That Columbus was a strong Catholic, by conviction as well as by birth, is undeniable, but at this time of his life there are appearances of efforts at pietistical manifestations not before noted, and a purpose may have been behind it.

Against this suspicion, however, may be opposed the equally reasonable conclusion that long brooding over his scheme had developed in him a belief that he had been divinely commissioned to carry the gospel of Christ to the uttermost parts of the world, to lands whereon the feet of a Christian had never trod. This belief is even intimated in one of his letters, in which he refers to himself as having been designed to fulfill a prophecy of Isaiah. It is possible also that he may have been urged to this conviction by reflecting upon the interpretation of his name, in which there appeared to be a foreshadowing of the Divine intent operating through him. The family name, COLOMBO, signifies in the Latin a *dove*, indicative of purity, innocence

and simplicity, and the Colombian coat-of-arms accordingly bore a device of three white doves on an azure field, beneath which were the Christian graces, faith, hope, charity. The word *Colombo* also expresses navigation, love for the sea, or the keel of a vessel; by which combination it was easy for Columbus to conceive that in his surname there was prophetic signification of an inspired man, destined to carry the gospel of purity and simplicity of heart across the ocean waters to unknown lands.

But as if to reinforce the interpretation of which the word *Colombo* was susceptible, he had been baptized in a church dedicated to St. Stephen and christened at that moment CHRISTOPHORUS, which, as De Lorgues says, was a name most appropriate for the functions he was to discharge among men. This latter signifies a disciple of Christ, or one who bears the cross; hence, he who spreads the gospel. To one so visionary, so enthusiastic, so quick to embrace an opinion, and so tenacious of his beliefs as was Columbus, the conclusion is unavoidable that he must have been deeply impressed by the coincidence of his ambitious conception and the signification of both his family and baptismal names.

The chronology of Columbus' acts cannot be determined, and hence the diversity of statement of his biographers as to the time and place when he first made an appeal for national assistance in furtherance of his scheme. By some his voyage to Iceland is represented as having been made before his sojourn on the island of Porto Santo, and in pursuance of information gained at the pontifical court of Rome, where, among the Vatican archives, it is declared reports were found detailing the American discoveries of Norse navigators. Others represent him as performing this journey after the rejection of his proposal to the Portuguese sovereign. In this confusion, arising from irreconcilable dates

and indefiniteness of circumstances, we can do no better than attempt to relate the facts in the order in which they appear to have most probably occurred.

That Columbus was sensibly impressed with a belief in a power bestowed by special dispensation of Providence is clearly indicated by the severely independent, commanding spirit which he exhibited when appearing before the senates and courts with overtures for aid in carrying his projects into effect. It may be reasonably inferred, from more than a single circumstance, that he made his first appeal for assistance before the Congress of Genoa, that being his native city, and the republic of which he had helped to perpetuate when threatened by the arrogance of Venice. But to his argument and appeals the Genoese Senate returned only evasive replies, pleading such excuses as a depleted treasury, danger of the undertaking, and the probable profitlessness of such a discovery even if made.

But, inspired by dreams of golden accomplishment, hope still lured him forward to perfect his schemes, and from Genoa Columbus went directly to the republic of St. Mark, where he laid his proposals before the Venetian Senate, hoping to make Italy the beneficiary of his enterprise; but the council scarcely deigned to hear his appeal; nor did it give any audience to his views and arguments. Thus rejected, Columbus went to Savone, at which place his father was now living, and where he remained only one year, but in what engagement we do not know. Thence he returned again to Lisbon, and spent the next few years drawing charts and studying the works of philosophers and historians. In the meantime his devoted wife, Felippa, died, leaving to him the care of a son, Diego, who was now probably ten years of age. But the rejection of senates and the loss of relatives in no wise abated his ardor, for he was sustained in all afflictions by remembrance of sacrifices borne

by Christ, and an inflexible belief in the inspiration of his designs.

Patiently abiding his time, Columbus at length thought he saw an opportunity for a successful presentation of his purposes and desires before the Court of Portugal, as King John II. began to manifest his disposition to extend his dominions. But at no time would Columbus descend from his lofty dignity, which bore the effrontery of an affected superiority, and this seemingly supercilious air, which was really a self-consciousness of inspiration, increased the natural difficulties which attend an audience at court. He had acquired the character of a visionary, and when at length he was permitted to appear before the King, there was little to predispose him to royal favor. Perhaps he would not have been admitted to the King's presence had it not been for the antecedent relations which he bore towards Don Henry, John's father, as the son-in-law of Porto Santo's governor, and husband to a woman who had been intimate with the best society, court and others, of Lisbon. Instead of finding Columbus obsequious, which usually characterizes the conduct of those seeking the royal favor, King John directly detected in the application a spirit of self-complacency and assurance truly astonishing, which was further aggravating to the monarch by the extravagant conditions accompanying the application. In the interview Columbus entertained no doubt that he should discover new countries rich in treasure and vast in extent. To his intense imagination everything was so real that he fancied himself already returning from a long voyage, bringing the most glorious fruits of discovery, for which service he esteemed himself as the equal of any potentate however powerful, and entitled to any reward however great. Therefore his demands were made commensurate with the deed he was expected to accomplish. He would not only accept nobility

for himself, but required that hereditary honors be bestowed upon his family ; that he be commissioned as high admiral of the ocean, and receive a tenth part of all gains resulting from the expedition, the same to be given in perpetuity to his descendants.

The extraordinary conditions which Columbus thus imposed gave offense to John, which was increased by his peremptory refusal to accept anything less ; but when the King was so far indulgent as to refer the matter to a commission, instead of instantly dismissing him as a presumptuous dreamer, Columbus felt certain that, whatever the outcome of the official inquiry, his plans had produced a strong impression upon Portugal's ruler.

The council, consisting of Diego Ortiz Cazadilla, Bishop of Ceuta, Roderigo, the King's physician, and a Jewish cosmographer named Joseph, upon assembling, summoned Columbus to explain more fully his theories and purposes. This opportunity was embraced to his greatest possible advantage, in which the great navigator set forth his beliefs and all the reasons upon which his determinations were based. His arguments seemed to prevail with Roderigo and Joseph, but the Bishop of Ceuta opposed, in the most violent manner, every theory that Columbus had advanced, and every conclusion that he had reached, and emphasized his objections by declaring that Portugal's treasury was in no condition for testing the wild vagaries of an enthusiast while Moorish infidels were threatening the nation.

The harsh language of the Bishop inflamed Pedro de Meneses, Count of Villareal, who was also Knight of the Order of Christ, who, having the liberty of the assembly, replied in a spirited manner to the Bishop's bigoted reflections, among other things saying : " Would it not perhaps be to refuse God, to reject this offer ? " and closing with these impressive words : " Soldier as I am, but influenced thereto

by a voice from heaven urging me on, I dare to foretell to the sovereign who would attempt this enterprise a happy success, which will produce a greater power and a vaster glory in the future than were ever obtained by the most celebrated heroes or the most fortunate monarchs." This speech was cheered in a manner indicative of its effect upon the assembly, but the Bishop, to counteract its effect, expressed himself as unfavorable to Columbus for the carrying into execution of the undertaking, and thus he obtained a rejection of the conditions.

King John, though probably indisposed, for personal reasons, as already intimated, to entertain the proposals of Columbus, was nevertheless deeply affected by the strong arguments which he had heard advanced before the Junta, and being covetous of new empires, called his counselors about him for advice as to how he might take advantage of the theories and information which Columbus had expounded, in the verity of which he implicitly believed. It is astonishing, and in no degree complimentary to human justice, and least to a church bishop and King's confessor, that at this council the Bishop of Ceuta should be chief adviser, and that his recommendations should be as unworthy as his opposition to Columbus was unjust; through the advisings of this prelate King John sent a messenger to Columbus inviting him to reappear before the commission, which had not yet been discharged, and to present the fullest details of his project, together with all charts that he had prepared illustrative of his theory, and such information as he was able to give, alleging as a motive for this request a desire of the commission to reopen the examination of his application and the evidences of its feasibility.

Believing in the honesty of the King and his counselors, and greatly encouraged by this mark of interest, which to his roseate imagination foreshadowed an acceptance of the

conditions named in his application, Columbus made a prompt response to the invitation and supplied the charts and information desired.

Having obtained possession of the maps, papers and evidences supporting the theory upon which Columbus based his ambitions, by the further advice of the bishop King John secretly prepared a vessel, and placing it under the command of his most experienced pilot, who was equipped with the information thus perfidiously secured, dispatched it, ostensibly upon a voyage of discovery down the coast of Africa, upon a westward expedition in quest of the kingdom of Cipango, and in pursuance of all the plans submitted by Columbus. The bishop had recommended this graceless act with the venal intent of enabling the King to enrich himself without incurring any pecuniary obligations to Columbus, whom he would rob under the highwayman's excuse that conditions made it impolitic to grant his application.

The ship which the King had thus provided proceeded first to Cape de Verde islands, whence, after revictualing, the voyage into the great unknown was begun. For a few days fair progress was made, but as the distance increased alarm grew, and when directly a terrible storm assailed the vessel, fear turned to panic, and above the rush of winds, rattle of lines, and dash of sea, there rose in terrified imaginings, mad cries of distraction and prayers of despair. In every cloud there lurked a demon, every billow was the lair of monster infernal, while on the winds rode, like charge of cavalry, hosts of specters diabolic, a marshaling of hellish powers that held mastery over the boundary of ocean waters, and resented with destruction invasion of that haunted realm. With one accord, master and crew turned about their vessel with only a faint hope encouraging them, and returned to the Portuguese port whence they had sailed.

Very soon after the cowardly voyagers regained the shore and made report of their failure to King John, to protect themselves from well-merited ridicule the officers and sailors began traducing Columbus as the author of a scheme most absurd, and which they had been so foolhardy as to so demonstrate.

News of this swaggering and contumely was not long in reaching the ears of Columbus, who now for the first time learned of the King's perfidy. With scorn and anger at the shameless conduct of both King and commission, Columbus resolved to quit a country in which venality seemed to predominate as the cap-sheaf of all the national vices. But King John did not accept the report of the voyagers as conclusive evidence of the claim that Columbus was a crazy adventurer. So far from entertaining such an opinion, he regarded the negative result as due to cowardice rather than as affording a proof that the plans of Columbus were no more than the conception of a dreamer. Indeed, the longer he contemplated the possibilities and probabilities of such a discovery as might be made by a voyage westward, the more inclined did the King become to lend substantial aid to the enterprise, and to make atonement for the perfidious act which he had committed through advice of his confessor. Resolved at last what he should do, King John sent a letter of apology to Columbus, in which he also pledged the resources of his treasury in support of the enterprise. But in a spirit of lofty indignation, Columbus peremptorily and haughtily refused all overtures and continued his preparations for a final removal from Lisbon, whose court he publicly denounced for its despicable treachery. The King, learning of his intentions, designed to restrain and compel him to the undertaking, but this conspiracy reaching the ears of Columbus he quietly disposed of the small property which he held in the city and took

secret passage, with his son Diego, in a vessel bound for Genoa.

It was in the latter part of 1484, as all authorities agree, that Columbus took his departure from Portugal, and it was probably towards the middle of that year when he arrived at Savone, where his father had taken up his residence some considerable time before. By some of his biographers, notably De Lorgues, it is declared, that on this visit to his native country Columbus made one more appeal to the Senate of Genoa for assistance, but with no better success, and possibly with less encouragement, than attended his first application. But doubt as to this act is substantially based upon the character of Columbus, who, being imperious and still impressed with a belief in his inspiration, as already explained, could not easily forget the indifference of the Senate to his original proposals; besides, just before quitting Lisbon he had sent his brother, Bartholomew, to England to lay before Henry VII. plans and purposes of his proposed expedition and to solicit the aid of that monarch, upon terms which had been offered to John II. Hence circumstances point to the conclusion that his object in repairing to Italy was two-fold, viz.: to visit his father, who was now greatly aged, and to seek there a temporary asylum from the designs of Portugal's King. And this belief is increased by the fact that his stay in Savone was certainly not less and probably more than one year, at the end of which time he turned his eyes towards the Christian monarchies, among whom he confidently believed he would, through God's help, find a patron who would give him all necessary aid to demonstrate the beneficent problem which he had proposed.

CHAPTER III.

WHAT prompted Columbus to proceed to Spain at the conclusion of his visit to Savone only Providence can answer. He had no friends in that country, so far as history acquaints us, if we except a young married sister of his wife, living at Huelva, and if he went there in furtherance of his ambitions, his hopes must have been poorly supported, for in no other nation were the conditions apparently so unfavorable to the accomplishment of his ends. For years a fierce war had been carried on in a vain effort to expel the Moors, who held the fairest portions of Spain despite the thunderbolts of Europe to drive them back into Africa. But the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile had been united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, in which consolidation of Christian interests the country was hopefully anticipating a victory that would destroy the last vestige of Islamism in Spain. But the treasuries of Aragon, Castile and Leon were nearly exhausted, while the two armies were upon the point of engaging in a decisive battle before the splendid-crowned capital of Granada, into which the Moors had been driven as their last resort.

Columbus, after arriving at Palos, with his son Diego, being poor in purse and ill-prepared to procure better entertainment, repaired to a convent dedicated to the Order of St. Francis, and called, in honor of the Virgin, Santa Maria de la Rabida, which stood on a high hill overlooking the sea, somewhat more than a mile from Palos. Over this convent there presided the good bishop Juan Perez de

Marchena, who had been counselor and confessor of Queen Isabella, and who was also a man much esteemed for his great learning, as well as for his exceeding urbanity and gentleness of heart, which greatly endeared him to the Queen. He was both a cosmographer and an astronomer, who preferred the solitude and holy communion of the convent to the glittering pomp and obsequious homage of servile parasites that characterized life about the royal court. In the company of such a man Columbus found congenial companionship as well as a warm welcome, for the good bishop lent an eager ear to explanations of his theories and an unfolding of his plans, pregnant as they were with mighty possibilities for the advancement of both Church and State.

In all the long discussions between Columbus and the prior of La Rabida there was unanimity of opinion respecting the shape of the earth, and the probability of reaching countries of the far east by sailing westward ; but the means for demonstrating this belief doubtless became a subject of dispute. That the Spanish sovereigns would extend the necessary aid was problematic, considering the condition of the country at that time, when the energies and hopes of both Ferdinand and Isabella were directed in channels leading away from all commercial enterprises.

In the Middle Ages next to sovereign power was feudal wealth and influence, and everywhere in Spain picturesque sites were adorned with castles defended by moats, and walls, and brazen gates, the homes of rich barons, noble dukes and successful robbers. These lordly representatives of feudal timocracy kept bands of armed servitors to protect them from invaders of their own kind, and even maintained fleets for carrying products to other ports, and sometimes to engage in adventures for spoliation on the high

seas. Among the most celebrated of these lords, at the time of Columbus' visit to Spain, was the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who was one of the most illustrious nobles of Europe. His castle was as well fortified and as impregnable as Gibraltar; his wealth was equal to that of a kingdom, and the splendor of his court and equipage rivaled that of Cæsar. So enormous were his riches that more than once was his King a borrower from his bounty, and a hundred war vessels, manned by his vassals, was his contribution to Ferdinand in his war against the Moors. To this great duke did La Rabida's prior refer his guest in a letter of warm commendation, and with this influential introduction Columbus made a journey to the battlemented castle, full of hope, perhaps joyfully sanguine of the result. But disappointment followed his every footstep, to confront him in the splendid halls of the rich and powerful lord. At first, excited by the boldness of his visitor's proposals, and captivated by the eloquence and force of his reasoning, which seemed to force conviction upon his willing ears, the duke was prompted to extend the aid desired, until reflecting that his sovereigns might object to such an enterprise being undertaken as a private project, he finally dismissed the subject from his mind, leaving Columbus no other resource than to return to the cloisters, where alone he had found encouragement and help.

By the solicitation of the generous prelate Columbus was afterwards induced to make his proposals to the Duke of Medina Celi, who was also a rich and powerful noble, somewhat famed for hospitality, but his appeals met with such decided refusal that, mortified by rejections of his requests, and completely discouraged by his unfavorable reception at the hands of those who were most able to help him, Columbus resolved to quit Spain and repair to the Court of France, the throne of which was then occupied by Anne,

wife of Peter II., who ruled as regent of Charles VIII. during his minority.

France appeared to Columbus as presenting an inviting field for the advancement of his mighty enterprise. Under Louis XI. she had made marvelous advances, for he had crushed out feudalism and substituted autocracy for anarchy; at the same time, while centralizing his government, he gave every possible encouragement to commerce and industry. Besides this directive spirit of higher civilization Louis bestowed great favors upon the universities, and had enlarged the borders of France to almost their present dimensions, and on his deathbed, in 1483, begged that the policy of his administration be continued by his successor.

Charles VIII. was only thirteen years of age when his father died, and was poorly fitted both by youth and training to assume the duties of an active ruler; so that Anne, his aunt, Duchess of Bourbon and sister of Louis XI., was declared regent, and for nine years acted, by the King's last instructions, as guardian of Charles. So prudently did she manage the government that she destroyed the last vestige of feudalism, asserted the power of France against Brittany, practically placed Henry of Richmond on the throne of England, and by other brilliant successes received the title "Madame la Grande." Her army was the largest in Europe, her treasure the richest, and her ambition for the glory of her country the greatest; the circumstances and conditions, therefore, seemed to particularly favor Columbus in France, and his resolution to appeal to that court was for a while so firmly fixed that all the persuasive powers of Father Juan's eloquence were scarcely sufficient to divert him from this purpose.

Several years had passed between the time that Columbus first appeared before the hospitable door of the La Rabida

Convent, and when he returned dejected, careworn and covered with the dust of travel from his unsuccessful visit to the Duke of Medina Celi; but he was not discouraged, for there was still in him a feeling of inspiration which urged him on like a good angel guardian, by reminders of how others had suffered before gaining the great end of their beneficent missions.

Scarcely was his hunger satisfied at the generous board of the convent when Columbus unfolded his plans to the bishop of presenting his proposals to the French Court, and recited his reasons for expecting a favorable response. To these Father Juan opposed all his influence, and eloquently pleaded with his guest to reserve his intent until other chances for giving the glory of his discoveries to Spain were tried. Thus persuading Columbus to remain for a while at the convent, Father Juan summoned a learned physician of Palos, named Garcia Hernandez, who promptly responded and added his inducements and encouragements to those of the Franciscan Father. Several other influential persons of Palos directly appeared at the convent and joined their efforts with those of Hernandez and the prelate in devising means for gaining the attention of the Spanish sovereigns and securing their assistance in promoting the project of Columbus.

The result of the long and frequent consultations at the Convent of La Rabida was not without substantial, though not immediate, benefits. When the time for his departure from the monastery was at hand Columbus received from Father Juan a sum of money and a cordial letter of earnest recommendation addressed to the Prior of Prado, Ferdinand de Talavera, who was then confessor to Ferdinand and Isabella, whose mediation it was believed would give him a favorable reception at court. Not being in a condition to properly provide for his son, Columbus left Diego in charge

of the charitable Franciscans, who generously clothed, fed and educated him for a number of years.

Columbus set out hopefully for Cordova, and arriving at the court confidently presented his letter, but instead of meeting a cordial reception the prior haughtily, even disdainfully, scrutinized him, nor would even give ear to his representations.

At the time of Columbus' visit to Cordova the Moors, who once held dominion over the entire Iberian peninsula, had now been driven by the victorious Spanish to make their refuge in Granada, about the borders of which an exultant army was eagerly pressing. The city of Cordova was therefore the center of military activity ; trumpets filled the air with their blaring notes, companies of cavaliers rode through the streets full armored, and all the chivalry of Spain was in uniform.

It may with justice be admitted that destiny looked with favor on Columbus in recommending him to such a personage as the Queen of Castile. Isabella was now in the prime of womanhood, being in her thirty-fifth year. As a woman she was beautiful, the effect of which was increased by a dignity and grace that became her as a sovereign. Her temper was amiable, her judgment prudent, and as a wife she subordinated her royal prerogatives to love and duty, for her affection for Ferdinand was sincere. Though her rights as Queen of Castile and Leon were unabridged by marriage, she nevertheless diligently sought to assimilate her will and purpose with that of her husband, though she could not fail to perceive that of the united kingdom she was at once the light and glory.

Not less than the King was Isabella concerned in the nation's ambition to expel both Moors and Jews from Spain ; and her enthusiasm in this effort prompted her to spend much of her time in the Spanish camps, inspiring her

soldiers to deeds of valor. In summer the court was held at Cordova, but in winter the King and Queen repaired to their palace at Salamanca, at which palace Columbus was first able, after a delay of many months, to meet any of the dignitaries of the royal household. His first acquaintance of advantage was with Alonzo Quintanilla, comptroller of the treasury of Castile, who gave a patient audience to Columbus, and who became a valuable convert to his views. Through the comptroller Columbus was introduced to Antonio Geraldini, ambassador of the Pope, and to Alexander, his brother, instructor to the princes and princesses, both of whom became deeply impressed with his theories, and lent him their heartiest encouragements.

Though Columbus had made progress in the diffusion of his plans, and won over to his project the sympathies of many distinguished persons in Spain, whose influence with the sovereigns was pronounced, opportunity for presenting his application to either the King or Queen was still wanting. In the meantime the money charitably given by Father Juan was expended, and pressing want gave him no other alternative than a return to his profession of cartographer for a living. In the year which had now elapsed in persistent effort to gain the attention of the court the mind of Columbus was diverted by a love episode, which proved that amid all his deep concerns his heart was not so absorbed with ambitions for glory but that it was still susceptible to the influence of a woman's eyes and blandishments. In Cordova there were many beautiful señoritas; in fact, the city was famed for the comeliness of its ladies; fair graces that wore the smiles of Venus, the form of Diana, and the ravishments of Helen. To one of these, Doña Beatriz Enriquez, Columbus surrendered, and lived with her for many years, but whether this union was consecrated by hymeneal bonds is a question which historians have

vainly debated: but true it is, that when, in 1487, this lady bore him a son, Columbus not only acknowledged its paternity, but had the child christened Fernando and bestowed upon him ever afterwards the same marks of legitimacy that he did upon his other son, Diego. Indeed, Fernando filled a larger part of his father's life than did Diego, as he was intrusted with the most important concerns and became his father's biographer, transmitting to all ages the story of Columbus, his defeats and triumphs, and at the last hour was by his bedside to receive his blessing and to close his eyes for that final rest which he had won by the most distinguished services, but which had been least requited.

After years of waiting, years of disappointment, years of alternating encouragements and humiliations, it fell to the good fortune of Columbus at last to meet, through the courtesy of Quintanilla, the great Archbishop of Toledo, Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, whose influence at the Spanish court was ascendant, in so much that he was principal counselor of the King and Queen in all matters concerning either peace or war. In some respects he resembled the most distinguished of French cardinals, Richelieu, for he was at once soldier and statesman, and, being dignified with age, his manners were also chivalrous and captivating. The first audience which Columbus had with this great ecclesiastic was not entirely satisfactory, as a proposal of his scheme brought upon Columbus the archbishop's suspicion that the theories submitted contravened the doctrines of the Church, and that an assertion of the earth's sphericity was rank heresy. But he was not so bigoted as to be wholly obdurate, or impervious to reason, and before the eloquence of Columbus, pleading his ambition to spread the gospel of Christ among heathens of unknown lands, he was compelled to manifest the greatest interest. We may well im-

agine the zeal of the adventurer in this, one of the many supreme hours in his career. He must have appeared to the sedate cardinal as one inspired, whose intelligence could not fail to apprehend the cogency of the argument, and the sincerity of the advocate. Glimpses also of the magnificent prospect held forth and lighted by the torch of Columbus' imagination were caught by the venerable Mendoza, and he yielded to the appeal in so far as to promise that he would procure for Columbus a hearing before the Queen.

In fulfillment of his agreement the archbishop did introduce Columbus at court, but instead of meeting Isabella he was ushered into the presence of Ferdinand, whose cold, cynical nature was not improved by lack of decision, and an illiberality that bordered on penuriousness. It must also be remembered that an audience with majesty is an ordeal through which one may pass only by an exhibition of mingled courage and humility—the courtliness of a knight combined with the awe of a peasant. But notwithstanding these disquieting conditions, which might render the most resolute nervous and misgiving, Columbus, as if encouraged by some occult power, in proof of his claim to have been sent of Heaven to perform a wondrous work, poured into the King's ears matchless arguments in support of his theory, and pictured in words of extraordinary zeal and confidence the kingdoms which must lie beyond the line where the horizon kisses the expanding sea.

In one particular the interest of Ferdinand was aroused. The recital of Columbus had covered his experience at the court of the King of Portugal, and Spain was at enmity with Portugal, which rendered Ferdinand sensible to any plan which promised to embarrass John. Therefore, in so far as the prospect of advantage was opened by the proposals of Columbus, the Spanish monarch was willing to extend his assistance, if by so doing he might anticipate the Portu-

guese in reaching India by a western route. But over this selfish incentive the coldness and parsimony of his disposition prevailed; but instead of dismissing Columbus, he withheld final decision until opinions of the learned men of the kingdom, as to the feasibility of the project, could be obtained.

In pursuance of the expressed intentions of Ferdinand he appointed a commission of several learned men of Spain to consider the theory and proposals of Columbus, at the head of which was placed Ferdinand de Talavera, whose chilling reception, as already described, gave small hopes to Columbus of a favorable determination; Rodrigo Maldonado de Talavera, Mayor of Salamanca, and a cousin of the archbishop, was appointed secretary of the congress, who shared with his distinguished kinsman the bigotry and prejudice which he had evinced at the first meeting with Columbus.

The congress which Ferdinand thus called together convened at Salamanca, which was the seat of all Spanish learning, but still distinctly medieval and intensely ecclesiastical. The chairs of its great university were occupied by the most learned scholastics of Europe, and on its registry were sometimes enrolled more than eight thousand students. But Church influence dominated everything in Spain; the professorships were held by priest, bishop or cardinal, so that all instruction was poured through the sieve of ecclesiasticism, and only that which could pass through the meshes was accepted as true. Thus we perceive that in the time of Columbus both the intellectual and moral life of Spain was subordinated to the purposes of the Church. So supreme was prelacy that not even Ferdinand and Isabella could free themselves from the thralldom which it had imposed. This being the intellectual condition of the nation, the professors of its greatest university were ill-prepared for original investigation, and the Junta which had been

assembled was not more advanced in thought, nor liberal in their views, than the mass of the religious monitors of that age, who took scrupulous care that science should not invade the precincts of the Church. To pass the established bourne, to trench upon unexplored realms, to venture a scientific explanation of the simplest phenomenon of nature, was to startle and shock the whole conservatism of ecclesiasticism.

The assembling place of the congress was the Dominican Convent of St. Stephen, and the time very early in January, 1487, but the members of the commission cannot be determined, as the records were long since destroyed, if, indeed, they were ever preserved. When Columbus was called to present his arguments before this learned body of scholastics, he surely could not extract inspiration from the promises which their every aspect revealed.

But notwithstanding all the discouragements which confronted him, Columbus arose before his critics in the large conference hall of St. Stephen, firm, determined, statuesque. The occasion had arrived when his supremest nature must be exhibited ; when all the powers of his mental endowments must be brought into display ; when diffidence and doubt must give way to pluck and persistence ; when courage and confidence must be harnessed by the will to ride through the ranks of prejudice and all opposing environment. With this undaunted spirit Columbus addressed the bearded Junta. At first only the Dominican friars, composing a part of the audience, gave him respectful attention, but as he progressed his zeal grew vehement and words of startling import fell in streams of eloquence from his lips. Gradually he began to make an impression, favorable upon the least bigoted, but antagonistic to the greater number, and these latter flung at him, by way of interruption, puerile objections to his theories, opposing, with weak derision, the

evidences presented of a world beyond the gloomy ocean. The Scriptures—as they have been used alike to defend and impeach in every great moral question that has arisen to divide society—were appealed to in disproof of the claims of the Genoese navigator. Texts were quoted by the dignitaries, each smiling, after the manner of his kind, to think how the upstart philosopher was brought to bay by the leveling stroke of authority. The Book of Genesis served the opposition, while others quoted the Psalms and the prophecies and the New Testament writings as conclusive evidence of the falsity of Columbus' conclusions. But these being controverted, the Junta, who were also Church Fathers, introduced opinions of St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Gregory, St. Basil and St. Ambrose in proof of the flat shape of the earth, and that circumnavigation was therefore impossible. Lactantius Firmianus, who wrote in the fourth century, was also appealed to, whose opinion that the earth is a plane was piously and elaborately set forth in a work which he entitled *De Falsa Sapientia*—an insight into deceptive things.

Columbus confidently quoted, in support of his theory of the earth's sphericity, such classical authorities as Pliny, Strabo, Seneca and Aristotle, and also read many passages from the Bible which appeared to refer to other lands than those then known. And thus was the conference turned into a commission of disputation, which resulted, as it had begun, in a division of opinion respecting the earth's shape. Some there were, chiefly the Dominican monks, who believed the world to be globular in form, but these opposed the claims of Columbus, that India might be reached by a voyage westward, by declaring that the very fact of the earth's rotundity would prevent the possibility of a ship's returning if it ventured beyond the equatorial line ; for, said they, the globe being spherical, must fall away in all direc-

tions. How, therefore, they argued, could one who had sailed beyond the rim, down the convexity of the world, be able to sail back up the slope, which must be like ascending a hill? Terrestrial gravitation was not known at this time even by Columbus, so he could only offer a refutation of this argument by reciting his own experience in a voyage along the coast of Guinea, below the equator, where he observed nothing to prevent a ship from sailing north or south.

But while some of the assemblage were converted to his views, notably friar Diego de Deza, professor of theology, Columbus was vehemently opposed by an overwhelming majority of the council, who submitted their report in writing to the King and Queen, declaring that the project was "vain and impossible, and that it did not belong to the majesty of such great princes to determine anything upon such weak grounds of information."

While the commission was resolving the evidence, and before a verdict had been reached, the Spanish Court left Salamanca, first proceeding to Cordova and thence to the seat of war in Granada, leaving Columbus waiting for the judgment of the conference, which, however, he believed would be unfavorable. Upon announcement of the report Columbus was much distressed, but his discouragement was directly relieved by a message from the sovereigns, who in a few words gave intimation that, regardless of the finding of the congress, they were not disposed to wholly abandon the project, and might give him necessary aid when the war, in which they were now engaged, terminated.

With this small encouragement upon which to hang his hopes, Columbus followed the King and Queen, first to the siege of Malaga, where he was a witness to the surrender of that stronghold, and thence, owing to a plague breaking out in the captured city, to Saragossa, Valladolid, and to

Medina del Campo. But heart-sick at length, through want of opportunity to press his project upon the Spanish sovereigns, he resolved to turn his attention towards some other country. Under the pressure of want and disappointment he even so far forgot the indignity put upon him by the Court of Portugal that he wrote to John II. asking of that monarch if he was still willing to promote his scheme of discovery. A prompt reply was returned, in which John addressed him as "dear and particular friend," and invited him to court, promising to protect him against any suits, civil or criminal, that might have been instituted against him. There is in this cordial letter of invitation and assurance an intimation that Columbus had been guilty of some criminal act during his residence in Lisbon, but if so neither history nor tradition has preserved to us the offense.

Almost directly upon the receipt of the letter from King John there came to Columbus a communication from Henry VII. of England, requesting him to come to that country under agreement to give him encouragement and support. Columbus might have accepted one of these two kindly proffers but for the persuasions of Ferdinand de Talavera, who had been appointed Archbishop of Avila, and, though a strong opponent to Columbus, was instructed by Isabella to temporize with him so as to prevent his departure from Spain until she could familiarize herself more perfectly with his theories and proposals. The new motives which the adroit archbishop held out induced Columbus to exercise his patience a while longer, and continuing with the court he saw the investment and final capture of the city of Baza, and the surrender of Muley Boabdil, one of the Moorish kings of Granada. Another year was thus spent, and when at length he demanded, through Talavera, a decisive reply to his request as to what the King and Queen would do with his proposals, the same answer was returned, that the

Spanish treasury was not in a condition to give assistance to his enterprise.

Columbus was fairly overwhelmed by this disappointment, and first acquainting the archbishop with his intentions, he quitted Seville, thence went to Cordova, and from that city set out for the convent of La Rabida. In the meantime, by direction of the Queen, another committee of scholars was appointed in Seville to investigate and report upon the feasibility of his schemes, which, after a brief sitting, confirmed the conclusions of the Salamanca Congress, thus seemingly destroying the last hope he entertained of assistance from the Spanish sovereigns.

CHAPTER IV.

DESPONDENT, forlorn, weary, and withal indignant, the sorrow-crowned navigator bent his footsteps towards the one asylum whose door stood open to give him a joyous welcome, and extend such comforts as he had not found in the splendid but cheerless courts of kingly palaces, or baronial halls. If the Church in her blindness branded him as an unworthy adventurer, it was no less the Church that greeted his return from a barren mission, and assuaged his melancholy with regalement of hospitable consolation.

The purpose of Columbus in returning to La Rabida monastery was no doubt to take leave of, or to provide for the future maintenance of his son Diego; but his reception was so cordial that he was persuaded by Prior Juan to remain awhile and recruit his energies and spirits, which had been nearly expended in his long and futile quest of aid at the Spanish Court. The devoted Father, Juan Perez, not only administered to his physical requirements, but infused Columbus with courage to bear with resignation the slights and disappointments which now weighed so heavily upon him. The Palos physician, Garcia Hernandez, whose scientific attainments made his opinions particularly valuable, came to the monastery with greater frequency now and added his influence to that of the prior towards inducing Columbus to renew his efforts with the Spanish Court, provided with further recommendations which they would endeavor to supply. But it was decided to await the result of the field operations before Granada, which promised a decisive victory for the Spanish arms.

When at length the time appeared auspicious, the Father Superior, whose former confessionary relation to the Queen justified him in making a personal appeal for consideration, wrote a lengthy letter to Isabella, commending the project of Columbus as one of extraordinary importance, worthy of her majesty's patronage, and as one promising the mightiest results, alike beneficial to the nation, to the world, and to the glory of God. But appreciating the enmity, and above all the bigoted prejudice, of the Court's counselors, instead of transmitting this letter through a church functionary, who might prejudice its effect, he confided his communication to Sebastian Rodriquez, who was not only a noted pilot, but a man of polished address and with some experience in court etiquette. This devoted messenger lost no time in making the journey by mule to the camp near Granada, where he delivered the letter directly into the hands of Isabella, and received the thanks of the Queen for his service. While the proposals of Columbus had been presented to Ferdinand, and by him twice referred to a college of scholastics for investigation, the letter from Father Juan was the first direct appeal to Isabella, and subsequent events proved that to this fact it is not unreasonable to attribute the disappointments and delays which Columbus had for more than seven years suffered.

So captivated was the Queen by the prospects glowingly pictured by Father Juan, that she sent Rodriquez back to the convent of La Rabida with an invitation to the prior to visit her at the camp for a personal conference on the subject of his letter.

We may imagine the joy with which Columbus and his good friend received the invitation and report brought to them by the pilot messenger, in which there appeared hopeful signs of an early consummation of their ambition.

In the hurry to respond to the Queen's request, Father

Juan borrowed a mule from his friend Jean Rodriquez Cabezuda and set off at midnight, through midwinter's snow and bitter cold, for the new city of Santa Fé, ten miles from Granada, which was one hundred and fifty miles from Palos, where the sovereigns now had their court. He made the journey in safety, though the route was infested by marauders and Moors, and though fatigued by the exertion, yet so anxiously was his mind possessed with the mighty scheme of Columbus, that without waiting for refreshment he immediately sought the Queen's presence. She received him with every manifestation of the tenderest regard, and to his eloquent pleadings gave the most encouraging audience and promises. At the conclusion of the interview she charged the enthusiastic father to bring Columbus to court, and that he might appear in more seemly garb than his impoverished condition had previously permitted, she gave the prior an order on a maritime broker in Palos for twenty thousand maravedis,* with which to provide Columbus with a mule, a suit of clothes and necessary traveling expenses.

Prompt to respond to the royal summons, for he was felicitated by the promise which the invitation implied, Columbus, with bounding heart, set out, through the vales and over the mountains of Andalusia, for the court of Santa Fé, where he arrived in due season to be a witness to the surrender of Granada, the last Moorish stronghold in Spain. What a wondrous scene was there presented, as the crescent banners, that had for nearly eight hundred years floated from the walls of the inconceivably beautiful Alhambra, were torn down and supplanted by the cross-

*The value of a maravedi is difficult now to fix. Webster defines it as a copper coin introduced into Spain by the Moors, and as having a value equal to about one-third of a cent, American money. De Lorgues, however, estimates the value at .018 cent; Helps, at .0154 cent, while others fix the value at from one-half to two cents.

bearing flags of Ferdinand and Isabella. This momentous event occurred on Friday, the 30th of December, 1491, and three days later, Boabdil el Chico, the Moorish King, bowed with subjection before their Catholic majesties and delivered to them the keys of the city.

The occasion was now one of such great national rejoicing that the Queen could not give Columbus a reception such as she had designed, but referred him as a guest to Alonzo de Quintanilla, his friend, who was Intendant-General of the finances. Four days later, or on the Feast of Kings, the two sovereigns made a picturesque processional entry into the far-famed city of the Moors, at the gate of which they were received by the archbishops of Granada and a numerous clergy, chanting hymns of thanksgiving.

The triumphal rejoicings were not yet concluded when Isabella sent a messenger summoning Columbus before her, thus illustrating the favor in which she estimated his schemes for exploration, and the decision she had made in her own mind to promote his purposes. The audience which followed was a brief one, for scarcely giving him time to explain his plans, the Queen told Columbus that she would accept his services and desired that he attend upon a meeting of her commissioners, over which Fernando de Talavera presided, to arrange the terms. The impoverished appearance of Columbus, the rebuffs which he had suffered, the long pleadings that had remained unanswered, might have been expected to render him anxious to accept any conditions, and being a foreigner, with nothing but his theories to commend him, which two congresses had pronounced visionary, the commission anticipated that he would gladly accept any terms, however illiberal. Imagine their surprise when he submitted, as his proposals, these stipulations: That for his services he should at once

be raised to the dignity of viceroy; that he should be appointed governor-general of all the lands, islands or continents he should discover; that he should be honored with the title of Grand Admiral of the Ocean; and that he should receive as a further reward a tenth part of all the profits that should accrue from results of his discoveries, the same to be continued in perpetuity to his descendants, and also that the dignities should be transmitted hereditarily to his family according to the laws of primogeniture.

When these imperious demands were received, the commissioners were not only shocked, but so indignant as to give expression to their feelings, characterizing such proposals as presumptuous in the extreme and insulting to the dignity and wisdom of their sovereigns. But Columbus was as inflexible in his demands now as he had been before the Portuguese Junta, and he stubbornly refused to relax his demeanor, or abate one tittle of the terms which he had submitted.

His insistence, hedging his agreements, was communicated to the Queen in a report recommending a rejection of his proposition, the committee reinforcing their conclusions by declaring that since the scheme had been twice before adjudged chimerical, its failure under national patronage would expose their majesties to the mockery and derision of all Europe.

The report of the commission carried the matter before the highest counselors of Ferdinand and Isabella, where it was fiercely debated, particularly by his opponents, who sneeringly insisted that, as an adventurer, Columbus showed great foresight, for whatever the outcome of his project, he would gain for himself titles which the nation could not well afford to bestow upon an obscure foreigner, and the honor of a distinguished position which had cost him no more than a bold and persistent effort to obtain. But

before these scoffers and traducers Columbus had one valourous and devoted defender, Alonzo de Quintanilla, who against these arguments interposed his opinion that the demands made by the great navigator were not exorbitant, considering the services that he was to render; for if he gave new kingdoms to Spain he was entitled to commensurate benefits, and if the conditions as submitted were taken as an indication of insincerity, he would undertake to promise that Columbus would provide one-eighth of the expenses for a like part of the advantages that would be gained by the proposed expedition.

The circumstances under which Quintanilla was able to make this proposition are not exactly clear. By some it is maintained that the offer was made upon his own responsibility, growing out of a determination to advance such a part of the expenses from his own private funds in case the proposal met the sovereigns' approbation. But by a majority of the Columbian biographers it is asserted that the proposal was made in pursuance of promises given by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, a rich ship owner of Palos, who held frequent interviews with Columbus at the monastery of La Rabida, and who became an enthusiastic convert and promoter of his scheme.

But for the time the persuasion of Ferdinand de Talavera prevailed, for as Ferdinand expressed unqualified aversion to the proposal, Isabella was brought to conclude that the terms were too illiberal, and therefore with much reluctance she abandoned the negotiations.

This conclusion was the severest blow that Columbus had yet received. His strong imagination and hopeful disposition had filled his days and nights with wondrous visions; already he felt himself the discoverer of inconceivably rich kingdoms, over which he was ruler with princely authority; and from the opulent revenues derived therefrom he fore-

saw himself able to gratify his one great central ambition, to equip and lead a vast army against the infidels of the Holy Land, from whom he would wrest the sacred sepulcher, and plant the cross of Christ in every vantage place of the world. A sudden awakening from this blissful dream to the melancholy reality of his true condition; a wanderer upon the earth, carrying his beneficent scheme in his heart, like a peddler weighted down with a pack of merchandise seeking a purchaser, fairly broke his spirit, strong as it was, and left him to gloomy reflection on the unappreciativeness of those in whose hands reposed the power to advance the cause of Christianity and promote the welfare of humanity.

With soul bursting with disappointment, Columbus turned away from Granada, and set out on his mule for Cordova, his mind resolved on taking an affectionate leave of his wife, and then quitting Spain for France or England, whither the small hope left seemed to lead him. Scarcely had he taken his departure, possibly before, when Luiz de Santangel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Aragon, hastily sought the Queen, and with irresistible eloquence pleaded with her to recall Columbus, and not to permit, through ill consideration and unworthy influence, the opportunity which he had offered her to magnify her glory to go by unimproved, to the immeasurable gain of some other nation, which, with acute foresight, would be certain to accept his proposals. While Santangel was thus beseeching the Queen, Quintanilla suddenly and with great anxiety, bent as he was upon an identical mission, appeared before Isabella and added his persuasions in no less ardent speech. The effort was beneficently successful. Rising to the occasion, as if God had miraculously influenced her to prompt and decisive action, she declared that she would undertake the mighty enterprise for the glory of the crown

of Castile, and a moment later she dispatched an officer of the guards, commanding him to make all possible haste to overtake Columbus and summon him back to court. Talavera had represented to her that the royal finances were too nearly exhausted to undertake such an enterprise at that time, even though the promise of success was flattering; but the Queen, fired now with the same zeal that had inspired her two enthusiastic counselors, declared that if necessary she would pledge her jewels for the funds required to equip the expedition. Santangel, however, assured her this would not be necessary, as he was prepared to advance the money needed out of the revenues of which he had charge, feeling certain that he could obtain the King's authorization for the loan. Thus it was that the acceptance of Columbus' proposals were brought about at a time when he had abandoned all hope of aid from the Spanish crown.

The messenger overtook Columbus about six miles from Granada, just as he had passed over the bridge of Pinos, a place celebrated by more than one desperate and bloody encounter between Christians and Moors, that served to make it almost sacred in the annals of Spanish history. So frequent had been his disappointments, and so distrustful was he of the motives of sovereigns, of which he had been many times the victim, that Columbus hesitated about obeying the summons, until persuasion overcame his first promptings and he returned, though not without misgivings. Scarcely had he gained the outskirts of Granada, however, when his doubts were dispelled by the friends who came out to receive him, and the magnificent reception accorded him by the Queen, who was now anxious to make some amends for the chilling conduct of the court towards him during the seven painful years that he had been an applicant for its helpful recognition.

Queen Isabella, holding in her exclusive right the crowns

of Leon and Castile, henceforth became the patron of that great enterprise which gave to the world a new continent; and the measure of its magnitude now unfolding itself to her mind, she accorded to Columbus that deference which confident belief in his success appeared to her to warrant. But Ferdinand, who held the crown of Aragon only, continued both doubtful and suspicious, and withheld his sanction, even exacting a return of any moneys advanced out of the treasury of Aragon in aid of the scheme, and only gave his signature to acts of the Queen through her intercession, not as a voluntary performance signifying his approval.

The articles of agreement and letters-patent conferring titles and privileges were signed on the 17th day of April, 1492, but it was not until a month later that Columbus took leave of the Queen and started for Palos, which port had been determined upon as the embarking place of the expedition. In this interval there were daily conferences between Columbus and his royal patroness, arranging the preliminaries and issuing orders, providing for the equipment of the vessels. On the eighth of May, as a special mark of her favor, the Queen appointed Diego, the eldest son of Columbus, who had lived at the monastery of La Rabida for seven years, to the position of page to the Prince Royal, with a pension of what was equal to about \$150 annually.

Columbus left Granada on the 12th of May and proceeded to Cordova, where he took leave of his wife, and then posted to Palos with all the necessary orders, among which was one that required that municipality to furnish two caravels, armed and equipped, and to place the same at the disposal of Columbus within ten days. His arrival at that city was greeted by Father Juan with great joy, who continued to the end to encourage his enterprise and to promote his comfort.

When it was learned that the schemes and theories of

Columbus were about to be put into execution, and that their demonstration was to be attempted by a voyage into the vast unknown, the people of Palos were seized with a panic of unconquerable fear. From this port not only were the ships to sail, but it soon became known that there would be an impressment of sailors to make up the complements of the vessels, for few would volunteer their services for what was regarded as the most desperate enterprise ever conceived by foolhardy man. We smile at the fear of these simple people behind the setting sun of the nineteenth century, but in the darkness of ignorance that shrouded the Middle Ages we can find more than enough to excuse the bravest hearts for quailing before the terrors with which story, legend and imagination had invested the realm of the boundless sea.

Science was but a puling infant, and the small knowledge that the world possessed of physics and chemistry was born of the alembic by accident, with the hated Arab as its procreator. Thus science was regarded as the offspring of Satan, a hellish thing to be abhorred by godly men; a malevolent product of fiend and erinnys, the development of which was viewed with deadly alarm. The compass was scarcely yet become a guide to mariners over the trackless seas, and the horoscope was more potential with superstitious minds of the time than all the philosophy of cosmographer, sage or scientist. In fact, cosmography helped to create and spread belief in the existence of frightful things peopling the stygian world of the sea. Beyond the flaming gates of the west, where the sun sank down in his billowy bed, there were whirlpools in which Leviathan sported, and there stood as sentinels over the ocean's vast domain monsters more hideous in aspect, more appalling in size, than the dragon that guarded the marriage apples of Juno. On the charts of some cosmographers there was a representation of

the sea, *Mare Tenebrosum*, around which were reputed to live, in a wanton exuberance of horrific terrorism, such conceptions of a fearful imagination as griffins, hippocentaurs, gorgons, goblins, hippogriffs, krakens, sea-serpents, unicorns, sagittaries, minotaurs, chimeras, hydras, and other prodigies of nature run riot with monstrosity.

But more direful, ghastly, terrifying than all these was the Arabic conception of the fearful dangers that beset the gloomy ocean. Before this tropical imagination arose the gnarled, horrent, portentous hand of Satan, out of a tenebrious waste of boundless waters, with hooked claws, blood-thirsty maw, and purpose damning, to grasp any luckless ship that might venture within his infernal dominion. And this belief spread quickly among all maritime peoples, until pagan and Christian alike possessed it. To these conceits others were added, being importations from countries of the farther east, brought back by such travelers as Mandeville and Polo, and received with confidence to swell the fears of humanity. These pictured the air filled with demons, clouds charged with furies, and islands haunted with wraiths, who, holding the elements within their control, could at will lash the sea into madness, provoke the wind into hurricane, arouse the lightnings of heaven into wrath, and launch all these infuriate powers against vessel and crew, overwhelming with a destruction dolorific, tragical and harrowing, every venturer within these forbidding realms. From these calamitous fears may not be omitted other beliefs no less terrorizing. The sages of Salamanca voiced only the prevailing opinion of all Christendom when, in opposing the plans of Columbus, they contended that even if the earth were round yet there could be no life at the antipodes; that along the equator was a wall of heat so fiery as to be all-consuming, a very hell of flame as unquenchable as the sun; while beyond lay a sloping plain over which was

carried every movable thing towards changeless fields of ice that gathered into mountain peak around the southern pole.

Considering these general alarms, there is no surprise in the fact that when Columbus arrived at Palos, with orders from Isabella to impress vessels and sailors for his expedition into unknown seas, he found both ship-owners and seamen seized with consternation, and not a single caravel in the harbor that was available for his service. They had attempted to avoid the requisition by disappearing from the port. This condition of affairs caused additional delay, and being reported to the Queen she sent an officer of the royal guards to exact a penalty of two hundred maravedis (nearly \$3.00) a day upon every ship-owner who should delay or refuse to execute the orders of Columbus. At the same time she issued a permit authorizing him to seize any sailor who might be found on the Spanish coast and compel his services. But neither of these orders was effectual in facilitating preparations for the voyage, nor was any substantial progress made until extremity prompted the officer of the royal guards to forcibly take possession of a caravel called the *Pinta*, the property of two citizens of Palos, named Roscon and Quinten. These two owners became violent in their abuse of Columbus, and the entire town seemed to be upon the point of an uprising. In this disturbed condition of the populace, which threatened serious consequences, Father Juan appeared and exerted his influence to change the critical situation into one favoring the schemes of Columbus. A man universally loved for his amiability and charity, his opinions were equally respected because of his learning and piety. He strove to dispel the fears of the sailors by decrying the baseless superstitions of the age, and by appealing to their courage in the name of the Church, which now called for their services. He promised them God's

blessings in the great work which foreshadowed the extension of Christianity among heathen people, and declared that they should account themselves as elected by God for the enlargement of His kingdom. After prevailing with sailors, the noble father sought ship-owners and used his persuasion to induce them to fulfill the orders of the Queen. Among these whom he best knew in Palos were three brothers named Pinzon—Martin Alonzo, Francis Martin, and Vincent Yanez,—and to these he applied his exhortations to lend Columbus such vessels as would serve his need. The eldest of these, Martin Alonzo, had, as many biographers agree, been introduced to Columbus during his long stay at the monastery of La Rabida, and manifested such interest in his project as to acknowledge belief in his theory and to give a conditional promise of assistance. Now, when Father Juan brought the Columbian plans, so well formulated and promoted by the Queen, before the elder Pinzon, that experienced navigator promptly offered his aid, not only as a mariner, but in converting opinion from the prejudices that seriously threatened, even at this juncture, the success of the enterprise. Through Pinzon, the Pope (Innocent VIII.) was even brought to give his approbation to the scheme, and thus the Church, that at first opposed the enterprise, through the Spanish ecclesiastics, became a supporter of Columbus, though only by friendly encouragement. Martin next secured the co-operation of his two younger brothers, and the three presently signed an agreement with Columbus under which they were to provide another vessel, the *Niña*, and to take service in the expedition, whilst the youngest advanced one-eighth of the expenses, though under circumstances not exactly known.

The Pinzons were wealthy ship-chandlers in Palos, and their position gave them great influence, especially among seamen; and through their exertions the city was at length

induced to appropriate a third vessel, which bore the name of *Gallega*. She was classed as a carack, a large ship such as the Portuguese afterwards used in their trade with India. She was old, and otherwise unfit for the service, but in the scarcity of ships, and the difficulties that had already long delayed Columbus, he did not hesitate to accept her; but as a propitiation to God, and to place the vessel under His special protection, he changed the name, in honor of the Blessed Virgin, to *Santa Maria* (*Saint Mary*), and made her the flagship of his little squadron.

The Pinzons gave their personal attention to the details of the equipment, but it was not until the end of July that crews were obtained and the ships made ready for departure on the long and perilous cruise. The expedition was composed of two caravels, *Pinta*, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon; the *Niña*, in charge of Vincent Yanez Pinzon; and the carack, *Santa Maria*, upon which Columbus embarked as admiral. It has long been a general belief that these were very small and unserviceable vessels hastily put to sea and with imperfect equipment. So far from this being true, the three vessels were among the largest that sailed the Mediterranean or visited the Canaries; and while no doubt ill-appointed when they came into the hands of the Pinzons, these navigators were too prudent and experienced to venture on so long a voyage without first putting their ships in the most thorough condition. The vessels were also well provisioned for a year's voyage and supplied with the most effective fire-arms of that period, but the working crews were composed of a riff-raff of criminals and adventurers, anything but promising, though over these most experienced and influential officers were appointed.

The records are sadly incomplete, but from what has been preserved we are able to obtain a good idea of the composition of the fleet, though the exact number of men that

completed the force is not known. On the *Santa Maria* there sailed a nephew, by marriage, of Columbus, whose name was Diego de Arana ; also Pedro Guttierrez, keeper of the stores ; and Rodrigo Sanchez de Segovic, controller of the armament ; Rodrigo de Escovedo, register of the proceedings, or royal notary ; Bernardin de Tapia, historiographer ; Pedro Alonzo Niño, first pilot ; Barthelemy Roland, Fernand Perez Matheos, and Sancho Ruiz, respectively second pilot, mate and boatswain ; Ruy Fernandez and Juan de la Cosa, sub-officers, filling various positions ; Luiz de Torrez, a Christianized Jew, held the post of interpreter, for which his knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Coptic and Armenian well qualified him. Juan Castillo, a gold and silver smith, from Seville, was the official mineralogist, but his appointment to that position was unfortunate, because he knew little or nothing about metals except in their refined state. There were also two surgeons, called Alonzo and Juan, their surnames never having been recorded in the proceedings certified to by the royal notary. Among the crew was an Englishman who passed under the patronymic of Tallerte de Lajes, which is not translatable, because it is a double family name, thus leaving the suspicion that he had adopted it to conceal his identity ; there was also an Irishman, called Guilleimia Ires, or in English, Billy Rice ; two Portuguese, and one native of the Balearic Islands—in all sixty-six persons, not a single one of whom, however, was from Palos.

On the other hand, the crew of the *Pinta*, numbering thirty men, were, with a single exception, viz., Juan Rodriguez Bermejo, all from Palos, those whose names have been preserved being Francis Martin Pinzon, brother of Martin Alonzo, the captain ; his cousin, Juan de Ungria, Cristobal Garcia ; Garcia Hernandez, the celebrated physician and his nephew, of the same name, who served him as secre-

tary. In addition to the crew there were several passengers, who accompanied the expedition as adventurers, or as representatives of commercial houses anxious to extend their trade with the rich country of Cathay.

The *Niña*, being the smallest of the three vessels, had a crew of twenty four men, besides as many more passengers, who were willing to brave the dangers to earn the great rewards which they thought would be reaped in case the voyage proved successful. And it may be truthfully declared that every one who accompanied the expedition confidently believed he would find a country where gold abounded in such quantities that ships might be loaded with the precious metal, and thus each would return enriched almost beyond the power to compute. This idea was therefore the dominant ambition among all who ventured upon the voyage, save alone that Columbus expected to win honors more durable than wealth, though his, too, was an inspiration for the acquisition of great treasures as well.

CHAPTER V.

FROM sorrowing friends on shore Columbus and his followers took their departure amid bestowal of blessings, waving of adieus, and cries that proclaimed the fear they would meet them nevermore, while Father Juan and Garcia Hernandez watched from the convent window with anxious solicitude and prayerful hearts the fading sails that bore away their friends toward a new world.

And what a day on which to begin such a dangerous voyage! Among all peoples of Christendom, and particularly among sailors, Friday has always been regarded as a day of evil, and for ages has the superstition survived that nothing begun on that day can succeed, save it be the hanging of a man; and so murderer's day is hangman's day. And yet Columbus chose it, believing that instead of the day being accursed, it had been blessed by holy sacrifice; by the crucifixion that brought redemption; by Godfrey de Bouillon's victory, that delivered the Holy Sepulcher; by the recovery of Granada from Islamism, and the redemption of Spain from the profaners of Christianity. So, at the early hour of three o'clock on the morning of August 3d, 1492, the Columbian fleet raised anchor, and under a favoring breeze moved majestically out of the harbor, through the mouth of the Odiel River, and soon the chiming bells from Huelva's steeple, fainter and fainter growing, were lost on the ears of the sailors.

A sailing chart for the expedition had been prepared by the Admiral himself after Toscanelli's map, which repre-

sented the kingdom of Zipangu as occupying the position of Florida. This error arose from the estimate of a degree of longitude, which, as previously explained, made the world of nearly all the cosmographers of the Middle Ages about one-third less than its actual size.

The route, as marked out, lay by the way of the Canary Islands, thence with a southwestward swoop directly west, and over this way the fleet passed more than a thousand miles further to find land, than if the voyage had been made due west from Palos.

In the beginning the weather and wind were auspicious, but these favoring conditions, instead of inducing encouragement, operated adversely upon the minds of the sailors, whose uneasiness grew greater as the distance from their country increased. Towards the end of the third day out discovery was made that the steering gear of the *Pinta* was disabled, and examination disclosed the fact that the owners from whom the vessel had been impressed had maliciously fixed the rudder so that it would break under force of the waves. Fortunately the accident occurred when the wind was fair, though the ocean was rough, and as Pinzon was a resourceful commander, he soon had the damages repaired, and the vessels proceeded.

On the morning of the sixth day the Canaries were in sight and a landing was made at Gomera, where all the vessels were overhauled, several defects having been detected, so that it was not until the 9th of September following that the fleet got again under way.

Meanwhile, a serious danger had arisen from the hostility of Portugal. The news of the sailing of Columbus had spread along the Spanish coast, and soon reached Lisbon. The reader will remember how, through all his years of waiting, Columbus had at intervals renewed with the Court of Portugal, as well as with the Court of England, an inter-

mittent correspondence. It was evidently his intent to hold these powers in reserve against the ultimate defeat of his proposals in Spain. As soon as King John heard how at last the voyage of discovery had been actually undertaken under the patronage of his rivals, his animosity was so great that he resolved to resort to the most desperate expedient to thwart the enterprise. In pursuance of this despicable resolution, he hastily fitted and sent out an armament to arrest, and if necessary to destroy, the fleet of Columbus. While his vessels were undergoing repairs at the Canaries, the Admiral learned from a caravel just arrived from Ferro, an island of the group, that the Portuguese fleet was making ready to put to sea in pursuit. This news induced him to hasten his departure, but scarcely had he got under sail when an eruption of the volcano of Teneriffe threw the sailors into a panic of terror, who saw in the shooting flames, and heard in the rumbling explosions from the heart of the mountain, Tophet bursting through the sea in awful portentive of a horrible fate to which they were surely being drawn. Columbus was finally able to assuage these fears of his crews by explaining to them the frequent eruptions of Etna and Vesuvius, which people had long ceased to dread. But for three days there was a calm, during which they had not progressed more than three leagues from their last anchorage, and all the while expecting to see Portuguese ships heave in sight in pursuit. That they did not appear is presented as an evidence in support of the assertion that Portugal did not send a squadron to interfere with Columbus or his expedition.

When at length the good sea breeze swelled the sails again and the voyage into the great unknown was renewed, loud cries of complaining fear broke from the sailors, who now felt themselves adrift on the boundless flood where

“ All delicate days and pleasant, all spirits and sorrow were cast ;
Far out with the foam of the present, that sweeps to the surf of the past ;
Where beyond the extreme sea-wall, and between the remote sea-gates,
Waste water washes, and tall ships founder, and deep death waits.”

Possessed of an extraordinary imagination, fortified by sincerity, Columbus appealed alike to the courage and avarice of his clamorous and intensely superstitious sailors. He assured them constantly of God's blessings, for that they had been called in a most righteous service which must redound to the glory of themselves in that life everlasting. But when their religious fervor languished, Columbus told the men of the wealth they would acquire in the land to which they were sailing, where gold and precious stones so abounded that houses might be built and streets paved with either. He undoubtedly believed this to be true himself, and his own conviction was thus the more effectively impressed upon those to whom he recited these prophecies of incredible treasure in the land to which they were bound.

Columbus, while chimerical in many things, was nevertheless subtle in contriving against the mutinous spirit of his men, and his shrewdness is shown by many wise expedients. He had delivered, with becoming gravity, an opinion that the country of Zipangu would be gained by a sail of something more than 700 leagues to the west, but lest his belief prove ill-founded, and that the voyage might, if necessary, be prosecuted much farther, he kept two log-books, in one of which a false reckoning was kept, representing the distance made each day as less than it really was, while the other was prepared with great accuracy to serve as a guide for future voyages. The former was daily exposed to all on board for inspection, while the latter was carefully preserved under lock and key. The sailors were thus deceived into the belief that their

progress was extremely slow, and that the slope of the earth must accordingly be very small, if indeed it were perceptible, and that a ship before the wind could in any event overcome it and return to Spain.

On the 14th of September, while the vessels were sailing in close company, a large mainmast was observed floating on the water, evidently out of a ship considerably greater in size than the *Santa Maria*. Columbus at once hailed the relic as a favorable omen, but the effect on the sailors was panicky. Here, indeed, was a part of a ship that had preceded them, but to their timid minds it came as a warning of the doom that awaited them; as a proof that no vessel could survive the dreadful dangers which lurked in cloud, wind and wave in the region where damnation held dominion. About the same time Columbus discovered that there was a variation of the magnetic needle, which increased as he proceeded farther west, and while he tried to keep the knowledge of this fact from his crew, the pilots soon detected it and then consternation was a hundredfold increased. What possessed the compass? Was it some invisible power that was turning the needle from its true direction in order to lead them into some whirlpool, or bring them within the influence of other destructive agency? So serious did this phenomenon appear, that Columbus was himself greatly disturbed by it, but he contrived an explanation which partially allayed alarm, but it may be added that while the fact is now universally known, science has not yet been able to determine positively the cause.

Now the vessels entered the region of the westward trade winds, which urged them along at an increased speed, naturally arousing new fears, but these were directly quieted by the sudden appearance of two birds, one a Mother Carey chicken (petrel) and the other a wagtail, which it was erroneously believed never ventured a great distance from land.

Following this supposed indication of an approaching shore, on the same night the crews were again plagued to distraction in beholding a flaming meteor swiftly speeding across the sky and plunging into the sea five leagues distant from the ships. The men at once accepted this as a signal from heaven heralding their quick destruction, but Columbus regarded it as a holy beacon, and as a presage of the certain triumph which awaited the expedition.

Thereafter every natural condition was favorable to a happy passage ; the sky was serene, the winds steady from the east, sending the vessels plowing the waves in their westward course, and the ocean was as peaceful as a babe sleeping on its mother's breast. Under the balmy fragrance of the healthful air the mind of Columbus became roseate with blissful reflections. " If we only had the song of the nightingale," he writes, " we might well believe ourselves ashore among the waving groves, and near the flower-scented gardens of Spain."

On the 19th of September a mist showed on the sea undisturbed by wind, which was taken as a precursor of land, and on the Friday following other evidence that the shore lay not very far beyond was presented by a mass of weeds into which the ships thrust their bows. A booby bird came sailing by to increase the illusion, and many fishes sported about the vessels, some of which were harpooned, affording a sportive divertimento that was intensely animating. But the weeds became more dense and tangled, until they grew into an imposing barrier to farther progress and aroused the sailors to a sense of new dangers more appalling than they had before conceived. Here, thought they, is the boundary of the world, the interdict God has placed upon the passage of mortals. Once within the remorseless fingers of this verdant sea extrication will be impossible ; famine seemed to show its hideous head ; thirst pointed its pale fingers

towards their quivering lips ; in this turgid lake of damned engorgement, green with the life of death, livid with the slime of corruption, may be the haunt of the kraken, whose palpy arms could embrace a ship to its destruction ; on this great prairie of the ocean must live the hundred monsters that played such a part in the sea-tales of the age, browsing off an herbage that empoisoned every other living thing. Under its slowly pulsing bosom there may be deadly reefs to grind away the bottoms of the ships, or sandy bars to hold them until storm, lightning or waterspout could complete their annihilation.

But still, the ships drove on through this Sargasso sea of impediment, until at last a passage was accomplished, but with this abatement of fear a new alarm arose over the invariable wind that day after day impelled them westward, until belief became fixed that return was impossible. No reason that Columbus could command would give the crews encouragement ; despair was followed by a mutinous and murderous spirit ; many of them being criminals, whose punishments were remitted to this service, they began to clamor for a victim ; to openly murmur their seditions against Columbus, who might have fallen before their vengeance had not an adverse wind begun to blow at the most auspicious moment, as if to prove the unreasonableness of their apprehensions.

On the 23d of September, Martin Alonzo Pinzon mounted the high stern of the *Pinta* and shouted with joy, " Land ! Land ! I declare my right to the pension." Others were equally certain that they saw land, whereupon there was an excitement of uncontrollable delight among all the crews, until in a little while they perceived that what was taken for land was only a thick bank of clouds, and the despondency which succeeded was the greater for this momentary enthusiasm.

Complaints of a violent character were renewed, and Columbus became, in the eyes of the sailors, a braggart, humbug and fraud, whose own nation would not recognize him, who had deceived the Spanish sovereigns, and whose blind persistence would drive them to destruction. They accordingly favored a submission to him of the alternative of turning back or being cast into the sea. The Pinzons were cognizant of this mutinous spirit, but held themselves aloof from either encouraging or reproving it, but this inaction proved how strong had grown their prejudice against Columbus because of his refusal to turn aside in quest of islands which the Pinzons believed lay near by, to the north.

From time to time cries of "land" were made, but every such announcement proved delusive, and finally the long pent-up torrent of fear, envy and hatred broke, in which even the Pinzons joined. The united demand was for an immediate return; all authority was dissipated, the crews were now a mob, and before this maddened body of infuriate men Columbus was powerless beyond the influence of his persuasion, which, however, commanded respect when his orders would have incited a swift vengeance. To these howling caitiffs, therefore, he appealed, in the name of the holy image that was emblazoned on the royal flag which floated from the mast of the *Santa Maria*, to their courage as men, to their cupidity as slaves of avarice, and at last begged them to renounce their evil purpose, or give him three more days in which to seek the land for which they had set out amid the prayers of their nation. This request was finally granted and the disaffected men went back sullenly to their several posts of duty.

On the following day evidences that land was not far away began to multiply, while the wind increased to push the vessels more rapidly forward. A green rush was seen

by the crew of the *Santa Maria*, and almost immediately after the lookout on the *Pinta* observed two sticks which had been evidently fashioned by human hands. Those of the *Niña*, who were like vigilant in their watch, were favored by the sight of a green bush bearing clusters of red berries, all of which several indications that land was near revived the spirits of the crews, and good humor and delightful anticipations took the place of fear and rebellious feelings. Seeing that the men were now in an amiable frame of mind, Columbus ordered a hymn (the *Salve Regina*) to be sung, and then, after discoursing to them on the manifestations of God's protecting care throughout the voyage, elated them beyond measure by predicting that land would be discovered before another night was ended. He also charged them to be particularly watchful, and promised to reward the one who should first perceive the shore with the gift of his beautiful velvet doublet, which was trimmed with gold lace and considered a thing of great value. This premium was to be given in addition to a pension of ten thousand maravedis (\$36), promised by the Queen to the one who should first see the land of the new world.

Every one on the three ships was now so excited with expectancy that there was no desire to sleep; each was anxious to earn the double reward, and all were alike curious to catch a glimpse of the unknown shore.

About ten o'clock that night, as Columbus was watching from the poop-deck of his vessel, his searching eye caught the gleam of a moving light in the distance. Not fully satisfied of his vision, he called two others to watch, and they also beheld the same glorious beacon; but then it faded and was seen no more. Word passed quickly from ship to ship, and the watch by all became more vigilant. Sails were shortened, but wind and current still gave them

a goodly pace, and thus they pressed on until two o'clock in the morning of Friday, October 12th, four hours after Columbus had seen the fitful light, when a cannon shot from the *Pinta*, which was a league in advance of the *Santa Maria*, gave loud-voiced proclamation of the discovered shore; whereupon every one fell down in worshipful attitude and lifted their voices in holy praise and thankfulness. Juan Rodriguez Bermejo had been the first to discover, through the haze of approaching morning, the high lifting banks of a land on the western boundary of that gloomy ocean which had held the secrets of infinity, and become in the minds of men the representation of a boundless immensity.

The men who had been moved by mutinous disposition two days before were now prostrate in homage before the commander whose life they had threatened; from condemnation they lifted their voices in adulation; from an intensity of depression, from a prostration of dread alarm, they were suddenly become jocund, ready to embrace all the world, so great was their delirium of thankfulness. In avowing their obligations to Columbus, they would also do penance for the crime of their evil machinations; and having no better gift to bestow they would acknowledge him as the first discoverer of land, thereby giving to him the fullest meed of honor, and refute the claim of the common sailor Bermejo. And to the astonishment of all mankind, the pension which he manifestly did not earn, in his thirst for all the glory, ambition-mad, he took to himself; a reward that in all justice belonged to the poor sailor whose lot was so humble he could not defend his right.

What was the light that Columbus indistinctly saw? The *Pinta* was at least three miles ahead, and none of her crew saw it; may it not, therefore, have been flashes from some taper on board that vessel? Indeed, since the dis-

tance from land must have been at least fifteen miles, no one from the ship's deck could have perceived an object on the flat shore because of the convexity of the earth. It is also possible that the light which Columbus saw emanated from a canoe which may have been passing from one island to another, as it was a very common custom for islanders to carry fire upon a fireplace of clay laid in the center of their canoes. In fact, the fluttering light was not regarded by Columbus as reliable evidence of the proximity of land until after a cannon-shot from the *Pinta* gave announcement of Bermejo's discovery. And yet he claimed and possessed himself of the pension, to which the poor sailor alone had any just right.

CHAPTER VI.

UNDER the spell of a wondrous enchantment, a vision as glorious as that which broke upon the sight of Sir Galahad, revealing the Holy Grail of his pious search, was the beatific view presented to the longingly expectant crews when the light of morning revealed the wondrous scene! There before them lay a stretch of landscape marvelous for its diversity of yellow sands, softly lapping surf, swelling undulations, in a stretch of opalescent mists; flowery groves that breathed a fragrance like incense to advancing day; blue waters of a lake peeping in gladness through forests of lofty evergreens, while along the beach, or resting in awesome admiration beneath broad-sheltering trees, were a hundred specimens of an alien race, tawny, sun-browned, symmetrical, disappareled, gazing with bewildered surprise at their celestial-appearing visitors.

In the fair view before them, whether it were the shores of Zipangu, or other lands of the blessed, there was eagerness to press its bosom; but with becoming precaution the ships were first placed in a state of defense, and then each member of the expedition arrayed himself in corselet, tabard, and helmet, and with such weapons as match-lock, pike, and cross-bow, prepared to take possession of the beautiful land. Columbus, however, wearing the dignities of Grand Admiral of the ocean, and Viceroy of all the lands he should discover, presented a spectacle which might well impress even those familiar with court regalia and imperial vestments, for he clothed himself in the richest raiment procurable in

Spain, provided before his embarkation in anticipation of a meeting with the Great Khan of Tartary. Above the scarlet mantle that covered his shoulders, he bore the royal flag, on which was emblazoned the image of Jesus Christ, and taking his position in the bow of the first boat, started for the inviting shore. Immediately behind him came the yawls of the *Niña* and *Pinta*, bearing their commanders, each of whom supported royal standards of Castile on which were displayed the letters F. and Y., initials of the sovereigns, Fernando and Ysabel.

With lusty arms the rowers pushed the boats rapidly towards the shore, nearly a league from the anchorage, where a landing having been made,* with a solemnity befitting so thankful an occasion, Columbus planted the standard of the cross and the flags of Spain in the yielding sands. This done he lifted his voice in a prayer, only the first accents of which have been preserved by history, while those about him fell upon their knees with offerings of thanksgiving: "Lord Eternal and Almighty God! Who, by Thy sacred word, hast created the heavens, the earth and the seas, may Thy name be blessed and glorified everywhere. May Thy Majesty be exalted, who hast deigned to permit that by Thy humble servant Thy sacred name should be made known and preached in this other part of the world." Having thus made his obligations to God, he gave to the island the name of San Salvador (Holy Saviour), and then took possession of it in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ for the Crown of Castile. A large cross, made from limbs of a tree, was next set up to mark the landing site, and then efforts were made to communicate with the natives, who stood off at a considerable distance watching with fear and trembling the actions of their strange visitors.

* Billy Rice, the Irishman, is said to have been first to leap on shore, carrying out the line with which to make the yawl fast.

By signs of amity, and a proffer of presents, Columbus at length induced some of the bolder to approach, whom he so graciously received that their companions directly came forward, and an agreeable intercourse was presently established; but as their language was not understood by any of Columbus' men, communication was conducted entirely by means of signs. By these, however, it was learned that the island upon which landing had thus been made was called by the natives *Guanahani*. Subsequent investigation proved that it was one of a considerable group afterwards named the Bahamas. The imperfect knowledge acquired by Columbus, and especially the indefinite description which he gave of the island has been the cause of much dispute respecting the exact land which he first discovered. While a majority of authorities maintain that San Salvador of modern maps was the real landing place, others declare that, from the brief description given, Watling's Island is manifestly the land of first discovery; but the impossibility of settling this controversy renders a discussion of the question out of place here.

The appearance of the people, which interests us most, is thus described by Columbus in his journal: "The men and women go naked as they were born into the world. They are well shaped and with agreeable features. Their hair, as coarse as horse hair, falls over their foreheads, and is left to grow in a long tail behind, but it is not crisp. These men are in truth a fine race; they have lofty foreheads, and bigger heads than any natives I have ever seen before in my travels. Their eyes are large and fine, their legs straight, stature high, and their movements graceful. Some are painted a blackish color, but are of the same tawny hue as are the natives of the Canary Islands. Many are painted white, red or some other color, as to the whole body, or the face around the eyes, and sometimes only the

nose. They have no weapons such as we have, and seem not even to know the properties of weaponry."

But though simple in their manner, the natives had such weapons as lances made by pointing pieces of cane with shark's teeth and obsidian. Some of the people were observed to bear the marks of serious wounds, received, as they explained, in battles with natives of neighboring islands who sought to enslave them. When confidence was established, the islanders curiously inquired, by means of signs, if their visitors were not heaven-descended, for in their simple faith they believed the vessels riding at anchor before them were huge creatures of the air that had descended in the night, bearing to them celestial passengers, the object of whose visit they could not determine. But familiar intercourse reassured them, and before the day was ended they manifested the greatest curiosity to know their visitors better, and evidenced their feeling of security by the freest commingling and interchange of civilities, taking the form of active barter of nets, fruits, cotton yarns, parrots and occasional pieces of gold, for the attractive trifles that the Spaniards had to give.

On the following morning hundreds of the natives came off to the ships in canoes made from the trunks of trees, some of which were large enough to comfortably carry as many as fifty men, while others were so small as to scarcely support a single person. But the islanders had such familiarity with the water that they appeared aquatic in their habits, and to be capsized miles from the shore gave them no uneasiness, for they would dextrously right their crafts and bale them out with gourds with which every paddler was provided, in anticipation of such accidents.

Observing that a few of the islanders wore small ornaments of gold in their noses, the cupidity and avarice of the Spaniards was quickly excited, and with great eagerness

Columbus inquired whence came those piece of the precious metal. They responded by informing him that somewhere south of them there was a larger island ruled by a king who possessed immense quantities of gold, and whose drinking vessels were all made of that metal. He asked some of them to accompany him upon a visit to that auriferous land, but they refusing, in his anxiety to enrich himself and followers, Columbus hastened his departure. Herein was the beginning of that long and painful story of the cupidity, wandering and gold-greed with which the Spanish adventurers and heroes of the sixteenth century were all inflamed.

Only one thing restrained the desire of the crews for an immediate embarkation to pursue their quest for gold, and this was the condemnable passion of lustful appetite. Before their unbridled and lascivious senses the Spaniards saw a people of modest manners and a guileless disposition, and this they would violate by inaugurating an immorality to which the natives were yet strangers. We cannot fail to reflect upon the astounding satire furnished by the contrast of naked modesty and pure manners of this untutored island tribe as compared with the lustful appetite, calculating avarice, distrust, latent cruelty, and perfidious spirit of the Spanish mariners, products as they were of one of the oldest civilizations—a civilization upon which the forces of literature, art and so-called religion had operated for nearly a thousand years.

Believing that the island upon which he had landed was one of the five thousand described by Marco Polo as lying in the sea off Cathay, Columbus regarded the natives as a fraction of the great races of India, wherefore he called them Indians. But they bore none of the characteristics observed in the peoples with which Polo came in contact. If, however, they were a far outlying contingent of the

natives of India, or Zipangu, they must be serviceable in pursuing further discoveries, so Columbus took on board his ship (by abduction) seven of the most promising islanders,* whom he so diligently instructed that they soon became intelligent interpreters, and with these, on the 14th of October, he renewed his voyage. To more thoroughly acquaint himself with the size and productions of the island, however, he sailed entirely around it, finding that it abounded with cocoanuts and bananas—fruits never before seen by Europeans—and such products as yams, cotton, yucca, and pine-apples. But he deemed it unsuited for colonization, because of its smallness, and he turned the prows of his vessels to renew the quest for the mainland of Cathay, which he hoped soon to gain, and there presenting to the Grand Khan the letter of friendship from his sovereigns, gather the rich recompense of his success and then return in triumph to receive the favors of Isabella and the plaudits of mankind.

A few hours' sail from Guanahani brought the expedition in sight of a great cluster of islands, more than a hundred of which his native interpreters named. One of the largest appearing he approached, and finding the shores inviting made a landing, and erecting thereon a cross as a sign of Christian occupation, christened the island *St. Mary of the Conception*. Two other large islands he named respectively *Fernandine* and *Isabella*. The latter was so full of natural delights that he remained there for two days exploring its beauties of lovely scenery, picturesque groves, flowery meads, and fruit-bearing trees. The air was full of sweetest fragrance and resonant with the voice of warbling birds, no less gorgeously arrayed than tuneful. The natives were

* "I took some Indians, *by force*, from the first island I came to, that they might learn our language, and tell what they knew of their country."—*Letter of Columbus to Don Raphael Sanchez*.

very like those with whom he first came in contact, but they lived in huts more artistically constructed, and possessed more ornaments of gold. On the island—betraying its volcanic origin—was a considerable lake of crystal water abounding with fish. While walking along the shore Columbus was at first horror-stricken by the sight of a monster lizard with armament of bristling scales, dreadful claws and hideous head. But instead of standing upon the offensive, the creature retreated into the shallow water, whither Columbus pursued and killed it with a lance. It being of such remarkable size and repelling aspect he took off its skin, which he declares measured seven feet in length, and preserved it as an example of the frightful reptilian life of the new world. This lizard was an iguana, common in the inter-tropical countries of America, where, despite its horrid appearance, the flesh is so highly esteemed as to readily command twenty-five cents per pound in the markets. It is not known to exceed five feet in length.

But all the beauties or wonders of earth could not long retain the interest of Columbus. He gave to them the tribute of a passing notice, but his mind was absorbed with an ambition for gain; his thirst for gold was unappeasable; his day-dreams were gilded with the treasure which he set out to seek. Of this avaricious passion Barry, the compiler from De Lorgues, his most ardent Catholic admirer, thus writes: "In this voyage his (Columbus') object was less to observe nature than to acquire gold, in order to make Spain interested in the matter of continuing the discoveries, by giving palpable proofs of their importance. He sought gold, especially in order to commence the fund of the immense treasure he desired to amass. The deliverance of the Holy Land and the purchase of the tomb of Jesus Christ were always before his eyes—the supreme object of his ambition. He desired then to collect, in order to con-

vert them into gold, the spices of the Orient, the frontiers of which he believed he had reached. But it was gold that he sought particularly. Everywhere he inquired diligently about the land of gold. The sight of the precious metal exerted in him an ardent desire for it and an almost loving eagerness. Never, perhaps, did a Christian desire gold for a like purpose. Not being able to find some as soon as he expected, he addressed himself to God, and besought Him to direct him to some and to its beds."

This, while intending to present Columbus as a man possessed of the holiest ambition, actually represents him as one of the most rapacious, venal and greedy mercenaries of which history gives us any account. How his conscience could conceive and defend an aspiration to purchase the Holy Sepulcher surpasses our comprehension. Such an ambition is a reflection upon the wisdom and power of God Himself, who for His own reasons suffered and continues to suffer the enemies of Christianity to hold possession of that sacred shrine, against which seas of blood have surged in vain. And the unholiness of his ambition is emphasized by the cruel methods which he employed in his mad efforts to acquire riches. The burning of villages, massacres of defenseless natives, the inauguration of every iniquity, and lastly the enslavement of helpless men, women and children, until his more merciful sovereign cried out against his cruelties, whose heart would not permit her to profit by such inhumanities—these are some of the results of his wanton greed, his impious lust, his worldly aspirations. While remembering the glory of his accomplishment in discovering a new world, let us not forget the ignominy of those acts by which the inoffensive, trustful, guileless and affectionate natives of the West Indies were converted into slaves, and oppressed into the most debased savagery. Not even the fanaticism of the age nor the hypocrisy of his pre-

tensions can excuse him of the crime of barbarous ferocity, of voracious, bloodthirsty avarice, in which disposition he was in no wise different from the members of his expedition.

Before leaving the island of Isabella, Columbus was told of a country somewhere to the southwest which the natives called Cuba, and upon which it was declared there was such an abundance of gold, that a warlike people from the north frequently invaded the country and carried off immense quantities of that valuable metal. To this exciting recital was added a report that there were on Cuba many large cities ruled by powerful monarchs, and that in every respect the country was the most delightful and the richest in all the world. Or rather, it may be better said, that Columbus so interpreted the signs by which communication was carried on ; but his imagination was at all times so energetic that he painted the most commonplace things with the colors of fancy, and this strong ideality was constantly leading him into the by-ways of sore disappointment.

Believing implicitly in the wild romance of Cuban grandeur and inconceivable wealth, Columbus again spread his sails, on the 24th of October, for the shore of that gold-embroidered country ; but at the moment of weighing anchor one of the interpreters, obtained at Guanahani, leaped overboard and made his escape to shore, despite every exertion made by four sailors in a boat to overhaul him. Contrary winds also rose, followed by terrible rain-storms, so that progress was greatly impeded. On the third day a cluster of islands, now known as the Mucaras, was passed, and on the succeeding day the shores of Cuba, at a point a few miles west of where the town of Nuevitas del Principe now stands, broke into view. The most casual view gave conclusive indication that the land was an extensive one, even continental in appearance. Bold promon-

tories distinguished the shores, and a large river was observed winding its way through a rich valley and emboguing into the ocean near the point where the shore-line was first seen.

The ships were run into an estuary, which served as an excellent harbor, and where an abundance of crystal-like fresh water was obtainable, and a landing made. Immediately upon going on shore Columbus took possession of the island (which he thought might possibly be the mainland of Zipangu, or Cathay) in the name of the Empress Isabella, and in honor of the heir apparent, Prince Juan, he called the country Juanna, and the port where he landed San Salvador.

The landing of the Spaniards had attracted the surprised attention of many natives, who watched with anxious curiosity from afar the strange beings and marvelous boats that had thus visited their shores; but they in turn were observed, and also a small village of circular, conical-roofed huts that lay half concealed in the deep shade of a luxurious forest. When the ceremony of occupation was completed, and a wooden cross set up as a mark of possession, Columbus, with several of his men, paid a visit to the village, which, however, was deserted upon their approach. Entering the abandoned huts he was much disappointed to find therein the same evidences of poverty that distinguished the islanders of Guanahani, and with no appearances of a better social condition. He found many fishing nets, harpoons pointed with bone, carved pieces of wood, and swinging couches made of netting which the natives called *hamacs*, a name that survives with us in the slight change to *hammock*. Proceeding farther towards the interior Columbus found a marvelous diversity of beauteous landscape, groves of palm trees, abundance of bananas, a sensuous atmosphere perfume laden, crystal waters, and great numbers of parrots

and other beautifully-feathered birds. He was fairly overwhelmed by the natural splendors that lay spread about him, but while believing this must be the mainland of Asia he could not account for the primitive character of the people, who were evidently unacquainted with any of the forms of civilization.

After many efforts, Columbus at length persuaded a few of the natives to approach and receive presents from his hands, and intercourse once established, he was quickly surrounded by swarms of islanders, who manifested desire for pacific relations by bringing quantities of fruits to the Spaniards, as offerings of homage. By them he was told that the country was an island, and near the center were mountains of gold, while along the watercourses precious pearls and stones might be found in great numbers; that the capital city lay not far distant and was more beautiful than any other thing on the island. This information fired the Spaniards with new desire, and they were all exceedingly anxious to begin the gathering of riches which they believed were scattered about in inconceivable profusion not many miles distant.

In this quest for the bag of gold that lies at the foot of the rainbow, Columbus set out with his resolute followers in a westerly direction along the coast, until another village was sighted at the mouth of a river, before which the squadron anchored, and a visit made to the town. The inhabitants fled with precipitation to the hills, leaving their visitors in quiet possession, and they could not be induced to return and open communication. The houses composing this village were more pretentious in size and architectural appearance than those first visited, and within them Columbus found rudely carved effigies and wooden visors of hideous visage, besides harpoons, fishing nets and such other paraphernalia as indicated the poverty and low superstitions of

the natives, but there were neither gold, silver or precious stones.

The promise of reward being again disappointing, Columbus set his sails once more and proceeded along the north coast until he reached an extensive headland, to which he gave the name of Cape of Palms, and which is but little more than one hundred miles from the southern point of Florida. Here he met with some natives who told him that just around the promontory a large river emptied into the sea, while a short distance beyond, no more than four days' journey, lay *Cubanacan*. At the mention of this word Columbus was much excited, because he now believed that the resemblance in pronunciation between this word and Kublai Khan was evidence that he was approaching the capital of that Cathayan monarch. Unfortunately, as was long afterwards ascertained, the expression *Cubanacan*, in the native language, signified the center or interior of the island.

The anchors were weighed and the voyage of discovery was continued, but no river was to be seen, and now, believing that he had misunderstood his informants, Columbus returned to the mouth of the Rio de los Mares and renewed intercourse with the natives, whom he found anxious to barter, and pacific in disposition. In the belief that gold abounded somewhere in the vicinity, he ordered that nothing but pieces of that precious metal be accepted in exchange for articles which the Spaniards had to trade, but the anxiety of the natives and the vainness of this measure soon convinced him of the extreme scarcity of gold thereabouts. But one Cuban was seen supporting a piece of silver from his nose, who, becoming a great object of interest, told Columbus that four days' journey in the interior was a large city in which lived a mighty emperor, who, having learned of the white visitors, had sent messengers

to invite them to visit his capital. This news was most encouraging, and that he might display the courtesies of civilization, Columbus chose an embassy of four, composed of the polyglot Jew, Rodrigo de Jarez, a Guanahani native, and a Cuban guide, who were provided with many presents, such as hawk-bells, glass trinkets, and a variety of other gew-gaws. Besides the offerings, they were bearers of letters addressed to the Grand Khan, conveying profound considerations of the Spanish sovereigns, and expressions of desire to establish amicable relations with the Asiatic potentate whose kingdom Columbus believed had been reached.

During the absence of the embassy, which Columbus knew must occupy several days, he employed the time making careful examination of the adjacent country and its productions. Finding the river, near which the ships were anchored, navigable for considerable crafts, he ascended it several miles and was rewarded by finding many valuable woods, such as cinnamon, nutmeg, rhubarb, and, what was more gratifying still, a tuber which the natives baked in the fire and ate with great relish, and which the Spaniards found delightfully palatable. This proved to be the potato (derived from the native name *batata*), little valued at the time, but, as Mr. Irving observes, "a more precious acquisition to man than all the spices and pearls of the east."

The farther he proceeded, however, the more marvelous grew the tales of native wealth, until even the incomparable credulity of the Spaniards became heavily taxed. The Indians told, with deceptive gravity, of places in the country where people wore bracelets of gold and necklaces of fine pearls; but some of these marvelously rich natives, they declared, were noted equally for their astounding aspect. One race, living in the district of Bohio, had only a single eye placed in the center of the forehead, and were extremely fierce. Another people, whose principal capital was called

Kaniba, had the heads of dogs. They were not only brutal in appearance, but even more so in disposition, for they were cannibals and took special pleasure in drinking the blood of their enemies. There was also an island named Mantinino, in the midst of a large lake, inhabited by women only, who frequently fought with men on the main shore, and who tortured their prisoners with fiendish cruelty.

We are impressed by the similarity between these traditions and those of several Central African tribes, which are so nearly identical that the coincidence seems to point unmistakably to the same origin. Can this fact be taken as an evidence of the ancient existence of a land connection between the West Indies, South America and Africa? Is it a link in the chain of proof that this stretch of waters was at one time bridged by the Continent of Atlantis, as Pliny declares?

At the end of six days the embassy returned with a most interesting but extremely disappointing report. They had found the capital city, not more than thirty-six miles from the coast, but instead of a place abounding with riches, they discovered it to be a village composed of some fifty huts occupied by nearly one thousand naked or half-clad people. Instead of meeting a mighty monarch, called Kublai Khan, by Marco Polo, they were introduced to a tall Indian chief, whose throne was a block of wood very rudely carved, and who could provide no better feast than cassava bread, bananas, cocoanuts and water. The Jew turned his tongue to all his vocabularies, but without success. The guide, however, was able to make himself understood and succeeded in explaining to the chief that the Spaniards were children descended from the sun, who were anxious to establish a friendship with his people. By this introduction the Cubans were made worshipers of their visitors, and after exchanging some parrots, cotton yarn, cassava and fruits

for trinkets, several desired to accompany the embassy on their return to the ships, but only one man and his son were permitted this privilege.

During the interview with the native chief the ambassadors observed what they regarded as a curious ceremony, in somewise connected with religious worship:—Numbers of the natives, young and old, carried about dried leaves which they rolled up in the form of a tubule, and applying fire to one end, inserted the other in the mouth, and after sucking it they expelled great quantities of smoke. These rolls the natives called *tobago*, whence is derived the word *tobacco*, which the leaves thus rolled together, forming a cigar, proved to be. Another yet more important discovery was made in the finding of Indian corn, from which the natives made a fairly good bread, but on account of their inability to separate the kernel from the shell, they preferred cassava. A transplantation of this most useful grain to Europe quickly followed, however, and has given such beneficent results as are only equaled by the cultivation of the potato.

But though the Grand Khan of Columbus' imagination turned out to be only a naked chief, and the palatial city of the conjectured Quainsay a miserable village of loud-smelling huts, the reports of gold-abounding districts continued to lure the avaricious sailors. The natives now declared that somewhere towards the east was a river with banks of golden sand, to which people came every night with torches to gather stores of the precious deposit, which, however, was so plentiful that the gold was only valuable because of the vessels into which it might be easily wrought. The country where this wealth of auriferous sands was to be found the natives called *Babeque*, and thither the expedition started with a covetous distraction, like that of a boy chasing a will-o'-the-wisp over a misty bog, and with

the same disappointments. All the beauties of the island, all its wonderful productions of forest, grove and field, all its opportunities for colonization and the spread of Christianity, alike failed to impress these adventurers, whose lust for gold subordinated every other ambition, and destroyed every commendable impulse.

From the 28th of October until the 19th of November this heartless quest for gold continued, Columbus all the while dreaming, awake and asleep, of mountains of the precious metal which he would presently find and therefrom load his vessels for an offering to the Spanish sovereigns. But when disappointment after disappointment finally began to corrode his hopes and dispel the illusions of his imagination, he grew morose, and this sullenness of disposition also seized upon Alonzo Pinzon, who separated his vessel, the *Pinta*, from her companions, in order to make an independent search for the valleys, streams and mountains of gold which they had been unable to find while sailing together. But he was no more successful, and in rejoining the expedition, excused his act of desertion by declaring that he had been separated from the *Santa Maria* and *Niña* by storms that had violently driven the vessels after their departure from the anchorage before the river Rio de Mares.

In his chagrin at the failures which attended his many efforts to find the gold which the islanders declared so often lay just a little way beyond, Columbus decided to seize several natives, choosing the most comely maidens and young men, and carry them back to Spain as specimens of the race occupying the new world of his discovery. In order to do this he had to violate all natural rights, but this gave small concern to Spanish conscience, and from this initial step the enslavement of these powerless, hospitable and kindly natives directly followed.

Columbus continued for several days along the coast of Cuba, naming the capes and bays that he passed, until the 19th of November, when the *Pinta* deserted him during a serious storm, and he put into the estuary of St. Catharine for safety. Here he seems to have been recalled from his avaricious contemplation to a consideration of the beauties which were spread around him in a boundless prodigality of efflorescence—flower, fruit and forest; a marvelous versatility of nature—rippling streams, leaping cascades, warbling birds of iris-wing, emerald lands, skies of azure, clouds barred with gold, soothingly sensuous air, and all the delights that a blessed clime can afford. In making report of the country about this harbor to Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus says: "I often say to my people that, much as I endeavor to give a complete account of it to your Majesties, my tongue cannot express the whole truth, nor my pen describe it; and I have been so overwhelmed at the sight of so much beauty that I have not known how to relate it." So proceeding, he dwells upon the transparency of the waters, how the most exquisite shells could be seen at five fathoms depth, lying like jewels of Neptune on the pearly sands that formed the ocean's floor, and then tells of gigantic forest trees, the trunk of one being formed into a canoe capable of carrying one hundred and fifty persons.

After thus spending three days in a delightful examination of the coast about his anchorage, which he named Puerto Santo (Holy Port), Columbus again sailed eastward to the extreme limit of Cuba, and named the point Alpha-and-Omega. Instead of continuing around the island and directing his course southwesterly, which would have brought him, in a sail of one hundred and thirty miles, to the shores of Yucatan and thus the continent, he doubled the eastern extremity of Cuba, but turned directly eastward again until

another island burst upon his vision, which in his enraptured state he believed must be Babeque, or Bohio, the land of gold. But the natives whom he had seized exhibited the gravest alarms, for here they declared was the land of cannibals, of dog-headed men, of cyclops and other monstrosities and terrors, which would devour any one that had the temerity to land upon their shores. No alarms, however, were great enough to repress the enthusiasm of Columbus and his followers, whose thirst for gold rendered them insensible to all dangers, but on account of adverse winds a landing was not effected until two days after the coast was first sighted.

The new land which rose before the Spaniards was the beautiful island now known as Hayti, or San Domingo, which they, on closer observation, perceived to be marvelously picturesque. The mountains in the central part rose to such a height as to be plainly visible from the sea, and from these fell away verdant foot-hills, which in turn faded into lovely valleys clothed with a luxuriant vegetation. Here and there Columbus detected columns of slowly rising smoke, indicative of an industrial community thriving off the abundant harvest yields of a highly-favored country.

The two ships were put into a capacious harbor, large enough to accommodate a fleet of many hundred sail, to which he gave the name St. Nicholas, and by which designation it is still known, and which in 1893 was acquired by the United States from the government of Hayti for a coaling station.

Upon going on shore Columbus found the island well peopled, and several towns, some of considerable size, were visited, but the inhabitants took flight on the approach of the Spaniards. The country was well cultivated, and the roads connecting villages were in good condition, so that with orchards, gardens, fields of grain, houses of a fair con-

struction, there were abundant evidences attesting the great superiority of these natives over their Cuban neighbors. But they were surprisingly timid, notwithstanding their reputation for fierceness, and being unable for this reason to open intercourse with them, Columbus sent a company to pursue and bring to him some of the people, who had abandoned their villages and taken refuge among the mountains. Diligent search for these refugees at length resulted in the capture of one woman, who was entirely naked, but wore a gold pendant in her nose. The Admiral received his prisoner with signs of regard, and after providing her with clothes, gave her presents of hawk's bells and other gewgaws, which soon won her thankful admiration and made her condition such a pleasant one that she professed no desire to return to her people. But Columbus placed her in charge of nine Spaniards and one Cuban interpreter, who conducted her to the village where she lived, which was some fifteen miles in the interior, with the view of using her to open negotiations with the natives. The town contained about one thousand huts and probably six or seven thousand people, but even this large population was terrified by the sight of white men, and all decamped with precipitation towards the hills. After great patience and many efforts, the woman and the interpreter induced some of the boldest to return, who, being conducted to the presence of the Spaniards, exhibited every sign of worshipful awe. The woman's husband was among the first to approach, through her persuasions, and it was amusing to see his demonstrations of amazement at the clothes and ornaments with which his proud wife was invested.

The confidence of the Indians was at length obtained, and they conducted their visitors in great state to the best houses of the town, where a splendid banquet, of cassava bread, fish, bananas and other native products was provided.

After this introductory ceremony the freest intercourse prevailed. Columbus observes that the islanders now dismissed their fears and began to exhibit their generous instincts by presenting the Spaniards with everything they thought might be desired by their visitors. They appeared to have no knowledge of values, for their gifts were made as if the act of giving afforded great pleasure. Their manner of life was innocent in the highest degree, as during the whole time the Spaniards spent among the natives, not a single act of violence or treachery was observed. It was also evident that there was a confraternity of interest among them, since each was willing to share with his neighbor whatever he had, exacting no equivalent, and in all respects exhibiting, by word and deed, a common brotherhood not found to exist among so-called Christian people. Among them, also, the sacredness of the marriage relation was observed, and monogamy prevailed, except that chiefs were permitted to take a plurality of wives, the limit being twenty. There being no division of property, or separation of interests, the harmony of their relations was never broken, and no disturbances of any character afflicted these innocent and peace-loving natives, save occasional invasions of other islanders, which was followed by temporary quietude.

But while Columbus found Hayti, or Hispaniola, to be a most fertile island, and inhabited by a prosperous and contented people with whom he had inaugurated a pleasant intercourse, he was disappointed again in his expectations of finding the mountains and valleys of gold, towards which his heart and hopes continually inclined; so on December 14th, he departed to renew the search for the golden kingdom of Babeque. He presently discovered another island to which he gave the name of Tortugas, or Turtle Island, and coasted it until he determined that its size was incon-

siderable, though he observed that the island was well watered by rivers and lakes, and that it supported a luxurious vegetation.

After a cruise of three days, without important results, Columbus returned to the coast of Hispaniola (little Spain), and put into a pleasant harbor which he named Puerto de Paz, with the purpose to renew his explorations of the interior. The report of his return was quickly noised abroad through the island, and on the 18th, one the caciques, or chiefs of the natives, came in state, borne as he was by four men in a wicker-work basket or what might be called a palanquin, and accompanied by his ministers, to pay his respects to the Spaniards. Proceeding on board the *Santa Maria*, as Columbus was at dinner, the cacique was conducted to the salon, where he bowed most courteously to the Admiral, and accepted an invitation to dine, though he ate very little. After the meal was ended, as an exhibition of his amity and regard, the cacique presented Columbus with a belt wrought of cocconut fiber in a most artistic manner, and ornamented with thin plates of gold; in return for which the delighted Admiral gave his imperial guest a counterpane of many colors, a collar of amber beads, a pair of red buskins, and a glass flask filled with orange-flower water, the fragrance of which was very pleasant. After this exchange of presents, the cacique took his leave, but his brother, perceiving the profit that had attended the visit, came on board and so far forgot his dignity as to beg for similar mementos of the white man's generosity, nor did his boldness go wholly unrewarded.

While lying in Puerto de Paz, Columbus was entertained by the natives with extravagant stories of incredible wealth, one of whom declared that he knew an island not far distant where all the mountains were of gold, and the shores were of the same precious metal. But such tales no longer had

the effect they once produced upon Columbus, though he did not yet abandon hope that he would yet arrive upon some island where gold so abounded as to enable him to load his vessels with it, and enrich him beyond the dreams of kings.

On the 20th of December, the anchors were raised and on the same day the harbor of St. Thomas was found and named, where upon landing before a large village, the capital of the island, the natives flocked about the Spaniards in greater numbers than before. So liberal were the islanders that they gave more than their white visitors were able to receive, which caused Columbus to restrain their prodigality by issuing an order forbidding any of his men accepting anything unless they bestowed something in return. At this harbor, where Columbus remained several days, spending much of his time on shore, he was received by an embassy from the monarch of the island, the Grand Cacique Guacanagari, who dispatched a messenger bearing as a present to the Admiral a delicately wrought belt, to which were suspended colored bits of bone, and a face dextrously carved in wood, with the eyes, nose and tongue of beaten gold, accompanied by a pressing invitation from the chief to visit his palace.

Not being willing to leave the ships, as the weather appeared threatening, Columbus sent his royal notary, and six men bearing many presents, to accept the hospitalities of Guacanagari and to convey to him assurances of regard and an intention to visit him as soon as the weather became fair. The Spanish embassy was received with great ceremony, and given every privilege to enjoy whatever the town or its people afforded, and upon being conducted to the presence of the great chief they were made recipients of his most bounteous favors. Receiving from the hands of the Spaniards the presents which Columbus had forwarded, he

invited them to remain over night in the town, but this they had to decline in pursuance of orders requiring them to return on the same day ; whereupon the chief delivered to them, as presents for the Admiral, several pieces of gold and two large parrots that had been taught to utter several words of the native tongue, which were curiosities that Columbus highly prized.

On their return to the ships the Spaniards were accompanied by more than a thousand natives, who followed after them in canoes with liberal gifts of fruit, curious native handiwork, and a few pieces of gold, which they gave with freedom. Seeing that the latter was held in greatest estimation, several of the natives declared, as an inducement to prolong the stay of their visitors, that in a district called Cibao, somewhere in the interior, there abounded great treasures of gold and precious stones, to which place they would gladly pilot the Spaniards.

This report acted as fresh fuel to the flame of his avarice, and visions of Quainsay, the rich kingdom of Kubla Khan, and possessions of the wealth which had been the basis of his ambition, again rose in luring grandeur before the longing eyes of Columbus, and he became filled with desire to gain that glittering region.

But the tropical winter was at hand and tempestuous weather became an interposing barrier to his aspirations. On Christmas eve, when the anchors were weighed to proceed on a voyage around the island to a point nearer Cibao, the sky was serene, and with a feeling of security Columbus retired to sleep, leaving his subordinate officers in charge of the *Santa Maria*. It appears that the helmsman soon followed the example of the Admiral and went to sleep, leaving an inexperienced cabin-boy at the rudder, while the other officers, lulled into a false security by the calmness of the sea, fell likewise into drowsy unconcern. The ves-

sel directly entered a current that swept rapidly through channels about the islands, by which she was carried with full sail upon a sand-bar where she stuck fast and heeled before the wind. The shock of grounding awakened Columbus and also his derelict officers, who now rushed upon the deck to behold the result of their neglect and lend assistance in repairing the misfortune for which they were accountable. The roar of breakers lent an aspect of fury to the darkness of night, and the sailors became distracted with fear and superstition. In this condition Columbus undertook to save his vessel by ordering a company of his men to take a boat and carry an anchor out astern, in order to warp the ship from her perilous position. The men seemed prompt to obey, but the moment they launched the boat they shoved off without the anchor and made with all speed for the *Niña*, which was nearly a league distant. Pinzon, the master, discovering how they had deserted, refused to receive them on board and ordered them back to their duty; but so slowly did they comply that a boat from the *Niña*, with a relief crew, reached the stranded vessel in advance of the returning deserters. Meanwhile, the breakers had thrown the *Santa Maria* still farther upon the sand, where she lay careening and beating with great force. Columbus ordered the masts to be cut away, hoping thus to relieve her, but his efforts were all in vain. The seams now opened, admitting the water, but the tide presently receded, leaving her fast, yet safe for the time from the destructive force of the breakers. Had the sea been tempestuous all must have been drowned, but good fortune so far attended them that all escaped to the *Niña*, and in the morning Columbus sent two of his men, Diego de Arana and Pedro Guttierrez, to the great chief Guacanagari to acquaint him with their disaster. This sad news moved the compassionate cacique to tears, but he

did not stop to ponder over the misfortune. He immediately ordered great numbers of his people to go in canoes to the aid of Columbus, and to implicitly obey his orders in securing the cargo and safety of the ship. At the same time he dispatched a messenger to the Admiral with expressions of his sincere regret and to offer him "the whole of his possessions."

So efficient were the services of the natives, that in a short while all the goods were taken out of the ship and carried to a secure place on the shore, where a guard was placed over them by the chief, lest some of his people might be tempted to appropriate some articles for which their fancy longed. No civilized magistrate could have done more to assist and protect the interests of unfortunate friends than did this honest, generous-minded cacique. Nor was the virtue of his actions limited to himself, but extended to all the natives, who appeared to be innocent of any thought of profit from the disaster. "The sympathies of the people for Columbus in his loss, and the reception he received from the Indian sovereign, mitigated the bitterness of the accident. In no part of the civilized world would he have received warmer or more cordial hospitality."

But the loss was great enough. The *Pinta* was gone; and now the Admiral's flag-ship, with open seams, lay prostrate on the perilous sands, quaking with each impact of the sea; shivering like a wounded creature at every blow of the hand that smote it down. O thou *Santa Maria*, thou famous remembrancer of the centuries! The names of none of those that sailed in search of the Golden Fleece are so well preserved among the eternities of history as is thine. No vessel of Rome, of Greece, of Carthage, of Egypt, that carried conquering Cæsar, triumphant Alexander, valiant Hannibal, or beauteous Cleopatra, shall be so well known

to coming ages as thou art. No ship of the Spanish Armada, or of Lord Howard, who swept it from the sea—no looming monster, no Great Eastern or frowning ironclad of modern navies, shall be held like thee in perpetual remembrance by all the sons of men. For none ever bore such a hero on such a mission, that has glorified all nations by giving the greatest of all countries to the world.

Touched by the generous treatment which he received at the hands of Guacanagari and his subjects, Columbus pays them this beautiful tribute : “ They are a loving, uncovetous people ; so docile in all things that I swear to your majesties there is not in the world a better race or a more delightful country. They love their neighbors as themselves ; and their talk is ever sweet and gentle, accompanied with smiles ; and though they be naked, yet their manners are decorous and praiseworthy.”

It may be with soberness asked : Was it better, in the eyes of God, to convert these virtuous people from the happy innocence of their primitive condition, to the civilization of the Spaniards, under which they became the most degraded specimens of the West India race, or to have left them to enjoy the blessings of loving confidence, contentment, honesty and universal brotherhood which characterized them at the time of Columbus’ coming ? In truth, it does appear that these simple people had found Christ before they heard His name, or saw the cross that the civilized Spaniards erected to teach them how He died.

To arouse him from the despondency of his situation, the cacique had the rescued goods carried into three buildings prepared for the purpose, and then gave Columbus an urgent invitation to accept the hospitalities of his capital. Since the voyage could not be continued until the *Santa Maria* was repaired and floated, or her final loss determined, the Admiral availed himself of the courtesies so cordially

extended and went on shore, where he was magnificently received. A banquet was then set by the native king, at which Columbus and several of his officers were regaled with every delicacy that the island afforded. At the meal the cacique conducted himself with a dignity and decorum scarcely surpassed by the most civilized potentates, and as if he had long been accustomed to entertaining distinguished representatives from the first powers of the world.

In return for the kindnesses received, Columbus invited Guacanagari and his ministers to dine with him on board the *Niña*, which gave the cacique intense delight, and was followed by an interchange of courtesies mutually profitable and pleasurable. A familiarity thus became established, and Columbus had opportunity of displaying before the natives some of the arts and instruments of power of Castilian civilization. The Spanish arms were exhibited and the sailors were put through evolutions to show their military precision and skill in the handling of arbalets, Moorish hand-bows, arquebuses, and the destruction that might be produced by their artillery of falconets. Having demonstrated the effectiveness of Spanish weapons, Columbus explained to the chief how he might make his island proof against the invasion of Caribs, who were accustomed to make predatory incursions into Hispaniola for purposes of spoliation. The Caribs of the Bahamas and of South America were indeed terrors to all the other West Indies islanders, who suffered constantly from their depredations, and were not infrequently enslaved by them ; so that the suggestions of Columbus were hailed with great delight by Guacanagari, and his request for permission to erect a fort on the island was accordingly granted with gladness. On the other hand, Columbus utilized this privilege as a proof of priority of occupation against all claims which might be thereafter made by other nations sending expeditions into

STATE OF THE EMBERS OF ASHUR

The Assyrian Empire, which had reached its greatest extent under the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, was in a state of decay and decline at the time of the death of Sargon II in 722 B.C. The empire was divided into provinces, each governed by a local official, and the central government was weak and inefficient. The Assyrians were a proud and warlike people, and they had built a great empire, but they were now in a state of internal strife and civil war. The Assyrians were divided into two main groups, the Assyrians proper and the Babylonians, and they were fighting a bitter struggle for power. The Assyrians were a proud and warlike people, and they had built a great empire, but they were now in a state of internal strife and civil war. The Assyrians were divided into two main groups, the Assyrians proper and the Babylonians, and they were fighting a bitter struggle for power.

Etching by Russell.

CAPTURE OF THE EMPRESS OF ARMINIUS.

The first discovery of North America was undoubtedly made by Norsemen, notwithstanding the vagueness of creditable history, as well as of legend, upon this very important subject. The origin of the Norsemen, or "Northmen," as the word signifies, is therefore a matter of particular interest to Americans. Upon the death of Augustus, B. C. 14, the army proclaimed Germanicus, one of the greatest of Roman generals, Cæsar, but he refused the imperial crown through loyalty to the legitimate successor. A sedition was threatened by the dissatisfied soldiers, to abate which Germanicus led his powerful army across the Rhine and descended with great impetuosity upon the Germaus. He beat them in every engagement, and delivering a crushing defeat upon Arminius, captured his Empress and the members of the imperial household. The etching printed on the opposite page represents this great historical incident. The Germans fled before their Roman conquerors to the hyperborean countries, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, where they found the climate too rigorous for the profitable pursuit of agriculture and were accordingly driven to the necessity of deriving their support from the sea. Along the coast their settlements were made and in the course of a few years they developed into a sea-faring people. War being an almost universal profession in the early centuries, the tribes of Northmen, as they found themselves growing stronger, made descents upon the neighboring countries of Scotia and England, and ultimately became such terrible freebooters that they were the very scourge of the sea. Their boats were everywhere; no dangers deterred them, and conquest of known lands was followed by quests for new ones, in which pursuit they discovered and settled Iceland, and extended their voyages to the western continent as early as the year 985.

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these waters, for it was his intent to recommend the island as possessing special advantages for successful colonization.

At the conclusion of the very impressive exhibition made by the Spaniards, the cacique provided an entertainment for his guests, which, though devoid of military aspect, was none the less interesting. The most athletic natives appeared and strove for honors in a tournament of wrestling, jumping, dancing, and in several unique games peculiar to the islanders, in every way acquitting themselves in the most creditable manner. When the games were finished, Guacanagari presented Columbus with a necklace of gold pellets, deftly united, and a crown of the same material. He also gave his distinguished guest a small wooden image, supposed to possess some potent influence, the eyes, ears and tongue of which were made of gold hammered into thin sheets, and received in return a handsome mirror, an ewer, wash-pitcher, a shirt and pair of gloves.

The sailors, while not sharing in the gifts bestowed by the chief, profited equally well by exchanging with the natives hawk's bells, glass trinkets and other gewgaws, for pieces of gold, cotton and provisions. To this advantageous traffic was the added pleasure of the reverential regard in which the Indians held their guests, esteeming them, as they did, as beings so superior by birth that their advent must have been from the sky.

There was nothing for the sailors now to do but wander at will about the island and enjoy its many blessings ; where pleasing and restful conditions abounded ; where ambition was satiated by the prodigality of nature, the sensuousness of air, the mellifluence of flowering sweets and delicious fruitage ; where the smile of peace, the laugh of content, the hand of plenty, diffused universal joy and made life a dream of pleasure.

Columbus was himself so impressed by the beauty and advantage of these surroundings that he decided to effect at once a colonization of the island, and to this end he called for volunteers to remain as a nucleus until he could return to Spain and bring additional force. Much to his gratification, a considerable number indicated their willingness to accept the conditions offered. They were the more ready to embrace this opportunity to spend their lives in elegant ease, because of peculiar circumstances: the perils of a return voyage were not without effect, especially since only one vessel, the *Niña*, remained, and she the smallest and frailest of the three; but there was the more influential condition of intimacy which had been established between many of the sailors and the maidens of the islands. We may hope that a few at least of the connections thus formed were of the heart, and that a consecration of these informal marriages was found in the ennobling emotions and sentiments that inspired them, without which the most sacred of human bonds is profaned.

Forty-two men having signified their consent to remain on the island as colonists, Columbus set about the immediate construction of a fort, in the building of which the timbers of the stranded *Santa Maria* were used for a block-house and tower and her guns were recovered and mounted to complete the equipment. The fort thus established, as well as the harbor which it defended, was named in honor of The Nativity, *La Natividad*, and the command was given to Diego de Arana, who was also appointed governor. Among the colonists were several artisans, including a carpenter, cooper, tailor, gunsmith, and also a physician, and the comfort and necessities of the whole were carefully provided for by leaving a quantity of wine, provisions, clothing and merchandise for barter, all of which were stored in a natural cave of considerable dimensions over which the fort was

built. Besides these there was a liberal supply of small arms, which the colonists were cautioned to carry against surprise from invaders, and there was also a quantity of seed to sow in the land.

Having thus secured the safety of the colonists, Columbus delivered a touching address, in which he sought to impress them with the responsibilities they were about to assume as the first white settlers in the new world, and the deep sense of thankfulness which they should feel towards God for the watchful care and tender mercies He had shown them. He exhorted them to be diligent in the propagation of the Christian religion among the poor natives who had so hospitably received them, and to yield loyal obedience to the officers appointed over them. He counseled them particularly, in their intercourse with the natives, to observe the rights of all, to practice a pious continence in regard to women, to keep inviolate the bond of brotherhood in which their safety lay, and to remain within the jurisdiction of the cacique, to whose favors they owed so much and who would extend to them his protection.

On the 2d of January, 1493, Columbus gave a banquet to Guacanagari and took this last occasion of manifesting to him his appreciation of the many kindnesses which had been conferred upon him and his men since landing on the island. He accordingly gave the cacique a scarlet mantle, a pair of buskins, a silver ring and a necklace of beads. After bestowing these gifts he embraced the chief with such tenderness that tears came to the eyes of both, and amid such emotions the two parted.

A strong shore wind detained the *Niña* until the morning of January 4, when the final partings occurred, and the brave little ship lifted her sails and started to traverse the wide sea that separated her passengers from the shores of Spain. Many of these were gladdened with thoughts of home and

waiting friends, and there were others—natives of Hispaniola—who had consented to brave the dangers of the ocean world for a sight of that country whence the Spaniards came, and which they believed must be some celestial clime bordering the region of the sun.

CHAPTER VII.

GRAND even to the fulfillment of his first ambition was the discovery that would set his name on the very spire of Fame's temple, yet this supreme accomplishment could not totally repress the sense of present danger. How, then, can we estimate the misgivings, the hopes, the passions which must have agitated Columbus when the emerald banks of Hayti faded from his view, and a vast expanse of water spread away, suggestive of storm and peril that lay between him and the shores of Spain? There was elation for him, however, in the flattering belief that the colony planted in the New World would prove a nucleus around which would gather not only a glorious prestige, but from which would spread a great wave of Christianity and commerce to perpetuate his fame; and there was joy in the anticipation of vast accumulation of gold, which he believed the colonists would surely find on the island in quantities to load many ships. In this enrichment of his sovereigns he was to receive an eighth, which would enable him to accomplish his primal ambition. Lifted into ecstasy by his ever active imagination, while contemplating the golden sands and mountains of Cabique, a glorious vision filled his soul. The coffers of Spain were bursting with stores of gold, which inspired Christendom with new resolution to attempt a recovery of the Holy Land. What the Crusaders through two centuries had been unable to accomplish should now be done under the gilded banners of Castile and Aragon. See the marshaling of a numberless host, whose armors

dazzle from afar like dew-drops in the grass ; whose flaming falchions cleave the sun and flash its luster back in gleams scintillant. In God's name, under the legend of the cross, he sees the marching army, hears the inspiring blare of trumpet, and sights the standards of Spain, beside which waves in glory his own banner, emblazoned with devices that proclaim the splendor of his achievements : five anchors on a field of azure, map of the sea, thrice turreted, crenelated tower, and rampant lion. Oh, what a brilliant dream ! Alas, there is no beauty like that of dying day, when the palaces of cloud-land are set aflame with rays of a blood-red sun. There is no pall so great as when the fires die out and leave banks of blackened clouds rolling on the bosom of threatening night. So, from his dream of chivalry—of glory full attained—he awoke at last to find the vision faded, and that all his hopes were dead.

If he was transported by the anticipation of gains which he believed must come from his discoveries, he was dejected by harassments that sprang from fear, doubts and dangers. The one thorn of his misgivings was the contemplation of the results of Alonzo Pinzon's desertion. Twice had reports been brought to him while on Hispaniola that the *Pinta* had been sighted hovering near that land. As often did he send a boat in anxious search of the missing vessel, but all efforts to find her had been vain. Two months had now elapsed since the separation, and there was justification for the alarm that Columbus felt. The *Pinta* may have been lost on some dangerous reef ; the crew may have perished or been cast upon some desolate shore. But there was yet a graver fear. Pinzon had furnished a vessel from his own means ; he was a skillful navigator, and withal an ambitious man. Chafing under subordination to a foreigner, he may have had a cunning purpose in abandoning the expedition. His ship was the fastest sailer and the most seaworthy ;

might he not have designed a scheme to rob Columbus of the honors of discovery and appropriate them to himself; may he not have sailed away for Spain bearing the first news of a world beyond the sea, and conceived some specious story to magnify his deeds and disparage the Admiral, whose reputation a thousand enemies had been vainly trying to destroy?

But in the midst of these gloomy reflections Columbus was suddenly aroused by a glad cry set up at once by many sailors: "A ship! A ship!" Looking towards the north, there, sure enough, he saw the white sails of a vessel heading towards the shore of Hayti, and a few moments later discovered to him that the ship was none other than the *Pinta*, so long missing. Turning about, Columbus pointed the *Niña* towards a small bay, in which both vessels soon cast their anchors, and an eager scramble quickly followed, to exchange welcomes and congratulations. Pinzon paid his respects to Columbus as soon as he could reach the *Niña* and excused his desertion by a story such as might have been anticipated, though manifestly lacking the prime element of veracity. He claimed that violent weather on November 20th had driven him far out of his course, despite all his efforts, and losing sight of the other ships he had spent the time, up to this meeting, in a vain attempt to join them. For prudential seasons Columbus suppressed his feelings and appeared to hear with satisfaction the explanations and apologies of his subordinate, whose desertion he knew was inspired by selfishness and avarice, as already explained. Besides this, it was presently learned that Pinzon had put in at one of the bays of San Domingo, where he had opened a traffic with the natives, from whom he had obtained a considerable quantity of gold, the half of which he gave his crew as a bribe for their silence.

But even with this evidence of his perfidy, Columbus

wisely chose to receive Pinzon with appearances of gratification and pardon, since he was a man of wealth and influence in Palos, to whom a majority of the sailors, being his countrymen, were devotedly attached and would not have brooked a deprivation of his command or his treatment as a mutineer.

During a stay of three days in the bay where the ships met, preparations were completed for a return trip to Spain, but just before departure, many glittering particles of mica were discovered in the mouth of the river Yaqui, near by which were believed to be gold, and a considerable collection of the worthless metal was made and carried on board the vessels for transportation to Spain. In honor of the supposed fabulous find, Columbus named the river Rio del Oro.

On the 9th of January, departure was made from the anchorage where the vessels had met, but owing to contrary winds on the following day, the ships put into a harbor where Martin Alonzo Pinzon had lain some time before trafficking with the natives. Here it was learned that Pinzon had seized six islanders, among the number being two beautiful girls, whom he designed to carry back to Spain and sell as slaves. But whether prompted by jealousy or humanity, Columbus ordered them released and conciliated the outraged natives by liberal donations of hawk's bells, beads, mirrors, and cloths.

Proceeding again from the place of this last detention, the ships rounded a promontory and on the second day came to land where a new and more warlike tribe of aborigines was discovered, which Las Casas describes as wearing long hair and decorating their bodies with paint and feathers. They were well armed with war clubs, swords of hardened palm-wood, and bows and arrows of formidable size, so that in many respects they resembled the North American Indians.

Efforts to establish intercourse with these fierce islanders were not at first successful, and some curious beliefs directly obtained among the Spaniards respecting their cannibal propensities. At length, however, a party of sailors succeeded in bartering several trinkets for a few specimens of the native weapons, but when they attempted to return with their prizes the sailors were fiercely attacked in an effort made by the islanders to recover the articles which they had exchanged. In defending themselves the Spaniards wounded two of the natives, who retired sullenly, but with an exhibition of surprise rather than of fear. This rupture in what, for a while, bid fair for the establishment of amicable relations, was repaired on the following day by peaceful overtures made by Columbus, who, distributing a quantity of presents among the islanders, at length induced the cacique of these people to visit him on board the *Niña* where he was most generously entertained, and requited this kind treatment by sending to the ships a large supply of fruits and vegetables.

Spreading his sails again, Columbus went in quest of the country of the Caribs and Amazons, and being variously directed by all the natives with whom he came in contact, his course was in as many directions, until the sailors became bitter in their objections to further explorations which prolonged their absence from home without bringing any substantial benefits. In deference to their wishes, therefore, Columbus turned the prow of his vessel eastward for the shores of Spain.

Up to this time, for a period of six months, the weather had been propitious, nor did it yet become heavy, but the vessels now encountered trade winds blowing from the east, which compelled them to tack and beat about until the sailors became confused as to the point of their course. It was also directly discovered that the *Pinta*, was falling behind by reason of the neglect of her commander to repair

her foremast, which had been broken during his independent cruise about Hayti. This caused Columbus great delay, as he had to proceed under half sail in order to keep company with the laboring consort. At the slow pace the vessels were now making the sailors were able to amuse themselves by leaping overboard, swimming around the ships, and in taking great numbers of fish, which constantly played about the caravels in immense shoals. A large shark was also captured, which lent excitement to the other pleasures of the sailors, who fared sumptuously on fresh fish, and the flesh of the shark, which they declared was most palatable.

The last days of January slipped by with no more important incidents, and in the doubtfulness of their course and position, Columbus and his officers began to debate as to what part of the coast of Europe they were likely to strike, a subject rendered particularly confusing to the sailing officers by reason of the false reckonings made by him on his outward voyage. But every prospect continued auspicious, with no dissatisfaction save in the slowness at which the vessels were moving, until the afternoon of February 12th, when a howling wind, swelling sea, and lowering clouds became nature's precursor of an approaching storm.

Before night set in a roaring tempest came swooping out of the northeast and struck the little vessels with a fury that threatened their destruction; but Columbus had prepared them for the battle by taking in all sail, thus leaving them to run before the blast with bare poles.

The first onslaught of the wind was followed by a lull, in which the storm gathered up all its reserved forces and then repeated the charge with greatly increased rage, heeling the ships and hurling mad billows in tumultuous impetuosity against their frail sides. As darkness curtained the lashing waves the roar of the bounding sea was drowned by a terrific bombardment from heaven's artillery, and con-

tinuous flashes of lightning sent terror to the souls of the poor encompassed ones. The anger of nature seemed turned against the ships that were bearing home with them report of a new world beyond the evening gates of the sun, as if jealous of a discovery destined to turn the chivalry of Europe from contemplating a rescue of the Holy Land, to the reclamation of another continent, where commerce and Christianity would march together to higher attainments than they had ever before reached. Down in the cavernous depths, or on the spray-capped crest of the billows, the cry of despair was mingled with the voice of prayer, but there came no other answer than wild dash of surge, deafening peal of thunder, or blinding flashes riving the cimmerician vault of rolling clouds where all the fiends of fury appeared to be holding carnival.

And thus the dreadful night wore away in tumultuary distress, and morning broke with no pity for the horrified sailors. In the riot of wind and wave the two vessels were separated, and the crews of each now contemplated the destruction of the other. When light of day came stealing down the east it was only to expose a sea lashing in impetuous anger, and a sky black and ominous of death, with never a rift anywhere in the dreadfulness of an awful surrounding. The little ship, poorly equipped and sorely out of repair, had not borne these buffetings without serious impairment, and before she had weathered this first night of storm her seams began to open, thus multiplying the chances of her foundering and carrying all on board into graves where winding-sheets are not necessary to corpses nor the service of sexton essential in the obsequies.

All prayer being unavailing, Columbus, still strong in his religious faith, had recourse to penance, feeling that his own and the sins of those who composed his crew must have brought upon them God's wrath in the form of storm

visitation. First repeating his vows before the image of the Holy Virgin, he prepared lots by selecting dried beans equal to the number of those on board, upon one of which a cross was made; then exacting an agreement that he who should draw the marked bean would, if his life were spared, make a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe and bear thither a wax taper of five pounds' weight, placed the beans in a cap and the lottery began. Each one was to draw in the order of his rank, and it happened that Columbus, being first, drew the marked bean. A second vow was then taken, that he upon whom the lot should next fall would make a holy pilgrimage to the Chapel of Our Lady of Loretto. At this second drawing the obligation fell on Pedro de Villa, who, being too poor to bear the expenses of such a journey, Columbus generously offered to discharge them himself. A third time lots were drawn, he upon whom the sign should fall vowing to repair to the Church of Santa Clara, at Moguer, where he was to participate in High Mass, and spend the entire night in prayer before the altar. This lot also devolved upon Columbus by his drawing the marked bean. But the obligations thus self-imposed were not yet completed, for the storm continuing, without any signs of abatement, the entire crew registered a vow that if all were spared, they would, at the first place of landing, proceed in procession, with no other garment upon their bodies than a shirt, to the nearest shrine, and there offer up thanksgivings for their deliverance. We cannot frame a reasonable excuse for such a vow, beyond the supposition that it involved mortification, and was imposed as a sign of extreme humility; but whatever the reason, certainly the feelings of those whom the half-naked sailors might meet at the shrine were not considered, and without irreverence we may pause to wonder if such a display would have been pleasing to the sight of the Blessed Virgin.

But all this manifestation of deep piety failed to lull the storm beatings, or bring peace to the angry waters, which continued to surge with a fury appalling in its intensity. The fears that had beset the sailors now thoroughly possessed their Admiral, who, considering his destruction as inevitable, began, as best he could, to concert means for preserving the results of his discoveries. It is pathetic to follow the workings of his sublime intelligence in this hour of supreme peril and resignation to fate. The concerns of his own life were of less moment to him now than were those of his children and patrons. The somewhat consoling reflection came to him that if by any means a knowledge of his deeds could be communicated to their majesties of Spain, then his two sons, Diego and Fernando, would receive from these sovereigns all the emoluments and honors stipulated in the contracts under which he had sailed. To conceive the idea was to execute a plan, in pursuance of which he hurriedly composed a sketch of his voyage and the great discoveries which he had made, and wrapping the precious parchment in a waxed cloth, which in turn was incased in wax, committed it to a water-tight cask, and cast it into the sea, hoping that favoring currents might carry it to some friendly shore. To insure the delivery of the packet, in case of its recovery from the waves, he directed it to the Queen of Castile, and appended a promissory obligation of a thousand ducats (equal to as many dollars of American money) to any one who should restore it unopened to her Majesty.

But not yet content with the chance which he thus provided, Columbus made a copy of the sketch, which he likewise inclosed in a barrel, but instead of intrusting it directly to the sea, fastened it securely to the poop of his ship, so that in case of wreck it might be borne upon the bosom of the sea until found by some passing vessel in the future.

What a secret for the ocean to so long possess; what a precious thing for historians to acquire. To this day has hope continued in its ultimate recovery, and since its preciousness cannot be computed, enthusiasts still picture the results of its restoration from the sea. To find this parchment now would be like the recovery of a letter written by Richard the Lion Heart in the German prison; or the restoration of the original manuscripts of the Pandects of Justinian; or the notes of Demosthenes for his great oration on the crown; or the Hebrew Ark of the Covenant.

So valuable would be such a possession that reports of the finding of the cask have been published more than once to excite the credulous and to amuse the wise. As late as 1852, directly after that unveracious but universal historian—the newspaper correspondent—had been born into the world, one of that inventive craft, whose business it is to create what may not be discovered, contributed to an English paper an elaborate story describing the details of the recovery of the barrel by the captain of a Boston ship named the *Chieftain*, who, it was declared, found it embedded deeply in the sand on the coast of Africa. For a while the fiction was accepted as true, and even Lamartine adopted it as a verity, only to repudiate it later, however, when the hoax was exploded.

The prayers, vows and precautions which so long seemed unavailing were followed by relief towards evening of the third day, when, with the declining sun, there appeared promising streaks of light cleaving retiring clouds, and when night came on the merry stars were revealed as if laughing with joy for the danger passed. But though the sky was now serene, deep heavings of the sea continued, rendering progress slow and painful, while anxiety for the safety of the *Pinta* still deeply concerned Columbus, whose dreadful anticipations were reflected by all of his crew.

On the morning following the subsidence of the storm, February 15th, Rui Garcia perceived by the faint light of breaking day the dark outline of an island towards the northeast, and all on board the *Niña* were quickly apprised of the discovery. Many different opinions were hazarded as to the land thus seen, but the claim of Columbus, that it was one of the Azores, was presently confirmed by a close approach to shore, when the characteristic peaks of Santa Maria became unmistakable. But the sea was still so turbulent that anchorage could not be attempted, and for two days the vessel beat about, but stood off the shore, and when the anchor was at last cast on the evening of the 17th, the cable parted, compelling the *Niña* to lie to until morning.

It was a singular fact that landing was at length accomplished at the same islands from which departure was made in the preceding autumn, and that it was the frailest of the three vessels which succeeded in returning to these Portuguese possessions, out of the very throat of the most violent storm that had been known in the memory of man.

No sooner had the *Niña* effected an anchorage in the mouth of an inviting bay, than many of the inhabitants came out to welcome the voyagers, bringing such provisions as the island produced, and were regaled in turn with astounding stories of discovery and adventure in the New World.

In fulfillment of the vow which the crew had solemnly recorded in an hour of imminent peril, Columbus, who was suffering severely from an attack of gout, besides exhaustion from exposure of a three days' unbroken watch, sent half of all his sailors to a hermitage not far from the anchorage to perform penance, while he sought a needed rest until their return. True to their holy obligation, the Spaniards went ashore, barefoot and with no more clothing than a short skirt, insufficient to hide their nakedness. Then, forming in

procession, they marched towards the chapel, where a priest was engaged to perform mass. On the way, however, they were intercepted by a squad of soldiers, sent by Juan de Castaneda, governor of the island, to apprehend them for outraging the proprieties of all civilization by thus exposing their nakedness to the rabble of villagers who followed close at their heels with hootings and objurgations. The arrest, as some authorities maintain, was not made until the Spaniards gained the chapel, and were in the act of performing their vows before the altar, when the governor himself appeared and urged the soldiers to obey his orders, who then conducted the sailors to the garrison prison.

The long absence of those of his crew who had gone on shore gave Columbus such uneasiness that he moved his ship to a position commanding a view of the hermitage, hoping thereby to ascertain the cause, and to be in a position to afford his men protection in case it was necessary. Scarcely had he dropped anchor again when the governor was seen riding down the hill at the head of a troop of horsemen, who were able to approach sufficiently near the *Niña* to give a hail, and directly a boat was pushed out which conveyed the governor on board the vessel. An interview then followed in which Castaneda informed Columbus of the arrest of his sailors, and that he had acted under commands of the King of Portugal. This developed a serious condition of affairs, which Columbus could not help regarding as a hostile act, and he accordingly adopted vigorous measures to resist arrest, believing either that Spain and Portugal were at war, or that jealousy had prompted King John to concert means for his destruction. The defiant air of Castaneda gave color of reason to either assumption, and prevented an understanding of the real situation. The wind now increasing strongly off shore, Columbus was compelled to hoist his anchor and move out

to sea again, where for two days he was buffeted about in great danger and with only half a crew to manage the ship. On the 22d the weather moderated sufficiently to permit a return to his first anchorage, where he was visited by a Portuguese notary and ten priests. The interview which followed was of a more conciliatory character, the officer explaining that the governor had taken the Spaniards for pirates, which at that time infested every sea, but told Columbus if his commission and ship's papers were regular, the sailors would be promptly liberated and proper apologies made. The misapprehensions and suspicions of both parties were thus relieved by an exhibition of the letters patent; those under arrest were set at liberty, and upon their return to the *Niña* Columbus and the others of his crew proceeded to fulfill their vows, according to the conditions of their self-imposed obligation.

On the 24th of February, the Admiral, having replenished his stores, and made some necessary repairs to the ship, started again on his homeward voyage. For three days after leaving Santa Maria the weather was fair, and such speed was made that he reckoned the distance to Cape St. Vincent was not more than a thousand miles. Whoever studies carefully the movements of great enterprises, and discovering often at the very crisis of the thing about to be accomplished the opposition of adverse forces, marshaled as if in a battalion, and bearing down vehemently to prevent by sheer hostility and elemental war the completion of the work in hand, may almost become superstitious lest nature herself have confederated with diabolical agencies to thwart and ruin the hopes of men. It seemed in the present case that sky and sea and tempest, over and above the enmity of the human race, had conspired in the last hour to prevent the success of the great enterprise, to hurl back and send to the oblivion of ocean caverns the glorious discoveries which

Columbus had made in the occident. On the night of February 27th, the storm god swooped out of the west again with fell fury in his breath, and struck the little vessel with such terrific force that every timber in her groaned with the impact. Yet she rode before the blast without material injury until the night of March 2d, when the gale increased to such violence that in a trice the little sails still spread were burst and blown into tatters, while the vessel was plunged so deeply into the sea that it appeared she could never rise again. Great guns from the heavenly ramparts boomed their responses to the hissing of fiery dragons vaulting across the skies. Clouds boiled like thick vapors from witches' caldrons until they seemed to take on shapes of demons, wraiths, monsters of hellish mien and Satanic hate, while dashing billows leaped up and shook their white locks defiant of the powers of air. So intense were the paroxysms of infuriate nature that all the world appeared to be torn asunder and chaos had grasped the sea in its withering hand. In the darkness that came as a mantle to hide the destruction of the elements, hope nearly perished, and but for the sustaining strength of pious faith Columbus would have abandoned himself to the fate which appeared inevitable. In this hour of dreadful peril he had recourse to the means which seemed to avail him in an extremity scarcely more hopeless. Yielding to his soul's impulses, he mentally resolved to perform new penances, and assembling the crew, as best he could despite the plunging of the ship, he produced the cap of beans and bade each to draw one therefrom. Most strange coincidence, when the drawing was completed he found the marked bean in his own hand again: whereupon he took a vow that, if spared to gain the shore, he would make a pilgrimage in bare feet to the shrine of Santa Maria de la Cueva (or Cinta), in Huelva.

Whatever the cause, though devout persons will always

consider it as a mark of propitiated deity, when the morning of March 3d broke, there was visible along the horizon of a leaden sky the shore of Portugal, against which breakers were dashing mountain high. A cheer went up at this sight of land, but it was quickly hushed by a sudden realization of danger that broke in frantic dashing of huge billows along the rocky shore. So all day the *Niña* held to sea, bounding up and down on the great waves, until the following morning the promontory of Cintra, near Lisbon, was recognized, when an effort was made to enter the estuary of the Tagus, which was accomplished some time in the afternoon.

The inhabitants of the town of Cascaes, and along the shore, had watched with painful suspense the dangerous buffeting of the strange vessel, every moment, for many hours, expecting its engulfment, and when at last a safe anchorage was reached thousands of persons came down to the bay and put off in boats to offer welcomes and congratulations, which changed to praise and thanksgiving when they learned that the stranger was the *Niña*, with Columbus and his followers, bearing tidings from a new world. Directly the anchor was let go, Columbus dispatched a letter to King John, who was then with his court at Valparaiso, thirty miles from Lisbon, requesting permission to enter and refit at the port of Lisbon, and asking protection during his stay in Portuguese waters, at the same time describing, in the briefest way, the discoveries which he had made. Before a reply could be received, however, Columbus became involved in trouble with Alonzo de Acuna, commander of a man-of-war which lay in the roadstead, who peremptorily summoned the Admiral to report in person the object of his entering Portuguese waters. To this command the Admiral returned a defiant answer, but sent his commission bearing the autographs of Ferdinand and

Isabella, which had the most pronounced effect. Thus learning his name, rank and mission, Acuna immediately returned his profound acknowledgments and proceeded to pay homage to the returned explorer as flattering as one brave man may pay another. Launching his largest boat, Acuna decorated it with bunting, in which Portuguese and Spanish banners were blended, and taking on board his military band, paid a visit of imposing display to Columbus, to whom he offered his services in the most generous spirit.

The excitement which followed fast upon the report of Columbus' return and discoveries was indescribably intense, largely increased by the belief that his escape from the storms that had prevailed with unexampled fury must be due to a special manifestation of Providence in his behalf. The people made haste to inform him that no other such tempest had occurred within the memory of man. Scarcely any shipping along the coast of Europe had escaped destruction, in proof of which the shores were strewn with wrecks of vessels; and yet the *Niña*, small and frail as she was, had survived all the wrathful violence of wind and waves, to bring back results of the grandest effort ever undertaken by an ambitious mind.

The friendliness and enthusiasm of those that had gathered about the estuary of the Tagus was presently reinforced by receipt of a message from King John, in which the requests made by Columbus were not only granted, but he was complimented in the most flattering words of praise, and urgently invited to visit the court at its sitting in Valparaiso. The same messenger that handed this cordial communication to Columbus also bore a patronizing letter from the King, directed to his officers, ordering that the Admiral and his crew be furnished without cost everything which they might require.

Recognizing the graciousness and apparent sincerity of the King, Columbus was resolved to accept the invitation, and accordingly set out, accompanied by one of his pilots, acting as *aide-de-camp*, for Valparaiso. But scarcely had he started when he was met by several officers of the King's household, who had been sent to serve as his retinue and escort him on the journey. Having started at a late hour, it was necessary for Columbus to pass the night at Sacamben, where, to his surprise, a princely entertainment was provided for him, at which the entire town united in demonstrations in his honor.

The reception which King John accorded Columbus on his arrival at Valparaiso was as magnificent as would have characterized the welcome of the most powerful prince in all Europe. The most distinguished ambassador may not sit, or stand with covered head, in the presence of royalty, but so great was his courtesy towards and favor for Columbus, that the King treated him with the most cordial consideration regardless of rank, and conducting him to a seat directly before the throne, requested the great navigator to recite the story of his wonderful discoveries.

The interest of King John was as intense as his regret was poignant, and he followed the narrative of Columbus as one might do who realized that he had lost a world through his own folly; when he made his first comment on the results of the discoveries, it was to betray the jealousy and chagrin which disturbed his mind. Said he, "Your enterprise well deserves the praise of all mankind, but I feel the greater joy because, according to the treaty which we concluded with Castile, 1479, and the Papal Bull of partition, the discovery of these new countries, and their conquest, pertain to the crown of Portugal of right." To this unwarranted inference, which clearly exposed the King's feelings, Columbus deferentially replied that he had not

read the treaty and was not informed as to its nature ; but that acting under instructions from the Spanish sovereigns, which had taken the form of an order published in all the seaports of Andalusia, he had carefully avoided trenching upon Portuguese possessions. At this, the King cut him short by reminding him that the question would be settled without the intervention of his services as umpire.

The interview thus terminated for that day, and Columbus was given over to the attention and care of the highest officers of the court, but on the following day, which was Sunday, King John invited Columbus to another conversation, during which the monarch asked many questions, manifestly with the view of informing himself as fully as possible concerning the inhabitants, soil, climate, products, landscape, and, above all, the route to the new world, and the distance at which it lay ; to all of which questions a frank reply was returned, and at the conclusion of this audience Columbus was dismissed and the King summoned his Council for a conference. What transpired at this deliberation can only be conjectured, but nearly all authorities agree that a project for robbing Columbus of his discoveries was discussed, and that some of the more perfidious counselors even recommended his assassination. But such a proposal is so monstrous that, in view of the gracious attitude which the King publicly assumed to manifest his appreciation of Columbus, as well as his subsequent generous conduct, the assertion appears preposterous. Sinister designs may have been, and no doubt were, harbored against the Admiral by his many enemies, some of whom were very near the Portuguese Court, but the King was too chivalrous to entertain such iniquitous desire. He no doubt sincerely believed, in the imperfect knowledge of geography at the time, that some of the rights of Portugal, which had been guaranteed to her by the Papal Bull, and

accorded to the infant Don Henry, had been infringed by the explorations of Columbus, but he was too shrewd a monarch to believe that such right, if violated, could be preserved through the assassination of one who was but an instrument or agent of the Spanish sovereigns.

But while opposed to personal outrage, King John was open to other proposals, one of which flattered his expectations as appearing to provide a means for acquiring peaceable possession of the new lands beyond the sea. The suggestion which found favor was that the King should at once equip a powerful squadron, able to maintain itself against Spain, seize the Portuguese sailors who had returned with Columbus, who would serve as guides, and thus equipped, send the fleet to the new lands to hold them against all claims of previous discovery. In the event of rupture between Portugal and Spain, King John could justify his act by the treaty of 1479, and call upon the Pope to defend the Bull guaranteeing certain rights to Don Henry.

This crafty advice so pleased the King that he immediately resolved to adopt it as the basis of his policy. To enable him the better to carry it into effect, without at once arousing the hostility of Spain, he abated none of his courtesies to Columbus, but rather increased them. When the Admiral, therefore, expressed a desire to proceed to Spain, King John offered him a large escort to conduct him thither by land; but Columbus desired to return to Palos first by water, so as to discharge his crew at that port, where many of them lived, and accordingly declined the monarch's proposal. But that he might not part from Columbus without further marks of his favor, the King presented him with several valuable gifts and sent Don Martin de Morón and several lords of the court to conduct him safely to his vessel.

The Queen, who was meanwhile sojourning at the monastery of Villa Franca, sent word to Columbus to call upon her while on his way back to the coast, which he did, and entertained her with recital of his discoveries and adventures in the New World. After the interview with her Majesty he continued on to the Tagus, and on the following day set sail for Palos, where he arrived in safety about noon, March 15th, after an absence from that port of two hundred and twenty-five days. Thus was accomplished in the brief space of seven and one-half months the most important voyage, because most resultful, in all the annals of mankind ; one which crowns the brow of civilization with the most imperishable chaplet that fame has ever bestowed ; which, next to the salvation of the world, was the gift of a new one, and thus next to the prophet stands the discoverer.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE city of Palos, from whose quays the Columbian argonauts had set out on their great mission, stood smiling at a sea which, now tamed by a gentle breeze, lapped her feet with the affectionate joy that a hunter's hound caresses the hand of its master. Across the wide expanse of fathomless waters the declining sun stretched his fingers of warmth as if to greet with congratulation and welcome the mariner who had explored the lands kissed by his fading beams. To howling storm had succeeded the laughter of zephyrs, and dashing wave-beats that heaved with fury against her rock-bound coast now fell away like one ashamed of anger, and came stealing up the beach leaving a lace-like tracery of foam upon the shore. This peaceful scene of nature, where sea, and sky, and landscape had blended in a harmony that charmed the sensuous appetites of man in the soft and sun-lighted climes of Southern Spain, appeared like nature's preparation to receive with triumphal rejoicing the return of that great Admiral, who, like Ulysses, had survived a thousand ocean perils, but who, unlike that heroic Ithacan, had brought back his followers, and the story of a new world found where the sun falls into the sea.

When the white but tattered sails of the *Niña* appeared in the offing, bearing towards the gates of Palos, excitement in the city—whither the news of Columbus' return had preceded him—became unbounded. Many wondered what fate had befallen the *Pinta*, but in the general belief long entertained that all had perished, there was unspeakable

joy at the survival of even one vessel of the exploring squadron. So when the *Niña* dropped anchor before Palos, thousands flocked to the docks in their eagerness to meet friends or relatives who had sailed with Columbus, or to hear the dread story of how they had perished. One of the first to descry the incoming vessel was the faithful Juan Perez, the Father Guardian of La Rabida, who had watched with true paternal concern for many days from the upper window of the convent for the return of his friend. The Father's long deferred hopes being at last realized, he rushed with inexpressible delight towards the landing place, where he received Columbus, as he came on shore, with wide-open arms, and raised his eyes in thankfulness to heaven for the blessings of that hour, and for the gift from God, through His instrument, of a new world. But faithful to the vows he had taken when peril was greatest, Columbus hastened to the chapel of Palos, there to return thanks and give praises to heaven for the success which had attended his expedition, and for the Providence that had permitted his safe return.

De Lorgues says that Columbus was not alone in his devotions before the shrine of the Virgin, but that the sacrilegious interruption of their vows by the Portuguese Governor on Santa Maria required its full accomplishment now, and that accordingly all the seamen, bare-footed and in their shirts, from the cabin boy even to the Admiral, in the piteous garb of shipwrecked mariners, went in procession through the streets of Palos, to the chapel of La Rabida, and there offered their supplications in unison.

While at his devotions Columbus heard a cry of joy raised outside of the chapel, and rising from his knees, learned with rapturous delight that the *Pinta* had been descried, and was now making her way across the bay towards the mouth of the Odiel. The pilot of the *Pinta* was

the first to reach the shore, who in response to the urgings of Columbus gave report of the circumstances that had attended his ship after her separation from the *Niña*. The sails of the *Pinta* had been rent in tatters by the irresistible blasts of the storm, while her rudder was crippled by the powerful impact of heavy seas. Thus, practically helpless, she was driven into the Bay of Biscay. For a while she appeared to be doomed to certain destruction upon the breakers, but Pinzon, with his usual skill and apparently providential help, succeeded in casting an anchor which happily held her off the shore, where the vessel rode for more than a day before he considered it safe to make an effort to put into the harbor of Bayonne. On the 8th of March the storm had sufficiently subsided to permit of Pinzon bringing his shattered bark into the harbor, where, considering his situation, and believing that the *Niña* and her crew had undoubtedly perished, he proceeded to assert his claim to the honors and fame of the expedition. Accordingly, he ventured to compose a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, setting forth the principal incidents of the voyage, as he chose to relate them, and of the finding of the Indies, in which he claimed to have been the principal discoverer. This communication he dispatched to the Spanish Court at Barcelona, and then put to sea, arriving at Palos within a few hours after the return of Columbus. Having heard this report of the actions of Pinzon, Columbus expressed his surprise that the commander had not as yet come on shore, to which the pilot replied that discovering the *Niña* safe in the anchorage of Palos, Pinzon was greatly surprised and chagrined, and believing that his bad faith would soon be revealed, had taken his boat and gone privately to shore. Effort was made then to find him, but he kept himself in privacy, determined not to meet Columbus, pondering over the perfidy which he had exhibited, and

which was soon to break upon his head in the fullest power of smitten conscience.

In a few days there came in answer to his communication sent from Bayonne a letter from the sovereigns, who, hearing of the Admiral's arrival, and perceiving the falsity of Pinzon's heart and purpose, upbraided him for his conduct and forbade him to come into their presence. The proud spirit of the captain gave way under this stroke. He sank under the unspeakable grief and mortification which this rebuke inspired, and in a few days died, as every one believed, of a broken heart.

The defection of Martin Alonzo Pinzon is not without many examples in history, and considering the avaricious and condemnable ambitions of the age, as well as the attendant circumstances, his attempt to supplant Columbus may be partially condoned. It must be admitted that to him was due, in a large degree, the success of the expedition. Being one of the first in Spain to appreciate the plans of Columbus, he not only used his influence to create favorable public opinion towards the expedition, but also aided it with great liberality. Not only did he contribute a vessel from his own means, but he embarked with his brothers and friends in the quest, thus hazarding both his property and his life in the enterprise. These circumstances, though receiving no consideration at the time, were subsequently generously regarded by Charles V., who, in recognition of the eminent services which Pinzon had rendered, granted his family the rank and privileges of nobility, and also conferred upon them a coat of arms emblematic of the great discovery.

The first formal act of Columbus was to send a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella announcing briefly his arrival at Palos and the success of his undertaking. While awaiting a reply thereto he was the center of public interest and was

assailed by a thousand inquiries concerning the new world from which he had just returned. For a greater part of the interval he was the guest of Father Perez, to whom fell the pleasant task of saying mass and offering thanksgiving for the return of the expedition and the glorious work that had been accomplished. After this the sailors were for the most part discharged, many of whom had their homes in the town or neighborhood, and a few, as will be recalled, were under conviction for high crimes at the time of their departure. But such was the temper of the public mind in thankfulness for the great discoveries made that punishment of the criminals was not only remitted, but they were converted into men of historic renown. It was thus for a few days that Columbus passed the time in the Monastery of La Rabida, conversing with the Fathers of St. Francis and outlining his plans for the future. He also availed himself of the opportunity to send letters to his wife at Cordova, and to transmit a communication by messenger to Genoa, bearing the good news to the people of his native town, and asking his venerable father, and his brother Guiacomo, known in history as Don Diego, to come at once to see him in Spain. Nor did the discoverer and his friend, Father Perez, fail to forward a petition to the Pope, praying the issuance of a Papal ordinance establishing a line of demarcation north and south one hundred leagues to the west of the Azores, thus dividing the seas and land, and providing that west of this line all new discoveries and possessions should belong to Spain. This petition of the Admiral was used as the basis of the famous Papal Bull issued by Pope Alexander VI. on the 3d of May, 1493.

Having attended to these preliminaries, Columbus proceeded to Seville, where he received the first communication from their Majesties, containing a request for him to repair at once to Barcelona for a personal interview. As

he had been in expectation of such a command he immediately set forth on his journey, which was destined to be the most memorable personal event ever witnessed in the Spanish peninsula. The route of the Admiral lay through the provinces of Valencia, Murcia and Castile, the fairest portions of Spain, and the journey developed into a triumphal procession commemorated in song and story for more than a century afterwards, and which may be heard in Spain to this day. The route all along was thronged with people, who gave themselves up to transports of jubilant demonstration. Crowds of shouting people followed after the procession, eager to get a glance at the greatest man of the age, and moved with equal curiosity to behold the strange beings and wonderful things which he had brought with him from the Indies.

Meanwhile, the Spanish sovereigns made extraordinary preparations to receive the man who had brought such great honor to their names. A solemn and beautiful scene was prepared in the great throne-room where the sovereigns held their court, and where the *élite* of the nobility were gathered to welcome the great Admiral in the presence of their Majesties. As Columbus approached Barcelona on the morning of April 15th, many gayly-dressed cavaliers rode forth to meet him, and to act as a guard of honor in conducting him into the city. A marvelous sight was presented as the cavalcade passed through the gates of the city. The streets were not only crowded with people, but the housetops were covered with humanity, rending the air with shouts of admiration and welcome. Columbus, too, had carefully prepared his little procession so that the effect might be as striking as possible. Six of the ten natives whom he had brought with him from the Indies (one dying on the return voyage and three being left sick in Palos), gorgeously painted and adorned in their own fashion,

were placed in the front. After them were borne parrots and other creatures, living or dead, which the Admiral had collected as examples of the animal life of the New World. Following these were carried a collection of natural productions, including cotton, tobacco and medicinal plants, and next to these were exposed to view, on litters, ornaments made from gold, and specimens of precious stones which had been obtained from the natives. At the rear rode Columbus, accompanied by a brilliant throng of hidalgos and grandees of Spain.

No prouder moment in the life of any man has been recorded than that when the great Admiral of the ocean seas was ushered before Spain's sovereigns. While eminently practical in many positions requiring genius to direct, Columbus was acutely susceptible to the blandishments and praises of men, the spectacular appealing especially to his nature. Those who have best studied his character have therefore many times pointed out the qualities of a knight and crusader, which were particularly prominent in his composition. The apparent elation of spirit which this scene inspired in him was conspicuous in his bearing, though he never subordinated his dignity to the pomp of egotism. He was excusable, too, in contrasting the harsh buffetings, disappointments and mortifications which he had suffered for nearly a quarter of a century, with the triumph which he had achieved, and the national homage thus paid to his persistence and genius.

Upon being ushered into the royal presence Columbus beheld Ferdinand and Isabella seated upon their thrones under a splendid canopy of gold brocade, while beside them sat Prince Juan, heir apparent to the Spanish crown. Upon either hand were arranged many nobles and officers of the government, including grandees of Castile, Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia, and counselors of state, ministers and other

dignitaries, while as many richly dressed ladies attended upon the Queen. Columbus, whose appearance had now grown venerable through the markings of care in his countenance and hair, walked forward to salute their Majesties, his face lighted up with a smile of intense gratification. About to kneel in their presence and kiss their hands according to the courtly manners of the age, the King and Queen hesitated to accept the obeisance of a man who had reflected such distinguished honors not only upon himself, but upon the Spanish Crown as well. They accordingly themselves arose from their seats, and raising him from his bended posture, invested him with the insignia of a grandee, and commanded him to sit in a richly decorated arm-chair immediately in front of them, a thing unknown at royal receptions, except in cases of princes and nobles of the highest rank. Thus seated, Columbus was to recite to the royal ears the interesting story of his voyage and wonderful discoveries. Presenting the trophies and exhibits of his expedition, Columbus next introduced the natives, whom he brought from the strange country of the Indies, and in presenting them before the interested King and Queen described their manners, virtues and mode of life; likewise the birds and animals were exhibited, as also the fruits and foreign plants, and their value to man explained. In a like manner the gold ore, in its native state, and in ornaments, was then produced to delight the avaricious eyes of the sovereigns and their court. Under the influence of his sanguine temperament Columbus could not forbear to point out, as if by prophecy, a greater promise of future explorations and discoveries. The things displayed as the fruits of his first voyage were mere hints of more abundant things to come.

The effect produced by this recitation and exhibition was well marked. At times the King and Queen exhibited

great emotion, and at the close of the interview, prompted by religious impulse, they sank upon their knees, offering up thanksgiving for the great things which had been accomplished in their reign. After the sovereigns had thus poured forth their thanks and praises, the great choir of the Royal Chapel took up the anthem of the *Te Deum* and rendered it with all the unction and solemnity of the hour.

At the close of the first interview with Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus was conducted to the place assigned for his residence and entertainment. But the interest attaching to his person and his deeds did not quickly subside. The people of Barcelona and the surrounding region continued to watch for his appearing, and to follow his train wherever he went. Meanwhile his mind was occupied with the revision of old plans and with new dreams which came with his triumph. The possibility of doing some great thing for the extension and uplifting of the Catholic cause in the far east occurred, as it had often done before, in this hour of his exaltation. One of the motives which he had formerly presented to the King and Queen for patronizing his voyage of discovery was the religious use to which the vast wealth of the Indies might be diverted by the sovereigns in case they should be able to replenish their coffers from the Orient. The particular thing now contemplated was the old project of recovering the Holy Land and the tomb of Christ from the infidels.

At the present juncture, Columbus did not hesitate to offer his services and the expected wealth of the New World in the sacred cause of expelling Islamism from Palestine. He engaged within the space of seven years to furnish, from his part of the profits of the Indies, the means with which to raise an army of fifty thousand infantry and four thousand horse for a new crusade. Nor did he doubt that in another five years a second army of like proportions could be raised

and equipped from the same resources. To do this thing he recorded a vow. Nor can there be any doubt of his confidence and sincerity. His dream contemplated the deliverance of Western Asia and Eastern Europe from the Turks and Arabs, and the setting up of the Cross in place of the fallen Crescent.

In a short time the intelligence of the discovery of another world was disseminated not only throughout Spain, but over all Western Europe. Everywhere the tidings were received with astonishment, as though the revelation had come from another planet. Perhaps at no other epoch, and with no other event in the history of the human race, had so sudden and great a transformation been accomplished in the thoughts and speculations of men. The misty conjectures of a thousand years respecting the mysteries of the ocean and the figure of the earth were suddenly swept away. Vague mythologies, geographical fictions, artificial constructions, and possibilities of an impossible geography, dim and exaggerated stories of the unknown deep and islands of the West, were brushed with one stroke of a magic hand into that limbo of oblivion where had accumulated, was accumulating, and still accumulates, the vagaries, the myths and the superstitions of the human mind. Henceforth no rational being, informed to any considerable degree in the elements of existing knowledge, could doubt the sphericity of the earth and the practicability of sailing around it. It is from this point of contemplation that the work of Columbus assumes its just importance in the history of mankind.

In the Columbian age, intelligence of the things done by men still ran with difficulty along the impeded channels of intercourse. The flying post was yet no swifter of wing than the foot of man or fleetness of the galloping steed. None had yet conceived of the possibility of subordinating the elements of nature to the purposes of dispatch. The

flying car, the ocean steamer, the electric flash : how far away were all of these from the imaginations of that era which saw the revelation of the New World !

Nevertheless the news went abroad. It was borne by sea to Italy and was heard with wonder in those old sea-coast towns of the Rivas, out of which the man Columbus had arisen to revolutionize the opinions of mankind with respect to the possibilities of the habitable globe. It was carried through the notches of the Pyrenees, and was heard at Lyons, at Aix, and Paris. It was disseminated to North-western Europe, and Giovanni Kaboto, of Venice, heard the story in the streets of London, marveling much at the thing done, but believing it more than possible. It spread through Central and Eastern Europe, till the sound thereof was heard in the city of the Eastern Cæsars—just forty years before conquered by Mohammed II. and his Turks—was rumored in Antioch, in Cairo, in Damascus, and fashioned into vague story by the barbaric Kurds guard, ing their flocks from the prowling jackals among the ruins of Khorsabad and Nimrud.

Such, however, were the uncertainties of knowledge in the Columbian age that none might discern the true nature and limitations of the great event. The data which Columbus had brought back with him from the hitherto unknown West were misinterpreted and misapplied by the discoverer himself, as well as by all the wise men of the generation. The Admiral was fixed in his belief that he had reached the East Indies and the shores of Asia. His confidence that Cuba was the easternmost cape of the Asiatic continent was unshaken, and his beliefs in these particulars were accepted by all. The errors thus arising—many and peculiar as they were—were mixed and mingled with all that was thought and said and done. The theory of the situation thus bound together the western shores of Europe and the eastern

borders of Asia by an easy and practicable voyage of less than three thousand miles of unobstructed waters. The resources of the Orient seemed to be thus suddenly displayed as if some beneficent destiny stood ready, with a tremendous cornucopia, to pour out the treasures of the most ancient and opulent nations of the globe into the lap of waiting Europe. These speculations might well divert us from the mere narrative of events to consider the question of the age from the standpoint of philosophical inquiry. But we must return to the Admiral and his work, leaving the reader to formulate for himself not only the splendid vision of the scene, but the true nature and dependencies by which the great event was held in its historical connections. Columbus was in the heyday of a great renown. Perhaps no man of history was ever in a situation to enjoy more fully the honors and rewards of successful and glorious enterprise. The discoverer drank it all in with many a full draught, but without satiety. To him, if much had been accomplished, still more remained behind. The mind of the Admiral was of that rare and noble fashion which can only live in the heat and light of ideality and imagination. Already, before his departure from Barcelona, greater visions than ever before had risen upon him, and though he was dazzled with the realization of his dreams, he nevertheless, with his habitual sagacity, made his arrangements for the future.

It has not happened to men of other than royal blood to become in a half-feudal age the familiar companions of kings and princes. This fate, the happiness of which the reflective mind may well be disposed to doubt, was given in full measure to Columbus. His sovereigns treated him almost as an equal. King Ferdinand rode abroad with him, and as if to couple the honor with the honors of the future, the young Prince Juan was mounted on the other side of the sovereign. Now it was that that famous Columbian coat of

arms was devised, granted and confirmed to the Admiral as a perpetual memorial to him and his descendants. It was fashioned like the royal banner of Castile. In the lower left-hand corner were the outlines of a sea dotted with islands and shores, significant of the immortal discovery which Columbus had made. On the right-hand quarter, below, were the five memorable anchors; above was that rampant lion which has been so much prefigured in the heraldry of nations. Last of all, and at the left hand above, was the castle, or citadel of strength, surmounted by the three towers significant of the united kingdoms, Castile, Leon, Aragon. To this was appended that Spanish motto of great fame which mankind will not willingly let die :

A Castilla y a Leon,
Nuevo mundo dio Colon.
Castile and Leon. Colon sets
A New World in their coronets.

To all these honors, other distinctions and emoluments were gladly added by the crown. It was at this time that the question of the actual first sight of the new lands in the West was adjudged and decided. The issue, of course, lay between Columbus himself and that Juan Rodriguez Bermejo, of the *Pinta*, according to the statement of De Lorgues, and of Rodrigo de Triana, as stated by Irving and other authorities, whose cry of land on the morning of the 12th of October we have mentioned as the certain signal of the discovery. But the reader will remember that the Admiral had already, several hours previously, seen a light. Two things were involved in the decision: first, the honor of the first glimpse of the New World; and, secondly (not to be despised), the pension which the sovereigns had promised to the discoverer.

The question was not easily decided. Doubtless, if the conditions had been reversed, that is, if Bermejo had seen

the light and Columbus had seen the land, the decision would have been more easy. As it was, the royal court adjudged the honor to him to whom it was only possibly, though improbably, due, but was certainly less needy, and doubtless deserved it less than the humble mariner of the *Pinta*. As for Bermejo, the decision was accepted with infinite chagrin. He had staked everything upon his claim, and the judgment against him was fatal to the one great hope of his life. He immediately renounced his country forever, cast aside the Christian religion as a delusion of fraud and of sin, went to Africa, became an Islamite, and died under the banner of the Prophet.

From the first day of his return to Europe—from the moment that the intelligence of the great discovery was carried to the ears of the sovereigns—it was evident to all that the work done by Columbus was merely the first movement of a vast enterprise. None were foolish enough to suppose that the new countries in the Far West had been fully revealed. The leading minds of Spain perceived at a glance that the thing done was only the first glimpse at a gold mine, the limits and extent of which none might know. The imaginations of men flew to the far islands of the New World, and began to construct there cities and temples and palaces.

Under such conditions, the project of new discoveries and explorations flashed in full light about the Spanish Court. The sovereigns in their very first letter to the Admiral, who was then at Seville, made haste to tell him that he should, in that city, before setting out for Barcelona, take the initiative for a new expedition. Whatever things he might see necessary to be done, to that end he should do, even before his personal interview with their Majesties. Columbus himself was deeply concerned about the second voyage, and eagerly promoted the preparations therefor. The subject

was interwoven like a thread in all the communications which he had with the King and Queen. It no longer required urging to convince the sovereigns of the importance of extending their empire in the West.

The outlines of the new expedition, which now had its relation to the West Indies and the methods of possessing them, were at once devised. The summer—season most favorable and indeed only favorable for the expedition—was already at hand, and it was necessary to expedite the preparations, or else put off the voyage to another year. The jealousy of Portugal, and the knowledge of what she might attempt, furnished a whip and spur to the crown. The sovereigns deemed it expedient to establish a sort of bureau for the conduct of Indian affairs, and the city of Seville was selected as the outfitting place of the enterprise.

At the head of this branch of the administration was placed as superintendent and director-general, Don Juan de Fonseca, Archdeacon of Seville, a man of great abilities, but little scrupulous in the matter of choosing his means and methods. The treasurer of the new department was Francisco Pinelo, and the comptroller, Juan de Soria. The idea was that the exclusive jurisdiction of all intercourse and commerce between the mother country and the Indies should belong to the bureau, and that everything not devised and directed thereby should be under the ban of illegality. One of the first steps was to establish at the port of Cadiz a custom house, to which all the prospective commerce of the Indies should be reported, and the scheme of administration extended to the creation of a like office in San Domingo, which was to be administered by the Admiral himself, or his subordinate.

We may pause here a moment to note the favor in which Columbus was held by the nobility. The greatest men of the kingdom—and they were many—sought his acquaint-

ance, and gave their countenance to his cause. Among those with whom Columbus now fell into intimate relations was Pedro Gonzales de Mendoza, the Spanish grand cardinal, of whom we have spoken in a former chapter. The latter invited the discoverer to his castle, and discussed with him at length the future policy of the Church with respect to the new countries of the West, and in particular the best means of converting the natives.

It was during his stay at the castle of Mendoza that Columbus, being at a banquet given in his honor by the cardinal, gave the celebrated reply and demonstration to one of the company who was disposed to cavil at the originality of the recent work of discovery. This small courtier—not, we may say, without some reason, but with the worst of bad manners—began to inquire of the Admiral whether, if he had failed to reach the islands and mainland of the western seas, some other would not have been soon led under like motives to undertake and accomplish the enterprise. Hereupon Columbus took an egg, and passing it to the company, challenged any and all to make it stand on end. None could do it. None perceived the possibility of doing it. Having it returned to him, the Admiral brought it down with a force endwise upon the table, broke and crushed the shell to a certain extent, and left it standing. The application and meaning of the act were sufficiently clear: you can make an egg stand on the end provided you know how to do it.

The six Indians who had been taken to Barcelona were regarded with profound interest by churchmen, who thought it wise to have them baptized and instructed in the doctrines of Christianity. This was accordingly done, and the conceit of the time pointed them out as the first evangelists and examplers of the true faith in the Indies. So little apprehension did any man of that age have of the laws which

govern human evolution that all supposed the aborigines of the West Indies able, by the touch of the Church, to advance at once to the plane of an ancient faith having its origin and development among a Semitic people in the Far East, and to enter at a single bound into the communion and relationship of civilized nations.

Meanwhile, preparations were going forward rapidly and successfully for the new voyage. The theory of the situation was this: Columbus had discovered the Indies by the western route, and the discovery having been made under the banners and patronage of Spain, this fact gave to the Spanish crown a right to occupy, possess and govern the islands and continents which had been thus found. As to the peoples occupying those lands, the aboriginal nations, they had no rights of possession which Christian kings and princes must recognize and observe. The monarchs of Christendom had, since the Crusading epoch, an agreement, amounting to a clause in international law, that any Christian sovereign whose subject might discover unoccupied lands or regions inhabited by Pagans, should have the right of discovery, pre-emption and preoccupation, as against all other princes whatsoever. Each monarch conceded to the others this right of discovery, and the rule was now plainly applicable to the case of the Spaniards in the West Indies. It was this principle that had secured to the recent Kings of Portugal the exclusive rights to their province of La Mina and the coast of Guinea; and it was the same principle which now held back and thwarted the ambition of John II., chafing and fretting in his anxiety to clutch the islands lately visited by the Columbian fleet.

We have already spoken of the letter sent by Columbus on his arrival to His Holiness, the Pope. The Spanish sovereigns readily took up the thought of Columbus relative to a dividing line through the Atlantic under the sanction

of Papal authority. They accordingly made haste to open negotiations with Alexander VI. concerning the proposed arrangement. The Pope was himself a Spaniard, and the tie of birth had been recently strengthened by many events well calculated to draw the attention and affections of the Supreme Pontiff to his native land. In the very year just past the Spanish sovereigns, in a war which had many of the features of the Crusades, had first cooped up and then ultimately expelled the Islamite Moors from the peninsula. With scarcely less zeal, they had assailed, persecuted, suppressed and robbed the Jews. The whole of Spain had thus been redeemed and consolidated under the cross—a circumstance most grateful to the ambitions and pontifical pride of Alexander.

The Spanish monarchs, in opening the question at the Court of Rome, were doubtful whether so great a claim as that which they now advanced would be acknowledged and ratified. Ferdinand deemed it prudent in his letter to the Pope to assume that the sanction of His Holiness, in confirmation of the rights of the Spanish crown to the new lands discovered in the west, was not essential to the validity of the claim; but the good, obedient and faithful Catholic Majesty thought it best—such was his allegation—as a true son of the Church to ask the Holy Father to ratify and confirm aright that which the princes of Christendom had already conceded the one to the other.

The Pope for his part was greatly elated with the intelligence. He perceived the expediency of granting the claim of their most Catholic Majesties. Accordingly, on the 3d of May, 1493, he issued that celebrated Bull, establishing the line of demarcation between the discoveries of Portugal and those of Spain. The line, as we have said before, was drawn north and south one hundred leagues to the west of the Azores. On the east of the line Portugal should have

free course in the discovery, possession and occupation of all lands not previously visited or occupied by the subjects of a Christian king. To the west of the line Spain should have pre-emption. The New World, whatever it was, should be hers. Her work of discovery and occupation should go on unimpeded and her rights should be exclusive and absolute.

Thus were all the inhabited and habitable parts of the globe, except those regions which were already occupied by Christian states and kingdoms, divided by a Papal decree with an imaginary line drawn north and south through the Atlantic Ocean. The concession of the Supreme Pontiff was sufficiently ample, and sufficiently surprising, when followed to its probable results. Spain might discover and occupy all uninhabited and Pagan lands lying westward of the division. Suppose that the Spanish fleets should press their way westward around the earth, where would their rights be limited? Might they not go on around until by circumnavigation they should take the whole world? Or, in the case of Portugal, might she not press her discoveries eastward until she should come around to these very West Indies, claim them, and take them under the Papal sanction? The Pope had, in a word, granted everything to Spain, and everything to Portugal. But the Pacific Ocean, still unknown, as well as the American Continents, lay between to prevent a conflict of claims in the region of the antipodes; the Papal Bull was saved from absurdity by the bigness of the globe.

The new bureau for the government of the Indies was quickly organized. The establishment was destined to grow in course of time into that Royal India House, under the auspices of which the commercial and political affairs of Spain and her outlying possessions in the West were so long, so despotically, and so profitably directed. The au-

thority of the office was absolute, both as to the persons concerned in the trade with the Indies and the trade itself. It was to this bureau, under the conduct of De Fonseca, that the business of fitting out the new squadron for Columbus was now intrusted.

The enterprise was pressed with the utmost vigor. A decree was issued, by which Fonseca and Columbus were authorized to purchase any ships that might be in port on the coast of Andalusia, or, in case of refusal, to impress them for the expedition. The same despotic rule was established in the matter of furnishing and equipping the vessels, and even in enlisting the crews. Mariners might be conscripted under pay for the proposed service, and the civil officers of the province were commanded to lend their aid in carrying out the provisions of the act.

As might be supposed, however, the work of obtaining ships and supplies and men was now no longer difficult. Many captains were ready to offer their vessels for such a voyage. The supplies might be readily procured from stores that had been sealed against all petitions when the first contemplated voyage was to be undertaken. As for the crews, the spirit of adventure had now come to supply a motive of embarkation on an expedition to the wonderful Indies across the Atlantic. Some difficulty arose over the appropriation of money for the second voyage. The work was under the patronage of the King and Queen. As for the treasury of the new bureau of the India House, that was empty. But the sovereigns set aside a part of the ecclesiastical revenue, and this was placed to the credit of the Indian Secretary, Pinelo. In the previous year, during the persecution and expulsion of the Jews, vast amounts of property, especially in jewels and plate, had been confiscated by royal edict, and this also went into the new treasury. Finally the secretary was authorized to negotiate a loan, if

such should be needed, for the expeditious fitting out of the squadron.

Columbus, in these days of honor and influence, took care to fortify his own interests and those of his descendants by obtaining an additional patent and confirmation of his rights from the King and Queen. The paper in question was the third of those remarkable documents upon which the first political relations between Europe and America were established. In the present case, Columbus deemed it prudent that the new patent of authority should recite the existing agreement between himself and their Majesties made in the preceding year. The second charter was drawn accordingly, at the city of Barcelona, under date of the 28th of May, 1493. After enumerating all the existing covenants between the sovereigns and Don Christopher Columbus, and stating in the introductory part the nature of the petition which Columbus had submitted, the document proceeded to confer upon him certain specific rights, among which was a confirmation of all the benefits previously granted, and which were to descend in perpetuity to his heirs; besides which were delegated extraordinary powers, not only as governor of all the new possessions, but such judicial authority as made him the supreme arbiter of all disputes arising therein. In short, he was practically made King of the new world, with all the royal prerogatives thereto attaching.

The new squadron, prepared and supplied under the direction of De Fonseca, was in its extent and character strongly contrasted with the little fleet which had made the first voyage to the Indies. The armament consisted of three vessels of the largest build, nine ships of medium burden and five caravels. The cargo was of the most miscellaneous description. Several breeds of domestic animals, which had not been found in the Indies, were taken on

board, including horses and swine. A large variety of plants and collections of seeds and implements of husbandry were provided, with a view to the agricultural development of the new lands. The place selected for the equipment of the fleet was Cadiz, though the management was located at Seville. Meanwhile Columbus, satisfied with his fame and honor, bade farewell to the King and Queen, left Barcelona on the 28th day of May, and made his way to the coast. On the day of his departure the Spanish Court attended the Admiral from the palace to his own residence, and there he took final leave of their Majesties. It was the high noon of his destiny.

Before fixing our attention upon the squadron which was fitted and provisioned at Cadiz during the summer months, it may be well to glance for a moment at the serious questions which were now pending between Spain and Portugal. It will be remembered that after the arrival of Columbus at Lisbon, and his interview with King John, the latter had been advised by his council to anticipate the Spanish government in the occupation and possession of the new lands discovered in the West. This advice was adopted by the King, and orders were secretly given for the equipment of a fleet to sail into the western waters and seize upon the islands and mainland found by Columbus. In order to cover the movement, it was given out that the expedition was intended for the African coast, where the Portuguese had already fixed themselves by discovery and possession.

The King of Portugal now sent to Barcelona one of his diplomatists, Ruy de Sande, to allay any suspicion that might be entertained by the Spanish Court respecting the movements and purposes of Portugal. The ambassador was instructed to speak to King Ferdinand about certain aggressions of the Spanish fishermen beyond Cape Bojador,

and to ask that an interdict be issued on that question. The sovereigns of Spain were congratulated on the success of the Columbian voyage and thanked that the Admiral had, in the prosecution of his enterprise, kept clear of the Portuguese possessions and fields of discovery. There had been an understanding between the two courts that the Spaniards in their maritime adventures should steer to the west of the Canaries, leaving the seas on the south as the preserve of Portugal. De Sande was instructed to gain from the Spanish King a reaffirmation of this arrangement, and to hint that any difference of opinion between the two powers should be settled by negotiation.

There has not been a time in modern history when the jealousy and distrust of two monarchs were more deeply inflamed than in the case of Ferdinand and King John. Both sovereigns were endowed by nature with a suspicious and wary disposition. In abilities the two were not dissimilar, and their ambitions were of a like trend and limitation. Their principles of action were such as might be expected in an age when the Inquisition was adopted as a means of reform by the Church, and when the rules of international law were deduced from the writings of Machiavelli. In their purpose to succeed by craft and duplicity the one king was even as the other; but in subtlety and fox-like shrewdness, the Spanish ruler was the superior of his adversary. It appears, however, that King John, better than his rival, had learned the potent and diabolical influence of money in accomplishing political results. He had adopted the plan of bribing certain spies at the Spanish Court, who, being attached in several capacities to the government of Ferdinand, were able to keep their employer constantly informed, not only of the things done, but also of the things purposed. In the battle of wit and craft, which now ensued during the early part of 1493, the advantages of intrigue

remained with Ferdinand, while the benefits of systematic bribery accrued to King John.

It is not needed that we should here relate the details of the diplomatic contest between the two courts. At one time Ferdinand sent his ambassador, Lope de Herrera, to Lisbon, with two sets of instructions, and documents of exactly opposite intent. But of this maneuver the Portuguese King had already been informed by his spies, and the scheme of the Spanish King was checkmated. At a later date, and in order to gain time, Ferdinand sent two plenipotentiaries to his "beloved cousin" to open a discussion about the Western seas and the new lands found therein, that might last until the second Columbian squadron could set sail. But the purpose of the Spanish monarch had again been anticipated by the wary John, and nothing was gained by the maneuver.

In the respective relations of the two governments with the Court of Rome, however, the case was different. At that tribunal the advantage was wholly on the side of Spain. The negotiations of Ferdinand with Pope Alexander had already led to an understanding, which presently became a status that nothing could disturb. The Papal Bull dividing the Atlantic held against all intrigue and contrivance of the Portuguese King, and in the existing condition of affairs he durst not send his squadron to the West Indies.

At one time, during the summer, it was reported at Barcelona that a Portuguese vessel had been dispatched from the Azores on a west-bound voyage. A protest was immediately forwarded by Ferdinand to Lisbon, and at the same time De Fonseca was ordered to send two Spanish caravels in pursuit. After a brief interval, communication was received from the Portuguese Court to the effect that no such expedition as that reported had been undertaken; nor did Spanish investigation ever bring such an adventure

to light. The story was doubtless a fiction. The King of Portugal was balked in every effort which he made to recover his lost prestige. For him and his kingdom the golden opportunity was gone, and he must henceforth unwillingly assent to the adverse destiny which had decreed the discovery and possession of the New World to the crown of Spain.

CHAPTER IX.

A BLAZE of glory shot up like a rocket and spread its dazzling shower over all Spain. The spirit of war, which had produced so many valorous knights in the Moorish contention, now gave place, by a sudden change of aspiration, to an ambition that set its sign in the New World, where brighter opportunity for exploitation was offered in discovery, adventure and conquest.

The work of fitting the second squadron for Columbus was accordingly completed with *éclat*. We have already referred to the character of the fleet, the crew and the cargo. Under the first plan it was intended to limit the number of sailors and passengers to one thousand; but so great was the enthusiasm that, by solicitation of volunteers and the urgency of friends, the number was extended to twelve hundred. Even this limit was surpassed under pressure, and, by means of various excuses, intrigues and favoritism, three hundred additional adventurers managed to get on board.

In so far as Columbus himself determined the character of the expedition, the passengers were selected with respect to the purposes of the voyage. To this end he secured a considerable company of artisans, representatives of the various handicrafts, whose work, as he foresaw, would be greatly in demand in the Indian Colonies. As to the merchandise of the cargo, the same was selected according to the experiences gained during the former voyage. It was clear that the natives of the islands thus far visited

were all beguiled with showy trinkets and decorations, such as aborigines always prefer to articles of more solid value. The supply of this variety of commercial trifles was accordingly made proportional to the expected demand. Indeed the whole cargo was chosen with as much regard as possible to the desires and necessities of those people whom the Spaniards had visited in the preceding year.

The reader must not conclude, however, that by this time the forces at work in the Spanish nation had become too strong and vehement to be controlled, or even successfully directed, by the genius of one man. This indeed is the philosophical reason why Columbus rose at this juncture to the acme of his career. Up to this point he himself had been the directive agency in all that had been planned and accomplished. Thus far the work bore the distinct impress of his individual genius. But the historical forces of the age now began to seize him and bear him away. Hitherto he had contended only with the elements of the natural world and the conservative obduracy of man; but now a human whirlwind had been started which was ere long to become a tornado so violent that the will of one was only a feather in the storm. The substitution of a general for an individual purpose began to express itself in the selection of the crews and colonists of the second expedition. The spirit of adventure now rushed in to supply the material of the enterprise, and henceforth passion, caprice and lust were to a considerable extent the prevailing motives of the movement.

We must remember, in this connection, the existing condition of Spanish society. The recent years had been consumed in war and conquest. The final struggle with the Moors had brought into the field the chivalrous and adventurous class of young Spaniards who joined the various campaigns in the spirit of knights and cavaliers. The

motives of the contest were mercenary and fanatical. The great province of Granada, with its accumulations of Moorish wealth and art, was the principal prize. As usual in such cases of spoliation and robbery, the spirit of propagandism and religious zeal was set forth as the reason for the conquest. In the case of the suppression and ruin of the Jews the same argument was advanced by the zealots of Church and State. In such a school it must needs be that the graduates would come forth in the character of adventurers, bigots and robbers.

The sudden subsidence of the Moorish war thus let loose in Spanish society a large element of restless, mercenary and half lawless chivalry, whose motives of action flew low and settled over the quagmires of gold, and glory, and license. The appearance of a new enterprise, a new and startling event like that of the discovery of the Indies, must in the nature of the case furnish an occasion and vent for the activities and passions of such characters as those just described. There was a strong tending of all such towards the port of Cadiz, and it was almost impossible to prevent the capture of the new squadron by this element. Hither came the gold hunter, the soldier out of work, the drifting, lawless young nobility, to find opportunity and excitement by volunteering in an expedition to an unknown world.

There was, moreover, a certain weakness in the character of Columbus which made him accessible to the influence of mere adventurers and rakes. They crowded around him and solicited the privilege of going abroad under his banner. They seemed to constitute a part of that world in the estimation of which he now held so conspicuous a place. Their voice and applause seemed to be but an echo of the public homage. To hold them at bay and put them back was therefore difficult, and the result was that a considerable

part of the crew was made up of a class of men who might, with much more profit, have been sent on a military campaign to Damascus or Bagdad, rather than dispatched as the first colonists and citizens of Europe to the new hemisphere.

It was at this juncture of affairs that the premonitions of a break between the Admiral and Fonseca were first discovered. The latter was a shrewd man of affairs, ambitious, cold, calculating, unscrupulous in matters affecting his designs. His talents might not be doubted any more than his jealous and vindictive disposition. He was one of those characters whose private manners and individualities were carried into his office, where they constituted the mainspring of his public life and policy. He was secretive in his methods, little disposed to trust his associates, and not infrequently perfidious in his dealings with them. When he perceived that the popularity of the cause was inducing a larger enlistment than had been contemplated, he procured an interview with the Queen, at which he interposed his objections and began to speak of the additional expense and risk thereby incurred. Attempting to introduce obstructive tactics, he referred the matter a second time to the sovereigns, but they sent back a mandatory order to Fonseca to concede everything to the wishes of the Admiral, to follow his directions and second his plans in all particulars.

It was under these auspices that the fleet of seventeen vessels was made ready in the harbor of Cadiz. The supplies requisite for the voyage were drawn for the most part from military stores which had been left over from the Moorish war. The summer months were consumed with the preparation, and it was not until late in September that the armament was complete. Pains had been taken to furnish the ships with capable and zealous officers. Some of the best pilots in the kingdom, noted at that epoch for the

superior skill of its mariners, were put at the helm. Columbus himself was captain-general of the squadron, and his commission was so full and absolute as to leave no question respecting his authority, whether on the voyage or at the destination.

Many noted and some highly picturesque characters were members of the expedition. Pope Alexander had taken full cognizance of all that was done and planned respecting the enterprise. He deemed it well that an emissary from the Papal Court should be on board as the representative of the interests and supremacy of the Church. For this office a certain Benedictine monk, named Bernardo Buyl, was chosen as apostolic vicar for the Indies, and to him the other prelates and ecclesiastical officers, eleven in number, were commanded to be obedient. The vicar was himself a man of large affairs. He had been ambassador to the Court of France and was fully conversant with the international relations of Europe. On coming to Spain he demanded and received from the court a supply of Church materials and paraphernalia, such as he deemed necessary for the establishment and maintenance of the faith in the New World. The other ecclesiastics, of higher or lower rank, went as his companions and coadjutors in the project of establishing Catholicism among the people of the Indian islands.

After the Benedictine monk the most famous person that accompanied Columbus was his best friend, the devoted friar, Juan Perez, to whose influence was so largely due the equipment of the first expedition, and to whom Columbus and their Majesties were alike indebted. The good father sailed on the *Maria Galante* (Gracious Mary), and was thus in the company of many other distinguished persons, among whom may be remarked Gil Garcia, alcaid-major; Bernal Diaz de Pisa, lieutenant of the controllers-general;

Sebastian de Olano, receiver of the crown taxes; the astronomer, Father Juan Perez de Marchena; the physician-in-chief, Doctor Chanca; some hidalgos; Melchor Maldonado, a cousin to the cosmographer of that name; and two baptized Indian interpreters, one of whom had as godfather the brother of the Admiral, and was called after his name, Diego Colon. There also was seen, as a simple passenger, the estimable Francisco de Casaus, better known under the name of Las Casas. His son, Barthelmy, whom his ardent love for the Indians ought one day to immortalize, was then pursuing his first studies at Seville.

There was also with the expedition the famous young chevalier, Don Alonzo de Ojeda, destined to enact so important a part in the primitive annals of the West Indies. Of him the student of American history may form an adequate idea from his likeness in character, life and adventure, to Captain John Smith, of Virginia. The parallel is in every particular marked and striking, with the exception of the diversity of the two characters in moral honesty. Ojeda had the same element of daring and romance, of rash courage, of needless hazard and skill of extrication, which have made the name of Captain Smith so notable in our colonial history. In the case of Ojeda, his faulty education, and the prevailing immorality of the day, had contributed to mar his conscience and to make him unscrupulous in obligation and duty. But for the rest he was the prototype of Smith.

Ojeda was a cousin to that other Alonzo de Ojeda who was the inquisitor-general of Spain. He was a soldier and adventurer from boyhood. He had fought with the infidels in the Moorish war, and had acquired the reputation of unexampled reckless daring and audacity. In person he was below the medium height, lithe, sinewy, agile as a lynx, with lustrous black eyes, complexioned like an Arab, the

best rider in the army, generous with everything, never happy except in action, most pleased in a fight, with a temper—like flint and steel—blazing and then cold, a born leader, loving hazard for the sake of it, and never safe except in danger. Happy had it been for Columbus if this audacious and restless spirit had been left in Spain.

The departure of the squadron was set for Wednesday, the 29th of September, 1493. The embarkation was made on the preceding day. Now it was that the greater number of that additional three hundred passengers of whom we have spoken managed to get on board. Some of them did so with the consent of the Admiral. Others were smuggled into the ships by the privity of friends. Quite a number managed their own cause of adventure, and were presently found as stowaways when the ships stood out to sea. The fleet weighed anchor in the early morning. The sun had not yet risen to witness the spectacle; but the whole Spanish coast, from the mouth of the Guadalquivir to the bay of Trafalgar, was on the alert for the great event.

No stronger contrast could be well afforded than that between the departure of this second squadron and the going forth of the first. Every circumstance of the two occasions seemed to have been altered by some good genius from darkness to light. Glory had come to take the place of despondency; universal applause took the place of universal caviling and grief; power was substituted for weakness, and eagerness and zeal for gloom and mutiny. The three little ships constituting the Admiral's fleet had become an armada. The meager equipment and doubtful issue had been replaced with abundant stores, and the confident outlook of certainty. Instead of the wailing and dolor of the panic-stricken people of Palos, the multitude of Cadiz and the surrounding country gathered with glad applause

to the shore to cheer and shout farewells to the fortunate adventurers.

With the break of day the harbor was literally covered with all manner of craft swarming around the ships, till the water was darkened with boat-loads of living beings. They whose friends were going on the great expedition counted themselves happy to be thus linked with its destinies. The Admiral himself was the focus of all compliments and plaudits. He took his station on the flag-ship, the *Maria Galante*, and before sunrise gave the order to weigh anchor. A favoring wind had sprung up from the shore as if nature herself was eager to join her impulses with the endeavors and hopes of the human race. As the sails filled and the vessels began to move, the hundreds of boats that had darkened the harbor fell back to the shore. The Admiral's two sons, who had come to share the hour of their father's triumphant departure, went down last of all from his ship, waved their boyish farewells from the water, and were rowed to land. All the shores round about, from the point of St. Sebastian to the little island of La Caraccan, were black with people. The water of the bay was as blue and placid as the sky; both earth and heaven seemed to drop a benediction on the departing fleet.

The squadron proceeded under fair winds over the same course which Columbus had taken on his first voyage, reaching Gomera, one of the islands of the Canaries, where he took on some necessary supplies of wood and water, and also added to the cargo a herd of sheep and goats, besides a variety of domestic fowls for the new colony which he expected to plant in Hispaniola.

On the 7th the fleet weighed anchor and continued the voyage, with the *Maria Galante*, Columbus' flag-ship, in advance; but though they had departed under a fair wind, before they had gone two leagues they fell into a calm which

detained them a period of six days. During all this time they continued in sight of the harbor whence they had last departed ; but catching at last a favorite wind, the fleet continued in a southwestward direction, until reaching a point which Columbus reckoned to be due east from the island of Hayti, he set his prows directly towards the west, caught the trade winds, and by avoiding the Sargasso Sea, which had before caused such great detention, he made a quick voyage across the Atlantic.

On the 2d of November signs were perceived indicative of the near approach of land. The breezes became capricious, the sea changed color, and the waves, losing their regular swell, began to assume the choppy appearance of a bay. With the coming dawn of Sunday, November 3d, anticipations were verified by the sight of bold outlines of an island lying directly to the west, to which, in honor of the day, Columbus gave the name of Dominica. Before the ships anchored, however, three other islands were discovered, and it was perceived that the ships were in the midst of an archipelago 600 miles southeast of San Salvador. The joy which was infused into the hearts of all who had accompanied the expedition was so great at the auspicious termination of the voyage that they united in an anthem, solemnly chanted, as an expression of their gratitude to Heaven.

Coasting about the shore of Dominica without finding any safe anchorage or discovering signs of natives, the fleet bore away to the north a short distance, until presently another island was seen whose striking features betrayed its volcanic origin. Upon this shore a landing was effected, and several of the members of the expedition made a short journey into the interior, where they discovered a mountain peak hollowed in the center, which had become the basin of a large lake fed by living springs, and which, overflowing,

formed a cataract pouring down in foaming spray over a lofty precipice. In honor of the monastery in Estremadura, Columbus gave to the island the name of Guadaloupe.

A farther advance towards the interior by several of the bolder spirits of the expedition revealed an inland town, but from which the inhabitants had, on the approach of their visitors, hurriedly fled to the forest. In their precipitate flight several of the natives left their children behind, which the Spaniards captured and hung about their necks many gewgaws, hoping thereby to attract the parents, but this attempt to open an intercourse with the islanders failed, for not one appeared to ascertain what fate had befallen the captured children. The only difference noted between these natives and those with whom Columbus had formerly come in contact was in the character of the village. The houses which the Spaniards now found were square instead of circular, and some of the better kind were supplied with porticos. The most singular thing discovered at this village was a sort of pan for frying and boiling, and which the Spaniards claimed was of iron. The curiosity of this piece of native workmanship was found in the fact that no specimen of this metal, whether wrought or native, had been seen in the western islands, and the Spaniards could only account for this utensil upon the assumption that it had been wrought, by some art of the Indians, from meteoric stone. But there was also discovered a section of the mast of a ship in one of the village houses, which, if it had been driven by the trade winds from the coast of Europe, would supply another means for accounting for the iron pan, since if a mast could drift so great a distance, other portions of a wreck might do likewise, bearing articles of European manufacture of which the natives would possess themselves.

There was yet another circumstance still better calculated

to fix the attention and at the same time excite the repugnance of the Spaniards. It was in this village of Guadeloupe that they first discovered the ravages and wrecks of cannibalism. Human bones were plentifully scattered about the houses. In the kitchens were found skulls in use as bowls and vases. In some of the houses the evidences of man-eating were still more vividly and horribly present. The Spaniards entered apartments which were veritable human butcher-shops. Heads and limbs of men and women were hung up on the walls or suspended from the rafters, in some instances dripping with blood, and, as if to add, if that were possible, to the horror of the scene, dead parrots, geese, dogs and iguanas were hung up without discrimination or preference with the fragments of human bodies. In a pot some pieces of a human limb were boiling, so that with these several evidences it was manifest that cannibalism was not an incidental fact, but a common usage, well established and approved in the life of the islanders.

Subsequent investigation showed that Guadeloupe was the center and stronghold of the Carib race, and of the cannibal practice. The contrast afforded in the persons and characters and manners of these savages with the mild-natured natives of the Bahamas was sufficiently striking. The Caribbeans were large, strong, full of action, courageous, and especially vindictive. The man-eating usage had its laws and limitations among them. They did not, as did some of the South Pacific islanders, eat their own people. The anthropophagous habit had a strict relation to war. The Caribs ate their prisoners—men, women and children, especially the men.

It was from this habit that the warlike nature of these aboriginal desperadoes took its impulse and vehemence. War was made by them, systematically, for the purpose of securing droves of prisoners with which to satisfy the crav-

ings of a horrible appetite. The usage was as well founded and as customary as was that of the North American Indians in the buffalo hunt or the bear hunt. With the Caribs it was a man hunt. The men were all warriors and were generally abroad in their capacity of man-hunters. They had fleets of canoes, and in these the warriors took to sea, paddling away to the coast of a distant island or shore, and there, by sudden descent upon some village, seizing the inhabitants and carrying them away as captives. When the prisoners were brought home the better class were at once slain and eaten, but the remainder were turned loose in the island until they should be in better condition. The Caribs looked upon these prisoners just as a less brutal savage scans his flocks and herds in expectation of the day for slaughter and feasting.

It is not difficult to discover in these circumstances the origin of the myth of the Amazonian Islands. The natives of the Bahamas and the Greater Antilles, and as far south as Porto Rico, on visiting the coast of the Caribbeans, saw only women. The men were abroad, plying their vocation of war. From this fact the belief would gain currency that certain islands were inhabited only by women. In this shape the tradition existed among the Guanahanians and Cubans when Columbus arrived among them.

The reactionary effects of cannibalism were sufficiently marked in the character and manner of the Caribs. They were fierce to the last degree, strong as tigers, courageous in fight, brutal and merciless. The women had the same characteristics as the men. The Spaniards soon learned the danger of a contest with the Amazons of these islands. Even the children were as young beasts ready for the prey. It was noted by Columbus that the natives took delight in making themselves appear as terrible as possible. To this end they painted their faces, putting great circles of

bright color around their eyes, thus skillfully increasing the ferocity of the visage. Another usage was to tie cotton bands above and below the principal muscles of the arms and legs, by which, when the body was in action, the muscles were made to bulge out in prodigious knots. In short, every method known to savage ingenuity for increasing the fear-inspiring features of face and body was employed by the cannibals of these islands.

Strangely enough, the Caribs were more civilized in some respects than the islanders of the northwestern clusters. The former had the more extensive improvements. Their chief town was laid out with a square in the center. The better class of houses had porticos. Roads were surveyed with some regularity, and were better constructed than those of Cuba or Hispaniola. The people had some rude notions of the confederative principle in government. Guadaloupe was the center of a league which included at least three of the principal islands. The natives were expert in the practice of their rude industries, particularly in the management of their canoes. In these they did not hesitate to commit themselves to the open sea, even to a distance of hundreds of miles from their native coast.

Resuming the narrative, we note during the stay of Columbus in Guadaloupe the first of many distressing incidents which he was now destined to encounter. Bands of men were frequently sent ashore to make explorations, but always under strict orders as to plan and conduct. One company of eight men, under Diego Marquez, captain of one of the vessels, went abroad without leave. After an absence of a whole day the party failed to reappear, and the Admiral grew uneasy. Other companies were sent out to find the missing men, but returned with no intelligence of them. Signals were made and guns fired, both from the ships and on the shore, but there was no response. Trum-

peters were sent to the neighboring cliffs to sound the return, but still there was no answer. With the following day the search was continued, but no vestige of the men could be found. The belief might be well entertained that they had been caught, killed and eaten by the islanders. It was hoped, however, that since the warriors were for the most part absent on an expedition, the Spaniards might be able to defend themselves against the women. The Admiral was unwilling to sail away while the fate of his sailors, or any one of them, was undetermined. In this emergency he bethought himself of the daring and courageous Ojeda. That adventurer was accordingly given a company of volunteers and sent into the interior of the island to scour the country in all directions in the hope of rescuing the missing party. The expedition of Ojeda must again remind the reader of some of the similar exploits and services of Captain John Smith. His excursion about the island was not only a search, but an exploration. He noted in his progress from place to place, through the dense native woods, over the hills and along the verdant valleys of the interior, the unexampled luxuriance of the vegetation, the abundance of fruits, the fertility of the soil, the odorous balm of the woods, and in particular the abundance of wild honey. But the stragglers could not be found.

Several days elapsed, and the necessity for continuing the voyage was imminent, when unexpectedly the missing sailors appeared on the shore. It transpired that upon plunging into the forest they had lost themselves. Their senses had become confused, and they had wandered on farther and farther through impenetrable thickets and over ledges of rock, crossing unknown rivers, tearing their clothes away in patches on brambles and thorns, totally unable to regain the points of the compass or to imagine the direction of the ships. At last, when about to perish, they had

come to the coast, and following it for a short distance, had the good fortune to spy the vessels when they were just about to weigh anchor. The joy of all at the recovery was great ; but the indignation of the Admiral against the captain for his disobedience of orders was such that he had him put under arrest , and the whole company were reduced in their rations as an exemplary punishment for their recklessness and insubordination.

Their stay on Guadaloupe Island lasted for six days, when the voyage continued northward through the Leeward cluster, several of which were named, among the number being the little island of Nevis, on which, two hundred and sixty-four years later, was born a great character, whose profound and lucid genius, more than that of any other man, contributed to the Constitution of the United States—Alexander Hamilton.

Farther on the expedition reached Santa Cruz and Santa Ursula. At the former island a pause was made to replenish the store of water, as well as to make a casual examination of the country. The company sent ashore found a Carib town which was held by women and boys, no men being seen. It was found that many of those in the settlement were captives who were awaiting their turn to be killed and eaten. Several of these were taken with little resistance on their part ; for to them it was small matter by whom they were to be devoured. While returning to the shore to embark with the captives, the Spaniards perceived a boat load of Caribs paddling around the headland not far away. For a moment the Indians seemed paralyzed with wonder, and the Spaniards in their boats were able to get between them and the shore. Here upon the Caribs, taking the alarm, seized their bows and sent a shower of arrows among their adversaries, at least two of whom, at the first discharge, were seriously wounded. It was noticed that

some of the women in the boat were as expert with the bow as the men. The Spaniards held up their bucklers, and bearing down upon the canoe, overturned it in the water; but the Indians continued to fight, swimming and discharging their arrows at the same time. Some found a lodgment on rocks and reefs in the shoal water and were taken with the greatest difficulty. At length all were captured, including a woman and her son, who seemed to be the queen and the prince of the tribe. The latter was thought by the Spaniards to be the fiercest specimen of a human being they had ever beheld. They described him as having the face of an African lion. Though wounded, his conduct was defiant in the last degree, and he scowled upon his captors with such a hideous expression of hatred as to send through them a shudder of terror. It was found, or believed by the Spaniards, that the wounds which they received in the skirmish were inflicted by poisoned arrows. One of the Spaniards soon died from his injury, and his body was afterwards conveyed by the Admiral to San Domingo for burial.

Around Santa Ursula the Admiral discovered a rocky archipelago, the summits rising here and there to considerable heights and constituting a group of islands, some of which were luxuriant and others sterile and bare. Sailing in this cluster was difficult and dangerous, and the exploration of the group, to which the Admiral gave the name of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, was made by a single light caravel which made its way through the tortuous channels between the fifty or more islands that were sighted, some of which at least were inhabited by men of the Carib race.

Still farther to the west and north the squadron reached a larger island, nearly in the form of a parallelogram, lying under the latitude of 18° N. This was called by the natives Boriquen, but was named by the Admiral San Juan Baptista, that is, St. John the Baptist, and is known in

modern geography as Porto Rico. Here the fleet made its way out of the Carib Islands and found a modified native population such as belonged to Cuba and the Bahamas. The aborigines of Boriquen were not so warlike and roving as the true Caribs, and on account of their peaceful disposition suffered much at the hands of the cannibals. Along the coast, where the latter were in the habit of making their incursions, the natives of the island were more courageous, having learned from their adversaries the use of the bow and the war club. According to common fame they sometimes revenged themselves on the Caribs by devouring such captives as fell into their hands. But the body of the inhabitants were a peaceable folk, subsisting on fruits of the soil and fish.

After a considerable stay at Porto Rico, Columbus, having satisfied his curiosity respecting the Caribs, set sail direct for Hispaniola, the western extremity of which he reached without further incident. His return to the island was greeted with much rejoicing by the natives who had seen him or heard of his previous visit. Four caciques, accompanied by hundreds of Indians, came off in canoes to the ships, and besought the Spaniards to make a permanent camp on shore, promising to lead them to mines of gold, where the precious metal might be easily gathered in the greatest quantities. But Columbus had heard such stories so frequently before that he was not to be deceived by them now, so, after distributing presents among the chiefs, he continued towards Natividad, which he was now anxious to reach and learn how the affairs of the colony, which he had there planted nearly one year before, were progressing. He accordingly sailed along the coast and entered the Bay of Samana, where he had had his first encounter with the natives of the New World. Anxious to renew his intercourse with the people, the Admiral sent out one of his

Guanahanian interpreters, finely clad and laden with presents. But, strangely enough, the man did not return. Nor was the Admiral ever able to ascertain what became of him. The other Guanahanian, through many vicissitudes, past and to come, remained stanch in his loyalty to Columbus, accompanying him wherever he went, proud to receive and bear the baptismal name of Diego Colon, the Admiral's brother.

By the 25th of November the fleet reached Monte Christo and anchored there, while the coast was surveyed at the mouth of Gold River in search of a site for a fortress. Here it was that the first indications were discovered of those dire disasters which now began to rise and darken the pathway of Columbus during all the remainder of his life. While the exploring party were traversing the shore, they found a human carcass tied by the wrists and ankles with a Spanish cord to a stake *in the form of a cross*. Also near by was the body of a boy. Both cadavers were in such a state of decay that it could not certainly be known whether they were Spaniards or Indians. But the significant cross pointed to the suspicion that they were Europeans, and if so, certainly men of the colony of Natividad. The sign of crime was therefore sufficiently portentous.

This horrible discovery proved to be indeed only the precursor of worse things to come. On a further examination of the coast, two other bodies were found, and though these also were reduced to little more than grinning skeletons, one of them was discovered to wear a beard. This told the story. The victim had certainly been a Spaniard. The indications of violence and death were well calculated to awaken the most serious apprehensions in the mind of Columbus respecting the state of affairs in the island. He was, however, much cheered by the conduct of the natives, who acted in a manner so frank, so little indicative of treachery,

that he could but hope everything might still be well with the men whom he had left under De Arana in the fort.

Within two days from leaving Monte Christo, the fleet arrived at the anchorage of La Natividad. The hour was late in the evening, and a landing was impracticable until the morrow. It was hoped, however, that notification might be given to the colony by the firing of a cannon. But the reverberations died away, and no response came from the fortress. About midnight, however, an Indian canoe came near the squadron and the natives shouted for Columbus. They were directed to the *Maria Galante*, but would not go on deck until the Admiral himself was seen by the lamps at the railing. Then their caution was dismissed, and they were taken up, and found to be an embassy from Guacanagari, the leader being a cousin of the cacique. As usual in such matters, they brought presents, the principal one being two masks eyed and tongued with gold.

But the Admiral was far more concerned about other matters than of the things of which they chose to speak, and he eagerly inquired of the Indians what had become of his garrison—why they did not answer to his signals. At this the natives were somewhat embarrassed; but they managed, by means of the interpreter, to tell a tolerably consistent story. They said the Spaniards under De Arana had a quarrel and fight among themselves, in which several lives were lost, and that sickness had carried off quite a number. Others still had married native wives and settled in distant parts of the island. But worse than this, they gave an account of an invasion of the province of Guacanagari by the warlike Caonabo, cacique of the gold regions in the mountains of Cibao. He with a strong band had burst into the village of their chieftain, had slain many, wounded many more, and burnt the houses. Among the

wounded was Guacanagari himself, who, but for his injuries, would have come at once to the Admiral. The reason for this onset was that the friendly cacique had sought to protect the Spaniards from the rage of Caonabo, who had gone to war with them on account of their conduct towards him and his people. Whether any of the Spaniards remained alive the messenger did not say.

Morning came, bringing with it the greatest anxiety. On looking out towards shore the Spaniards could perceive no signs of life. Instead of the native multitudes, only the waving trees were seen along the coast, and only the light murmur of the surf was heard as it fell and broke among the rocks. Meanwhile Columbus had entertained the Indian embassy, and before the coming of dawn had sent them ashore laden with presents. They had gone promising to return during the day and bring Guacanagari with them.

The only circumstance calculated to relieve the despondency and fears of the Admiral was the fact that the natives seemed to be friendly and unconscious of wrong-doing. During the forenoon a boat-load of Spaniards was sent ashore to ascertain definitely the situation. Fort Natividad was in ruins. It appeared that the place had been carried by assault, broken down, and the remnant burnt. Fragments of the contents of the fort were scattered about, and these relics included shreds of Spanish garments, presenting a scene of death and desolation. With these grueful relics before them, they could no longer doubt that the worst of calamities had befallen Arana and his men. As for the natives, they carefully kept aloof. Though a few were seen hiding in the woods at a distance, not one came near to explain further the destruction of the fort and its occupants.

When these tidings were borne back to the Admiral he

was in the greatest distress, and went directly on shore to examine the ruins of the fort himself. Unable to gain any clew as to its destruction and the disappearance of his men at the first examination, he deemed it expedient to make a more systematic search. Possibly some of the Spaniards might still live, and it was not inconceivable that a band of them, driven from the fort, had kept together and defended themselves until Caonabo and his warriors had retired to their own place. Several companies were accordingly dispatched into the neighboring districts to search for any possible survivors of the disaster. The men went abroad firing their guns, shouting and blowing trumpets; but the only sounds that came back were the echoes from the woods and rocks, and wave-beats of the sea.

As for Guacanagari, he did not come, nor was any message sent by him to explain his absence. The Admiral at length concluded to seek him out, and accordingly advanced to the cacique's village, which, to his grief, he found burnt to ashes, and the same marks of violence about its ruins as had been found at Natividad. The conclusion seemed necessary that the town of the cacique, as well as the Spanish fort, had been taken and destroyed by the warriors of Caonabo. This circumstance, while it tended to dispel all hope of finding Arana and his men, seemed to establish the belief that the tribe of Guacanagari had remained loyal to the Spaniards.

The Admiral was so much concerned to know the truth that, returning to the coast, he renewed his investigations about the ruined fortress. He had given directions to Arana in case he and the garrison should be imperiled, to bury in the earth treasures which they had accumulated. In the hope of finding some trace of the property, the well of the fort was examined, and the whole region round about, but there was no sign that these instructions had

been obeyed, and the search was therefore continued along the coast.

On the coming of the Spaniards to a native village not far away the inhabitant fled, leaving their houses to be examined by the invaders. Here were found several articles which had belonged to the garrison, among which were an old anchor of the *Santa Maria* and a Moorish cloak which was remembered as the property of De Arana. There were also several articles of clothing and bits of merchandise, pointing unmistakably to the spoliation of the fortress. In the meantime another company of explorers, nearer to Natividad, had found a kind of burial-place, from which they recovered the remains of eleven of their companions, thus strengthening the belief with overwhelming proof that all had perished by violence.

It was with the greatest difficulty that Columbus could induce the natives to a renewal of intercourse. Nor could their conduct in this particular be well understood. If the subjects of Guacanagari were innocent, why should they keep aloof and exhibit such want of confidence? On the other hand, if they had not been loyal, how account for the destruction of the village of the cacique and his own wounds? The problem became an enigma, and there was great diversity of opinion among the Spaniards. De Buyl, the apostolic vicar, led the belief that all the Indians alike had been treacherous, and that the Admiral should proceed to punish them for their crime. He framed a theory that the cacique had burned his own village to conceal his perfidy—that the conduct of the natives could be explained only on the ground that they were crafty barbarians who well knew the awfulness of the crime that they had committed and dreaded retributive justice.

Columbus, however, was entirely unwilling to accept this disheartening and pessimistic view of the situation. He

chose to believe that the work had been done by Caonabo and his people, and this conviction was accompanied by the well-grounded fear that the Spaniards had, by their own misconduct, brought the fatal visitation on themselves. With the progress of the investigation, the disconnected facts were slowly and imperfectly put together until a fairly reasonable story of the destruction of Arana and his company was produced; and the conclusion was of a kind to brand with shame and infamy the first settlement of white men ever planted in the New World.

It appeared in the sequel that as soon as the colony was established and the Admiral had sailed away, the true character of the colonists came out with dreadful realism. The men whom Columbus had brought with him on his first voyage to the West Indies were, as we have said, for the most part, of the lowest order. They had been roustabouts and criminals in the Spanish seaport towns, and, as the reader knows, had in many instances escaped impending penalties by embarkation through impressment. Such characters could but await the removal of authority to seize the combined freedom of barbarism and the viciousness of civilization.

It was in vain that De Arana had sought to curb and restrain the will and passions of his colonists. Finding that they could not be subjected to discipline by any force which the captain could exert, they at once abandoned themselves to the license of outrage and excess. Every evil impulse which for generations, although restrained under the compressive tyranny of despotic government, had been transmitted with accumulating vehemence from father to son, now burst forth in the depraved descendants. They turned upon the mild-mannered Indians who had befriended and assisted them in every way to gain a footing and maintenance in the island, and began to treat them

as though they were the mere instruments of their avarice and lust. They sallied forth from the fort against the express commands of the Admiral, and contracted licentious alliances with the native women, whom they refused to leave even when ordered by Arana, and indulged in a riot of debauchery horrible in its details.

Guacanagari had sought to appease the fury of Spanish passion by granting to each sailor two or three wives. But even this was not enough. The wretches, glorying in their license, became like wild beasts, assaulting and seducing the wives and daughters of the head men of the tribe, and as if their crimes inspired greater lawlessness, they began to despoil the villages, carrying home therefrom great loads of merchandise and provisions. In a few days the fort was converted into a robbers' camp, and presently the men fell to quarreling, brawling and fighting over the spoils, sometimes to the death. Others remained abroad, preferring the company of the native women. But a few, deprived of what they considered their share, began to form conspiracies. Pedro Gutierrez became the head of one band and Rodrigo de Escobedo of another. These two, being subordinate officers in the fortress, mutinied against the commander, and in a fight which took place on that account another Spaniard lost his life.

The party of Arana had been victorious, and Gutierrez and Escobedo left Natividad for another part of the island. The remainder, composing a company of eleven, besides some native women whom they had taken as wives, set out for Cibao, to gather gold. In a short time they passed the boundaries of the district ruled by Guacanagari and entered the territory of Caonabo, the great cacique of Maguana, to whom the Spaniards had given the name of Prince of the Golden House. Subsequent investigations showed that this warlike chieftain was a native Carib, who had come as

an invader into Hispaniola and there established himself with his headquarters in the gold regions.

The invasion of his territories by a mere handful of Spaniards could have but one result with the cacique. When the band of Gutierrez and Escobedo approached Cibao and began to ply their trade of getting gold, Caonabo sent out his warriors, who surrounded them and killed the last man of the company. The cacique then made a league with the neighboring chieftain of the province of Marien, and the combined forces of the two tribes were sent into the province of Guacanagari, to besiege the Spanish fortress and sweep it, with its garrison, from the face of the earth. The invasion was carried on with secrecy. The course pursued by Guacanagari is not certainly known; but it appears that he tried, at least formally, to defend the Spaniards from the enemy, for it can hardly be doubted that the village of the friendly cacique was burned, and that some of the Spaniards who were there at the time were killed in the attack. The hostile barbarians then crept upon the fort, where all precaution had been abandoned, and rushed in at a time when the garrison numbered only ten men. Two of these were killed, and the other eight fleeing from their pursuers plunged into the sea and were drowned. Not a man was left alive to tell the story. The fortress was sacked and burned, and the hostile warriors, after thus glutting their vengeance, returned to their own district.

It seems that after the withdrawal of the enemy, Guacanagari knew not what to do. Perhaps he doubted his ability to make things clear on the return of the Admiral. Perhaps he feared that when the great fleet came, he and his people would be overwhelmed in a common ruin by the vengeful foreigners. Possibly at heart he had felt some emotions of sympathy with the work of extermination which had been accomplished by the men of Cibao. In

any event the situation was trying in the extreme. It would seem that the cacique had not the confidence to commit himself without reserve to the good faith of the Admiral, and in his embarrassment, doubtless to save himself and his subjects, he adopted that subterfuge to which half-barbarous minds naturally resort in times of danger.

One circumstance tended strongly to convince even the Admiral that Guacanagari had been guilty of duplicity. It was claimed by the Indians who came as ambassadors from their cacique that he was prevented from visiting the Admiral by the injuries which he had received while defending his village against the attack of Caonabo. Columbus presently set out and found his friend at a new village which had been extemporized for him not far away. The cacique, sure enough, lay in his hammock, surrounded by his wives, and unable to rise, on account, he said, of his wounded leg, which he claimed had been struck with a stone and so injured that he could not stand. The limb was bandaged to a great extent, and Columbus ordered his own surgeon, who was present, to examine the injury and see what could be done to relieve the chief. The bandages were accordingly taken off, and though the cacique made grimaces and complained of pain when the limb was handled, no trace of the alleged injury could be found, and this fact produced the natural suspicion that the wound and his story of it were a sham invented for effect.

Other warriors of the tribe, however, were found to have been really wounded, presumably by the arrows of the enemy; and of a certainty the cacique's village had been burned. All things considered, Columbus decided to give Guacanagari the benefit of every doubt, and so, exhibiting no signs of distrust, he bestowed on the chieftain the usual gifts and went away. At this De Buyl was again greatly offended, for to him the evidence of guilt was so clear that

he urged the Admiral to take a summary vengeance on the cacique, making him an example to all other offenders. But this counsel was rejected, and for the time amicable relations were maintained between the Spaniards and the natives.

The difference of opinion and policy between Columbus and the vicar was the commencement of a difficulty destined to become important. Buyl had in him the very soul of a persecutor, and nothing could have pleased him better than to see the head men of the Indians burned at the stake, as his favorite method of introducing the new religion which he came to represent. It is an interesting historical study to see the contest between the vindictive spirit of this man and the humane disposition of the commander. But passing from this, we note the conduct of the latter in inviting Guacanagari, in spite of the suspicions against him, to visit the *Maria Galante* and share the hospitalities of his board. The act was one of kindness and policy also; kindness, for by this means he sought in a generous way to restore the confidence of the chief; policy, for he desired him to look upon the Carib prisoners whom the Spaniards had on board as warnings of what might be expected by all who durst attack or oppose the whites. The whole cargo of wonders, including the horses, swine and goats, was also shown to the cacique, to accomplish a similar purpose.

But human nature is always human nature. The barbarian, or half-barbarian, is ever of his own kind. Among the other subjects which the cacique found on the Admiral's ship was a company of captives from Porto Rico; that is, they were liberated captives, whom the Caribs had taken and the Admiral recovered. With these Guacanagari began to converse by means of an interpreter. Among the rest was a queenly native woman called Catalina, with whom, as the sequel showed, the cacique fell violently in love.

He conversed with her as much as possible in the lover's manner, and would fain have taken her on shore, but the opportunity was not presented until the following night, when the queen escapèd by swimming ashore, and the next day Guacanagari disappeared, having eloped with the woman, so that neither was again seen by the Spaniards.

CHAPTER X.

IF Columbus had been affected by such adversities as crush the hopes of other men ; if his enthusiastic and wondrously imaginative nature had not sustained him in every ordeal that wrings the heart with despair ; if the sun of hope and confidence had not remained always visible above the horizon of his life, the world would have preserved no remembrance of his living. A nature that would have halted at obstacles would have bowed with despondency before such persecution as he received at the hands of Portugal's ruler ; but enduring these, the rejections of his proposals by Genoa, Venice, and by two learned Juntas, as well as the derision of ecclesiastics, would surely have driven any less persistent man to accept the hopelessness of his ambitions. But bearing up against all these opposing influences, like a vessel whose engines have sufficient power to hold her against the current, he bravely held on, continued on, until, behold, the reward of his unyielding activity is a glory that kings might crave.

The man who bared a resolute front to all the oppositions that obscurity, poverty, antagonisms and ridicule could offer was not to be daunted even by the discouraging aspect which a murdered colony presented. Hopeful as he was persistent, Columbus was not awakened from his dreams of conquest by the dreadful fate of those whom he had established as the nucleus of a vast commercial power, which he believed would expand in influence until it accomplished the Christianizing of the world of his discovery. The first seed had

perished even as it lay in the ground, but he would now sow again and trust for a more favorable season. The first colony had wrought its own destruction, perhaps a second would be successful, and with this sanguine, trustful feeling he set about the planting of a settlement either above the graves of those who had fallen victims to their lustful, seditious and avaricious appetites, or to establish a colony near by, where there might be constant reminder of the fate of those who had subordinated virtue and honest duty to selfish greed and the basest desires of human nature.

After the first excitement of the landing, despondency ensued, and the men began to realize something of the prosaic character of the enterprise in which they were engaged. Worst of all, they found that labor was a necessity of their situation. Houses would not build themselves. The fortress would not grow without human effort. Nothing could be accomplished on this virgin shore, any more than elsewhere, without strenuous exertion of mind and body. Here it was not merely a question of exciting adventure incident to the gathering of golden sands from the banks and beds of impossible rivers. Toil, toil, was the order, and all alike, cavaliers and soldiers though they were, must bend to the appointed task.

Again the situation can but impress the mind of the reader by its likeness to the founding of Jamestown by the English a hundred and fourteen years afterwards. Thus came disappointment and gloom instead of the exhilaration of ideal enterprises, and this fact tended to aggravate the diseases of the colonists.

Columbus, as we have said, felt his strength ebb away. He may have perceived—for the greatest minds are given to such intuition—that the golden but visionary schemes which had passed before his imagination, and which he had imparted to the King and Queen, lay farther away in their

realization, and were to be reached by a rougher road than any which his feet had ever yet traveled. Moreover, the sorrows and weaknesses of old age were now coming upon him, and he could hold up no longer. No sooner had the preliminaries of the settlement been determined upon than his faculties of body and mind succumbed to the sore pressure, and for several weeks he was confined to his couch. During part of the time he was able to give directions for the prosecution of the work of laying out, building, fortifying and planting ; but for the rest, the enterprise must be remanded to the hands of his subordinates. Whenever this was done, confusion began to reign as the result of cross purposes and lack of talent. It was thus under dismal auspices that the eventful year 1493 ended with small prospect that the Admiral would be able, in his first report to his sovereigns, to meet the glowing expectations which his own over-sanguine temperament had given rise to at the court.

By the opening of the following year, all the materials of the fleet had been transferred to the shore, and there was no further need of the squadron. It had been predetermined that after the planting of the colony the greater number of the vessels should be sent back to Spain. It had also been intended by Columbus that these returning ships should be laden with the merchandise and treasures which he expected his colony of Natividad to gather during his absence. The disappointment in this respect was overwhelming. De Arana and his garrison had not only gathered nothing, but had lost all, including themselves—a melancholy awakening from delightful dreams.

The second voyage had thus far been an expedition of discovering and mere planting. No commercial intercourse had been opened or renewed with the native islanders. Indeed such a condition of unfriendliness and distrust now prevailed that it was doubtful whether any profitable trade

could again be established with the Indians. But it was necessary to freight the ships with something, if only with an additional cargo of golden dreams. To this end the Admiral was constrained to rouse himself from his enfeebled condition and to prepare his report to his sovereigns. As in the case of all men of genius, his active mind foreran the event, and he sought to find in the surroundings such elements of success as might be truthfully wrought into a suitable report to gratify their Majesties.

To this end the Admiral deemed it expedient to send out exploring parties, two of which were organized and dispatched into the gold country. The first of these was put under the command of Alonzo de Ojeda. To him nothing could have been more agreeable than the responsibility of an expedition into the mountains of Cibao, or, missing that, into the mountains of the moon. The other company was placed under a Captain Gorvalan, a cavalier of like disposition with Ojeda, but less adventurous. Both parties went out full-armed into the country of Caonabo, expecting to fight their way to the mines, which they were directed to examine and explore, to the end that Columbus might faithfully inform their Majesties as to the probable gold yield of the island.

It required but two days to reach the hill country. On the third morning the gold fields were approached, and to the astonishment of the Spaniards the Indians of the district were not only friendly but familiar. They welcomed the strangers as brethren, fed them, lodged them, aided them in every way to carry out their purpose. The formation of the island in this part was as peculiar as it was beautiful. The gold mountains constituted a range of moderate height, beyond which lay a plain traversed by many streams and occupied with numerous villages and a large population. Crossing this plain, the adventurers came to a second ridge,

out of which the rivers gathered their waters. This was the mining district ; but there were no mines. Nevertheless the signs of gold were sufficiently abundant, for the sands of the running streams glittered here and there with particles of the precious metal. Specimens of these sands were taken up and the gold gathered out with little difficulty, while some of the Spaniards were so fortunate as to pick up pieces of considerable weight.

Here, then, the secret was out. It was clear that the specimens of gold dust which the Spaniards had procured in other parts of the island, and farther north, had been derived from these mines of Cibao. But everything was in the native condition. Ojeda very properly concluded that the yield of the precious metal, as shown in the river sands, was but a hint of the rich, perhaps limitless, treasures of the mountains. He accordingly surveyed the landscape and carried back to the Admiral a glowing report. The expedition of Gorvalan had a similar result. That captain had also discovered the gold country, and had gathered specimens from the sands and returned with a cheering account for the Admiral. Thus, while Columbus was not able to send home a cargo of treasure, he would fain transmit a glamour of visions and hopes.

It was under these conditions that the discoverer now prepared his report for the King and Queen. He determined to retain five ships from the squadron for his own use in the service of the colonists, and in prosecuting the work of discovery. The remaining twelve were put under command of Antonio de Torres for the return voyage. As for treasure, he was able to send nothing except the specimens of gold-bearing sand which his lieutenants had gathered about Cibao, and to add some additional samples of the animal and vegetable products of the island. His report was of course the principal thing, and this, while it contained an

account of the disaster which had befallen the garrison of La Natividad, of the sickness to which he and the colony had been recently subjected, and some complaints, well founded, of frauds and blunders committed by the home bureau in the preparation of the cargo and provision of the squadron, nevertheless glowed with the usual enthusiasm and promise of great things to come.

The document was prepared with his accustomed elaboration, embracing a report proper and many recommendations which the Admiral took the responsibility of making to the sovereigns. Some of these suggestions were of a kind to show forth in full sight not only the sentiments and opinions of the discoverer and his sovereigns, but also the general civilization in that age. Fortunately the document has been preserved to our own time, and the curious inquirer may still read not only the words of the Admiral, but the marginal comments which the sovereigns appended to each clause of the report. In the first place the Admiral opens with those formal and complimentary addresses which were the style in the fifteenth century, and even at a much later date, in all documents directed to royal personages. To these the King and Queen made on the margin this remark :

“Their Highnesses hold it for good service.”

In the next place the Admiral gives an enumeration of the circumstances of the second voyage up to date, including an account of the various islands which he had discovered and visited, and finally of the planting and establishment of the colony of Isabella. To this the sovereigns affixed the co-marginal comment :

“Their Highnesses give much thanks to God, and hold as very honored service all that the Admiral has done.”

In the third paragraph he tells of the ill fortunes that had

come, explaining how his men had fallen sick, how the new plantation had been delayed, how it had become necessary to detail a considerable number of soldiers to guard the settlement from possible attacks by the natives, and how, for these reasons, he had been unable to gather and send home with the cargo any products or treasures worthy of the work. To this clause the sovereigns wrote in the margin the simple words :

“He has done well.”

In the fourth place the Admiral went on to suggest the best means of gaining possession of the gold mines of Cibao. To this end he recommended that a fortress be built in the gold-producing regions, and that it should be garrisoned and held that the mines might be systematically worked. To this proposition the sovereigns also gave their approval as follows :

“This is well and so it must be done.”

The Admiral next proceeded to discuss the question of provisions for the new settlement, until such time as the products of the island, including new crops to be raised and gathered by the colonists, should be sufficient to render unnecessary all further draft on the mother country. This, too, received the approval of royalty with the marginal comment, thus :

“Juan de Fonseca is to provide for this matter.”

In the next place Columbus proceeded to touch the delicate subject of the frauds and blunders that had been committed in the purchase and preparation of supplies for the squadron and the colony. This part related most of all to the wine which the bureau had supplied for the expedition. Very soon after the sailing of the fleet it was discovered that the wine-casks were old and leaky, and before the end of the voyage much of the supply had been wasted. Con-

cerning this complaint the marginal comment of the sovereigns was as follows :

“ Juan de Fonseca shall find out the persons who played this cheat with the wine-casks, that they may make good from their own pockets the loss, and also see that the sugar-canes (for the colony) are good, and that all that is here asked for be provided immediately.”

We have already remarked above how greatly Columbus was distressed—how sensitive he was—relative to the failure of the expedition thus far to yield any profitable returns. He knew well enough that profit was expected. Indeed, that had been with the sovereigns the prevailing motive, and it is likely that glimpses of a probability had now reached the Admiral's judgment that the treasures of gold he had been seeking were still far remote. It was, therefore, expedient that he should, if practicable, divert the minds of their Majesties to some other enterprise, promising great and immediate advantages.

It is possible, therefore, or probable, that the next suggestions of his report were in part, at least, the result of a wish to point the royal mind to a new method of commercial gain. Or it may be that he conscientiously believed the recommendations made to be philanthropic and humane. The thing which he suggested in the next paragraph was based on a policy which he had on his own responsibility adopted with respect to the Caribs. The reader will recall the fact that while cruising among the cannibal islands Columbus seized a number of the natives and retained them as prisoners. These he now sent to Europe with the returning squadron, recommending to the sovereigns that the islanders should be taught Spanish, be baptized into the Church, and that they be retained as slaves to serve as interpreters, or be made useful in other ways. He called attention to the fact that such a measure would be a just punishment for the Caribbeans, and that it would tend to

inspire confidence in the other islands, where the people lived in dread of the cannibals. Of course the Admiral laid much stress upon the religious feature of the suggestion, insisting that the proposed subjection of the cannibals was to their own interest as well as to the benefit of Spain and the advantage of the whole colonial enterprise. But to this recommendation there was entered on the margin a guarded reply of the sovereigns, as follows:

“Their Majesties think this very well, and so it must be done; but let the Admiral see whether it cannot be managed there that they (the Indians) should be brought to our Holy Catholic faith, and the same thing be done with the Indians of those islands where he now is.”

Having thus opened the way, Columbus proceeds boldly to the general suggestion of the enslavement of the natives as the best means of making them Christians, and of gathering profit by new commercial relations that might be established on the foundation of a traffic in human beings. The Admiral suggests that the ships in the Indies could be laden with cargoes of natives, who might be exchanged in Spain for live stock and other supplies requisite for the purposes and development of the colony. The policy should be adopted by the Indian Bureau of sending out a fleet each year bearing all things demanded by the colonists, and the vessels, as soon their cargoes could be discharged in the Indies, might gather an equivalent cargo of Indian slaves. It was necessary that this policy should be at once adopted and that the answer of the sovereigns should be transmitted by Antonio de Torres to the Admiral, so that the latter might proceed to capture the requisite ship-loads of cannibals for the return voyage. The project was sufficiently audacious and cold-blooded, being redeemed only from absolute shame and contempt by the intermixture of religious motives, real or fictitious, which the Admiral pleaded in justification of his proposals. In view of the situation the

reader at the close of the nineteenth century will notice the reply of the Spanish sovereigns with peculiar interest :

“As regards this matter, it is *suspended* for the present until there come some other way of doing it there, and let the Admiral write what he thinks of this.”

Certainly it was to the honor of Ferdinand and Isabella that they refused to adopt the suggestions made by their favorite, as to establishing a slave-trade in the West Indies. Whether or not they were moved thereto by reasons of justice and humanity, or whether they detected in the proposition elements of trouble and inexpediency, it would be difficult to say. A careful reading of their answer and comment would indicate that while it was deemed inexpedient to begin the enslavement of the Indians, there was nevertheless a reluctance on the part of the sovereigns to pronounce the interdict. They put it from them with such gentle kind of veto as Cæsar employed in rejecting the crown. The sarcastic comment of Casca might almost be repeated and applied—at least to Ferdinand, whose cold and subtle disposition we may discover in the language of refusal: “He put it by; but for all that to my thinking he would fain have had it. . . . He put it by again; but to my thinking he was very loath to lay his fingers off it.”

The proposal of Columbus was brought to the sovereigns in a very practical and emphatic way. The Carib prisoners were put on board the fleet and dispatched to Spain as the earnest and first fruits of the enterprise. The monarchs were told that a system of royal revenue might be established by laying a duty on the slaves imported. In a word, the thing proposed was to be profitable to everybody; profitable to the colonists, for by this means their energies might be exerted in the excitement of slave-hunting, and at the same time their resources augmented by the supplies and merchandise to be brought from Spain in exchange for

the captives; profitable to the people of the mother country, for in this way they would obtain at cheap rates a full retinue of servants forever; profitable to the merchants, for their cargoes would, under such a system, be expeditiously provided on both sides of the Atlantic; profitable to the sovereigns, for hereby the royal revenue could be steadily replenished; profitable to the Caribs themselves, for by the blessings of capture, deportation and sale, they would be rapidly civilized, saved from their sins and through all their sufferings be brought to Heaven. The inhuman fallacy was complete in all its parts and needed only the assent of the sovereigns to make it pass as the greatest civilizing argument of the age.

The returning squadron, under command of Antonio de Torres, left San Domingo on the 2d of February, 1494. Other communications from leading characters were added to that of Columbus, generally corroborating his report and repeating his recommendations. Such was a letter from the apostolic vicar De Buyl, and such were the reports made by Ojeda and Gorvalan respecting their explorations in the mines of Cibao. On the whole, the information which the fleet was to bear back to Europe was of a kind to make up in a large measure for the disappointment in the matter of merchandise and gold. Thus, at the close of the winter the home-bound armada dropped out of sight, and the colonists of Isabella were left to resume and prosecute the necessary enterprises of the settlement.

By this time the Admiral had recovered somewhat his wasted energies, and with returning strength he devoted himself to the administration of affairs. Never was government more difficult. The distraction of the colonists became extreme. Sickness increased rather than abated. Provisions began to fail, and the fare was as scant as the work was incessant. The Admiral established laws for the govern-

ment of the colony, but these could hardly be enforced, for the character of perhaps a majority of them forbade the operation of wholesome rules for all.

Many of the men were of high rank by both birth and profession. There were young hidalgos who had never before been obliged to stoop to toil. There were courtiers from Barcelona, and functionaries whose immemorial business it was to live by the labor of others. The viceroy could make no exceptions in the application of his laws, and sullen rage and vindictiveness soon appeared among those who were compelled, as they thought, like slaves, to toil in building houses and fortifying the town. Some began to complain of the Admiral and his government. Discontent grew rife, and conspiracy soon builded its nest and hatched its dangerous brood.

Now it was that the celebrated Bernal Diaz, of Pisa, a man of rank and influence, but of a low grade of moral principle, appeared as the leader and mouthpiece of the malcontents. In him all the Adullamites of the island discovered a vent for their rage against the Admiral. He held the appointment of comptroller of the colony, and in this office he soon showed his disagreeable and seditious spirit. In the gloomy days which came down after the departure of the squadron for Spain, Diaz conceived the project of virtually destroying the enterprise by secret mutiny. His scheme contemplated the seizure of the ships, or at least most of them, and a departure from the island with all on board who desired to return home. The leader had persuaded himself that all this discovery of the Indies, and in particular all the representations made by the Admiral respecting the resources of the islands and their commercial importance to the Spanish government, were fallacious, misleading, and in short without foundation in fact. It was believed by the conspirators that on reaching Spain they

could appeal to the sovereigns, having Bernal Diaz—himself a man of the court—for their spokesman, and easily persuade them that they had been duped, deceived and cajoled by the foreign Admiral, who had gained an unmerited ascendancy in their confidence.

While this perfidious business was still in the egg another factor was added to the cabal. A certain Fermin Cedo, who was the assayer of the colony and, as the sequel showed, a charlatan, ignorant of the work he professed, joined himself with Bernal Diaz, and encouraged the mutiny with a false statement respecting the gold product of the island. He declared that the reports relative to the mines of Cibao were without foundation; that nothing more than a few scattering particles of the precious metal had been found by the explorers; that the better specimens—small ingots and the like brought home by the exploring party, or procured in trade with the natives—had been produced by melting down a quantity of the gold-dust, and that such specimens signified nothing in the general estimate. He also alleged that much of the reputed gold was spurious, being nothing more than macasite, or some such mineral. Since the hopes of the colonists were centered on mining and the gathering of precious stones, these declarations of the assayer prevailed with many, even against the testimony of their own senses.

The occasion seemed auspicious for the success of the scheme. The Admiral was again confined to his couch by sickness. The conspirators might avail themselves of this fact and get away without discovery. Nevertheless the thing was borne at length to the ears of Columbus, and he was enabled to nip the project in the bud. Bernal Diaz, Cedo and several other leaders of the mutiny were seized and put under guard on the vessels. A search instituted by the Admiral brought the whole thing to light. The plan

of the enterprise, including the report which the conspirators were to make to the Queen and King, drawn up in the handwriting of Bernal Diaz, was discovered, and the whole sedition was thus suddenly delivered over to the master.

It was the first time in which anything had occurred of such a character as to make punishment a necessity. Columbus deemed it prudent, however, not to proceed against Diaz himself, but to remand him, with all the proofs, to the Spanish authorities. The leading mutineer, with several others, was accordingly confined on board one of the ships until such time as they might be sent to Spain for trial. Other precautionary measures were taken against the possible revival of the sedition. All the guns, munitions and supplies of the fleet were transferred to a single ship, and this was put in command of officers known to be devoted to the interests of the Admiral. The measures were salutary enough, and the effect was marked by some immediate improvement in the discipline and progress of the colony. But it was noted by the Admiral himself that the wounds and alienations produced by the event could not be healed. Confidence was never again fully restored among the colonists of Isabella, and the cloud began to settle on the Admiral which was never to be lifted.

With the recovery of his health Columbus deemed it expedient to prosecute at least two of the general objects for which the enterprise had been undertaken. The first of these was to continue the work of exploration. In order to understand the strong motive for the immediate enlargement of the borders of discovery in the Indies (as they were supposed to be), the reader must recur to the intense rivalry existing between Spain and Portugal. The decision of the Pope had been against the latter power; that is, the decision had been in the nature of an interdict against Portuguese enterprise towards the west. But there was nothing to hinder

—indeed, much to encourage—the endeavor of the Portuguese mariners to reach the Indies by the eastern route.

This question had continued uppermost in Spain and Portugal, leading at length to the discovery of a water route by the east to India, which was found by De Gama four years later. A knowledge of Portugal's activity and ambitions was therefore a spur to Columbus to accomplish, as quickly as possible, the full possession, by discovery and occupation, of the rich Pagan countries of the east. But while thus eager to anticipate the Portuguese he entertained a project having a local significance, though it was a preliminary step towards the attainment of his larger ambitions. Accordingly, Columbus acquainted Ferdinand and Isabella with his proposal to enter the gold fields of Hispaniola, and take permanent possession of them by the erection of a fort. As his purpose was to thereby establish a local government at Isabella, thus enabling him to proceed to the accomplishment of his other mission, their Majesties promptly approved his plans.

As soon, therefore, as he had succeeded in suppressing the sedition of Diaz, the Admiral issued an edict committing the government of Isabella, as well as the command of the ships in the harbor, to his brother, Don Diego, and a council of municipal officers by whom he was to be advised and assisted.

Having made these preparations at Isabella, the Admiral proceeded at once to organize his expedition for the gold region. To this end he selected about four hundred of the well and able-bodied colonists, preferring the young and adventurous. The movement involved the arming of the whole band; for, in the existing state of things, the loyalty of the natives, how much soever manifested, could not be depended on under trial. In fact, the object of the expedition was as much military as it was industrial.

It was on the 12th of March that the equipment of the cavalcade was complete, and the march began. To such men as those composing the regiment action was everything. They rejoiced to be once more freed from the serenity and lethargy of the settlement. It was like going again on a campaign in the Moorish war. The start was accompanied by all the demonstrations and spectacular scenes peculiar to the age and the race. The greater number were organized as a cavalry brigade. They were armed, and for the most part armored, cap-a-pie, and rode out with their lances and shining helmets, and clumsy but formidable arquebuses, which at intervals they discharged, making the green woods ring with the unfamiliar music of musketry. Meanwhile many natives, drawn after the cavalcade, like curious boys following in the wake of a menagerie, hung around the expedition, joining in the advance as much as they were permitted to do, and seemingly well content at the strange invasion of their country.

For the first day or two of the advance, the route lay through a somewhat broken and difficult country, rising from the sea-level, but still bearing the matted thickets and heavy forest of the coast. At length the way became difficult, and it was necessary to widen the path for the invaders. A company of advanced guards and pioneers was accordingly organized, and for this service the young noblemen, now aroused from their apathy and discontent, gladly volunteered. In honor of their endeavor, the Admiral gave to their new military road—the first highway opened by European hands in the New World—the name of *El Puerto los Hidalgos*, that is, the Pass of the Hidalgos.

After this preparation the expedition, following the route already explored by Ojeda, reached the crest of the ridge dividing the province of Caonabo from the territory of the

coast-people. It was the first of many such situations which we shall see repeated in the adventures and campaigns of Europeans in the New World to the time when, in the summer of 1847, the invading army of the United States looked down from the rocky heights of the Cordilleras upon the valley of Mexico. Before the Spaniards stretched the beautiful plain of Cibao. According to the estimate of Las Casas it was two hundred and forty miles from east to west, and as much as thirty miles in breadth, a region capable under such culture as that of the Netherlands of supporting several millions of inhabitants. At the time of the invasion, however, only Indian villages, scattered sparsely over the landscape, were seen.

This vision of a beautiful and marvelously fertile valley might, in other more refined and appreciative minds, have suggested vast cities, peaceful populations and blessings of a splendid civilization, but the Spaniards were so besotted with vice and avarice that they could consider it only for its possible mineral productions; for the gold that might lie hidden in the river sands and in the mountains that reared their heads high into the region of cloudland. They accordingly descended into this delightful valley, called by Columbus *Vega Real*, the Royal Plain, and set their way across it towards the gold-bearing mountains.

In traversing this beautiful district orders were given, on approaching the first village, to enter after the manner of a cavalry charge. So the trumpets were sounded, the banners shaken out, and the Hidalgo horsemen rode forward, their armor flashing in the sun. The people of the plain had never before seen horses, and to their astonished and credulous gaze the oncoming of the cavalry seemed as a charge of armored centaurs might have appeared to the early inhabitants of the Grecian archipelago.

In the face of such an apparition, there was of course no

show of fight. Columbus failed to discover in the towns of Vega Real those bands of fierce warriors whom, according to report, Caonabo had led in the preceding year against Guacanagari and Fort Natividad. On the contrary, the Indians of this region seemed almost as timid as their fellows of the coast. They fled before the Spaniards, some escaping into the woods and others taking refuge in their houses. It was a matter of amusement to the Spanish soldiers to see the simple natives building flimsy barricades of cane-reeds across the doors of their huts. The obstructions were not such as to have impeded the charge of a ram, and yet the Indians seemed to think themselves safe from assault behind their wicker defences. The Admiral gave orders to humor the natives in all particulars; and it was not long before their confiding disposition showed itself in familiarity and free intercourse. As the expedition advanced, the natives of the town thronged around the army, and the usual traffic was begun. The Indians had a keen perception in discovering the thing most desired, and before reaching their destination the Spaniards were able to procure considerable quantities of gold-dust.

On the second day Columbus discovered a river which proved to be the headwaters of the Rio del Oro, but here the country became so rough that farther progress had to be made on foot, up the sides of lofty foot-hills, which had now been reached. In small streams falling down the mountain-sides glittering particles of gold were found, and this discovery determined Columbus to build here a fort, the point being sixty miles from Isabella. A suitable location was quickly found on a fine plateau around which two small streams uniting formed almost a circle. No sooner had the expedition halted than jasper, lapis lazuli, amber and other valuable products were found, and a profitable trade was opened with the Indians, who freely exchanged

ingots of gold, weighing as much as an ounce, for any brilliant gewgaw that was offered them.

After great labor a fort of considerable strength was built and named St. Thomas, the ruins of which are still to be seen. Being now placed in a good state of defense, Columbus sent out an exploring party under Juan de Luxen to traverse the surrounding country. He was accompanied by Indian guides who showed him where gold was said to abound, but though signs of the precious metal were often seen in the beds of small streams, it was not discovered in any place in considerable quantities.

After a stay of two weeks at St. Thomas, Columbus returned to Isabella, leaving a company of fifty-six men to serve as a garrison, but stopped on the way at the village of Vega Real to purchase from the Indians a fresh supply of food. He was here enabled to make a study of the social condition of the natives and to note the character of their agriculture, and marveled at the fecundity of the soil, which seemed to produce as if by magic. But on reaching Isabella his wonder in this same particular was increased by what had developed during his absence. He found the plantation, which had been laid out scarcely more than one month before, already yielding ripe melons, pumpkins, cucumbers and fruits in extraordinary abundance.

Drought and barrenness were unknown. Moisture pervaded the teeming surface of the earth, and the genial sunshine caused it to produce in abundance. The addition of new fruits planted by themselves gave delight to the colonists, and the first bunch of Spanish grapes, blushing to purple in the caresses of the tropical air, was a prevision of the coming day of wine and plenty. The Admiral could but be delighted with the outlook, and for a few days he was again happy and exuberant in hopes.

But it was not long until misfortune returned. A

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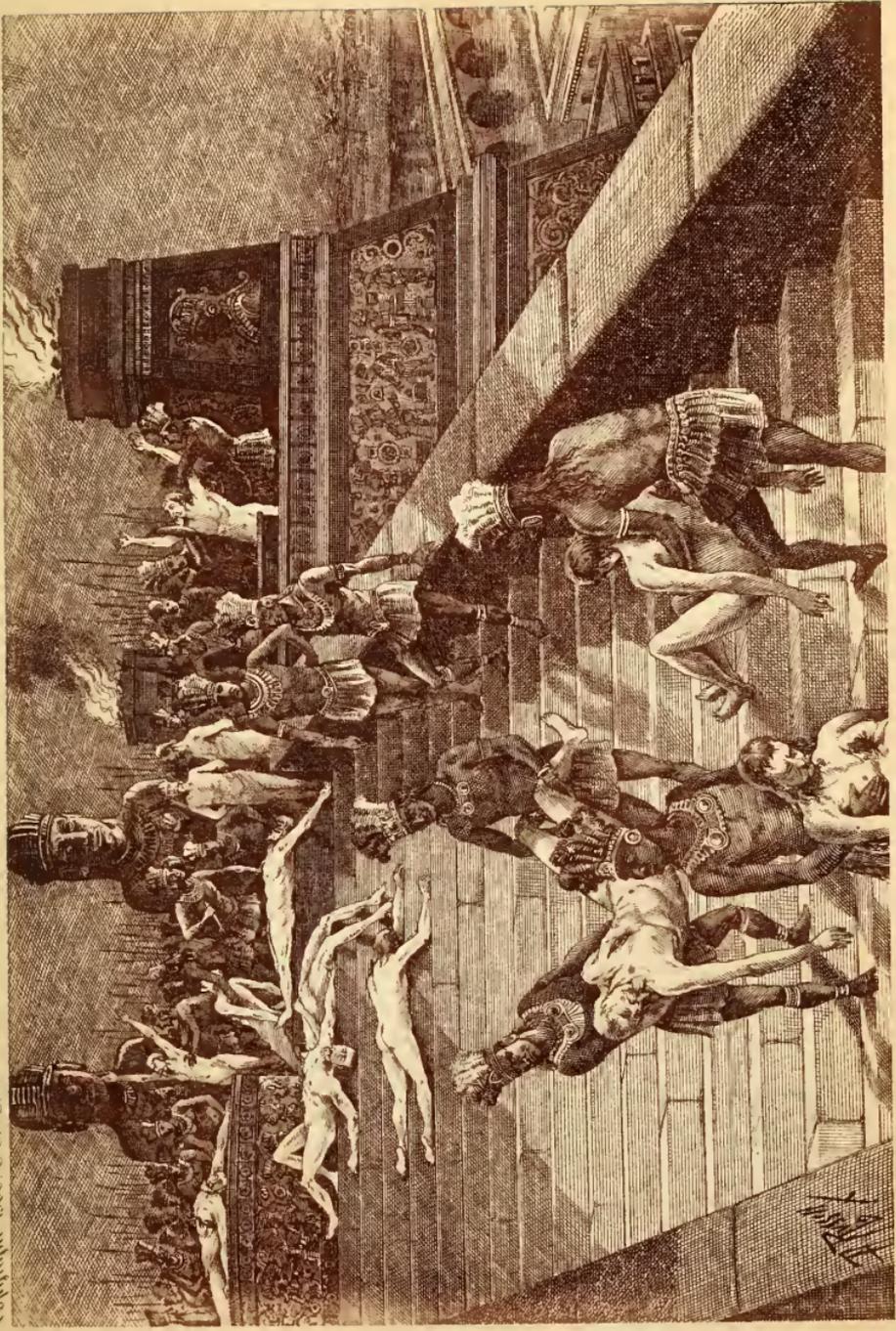
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Etching by Russell.

SACRIFICE OF SPANISH PRISONERS ON THE AZTEC TEMPLE.

The most tragic incident connected with the conquest of Mexico by Cortez is here pictured. During the siege of the Mexican Capital, Guatemozin, the Emperor, perpetrated a strategy whereby a number of Spaniards were taken prisoners, and these he determined to sacrifice on the temple pyramid. This remarkable structure was of stone rising out of a plain, and the summit was reached by a flight of steps ascending the four sides. At each of the corners were altars, upon which burned the sacred fire, while in the centre were colossal idols. It was upon the summit of this pyramid, large enough to accommodate one thousand men, the sacrificial stone was placed, and upon this bloody stone forty Spaniards were bound and their hearts cut out for offerings to the sun-god.

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messenger arrived from Fort St. Thomas with bad tidings of the new settlement. The Indians had become first suspicious and then hostile. They had withdrawn altogether from the vicinity of the Spanish settlement, and receded from sight in the mountains and forests. It was evident that a conspiracy of some kind was ripening. Pedro Margarite, the commandant, had become alarmed, and requested the Admiral to send him reinforcements and supplies. On inquiring into the circumstances the latter soon perceived the cause of the trouble. It was the old story of Arana and La Natividad. No sooner had Columbus retired, leaving another in charge of his outpost, than disorder appeared, following as a quick result of unbridled license. The soldiers began to wander about and inflict injuries and outrages on the natives. Wherever they could find gold they took it. The old savage nature of the man-beast, recovering its freedom, ran hither and yon, devouring like a tiger from the jungle. Lust was added to robbery. The Spaniards demanded and took the Indian women without waiting to inquire whether they were wives, widows or virgins.

Meanwhile Caonabo, who had held aloof with his warriors, leaving the village folk to get on with the Spaniards as best they might, rallied with the evident purpose and will of vengeance. It was not likely, however, that these manifestations could lead to serious results. No catastrophe might be feared in a battle between the natives and the Spanish soldiers, provided always that the latter were under discipline. The Admiral sent back to Fort St. Thomas a company of twenty men as reinforcements, and also a new stock of provisions. Meanwhile he dispatched another company to improve and perfect the road between his two principal stations in the island.

At Isabella, though nature seemed to smile, and showered from her cornucopia all manner of gifts upon the

colonists, yet on the human side of the problem there were sufficient grounds for apprehensiveness and foreboding. The sickness prevailing, instead of growing less with the advancement of the season, seemed to be aggravated. The Spaniards appeared unwilling or unable to adapt themselves to the climatic condition. Their excesses told fearfully upon their health and spirits. The disease was of the mind as well as of the body. Melancholy, despondency, discontent, sullen moping, and every other ill of the human spirit, when once it fell under the dominion of pessimism, tormented and depressed the colonists with an ever-darkening mental cloud. As to ills of the body, there were fevers and dysenteries and congestions, and, worst of all, the outbreak and prevalence of those horrid diseases which, since the epoch of the Crusades, were rapidly becoming at once the scourge and the hell of the human race.

For all this there was but slight remedy. Medical science, in so far as such science exists among men, has always adapted itself in practice to a certain environment. The physician has, out of the nature of the case, been unable to generalize to any great extent beyond the limits of that horizon within the boundary of which he has familiarized himself with the natural and morbid conditions of life. At the close of the fifteenth century medicine was still mere empiricism in its crudest form. The Spanish doctors who accompanied the expedition were totally unacquainted with the conditions of health and disease in the new lands at which they had arrived. Their supply of medicines gave out, and nature, deprived by disease, was left to take her course.

By this time several kinds of provisions were exhausted, and it was difficult to procure such diet and such nursing as were required for the sick. About the beginning of April the supplies were so diminished that the rations of the well

were reduced to almost a minimum, and this circumstance added to the discontent and gloom. At last the flour of the colony ran out, and the work of grinding new supplies by hand-mills was severe and irksome. To set the Spanish soldier—who had fought in the Moorish war and stood near the sovereigns when the Islamites came out to deliver to them the keys of Granada—to grinding on miserable hand-mills, in order to keep himself and his fellows from starvation, was more than human nature could bear without protesting; but the Admiral would make no exception, even with the priests. He enforced his regulations and discipline with a strong and impartial hand, and the result was the reappearance of sedition.

In this instance a head center of the mutinous spirit was found in the vicar, De Buyl, who, though a member of the council, gave countenance to the malcontents, promising to defend them against the exactions of the governor, until the latter, discovering the infidelity and treachery of the priest, reduced him to the ranks and put him on short fare as a punishment. This was an unforgivable thing, and the vicar was henceforth the enemy of the Admiral and his government. But this action did not arrest the fatalities. The reader may well be reminded of the starving time at Jamestown or the desolation of the first Puritan colonists at Plymouth. Under such conditions the leader is blamed for everything. But for him, says the common prejudice, we should never have been provoked to leave our homes and been led forth into these far lands of fever and scrofula to die of starvation and despair.

It was in this emergency that Columbus devised the project of additional exploring expeditions, rather as a means of revival by reaction and excitement than with the expectation of great discoveries. The idea of the new enterprise was to organize several companies of the discontented at

Isabella and to dispatch them on adventures into the interior of the island. Many parts, even the greater part, of Hispaniola had not yet been visited by the Spaniards. No intercourse had been opened with at least two of the caciques. Besides, the hostility of Caonabo might supply an excuse for one of the expeditions.

The Admiral found, after duly considering his resources, that a considerable force of well men still remained for the work in hand, and he was therefore able to organize an expedition of cavalry, infantry, crossbowmen and arquebusiers. For the present, a command was given to Alonzo de Ojeda. That officer was to lead the whole as far as Fort St. Thomas, when he was to turn over the little army to Pedro Margarite, and become himself the commandant of the fortress.

As to the conduct of the expedition, Columbus prepared full instructions for Margarite, entering into details respecting his intercourse with the Indians and indeed all contingencies that might arise. The captain was ordered to hold everything in strict military subjection. Provisions should be obtained from the natives by public purchase. The comptroller, Bernal Diaz, was to act as the commissary officer of the expedition. There should be no private trade with the Indians. The latter should in all instances be treated with kindness and justice. Theft, to which the natives were somewhat addicted—though they themselves hardly regarded the act of taking without leave as a criminality—was to be properly punished. Regard must be had to the conversion of the natives. The campaign was to be directed first of all into the country where Caonabo had his town. That cacique, against whose conduct Columbus had a just resentment, was to be taken with his chieftains and delivered over for trial, on account of the destruction of La Natividad and the killing of the garrison. In the capture of Caonabo, duplicity and stratagem

might be used, the same being among the methods of warfare which the Admiral had discovered in the native usages. The instructions were amply sufficient for a well-ordered and decent campaign of exploration, commerce and the contingency of war.

Having completed these arrangements, Columbus next gave his attention to a new enterprise of his own. This was no less than the long-postponed voyage of discovery, which was a part of his general plan. As for the local expedition, Ojeda set out from Isabella on the 9th of April, and proceeded by water as far as the estuary of Gold River, for the identity of that stream with the river found in the Royal Vega, near the gold fields, had now been determined, and it was the purpose of Ojeda to ascend the stream, first by water and afterwards by land, to his destination. This would be an easier route than the Pass of the Hidalgos, so laboriously followed on the former occasion.

But an incident now occurred which had in it the germs and portent of great mischief. On arriving at Gold River three men from Fort St. Thomas fell in with the expedition who, according to their story, had been perfidiously robbed by the natives; perfidiously, because they were under conduct of the cacique of one of the villages of the Vega, who had promised to aid them in crossing the river. Thus were they robbed by the Indians, and the cacique, instead of punishing the Indians, winked at the theft and took a part of the booty for himself.

The hot-blooded Ojeda marched immediately to the town, seized the cacique, also his son, the prince, and one of the thieves, cutting off the ears of the latter, and sending the prisoners, bound, to the Admiral at Isabella. This summary punishment produced the wildest alarm among the Indians, and the cacique of another village interceded for the captives. But all in vain. He then followed them to Isabella and

appealed to the Admiral. The latter, deeming the robbery a serious matter, was unusually severe, and condemned the thieves to be beheaded in the public place of the settlement. It appears, however, that he intended to pardon the culprits in time to save their lives.

Just at this crisis of the affair a cavalryman arrived from Fort St. Thomas, who on the way had found five Spaniards held as prisoners by the subjects of the captured cacique. He had, however, charged into the village, put the whole town to flight and rescued the prisoners. According to his report he had chased out of the town all the four hundred inhabitants, scattering them in every direction. The incident was sufficiently amusing, and also sufficiently significant of the relative ability of the natives and Spaniards in open war. When the Indian prisoners were brought to the place where they were to be beheaded and the friendly cacique Guarionex, ruler of the villages of Vega Real, continued to supplicate for their liberation, Columbus granted his petition and set the captives free. He also sent off Guarionex with many presents and evidences of good-will.

CHAPTER XI.

REASSURED by the peaceful condition of affairs at Isabella, before leaving that post for the mountain district of Cibao, to pursue his quest for gold, Columbus had purposed to extend his discoveries, with the hope of ultimately reaching the borders of Cathay, there to greet the great Khan in his resplendent capital of Quainsay. Upon returning, therefore, he set about preparations to continue his explorations, all the while believing that Cuba, three-fourths of which coast he had seen, was a part of the mainland adjoining the Tartar territory. For this purpose he equipped three vessels, one of which was the old *Niña*, to which the name of *Santa Clara* had been given, the *San Juan* and the *Cordera*. Fort St. Thomas had been left in charge of a lieutenant named Margarite, but during his absence on a campaign in the interior, Ojeda was appointed temporarily to the command.

Feeling secure in the arrangements which he had made for the occupation of both Isabella and St. Thomas, Columbus was able to set sail upon his proposed expedition on the 24th of April. Proceeding, he made a short pause at Monte Christo, but found no natives there with whom to open communications, so he moved forward a few miles and anchored off La Natividad, where he hoped to see Guacanagari, and to obtain from him, finally, the full particulars of the massacre of the garrison under Arana. Though the replies of the messenger whom Columbus sent out to meet the cacique were favorable, the natives refused to expose

themselves, and the promise of the chief to visit him was not fulfilled, and after a wait of two days Columbus sailed away without unraveling the mystery of the cacique's conduct.

Leaving La Natividad, Columbus continued along the southern coast of San Domingo until he came to the westernmost extremity of that island, where he found a beautiful harbor, in which he anchored to make some investigations on the shore. He found two considerable villages not far inland, upon entering one of which a fresh-laid feast was prepared, but the natives having been alarmed upon the approach of the Spaniards, had left them to enjoy the banquet, though without invitation. Subsequently, a few of the natives were persuaded to approach the Spaniards, but beyond the giving of a few presents no intercourse was attempted. The voyage was then continued until reaching the harbor of St. Jago, in Cuba, where a landing for the day was made and brief communication was had with the natives, who repeated to Columbus the reports which he had before heard concerning the rich gold fields of Babeque. The repetition of this story was given with such embellishments and assurances that he at length decided to test the truth of the assertions. Accordingly, on the 3d of May, the squadron again weighed anchor, left the Cuban coast and drifted into the open sea. The voyage had not extended far until the bold outlines of a large island were discovered towards the south. On approaching near the shore the country was found to be thickly populated, and upon reaching shoal water a fleet of seventy canoes, all manned by warriors who were painted and feathered after the manner of North American Indians, came out to meet the ships. Their first manifestations were those of implacable hostility as the warriors set up a great yelling, and, on coming within range, shot their arrows and hurled their darts against the

sides of the vessels, but with such poor effect that the attack appeared ridiculous.

Instead of regarding the demonstration as an invitation to battle Columbus chose rather to make signs of peace and to tell the Indians, through his interpreter, that he came on a friendly mission and to present gifts to the people. This speech assuaged the anger of the natives, who permitted the ships to come to anchor near the coast of the island, which to the present day has retained its native name of Jamaica. But as no advantage could be gained by an intercourse with the people at this first landing Columbus continued his way along the western shore for several miles, until reaching an inviting harborage, he anchored with the intention of going on shore to make some explorations. The natives at this latter place, however, exhibited the same hostility that their neighbors had manifested, and were so persistent in their determination to do the Spaniards injury that as a last resource the Admiral concluded it would be necessary to teach them a sharp lesson. To this end a boat-load of crossbowmen was sent to attack and disperse the Indians; drawing near, the Spaniards fired a volley at the enemy, wounding several; at the second discharge the natives beat a hasty retreat, and on the following day sent an embassy of six warriors to treat for peace. Columbus accepted their overtures of amity, and the quiet which followed was improved by him to repair his ships, one of which was in a leaky condition. During this short stay the native Jamaicans seemed to have become convinced that the Spaniards were visitors from some far celestial country, and from their first hostile feeling there succeeded an idolatrous affection, which influenced several of the natives to beg of Columbus permission to accompany him whither he might choose to voyage. One of the caciques was so determined to join the Spaniards that some force was necessary to over-

come his intention. As the fleet was about to sail a young chieftain wrested himself from the restraining grasp of his friends, and running with all possible speed to the shore, sprang into a canoe and paddled off to the Admiral's ship, which he gained and hid himself in order that he might not be prevented from carrying out his purpose. Columbus received him kindly, and he perhaps lived to see the shores of Europe, with other natives of the West Indies who afterwards joined him.

Unable to find any indications of gold in Jamaica, Columbus departed for Cuba, and without further incident arrived at La Cruz, having been absent from Isabella a period of fifteen days. While lying at anchor in this latter harbor he was visited by many natives, who manifested the same friendly disposition as those whom he first met in Hispaniola, and generously supplied the expedition with fruits and such provisions as the vicinity afforded. While here Columbus also learned from some of the natives that the country was an island, but of very great extent, so large indeed that none of the people with whom he had yet come in contact knew its limits. To determine this question Columbus resolved to continue his explorations, but hardly had the voyage been renewed when fate, so long tempted, became sullen and adverse. A great tempest swept the bay, and for some hours the ships were in imminent peril of being wrecked on the rocks; and when they had gained the open sea the squadron became entangled in the Cuban keys, out of which, on account of the tortuous channels and numerous sandbanks, it seemed for a while impossible to escape. The archipelago into which he had thus sailed was named by the Admiral, in honor of Isabella, the Queen's Gardens.

The storm finally abated without any serious injury having been inflicted upon the ships, and the islands through which they were sailing offered so many opportunities for interest-

ing investigation that Columbus landed on the shores of several and was richly entertained by the curiosities of animal life which he discovered ; flamingoes, cranes and parrots of richest coloring were numerous, thus lending animation to the incomparable beauties of the landscape.

Many of the islands appeared to be without inhabitants, while others were thickly populated by amiable Indians who received Columbus and his men with the same kindness as had characterized those of San Salvador and Hispaniola. The Indians on some of the larger islands were seen to employ a fish somewhat after the manner that the medievals used the hawk in hunting. This falcon-fish, which the Indians used with such singular results, had the power of attaching itself to objects by means of a sucker with which it was supplied. Such was the strength of the hold which the leech-like creature was able to take that the body might be pulled in two without breaking its connection with the object to which it had fixed itself. As if to favor the use to which the fish was applied by barbaric ingenuity, it was furnished with a long tail, to which the natives attached a line ; this done, the creature was allowed to take its own course in the water, where it had the instinct to attack several kinds of fish and marine animals. The turtle was the favorite object of the pursuit, and however great the size, the fish would fix itself so firmly to the flat bottom of its prey, that it could be drawn up to the boat by the fisherman, only quitting its hold after it was lifted out of the water. The fish thus used was the *remora*, which is very common in southern waters.

Columbus again gained the shores of Cuba nearly one hundred miles from La Cruz, where, upon landing, he was visited by a subject of a cacique named Mangon. Upon hearing the name of this chief Columbus immediately associated it with that of the Mangi, about whom Mandeville

had written. The natives also informed him that in the kingdom immediately adjoining them there lived a people who clothed themselves in white to hide their tails, a report identical with that which Mandeville had made concerning the inhabitants of Mangi. Believing that he was now near the country upon which he had placed his largest hopes, Columbus stood westward along the unbroken coast, frequently stopping to hold intercourse with the natives. Thus proceeding across the broad Gulf of Xugua and into the White Water Sea, peculiar to that region, the Spaniards were greatly astonished and somewhat alarmed at seeing the ships moving through what appeared to be an ocean of milk.

After making their way through another group of small islands, the fleet anchored at Point Serafin, and Columbus sent a company on shore to procure wood and water. While lying here one of the Spaniards wandering some distance into the forest was startled—such was his own story—by the spirit of a being clad in a long white robe moving solemnly along like a Druid priest. Two others came in his train, also in white, followed by a considerable guard carrying lances. The white-robed priest approached as if for a conference, but the Spaniard was too much frightened to ascertain his desire, and ran back to his companions. Upon hearing this story Columbus was firm in his belief that he was very near the kingdom of Cathay, and that ere long he would find the civilized people of Asia to whom he thought these white-robed persons must belong. Two companies of soldiers were accordingly dispatched to investigate the mystery. One of these came to a great plain covered with reeds and marsh-grass growing to such a height as to hide a man on horseback. The grass so impeded their progress that they were obliged to turn back without discovering the priests who had so startled the Spaniard. The other company reached a wooded country, where they found the tracks

of some monstrous creature. Their imagination at once conceived the prodigious outlines of an impossible beast (which in fact was probably an alligator), in whose great jaws they would all soon perish should they seek a further exploration of the interior. Without continuing their investigations further, therefore, they returned to the coast, bringing back no other trophy of their expedition than a large cluster of wild grapes. The conclusion was accordingly reached by Columbus that the so-called spectral figures which had so alarmed the lone Spaniard were nothing more in reality than some very tall white cranes moving on the edge of a savannah.

Once again the voyage was resumed until the coast was reached some fifty miles further west, where communication was sought to be established with the people, who came off in canoes to the ship, and whose speech was unlike that of any of the natives with whom the Spaniards had come in contact. In the broken communication held through the interpreter additional hints seemed to be obtained of the proximity of the Tartar empire. Columbus understood that in the high-lands far to the west a great king resided. This king was clad in white from head to foot, and was such a holy man that he would hold no communication with those of his kind, but gave his orders by means of signs. What should the Admiral think but that now, indeed, he was coming to the coast of Tartary, over whose multitudes the magnificent Prester John sat in state, surrounded with splendor and dispensing treasures to his friends? Sure enough, in their imaginations, the Spaniards perceived the blue outlines of the delectable mountains rising from the western horizon. One of the natives who had told his pleasing story was taken along to point the way to the court of the great Khan, and the ships proceeded to solve the mystery of the Eastern Empire.

As the voyage continued, the mountains seemed to dissolve in a mist of smoke, and for many leagues the shore was a broad sunken marsh where landing was impossible. Beyond, the coast assumed its wonted aspect, and blue smoke was observed curling up hither and yon in the distance, and the shore-line of Asia was again believed to be near at hand. Indeed, so strong were the hopes and so vivid the imagination of Columbus at this time that he seemed to see the whole of the East stretched before him in a grand panorama, revealing the golden Chersonese, the Ganges, the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb, and even the Holy Land. He even contemplated a visit to Jerusalem, and a return to Spain through the Red and Mediterranean Seas; but in these golden visions the sailors had no participation; seeing the westward trend of the coast, they began to offer objections to a further voyage in that direction, since they were well spent with constant exertion in keeping the ships from the reefs, which were so numerous as to be almost impossible to wholly avoid. Besides this, the vessels were already in a precarious condition, from having been run several times on bars in making a passage of the Queen's Gardens. Being in a leaky condition, their sails were also torn and the cables were so strained as to be no longer trusted. Thus, notwithstanding his belief that the kingdom of the great Khan was very near at hand, Columbus was persuaded by the complaints of his men to abandon, for the present, his undertaking to reach that country.

As one of the chief objects, however, had been to solve the question of the relations of Cuba to the mainland, he decided to prepare a statement and affidavit that the country which he had now coasted was peninsular in its character, jutting out from the east rim of Asia. In pursuance of this desire, Fernando Perez de Luna, notary of the expedition, drew up such a deposition, which was signed not only by

Columbus but also by all the fifty officers and men composing the expedition. Though there was thus obtained a perfect unanimity of opinion, Columbus provided that severe penalties should be inflicted upon any one of the expedition who should thereafter make any denial of this statement. The punishments ranged from a fine of ten thousand maravedis, in case the offender was an officer, down to a whipping of a hundred lashes in case of a cabin boy. The place where this statement was drawn up and compared was in the Bay of Cortez, and, strange to say, a point from which less than a two days' sail to the west would have brought him to the extremity, and thus proved to his satisfaction the insular character of Cuba; this done, he could hardly have failed by an easy voyage through a placid sea to reach the true shore of the continent. But the human equation entered in. The discontent of his men, his own preconception, cherished for more than eighteen months, that Cuba was an outlying part of Asia, once more diverted him from the possibility immediately within his grasp, and turned him back from what may well seem to the blind eyes of men the true line of his strange destiny.

This place where the ships were anchored, in the Bay of Cortez, was the westernmost point ever reached by the discoverer of America. When we consider how near he came to discovering that Cuba was an island, that Florida on the north was scarcely a day's sail away, and that the continent on the west was so near at hand, the fate seems hard by which the great mariner was projected so far to the west without being able to reach the true shore of the New World.

Having, as he believed, established for all futurity the continental character of Cuba, regardless of what might be its true geographical configuration, on the 13th of June Columbus continued in a southeasterly course until he dis-

covered another island, to which he gave the name of *Evangelista*, afterwards known as *Isle de los Pinos*, or *Island of Pines*. Here he took on a fresh supply of wood and water and then stood out to sea with the intention of circumnavigating Jamaica. But instead of finding a direct course he was intercepted by a cluster of islands, several of which were of coral formation, and thus a source of the greatest peril. From these dangers he did not escape without much damage to the *Santa Clara*, which ran upon a dangerous bar and was only saved from destruction by the almost superhuman efforts of the crew.

His course having been changed by obstacles encountered, Columbus turned again towards Cuba, the coast of which he sighted on the 6th of July, and going on shore the following day, he set up a cross and began a solemn celebration of Mass. While he was thus engaged some natives had watched the proceedings until one of their venerable priests, comprehending its import, came forward and addressed Columbus, first proffering him a basket of fruit as a peace-offering. The aged priest told him, through the interpreter, that he understood the ceremony which he had thus witnessed to be an act of worship; that he did not doubt the greatness and glory of the people and country whence the Spaniards were descended, but that haughtiness and pride were not becoming even in the greatest. He then explained to the Admiral that the philosophy of his religion taught him to believe that the souls of the dead have, according to merit, two destinies after leaving the body. Those who had spent their lives in wickedness were compelled to go into a horrible country where all was dark and dangerous; but the ghosts of those who in their earthly lives were good in all their actions towards mankind journeyed after death into a land of blessedness and light. This rule of division he assured the Spaniards would be ap-

plied even to themselves, however superior they might be in their civilization ; and he even declared that the Admiral himself would be punished with banishment into the dismal abodes if he were not just and gracious to the people among whom he had come.

The speech of the native priest had in it an element not only of ethical soundness but of orthodoxy as well, which greatly surprised Columbus, who heartily improved the occasion to confirm the aborigines' notions and to extend toward them the doctrine of Christianity. Columbus accordingly explained to him the practical part of his mission—that he had come to these island countries to subdue the cannibals in order that the dread of their race might be taken away ; but that for the rest he was on an embassy of peace from his sovereigns, to whom he always, gave the greatest praise and glory. He also described to the natives some of the leading features of the Old World civilization, especially its splendors and mighty cities and the vast yield of its cultivated fields. The interest of the old priest was so excited by these explanations that he sought the privilege of going on board and sailing away with Columbus, and he was only restrained from this intention by his wife and children throwing themselves at his feet and beseeching him with tears not to leave them.

Columbus continued on the coast of Cuba on this last visit until the 16th of July, when he resumed his voyage. But upon regaining the Queen's Gardens the squadron was assailed by a terrific storm which raged with such great fury that for two days the vessels were in the greatest danger, and reached Cabo la Cruz in an almost dismantled condition. Here it was necessary to beach the vessels for needed repairs to the bottoms, as well as to supply them with new sails, after which he resumed the voyage with intention to proceed to Jamaica and there carry into execution his plans

for circumnavigating that island. In pursuance of this design Columbus left La Cruz and gained the shore of Jamaica in a sail of two days, but was for a while prevented from continuing around its coast by the interruption of another storm, which compelled him to put into a harbor of that shore, where the natives received him with great kindness. In one instance a cacique came in the manner of royalty, accompanied by his queen and her daughters and a retinue of councilors and guards, all ornamented and painted according to aboriginal custom and etiquette. Obtaining permission, they came on board the *Santa Clara* and were there hospitably received and entertained by Columbus, whose kindness so affected the cacique that, though ruler of a rich government, he expressed his desire to abdicate and return with the Spaniards to the celestial country whence he supposed they had come. For many reasons Columbus could not accept this proposal, but he had to use much persuasion to induce the chief and his family to return on shore and resume their royal functions among their people.

Proceeding from one point of the island to another, as temporary abatement of the storm permitted a continuance of the voyage, on the 19th of August the circumnavigation of the island was completed, after which the Admiral steered for San Domingo, and three days thereafter came in sight of Cape San Miguel. From this point efforts were made to proceed directly to Isabella, but many new islands were encountered, to which names were given and short landings made. But these presently became so numerous that the sand-bars presented serious obstacles and detained the squadron nearly two weeks before they could be extricated from the dangers which surrounded them.

The hardships of the voyage, though alternating at times with pleasant episodes on the shores of the various islands

visited, had been extreme, and the crews were well-nigh the limits of their endurance. The Admiral himself, more than ever before, showed the effects of the great strain and sleepless anxiety to which he had been subjected. In his case exhaustion was not only of the body, but also of the mind and spirit. He could but feel, now that he was returning to his colony, that the aggregate results of his voyage fell far short, not indeed of reasonable expectation, but of that visionary and picturesque dream of which he himself had been the principal author. A rapturous vision of the Indies was entertained by Ferdinand and Isabella and by all the people of Spain; indeed, the nations of Europe were on tiptoe to catch the first tidings of things more marvelous than had yet been related concerning the borders of the newly discovered world. Failing to realize these gorgeous anticipations, we may imagine the depressing effect produced by the disappointments which Columbus must have so keenly felt.

Whatever may have been the cause, Columbus, on leaving the island of Mona and steering for Isabella, broke down completely and yielded to some form of malady which physical science may well be puzzled to understand. He became drowsy, and his senses, one by one, were covered with an oblivious veil through which no thought, no perception of external things, could penetrate. He fell into a sort of coma almost as deep as death; indeed, it was believed by the officers and men, including Dr. Chanca, that the hour of the Admiral had come. They accordingly set all sail and, catching a favoring trade wind, bore off directly for the harbor of Isabella, where, on the 29th of September, 1494, they arrived, bringing back Columbus, who, though still living, was wholly insensible.

The joy felt by those who had remained faithful to the government of Diego was very great when they saw the

squadron of three vessels making into the bay, but the jubilation was quickly chilled when the knowledge of the Admiral's condition became known,

We may here observe that it was nearly five months from the time that he was stricken down before Columbus recovered his health, and even at the expiration of that long period of debility his powers were not fully restored. Indeed, advancing age prevented rejuvenation and he was never himself again. His restoration was due in the largest measure to the unfaltering care of Father Juan Perez, who, having shared with the Admiral all the disappointments and hardships of the recent voyage, could not be persuaded to leave him at any time throughout the long period of his severe illness, but watched unremittingly beside the couch of his sick friend, speaking words of encouragement and ministering in every possible way to his needs.

When Columbus opened his eyes to consciousness, after many days of insensibility, he found his brother Bartholomew standing by his side. His surprise was not only inexpressible, but for a while he believed himself dreaming and that his mind was still held fast in the shackles of the disease that had stricken him down ; and well it might be so, for long had it been since he had seen the face of his faithful and resolute brother. How, then, and why had Bartholomew Columbus come so far to receive and minister to his half-dead brother ? The story is long and full of interest, but we may not here pause to enter fully into the episodes and details of the extended adventures which had kept Bartholomew at the courts of Europe. The reader will readily recall the situation of affairs at the time when Columbus' mule was turned about on the bridge of Pinos on the evening of the last day of his appeal for the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella. Believing that his cause was ended in Spain, Columbus had dispatched Barthol-

omew to the Court of Henry VII., of England, to propose to that monarch the project of discovery. Tradition tells us—for the facts may not be obtained from any authenticated history—that the vessel in which he sailed was run down by pirates, who, after despoiling the ship of all its valuables, left the crew on some shore which is not named in the story. Bartholomew, robbed of his resources, was for a long time harassed by pressing want, his poverty being the greater because of his ignorance of the language of the people among whom he was thus harshly thrown. It was, therefore, several years before he succeeded in reaching England, and having at last arrived at that country he was compelled to spend two years more in acquiring the English language, learning the usages of the people, and in otherwise preparing himself to properly appear at the court of that nation. It was not until the middle of 1493, it is said, that he obtained an audience with the king, to whom he first presented a painted atlas, and then followed his request for aid to Christopher's enterprise with such convincing reasoning that the monarch not only welcomed the proposal, but signified his desire to enter as quickly as possible upon the preliminaries of a contract, acceding to the demands made in the stipulations which Christopher had presented to the King of Portugal.

Rejoicing at the success of his mission to England, Bartholomew departed in great haste to seek his brother. While passing through Paris on his way back to Spain he was first informed of the discovery of the New World and of the triumphal reception of the great discoverer by the Majesties of Spain and Portugal. Immediately Charles VIII. heard of Bartholomew's presence in Paris he sent for him, and not only welcomed him as the brother of the most distinguished explorer of the world's history, but, finding him in need of money, induced Bartholomew to accept a

hundred gold crowns to defray the expenses of his return to Spain.

Not considering that it was now important to hasten his journey, Bartholomew remained a while in France, and when he reached Seville it was to learn that Christopher had departed on his second voyage. Greatly disappointed at being thus prevented from accompanying him, Bartholomew visited Doña Beatrix, at Cordova, and then took his nephews Diego and Fernando, who were studying there, to Valladolid and presented them at court, where they were tenderly received and retained for a considerable while.

Ferdinand and Isabella were both much impressed by the chivalric bearing of Bartholomew, as well as by his knowledge of many languages, including Latin, Portuguese, Spanish, Danish, and English, and for his great skill as a navigator. To show her appreciation of his several conspicuous attainments and merits, the Queen granted him letters of nobility and the command of three ships, which she ordered him to load with provisions and take to the colony in Hispaniola. When he arrived at Isabella, however, he found that the Admiral had started upon his second exploration of Cuba, and he was therefore compelled to endure the anxiety of five months' further separation before circumstances permitted him to greet at last the distinguished brother whom he had not seen for more than eight long and eventful years.

CHAPTER XII.

OVER the whole island of Hispaniola there brooded the spirit of disquiet, which only needed the Admiral's absence to bring forth insubordination and riotous spoliation. Following his departure the succeeding events may be thus briefly traced: As for the local affairs at Isabella, the administration had been conducted with tolerable success and conformably with the Admiral's instructions. It was only as the colony had been embroiled by the conduct of Margarite, leader of the military expedition in the interior, that confusion, clamor and injustice had arisen among the colonists of the coast. It should be said once for all that Don Diego Columbus, whom the Admiral had left in authority, was a man of mild manners and moderate characteristics such as unsuited him to a considerable degree for the responsibilities and duties of this rough frontier government. But doubtless he would have succeeded better had he not been from the first impeded and treated with contempt by the military commandant and his followers.

It will be remembered that by the Admiral's order Ojeda was assigned to the command of Fort St. Thomas and the leadership of the exploring expedition to Margarite. The latter was strictly enjoined to explore the mountain region and if possible discover the sources of gold. He was also to traverse as far as possible the five provinces of the island and prepare himself by actual observation and experience to report on the products and resources of every district visited. But, astonishing to relate, this reckless and obsti-

nate commander, as soon as he knew that the Admiral had gone forth on his voyage of discovery, discarded his instructions and entered upon a career of insubordination and wickedness so flagrant as to brand him with the contempt, if not the hatred, of after time.

Instead of going forward to explore the gold-bearing mountains of Cibao—instead even of marching northward through the countries of unvisited and unknown caciques—Margarite turned about from Fort St. Thomas, marched back into the populous and fertile regions of the Vega Real, and quartered himself and his men among the native villages. Here he began at once a course of inaction, licentiousness and outrage so brutal and vile as to defy narration. They began their abuse of the natives by violently appropriating whatever pleased them, paying nothing for their provisions, taking what they would, and wastefully destroying the residue.

It was not long until the supplies in the villages ran low and the natives found themselves without food. At the same time the Spaniards began to take all the gold which the Indians had gathered, with no pains to recompense them even with trinkets. The next step was to compel the natives to gather more of the shining dust for their masters. The latter assumed the manner of slave-drivers and abused the timid people of the towns as though they were dogs and cattle. From seeking wives respectfully, the Spaniards began to claim the native women and to take them without regard to the rights or rank of the fathers, husbands and brothers. The women of the villages were in the power of the stranger, and mere lust ran riot until the barbaric nature of the islanders, however meek and subservient, could bear it no longer.

While this reign of shame and wickedness prevailed in the villages of the Vega, under the example and leadership

of Margarite, the evil extended along social and political lines to the colony at Isabella. In general the Hidalgo element among the Spaniards fell into sympathy with Margarite. When the news of the proceedings of the latter were carried to Don Diego he immediately laid the matter before his council, and the result was a letter of rebuke to the offending officer and his command. He was reminded of the instructions which had been given him by the Admiral, and directed, in compliance therewith, to break off from his corrupt life in the Vega and prosecute the expedition of discovery. Instead, however, of accepting this authoritative paper and obeying it, Margarite broke into open rebellion. He renounced Diego Columbus and the council, declaring himself independent, and affecting contempt for the parvenu Columbuses, who, through the vicissitudes of fortune, had gained a rank under which they thought to lord it over men having in their blood noble currents of ancient Spain.

In this contumacy the captain was supported by the reckless young nobles of the colony, whom, as the reader will remember, the Admiral himself had found so much difficulty in controlling. The general result was the establishment of an aristocratical faction in the island, embracing the Hidalgos and all the Adullamites of the colony. The name of these was legion, and legitimate authority was soon paralyzed in their presence.

Perhaps after all Diego and the council might have been able to maintain order if it had not been for the defection of the Vicar Buyl and his subordinate ecclesiastics. Those priests, including Father Perez, who were faithful to the Admiral first and last, had generally accompanied him on his voyages, while the Buyl faction remained in the island and had gone over in a body to the malcontents. In such a state of affairs sedition was the natural, perhaps

the inevitable, result. When Bartholomew Columbus arrived disorder was king. Nor had he any other than moral force with which to support his brother in the government. On the other hand Margarite felt himself strong. He had the backing of the nobility and the priesthood. Besides, both he and Buyl believed with good reason that they stood well with Ferdinand, and that the Admiral was not, and never had been, in great favor with the monarch.

Thus fortified by the circumstances, Margarite and the vicar made a conspiracy to seize the three ships constituting the fleet of Bartholomew Columbus and to sail back to Spain, where the whole cave of Adullam might discharge itself in the royal court. The enterprise gathered head, and this time was successful. The mutineers seized the vessels, and under the lead of Margarite and the Vicar Buyl sailed away for the mother country. Nor was there any power to prevent them from doing so. Among the many squadrons bearing from port to port of our poor world their cargoes of lies, this seditious fleet, commanded by a brigand and a priest, was conspicuous for carrying the heaviest load.

All this was done long before the return of the Admiral. As for the army, whether in the Vega Real or straggling back to Isabella, it had no longer a commander and quickly fell to pieces of neglect and insubordination. The soldiers broke into bands and ranged at will among the Indian towns, taking the same course of vice, outrage and depravity which they had pursued with the consent and by the example of Margarite. The natives, driven to desperation, at length rose against the wretched criminals who had violated every principle of honor and decency, and the Spaniards soon began to feel the sting of retributive justice. In one case ten of the straggling soldiers were taken by Chief Guarionex and put to death without much regard to form,

He next succeeded in throwing a large force of his warriors around the fortress, where another band numbering forty-six had taken possession, and the houses were fired. Almost all of the Spaniards perished, either in the flames or by the darts of the enemy. In the next place the garrison of a little block-house called Magdalena was cooped up in a siege and was unable to extricate itself until reinforcements were sent out from Isabella.

The situation was sufficiently alarming. As soon as the Admiral's health was in a measure restored he applied himself with diligence to the restoration of order. Matters had now gone so far, however, that mere personal kindness could nor avail, and diplomacy had to give place to war. The greater part of all the islanders had become positively hostile. There were, as we have said, in Hispaniola five provinces or principal caciquedoms. The first and most northerly of these was called *Marien* in the native tongue, and was ruled over by Guacanagari. The second was called *Maguana*, lying on the southern coast between the lagoons and the River Ozema. The third was the great central province of *Xaragua*, lying over to the southwest and having for its most conspicuous physical feature the great headland called Cape Tiburon. The fourth division was called *Higüey*, and occupied the eastern extremity of the island as far north as Samana Bay and the River Yuna. The fifth and most important of all included the great, fertile and populous plain of the *Vega Real*.

As we have said, the ruler of the first-named district was that Guacanagari whose generous friendship had been extended to Columbus in the perilous day when the *Santa Maria* was wrecked on the coast. The second cacique, by far the ablest and most warlike, was of Carib extraction and was, as the reader knows, called Caonabo (King of the Golden Realm). The third ruler was named Behechio. He

it was whose sister, the peerless beauty Anacaona, was the wife of King Caonabo. The cacique of Higüey was named Cotubanama, whose subjects had many Carib elements in their disposition, but who was not himself of a warlike character. The cacique of the Vega Real region was, as we have seen, that Guarionex with whom for about six months the Spaniards had been in close relations.

Of these five caciques four were now hostile to the Spaniards, and possibly Guacanagari might himself have been added to the league but for the fact that the others, suspecting his unchangeable friendship for the foreigners, had attacked him in his own village, and besides massacring several of his people had killed the beautiful Catalina, who, it will be remembered, escaped from Columbus' vessel and fled into the forest, where she was directly afterwards followed by the chief who made her his wife. This violent outrage confirmed the friendly feelings which he had before entertained for the Spaniards, and to their fortunes he now attached himself more firmly than ever. Immediately upon the Admiral's return Guacanagari opened communication with him and supplied valuable information respecting the movements that were going on in the island, and otherwise manifested his deep concern for the welfare of his visitors, so that he completely dispelled all suspicions which Columbus had formerly entertained.

The population of Hispaniola at this time was variously estimated at from five hundred thousand to a million, a number sufficiently great to more than compensate for the poor weapons with which they had to make the attack. They were naked as to their bodies, having no defensive armor, while their weapons extended no further than a hardened shaft of wood pointed with bone, which served the purpose of a lance, and in the matter of discipline they were barbarians. But they were very courageous, and hav-

ing great confidence in the superiority of numbers, they made bold to attack the Spaniards even in their defenses. In going to battle the natives advanced in a disorganized body, every warrior being allowed to direct his own attack from such covert as he might find.

Though something was to be feared from the mere pressure of numbers, the Spaniards might in other respects smile at the puny rage of these naked men of the forest as they howled from the thickets and discharged their harmless darts. Caonabo was, by general consent, commandant of the native force, and besides being at the head of the most powerful tribe on the island, he possessed many special qualities, chief of which were courage and sagacity, and with effective weapons he would have been a formidable antagonist. He had not failed to note the dissipated and wretched bands of Margarite's army, which had been destroyed or expelled by the inhabitants of the towns on his borders, and he now naturally directed his attention to Fort St Thomas, which he knew to be poorly defended, and determined to assault and destroy that place, as he had done La Natividad. At the head of ten thousand men he advanced cautiously to the vicinity of the fort, expecting to surprise the garrison and overwhelm them before they were able to make preparations to receive him. But in this he was fatally deceived. The command of the fort had been intrusted to Ojeda, who was not likely to be caught off his guard, for of all men among the Spaniards he was the most alert, intrepid and active. Discovering before he made his attack that the garrison was ready to receive him, Caonabo changed his tactics, and instead of attempting to carry it by assault, contented himself with surrounding the fort with the hope of compelling it to yield through famine.

This siege continued for a month, and brought the Span-

iards to such great distress that they were compelled to resort to every expedient in order to obtain supplies. Occasional sorties were made by Ojeda, by which a few provisions were procured, but the main dependence of the garrison was in the assistance brought to them by friendly Indians, who managed on many occasions to smuggle in small supplies of food. A characteristic anecdote is preserved of the coming in of one of the friendly Indians with two wood-pigeons for Ojeda. When they were given to him some of the officers looked wistfully at the birds as though they would devour them alive. Thereupon Ojeda took the pigeons to a window and tossing them forth into the air, said, "It's a pity there isn't enough for all of us." It is plain that such a character as this would not easily succumb to any of the harsh conditions which the siege might impose. This long delay also affected the hostile Indians, who, observing how futile had been the results of the siege, began to desert, until at the expiration of a month Caonabo's forces were so much reduced in numbers that he decided to retire from the country. But his ill success in the long effort to destroy the Spaniards at Fort St. Thomas abated none of his determination to visit a sufficient punishment upon his aggressors, and accordingly Caonabo retired into the country and for a season used all his efforts in centralizing the power of the several chiefs, whose consent he at length obtained to make a demonstration against the colony at Isabella. A league having thus been formed, Caonabo made an examination of the surroundings of Isabella, and found that an attack on that place might be made with every promise of success. The garrison was small and the fort was nothing like so strong as that at Fort St. Thomas, besides Caonabo had every reason to believe that the commandant possessed little of the skill and bravery of Ojeda. But the expectations of

Caonabo were yet a long ways from realization. He found directly that even the promises of the chiefs themselves might not be implicitly relied on, while Guacanagari was a constant menace to the success of his plans. Columbus was duly apprised of the intentions of the natives, and adopted the most energetic measures to repel and break up the Indian confederacy. His first step was to make sure of the condition of his three forts in the Vega Real, after which, through some influential Indians, he succeeded in opening communications with Guarionex, who had joined the league with some misgivings. While not succeeding in securing his assistance, he obtained a promise that in case of hostilities he would maintain a neutral attitude. But Columbus was not content with the bare promise of the chief, and in order to bind him to a performance of his agreement Columbus sought the daughter of the cacique and gave her in marriage to his interpreter, Diego, the Guanahanian. He also obtained the consent of the chief to build a fortress in his territory, to which the name of Fort Conception was given. This gave the Spaniards an advantage which they were not slow to appreciate.

By this time Columbus had come to believe that a great part of the strength of the confederation lay in Caonabo himself, and it was evident that that great chieftain furnished the energy, the spirit and the warlike skill of the whole movement. It therefore seemed essential that by some means, fair or foul, Caonabo should be captured. This, however, was no easy task, whether by force or by stratagem. Yet the situation was precisely of the kind to evoke the adventurous spirit and genius of Ojeda. That captain, after considering the nature of the thing to be done, volunteered to kidnap Caonabo and to bring him a prisoner to the Admiral. From the very nature of things such an enterprise was more easily conceived than accom-

plished. But Ojeda was equal to the emergency, and with a small company of horsemen he sallied forth into the territories of Caonabo, bent upon his desperate enterprise. In the meantime, by some means which history has not made sufficiently plain, Ojeda had succeeded in establishing some friendly relations with Caonabo, whose admiration might possibly have been excited by the resolute resistance with which that brave Spaniard had met the attack of the overwhelming force of natives at Fort St. Thomas.

At all events, it is declared that Ojeda went into the territory of Caonabo under the cover of friendship, and upon his approaching in the character of an ambassador he was readily permitted to enter the chief's village. Ojeda had formed his plans with his usual skill in warfare, his idea being to gain the chieftain's confidence and then to allure him by some specious promises to Isabella, where he might be seized and confined. He first tried the stratagem of the bell. The Spaniards of the colony had erected a small chapel and placed a bell in the steeple, which as good Catholics they were constantly ringing. The music of this resonant monitor rang out on the morning air and fell on the astonished ears of the natives. In answer to their expressions of surprise they were told that the bell was calling the people to prayers. So the myth was scattered abroad that the metallic voice in the steeple was a living thing—a spirit that could cry out and summon the Spaniards to worship. Great, therefore, was the fame of this bell, a delusion which Ojeda encouraged by adding many embellishments, until the interest of the natives was thoroughly aroused. And he finally told Caonabo that if he would repair to Isabella and make a treaty of friendship with the Admiral he should have the marvelous bell as a present for himself. His desire was so great to possess this wondrous relic that Caonabo took the bait, though warily. He made

his preparations to visit the Spanish colony, but called a large body of his best warriors to go with him. When Ojeda protested that this was not necessary the cacique replied that it would be unbecoming in him as a king to go about the country without the company of a royal guard.

Perceiving what might be the result of an attempt to seize Caonabo when surrounded by a large body of native soldiery, Ojeda abandoned this first scheme and adopted another equally bold expedient. Believing that he might have need of such instruments, Ojeda had taken with him into the Indian country some manacles, or handcuffs, which the Spaniards humorously called *espousas*, or "wives." This significant apparatus was made of brass and steel, polished to perfect brightness. These Ojeda displayed one day to Caonabo, and when the cacique inquired about them he was informed that they were a kind of ornament which, in the country across the ocean, were worn only by kings and queens. Such jewelry, he was told, the monarchs of Castile always wore when they went to bathe, or to dance, or to preside at festivals. Having thus excited both his interest and desire, he finally told Caonabo that as a token of honor he himself might wear them when they went to the river for his bath; that the cacique should play Spanish king, and he, Ojeda, would show him how it was done. In such a proposition Caonabo could discover no ground of suspicion. He accordingly accepted the invitation and the manacles were adjusted to his wrists. When the bath was finished, Ojeda courteously assisting, the cacique was told that the Spanish king on such occasions always mounted behind one of his courtiers after the bath and thus rode triumphantly back to his palace; but it was the custom of Spain that the courtier should direct his horse in circles, like the flight of a bird. To all these things consenting, the cacique was mounted behind Ojeda on the back of a

very fine and fleet horse, and putting spurs to the animal, they began to circle round and round, Ojeda at the same time giving the signal to the Spaniards who had accompanied him to mount. He made the circles larger and larger, for that was no doubt the way the King of Castile did on such occasions! At length, however, when the curve of the comedy swung out near the edge of the woods, the tangential force became too great for Ojeda, and putting spurs to his horse, he struck away with his prisoner at full gallop into the forest.

The Spanish troop continued its flight through villages, fighting and charging, swam rivers, plunged through thickets, and by this fierce riding brought back in triumph to Isabella the astonished and humiliated Caonabo. Strange enough, the rage of the cacique was directed not against Ojeda whose skill in war and exploit he regarded as the most marvelous things in history, but rather against the Admiral, who he declared had acted in the most cowardly manner by keeping himself within his borders while his brave captain had gone forth and by adroitness had made prisoner a king.

Caonabo was placed in confinement in a room of the Admiral's own house, and was treated for the time with the distinction and courtesy usually accorded to royal prisoners. But notwithstanding this considerate treatment and the fact that the head of the confederacy was now in confinement, the duplicity by which he was taken aroused the subjects of Caonabo to still greater hostility. During his captivity a league of the three principal caciques was consolidated under a brother of the captive king who had now become cacique in his stead. War alarms began to be sounded in nearly all parts of the island, and in an incredibly short time an army of seven thousand Indians advanced against Fort St. Thomas. But Ojeda, learning of the move-

ment and anticipating the prospects of another siege, increased his force by a detachment sent to him by Bartholomew Columbus, who had received an appointment as Lieutenant-Governor, and boldly marched forth to give them battle. By forced marches he came upon the Indians when they were least expecting his presence, and fell upon them with such fury that the natives were quickly routed and driven in all directions before the charge of the cavalry.

In the meantime affairs at Isabella had greatly improved by the arrival of four caravels under the command of Antonio de Torres, bringing a good supply of provisions, medicines, clothing and merchandise, and also several artisans very needful in the present condition of the colony. As for the Admiral, he was particularly delighted by the receipt of a package of documents from their Majesties, in which among other things were some letters filled with expressions of regard and high compliment. His whole course of management was heartily approved, and the pleasing intelligence was conveyed that all serious difficulties with the Crown of Portugal, which were pending at the time of Columbus' last departure, had been adjusted, with a compromise involving a new line of division. To determine the true place of the line the sovereigns thought it expedient that Columbus should return to Europe, bringing his charts with him, but in case he could not conveniently leave the colony he was instructed to send some one in his stead. In compliance with this request of the King and Queen, the Admiral, who could not leave the colony in its present condition, commissioned Diego Columbus to return to Spain and aid their Majesties in the settlement of their business with the Portuguese Court.

Other things more important than the matters referred to in their Majesties' communication concerned Columbus and made it very important that he should dispatch a repre-

sentative to the Spanish Court to counteract the influence of Margarite and Buyl, who were now making their way across the Atlantic to falsely represent the Admiral's administration in the Indies. Columbus knew well that as soon as these unscrupulous but able messengers of mischief should reach the Spanish Court they would exert themselves to the utmost to destroy his place in the affections and confidence of the sovereigns. He therefore determined to follow up the emissaries of evil with an embassy in his own interests.

Ships were at once prepared for a home-bound voyage, and the *Eagle* was dispatched not only as the bearer of the charts requested, but with the Admiral's representative in the affairs which now so deeply concerned him. Columbus took pains to send home a large contribution of gold, as great as he could procure, and other metals were added as an evidence of the mineral wealth of Hispaniola. The viceroy was also able to supply many new specimens of plants and animals, some of which were of value and all of interest. Finally he ordered forth and sent on board the ships nearly five hundred Indian captives, to be sold as slaves in the markets of Spain. Doubtless he thought by this means, even against the recent admonition of the sovereigns to "find some other way," to add so much to the Spanish treasury that the inhumanity of the enterprise would be overshadowed by the profit. It may be said, in extenuation of this act, that slavery and the slave trade were the everyday and well-approved vices of all Christian states, and that only a few loftier minds had in those ages of cruelty and gloom perceived the atrocity and horror of the system.

After the departure of his fleet Columbus was left to consider and solve the local complications of his government. It directly appeared that the decisive defeat of the natives by Ojeda had by no means ended their hostility.

Caonabo had several brothers, all of whom became more active than ever in exciting the Indians and forming confederations. A powerful influence was also exerted by Anacaona, the favorite wife of the captive king, who freely circulated among the tribes, like Boadicea among the Britons, encouraging the caciques to renew the war. So successful were her efforts, joined with those of the cacique's brothers, that all the native princes except Guacanagari and Guarionex were brought into a league by which an army estimated at a hundred thousand men was collected for a final struggle with the Spaniards. This large force was under the command of Manicaotex, one of the brothers of Caonabo, a warlike and able general who had some skill in arranging and controlling the warriors in battle. This vast force had already gathered and set out for the southern part of the island to attack Isabella, when information of the impending avalanche was brought to Columbus by Guacanagari. The Admiral, though his bodily powers were not yet fully restored, immediately prepared for the onset. He was able to bring into the field only two hundred crossbowmen and arquebusiers and twenty cavalrymen, but as allies he had in his service a great number of the men of Guacanagari, though in such an emergency reliance could be placed only on the mailed, heavily-armed and well-disciplined soldiers. Another element of strength, or rather of ferocity and terror, was added to the equipment, in the way of twenty bloodhounds, whose malign instincts made them as desperate in fight as so many enraged tigers.

Columbus himself took the field, with his brother Bartholomew as his chief commander. Both had skill and courage in war, and though the enemy was a host and the Spaniards but a handful, the commanders little doubted the result of the conflict. Says Irving:

“The whole sound and effective force that he could

muster, however, in the present infirm state of the colony did not exceed two hundred infantry and twenty horse. They were armed with crossbows, swords, lances, and espingardas, or heavy arquebuses, which in those days were used with rests and sometimes mounted on wheels. With these formidable weapons a handful of European warriors cased in steel and covered with bucklers were able to cope with thousands of naked savages. They had aid of another kind, however, consisting of twenty bloodhounds, animals scarcely less terrible to the Indians than the horses, and infinitely more fatal. They were fearless and ferocious; nothing daunted them, nor when they had once seized upon their prey could anything compel them to relinquish their hold. The naked bodies of the Indians offered no defense against their attacks. They sprang on them, dragged them to the earth and tore them to pieces."

Advancing from Isabella, the small army made its way to the mountain region over which lay the Pass of the Hidalgos. The Indian forces advanced from the southwest across the Vega, while the Spaniards came down from the opposite side to the plain. The battlefield was near the present site of the town of St. Jago. Here, on the 29th of March, 1495, the opposing armies came in sight of each other and prepared for the conflict. Small as were his forces, Columbus divided his army into several detachments of thirty or forty men, so as to extend as much as he could his lines from right to left. It was by far the most serious situation which had yet appeared in the relations of the two races in the New World.

The Spaniards, without waiting to be attacked, sounded their trumpets, beat their drums, discharged their murderous arquebuses, and rushed forward to the attack. It was impossible that the warriors, however numerous, could withstand the assault wherever it fell. Ojeda's troop of

cavalry galloped at full speed with drawn swords among the thickest aggregations of the enemy, and cut them down as a mower might lay the grass. To all this havoc was added the terrible work of the bloodhounds, which rushed upon the Indians and tore them to pieces. The spectacle was appalling. For a short time along the front line there was nothing but butchery, and there was more likelihood that the Spaniards would be exhausted from the over-exertion of killing than that they would receive injury from the barbarians. Of course such work could not long be borne. The Indians gave way before the assault and fled in all directions. Terror supervened, and the wretched creatures, panic-stricken before the charging cavalry, the raging bloodhounds and the thundering arquebuses, taking themselves to flight, hid in the woods and thickets or climbed into trees and rocky places of the cliffs, from which they immediately began to set up piteous cries and make signs of submission. Before nightfall the work was done. The confederacy was utterly broken up. Nor was it likely that any great concerted effort would any more be made to exterminate the terrible foreigners who had got their relentless grip on the island. It only remained for Columbus to dictate what terms he would to the conquered tribes and make the most of his victory.

For a while after the battle the Admiral remained in the field, marching from place to place through a wide range of territory, visiting the towns and receiving the submission of the caciques. The expedition was *in terrorem*. Ojeda with his company of cavalry dashed hither and yon through the provinces, and all opposition quailed before him. Guarionex was the first to make peace. Soon Manicaotex was humbled and brought to submission. As for Behechio and Anacaona, their place was in the long peninsula which reaches out, like the left arm of a cray-fish, from the south-

west shoulder of the island. The situation was the most inaccessible of all, and this cacique and his warlike sister were correspondingly haughty and unsubdued.

For a time a measure of independence was retained by the natives of this part of the island; but in all other parts the conquest was complete and final. Guacanagari had already accepted for himself and his people the position of vassals under the viceroy's government. It only remained for the latter to assess upon the conquered the damages of war; and this he proceeded to do in a manner that might well give a hint of the terrible exactions and tyrannies and cruel grindings to which the native races of Spanish America were soon to be subjected by their conquerors.

CHAPTER XIII.

SORDID ambition, greed, unappeasable avarice, constituted the ruling passions of the Spaniards, to which other unholy aspirations were added as the outgrowths of opportunity. It is an easy and natural descent for the covetous, from whom are removed the restraints that keep in curb the basest natures of man, to become the voluptuary, and under the license which savage life affords, it is not surprising that even the hidalgos, born in luxury, should fall into excesses from which, under better influences, they would have recoiled. Columbus has not been accused of succumbing to these evil temptations, but though he may have been at times inspired by pious emotions, and was sincere in his desire to extend Christianity among the islanders, it is a lamentable fact that the avarice in his nature predominated to such an extent as to blunt his sense of justice and place him on an equality with the greed-besotted subjects who shared his fortunes.

The one centralizing ambition of all who had any part in the expeditions was to acquire gold. If Columbus entertained aspirations different from all others associated in his enterprise, it was because he had not been tainted by contact with the rich before conceiving his grand project. But the most truly pious cannot remain long insensible to the effects of aggrandizement, and the most humble nature is not proof against the pride that rises with its own exaltation. The motives of Ferdinand and Isabella became by the most natural corollary the motives of Columbus, not only

to gratify the sovereign will, whose favors it was policy to court, but to satisfy a longing created by his own environment. And thus it was that his own heart beat responsive to the one supreme desire that craved gold, gold, gold!

Under existing circumstances it was positively necessary for Columbus to satisfy the prevailing passion of the Spanish sovereigns as well as his own, or to acknowledge the failure of his enterprise, which had already been strongly denounced by his enemies, Margarite and De Buyl, who had gone before to make evil report of the results of his discoveries in the New World. It was in the light of these circumstances that he must now proceed to organize wealth, in the form of gold if possible, in the form of slaves if he must; for such was the only argument with which the flood of detraction and calumny could be effectually checked at its fountain.

For a considerable while Columbus revolved in his mind the most effective means for procuring such supplies of gold as might satisfy the avarice of Ferdinand and Isabella, as well as his own ambition. The resolution at length came of subordinating the natives of the island to the work of collecting and delivering the precious metal. The measure adopted by Columbus was sweeping, universal and severe. It contemplated no less than a tribute laid upon all the youth and adult natives of the island, the limit of age being fixed at fourteen years. Under this edict every native was required, under heavy penalty, to deliver to the Admiral, at the expiration of every three months, a quantity of gold-dust sufficient to fill a hawk's bell, in value about \$25. This was the requirement of the people at large, while the head men and caciques were taxed more heavily according to their rank. The amount assessed against the kings who had headed the recent confederacy was half a gourdful each, about \$150.

In his rapacity Columbus failed to regard the fact that gold was not universally distributed, and that the difficulty of collecting it was ten times greater in some parts of the island than in others. His proclamation was nevertheless universal, and explicit compliance therewith was severely demanded. It was only a short while before the islanders bowed to the exactions thus imposed and entered upon their slavish task. But the impossibility of universal compliance directly became apparent. Guarionex was the first to appear before the Admiral with his complaint and to assure him that his people could not possibly meet the exaction, and in a spirit of humility suggested a commutation of service. As an evidence that he was not a petitioner for the removal of the burdens that had been imposed, he accordingly offered to substitute agricultural products of more than the equivalent value, on condition that his people be relieved from the exaction of gathering gold. He also told the Admiral that under such terms his people would devote themselves to planting and cultivating the territory of the island, reaching from sea to sea, which might be rendered sufficiently productive to provide for the wants of all Spain, and the value of which would be greatly in excess of all the gold that might be gathered from the island.

At the time this proposition was made the colony was well provided with provisions, and Columbus had no mind to listen to the petitions of the chief. But perceiving directly the impossibility of securing the amount of gold which he had imposed as a tribute, under sheer necessity he finally agreed to reduce the amount to one-half of that first named per capita.

Under these pitiless exactions the Indian population of Hispaniola was virtually reduced to servitude. The oppression of this despotic law was ten-fold greater by reason

of the fact that the natives had always enjoyed a perfect freedom, the natural productions of the soil relieving them from all necessity of manual labor. Even their allegiance to their caciques was so loose as to leave them in a state of semi-license, nature having confederated with the simple laws of barbaric life, which forbade servitude and encouraged freedom. Their diet being almost exclusively vegetable, they possessed little strength, and engagement in severe labor quickly exhausted their energies. The greater part of their time had, therefore, been spent in sleep, plays or dances. They were a people, too, not without other amusements, for they had their wandering poets and storytellers who rendered in simple lays adventures of the Caribs and the histories of sorcerers. They had also their poems, called *areytos*, which were translated into several idioms of the island and chiefly celebrated Anacaona, a wife of one of the chiefs, whose name signified "golden flower." Under the circumstances the edict of the Admiral fell upon them like a pall. The inhabitants had intelligence enough to understand the alteration in their condition and the hopelessness of the future. Gloom came like the shadow of an ominous cloud and settled upon the Indians, transforming them from a cheerful and careless race into a people whose characteristics now became sullen repugnance and despair. Complaints which he knew to be well founded had no other effect upon Columbus than to increase his activities in extending his power against the day when he perceived it would be necessary to meet an uprising of the oppressed people. To this end he adopted the plan of multiplying the fortifications which he had established in the island, locating them in such situations as to give a military advantage to the government.

Early in the spring of 1495 complications thickened around Columbus until the threads of sequence may with

difficulty be traced through the tangled web of the general event. Complex forces began to work on both sides of the Atlantic and to combine in unexpected proportions in the issue and course of current history. In due course of time Margarite and the treacherous prelate, Buyl, arrived in Spain fully charged with the falsehoods which they were anxious to deliver to their Majesties. In the reports which they proceeded to make and authenticate by means of others as treacherous as themselves were blended all the elements of prejudice, misrepresentation and malice. Having broken completely with the Admiral, the conspirators were now under the necessity of utterly destroying his fame or being themselves driven in disgrace from the royal presence. Having a temporary advantage they employed it to the fullest extent, and going directly to the King and Queen, delivered such mendacious assaults against the methods and personal character of Columbus that even the Queen herself was affected by the serious charges that were made. At all events the effect on the court was sufficient to procure an order for the sending out of a royal delegation to the West Indies to thoroughly consider the condition of affairs and prepare a complete report respecting the administration of Columbus and his subordinates. At the same time the exclusive license which had been granted to Columbus was revoked and general permission was given to all native Spaniards to sail on voyages of discovery or to establish themselves as landholders in Hispaniola and other parts of the New World. This measure, by which the well-established prerogatives of the viceroy were to be put aside and the countries which he had discovered thrown open to miscellaneous adventurers, was promoted by Vincente Yanez Pinzon, who after the death of Alonzo became the representative of that powerful family at Palos. He being a man of wealth and rank proposed to

the Spanish sovereigns to fit out a squadron and prosecute the work of West Atlantic discovery at his own expense, which was considered with such favor that his requests were promptly granted, thus sweeping away all the grants, privileges and honors which had been reserved by solemn compact for Columbus.

In anticipation of the assaults that would be made by Margarite and De Buyl against his character, Columbus had wisely dispatched Antonio de Torres to carry home to Spain the antidote for the poison which was to be administered by the mutineers. Just at the time when Margarite and the vicar had secured the order from the sovereigns for an examination of the Admiral's administration, the fleet of De Torres arrived at Cadiz, and the captain proceeded to report to the sovereigns the actual condition of affairs in the island. He was also able to verify his declarations by a display of products, including much gold and the five hundred Indian slaves that had been sent, as already narrated. His statements and the material proofs produced the happiest effects upon Ferdinand and Isabella, who could not fail to perceive the manifest, tangible, indubitable evidence of the conspiracy of Margarite and De Buyl and the falseness of the greater part of their narration. Something of a reaction immediately followed, and a new order was issued which, while it did not completely rescind the former, was nevertheless much more favorable to Columbus and his party. It was now directed that instead of sending to the Indies a person to be nominated by De Fonseca, whose enmity towards Columbus he had never sought to disguise, the appointment should be given to Juan Aguado, a Spaniard of high standing whom Columbus considered his friend and whom he had on an occasion recommended to the favor of the King and Queen.

But while commending Columbus in some particulars,

their Majesties disclaimed his method of discipline, and even condemned some of his harsh measures, the salutary effects of which they had not been able to appreciate. In addition the Queen specially reprehended the enslavement of the natives, and instead of putting them on the market in Seville for sale, as Columbus had suggested, she determined that they should be returned to their native land, and not only given their freedom, but that proper apology should be rendered for the outrage that had been committed by this attempt to force them into bondage. However, this decision was not immediately reached, as the Queen had a mind to first defer to a conference of theologians with a view to obtaining their opinions as to the justice of converting any of the Indian subjects, pagans though they were, into slaves. A majority of the prelates having debated the question among themselves, decided in the affirmative, to which decision a small minority objected.

It would appear from the results that the Queen deferred to the conference of prelates through courtesy, as slavery was a recognized institution in Spain at the time, and there was a general approval of it among what were called true Christians. But her humane instincts prompted her to take the question out of the hands of the referees, and with a sense of right which must ever hold her name among the justice-loving rulers of all the ages she liberated the captives and thereby established a precedent and rule which reflect the brightest luster upon her reign.

Among other instructions which she gave Aguado was one to limit the colony at Isabella to five hundred souls, that the expenditure for provisions and supplies might be kept within the smallest limit; and she especially charged him to see that the rights of the islanders were justly observed, to the end that peace might reign and the Church be established among them.

Meanwhile affairs in San Domingo had been tending in such a direction that another crisis was about to arise in an unexpected manner. An officer named Miguel Diaz fell into a quarrel with another officer, and in the duel which followed he wounded his antagonist, as he supposed fatally. Some witnesses of the affair claimed that advantage had been taken by Diaz, so that the circumstance had the complexion of murder; and to escape a punishment which he thought might be inflicted he fled from the settlement and took refuge in an Indian town on the extreme southern border of the island, where he was well received and safe from pursuit. It chanced that the tribe on this coast was governed by a princess, who became infatuated with the white refugee, and whether this feeling was reciprocated or not, Diaz was married to her in some informal manner and continued to reside in the village for some time. At length, however, he wearied somewhat of his Indian bride, which she perceiving, employed all her instincts and talents to devise some plan by which to hold the affections of her white husband. She had learned through her intercourse with Diaz that the prevailing passion with the Spaniards was a desire for gold. She therefore conceived that by revealing the fortunate resources of the territory over which she ruled she might bring hither a colony of Spaniards with whom her husband could affiliate and be at peace. As a matter of fact, the province which the princess governed was the richest in gold-dust of all the districts of the island. Indeed, as the sequence shows, an ancient race, long before the incoming of the present islanders, had discovered the riches of this shore, and gathering much of its treasure had left behind their mining pits as the unmistakable evidences of their work to after times. This fact the Indian princess revealed to Diaz, whom she begged to bring his countrymen and abide with her forever.

To verify his wife's assertions Diaz paid a visit under the direction of guides to the district which she had described. There, to his amazement, he found gold scattered everywhere, and that the particles were much larger than any that had been found in the mines of Cibao. The Spaniard at a glance perceived that the discovery, if once known at Isabella, would produce the greatest excitement and perhaps lead to a transfer of a large part of the colony. To this tremendous motive there was also added another consideration, and that was the unhealthfulness of the northern coast where the colony was established, while here, on the River Ozema, the breezes were healthful and every prospect pleasant. All this did Diaz consider as an argument which, he was confident, would secure his pardon for the crime with which he was charged at Isabella.

Before Diaz could put his plans into execution Aguado arrived on the coast of Hispaniola, whose presence for the time being repressed the desire which Diaz had to communicate his fortunate discovery to the colonists. At the time of Aguado's arrival Columbus was conducting an expedition into the interior of the island, leaving Bartholomew, his brother, exercising the office of Adelantado in his absence.

Aguado, instead of coming as the friend of Columbus, was so exalted by the authority which had been placed in his hands that he assumed the bearing of a dictator, and presenting his credentials from the King and Queen to Bartholomew Columbus, he claimed the authority that had been delegated to the viceroy. The colonists at once perceived that so far as Columbus was concerned and his government of the island, this assumption of power was the practical overthrow of his rule. No sooner was this discovery made than all the pessimistic diabolism of the colony came to the surface. Order was at an end and all author-

ity set at naught. A state of circumstances immediately supervened on which Aguado might well have based a truthful report of anarchy. Placing himself under the influence of malcontents and criminals, this royal agent went about to organize a constitution embodying all the vicious principles of the malevolent band who from the beginning had used their efforts to overthrow Columbus. He began also to gather materials for a tremendous incriminating report, which he expected to make to their Majesties against the man who had recommended him to them for promotion.

Of all this Columbus for the time knew nothing. But it was spread abroad that he had heard of the coming of Aguado and, knowing himself superseded, had personally absented himself from the colony to avoid arrest. Instead of this being true, however, as soon as the Admiral learned of the high-handed business that had occurred at Isabella, he at once proceeded to that place and presented himself before Aguado. There was much expectation of a square issue, perhaps of violence, between the two men. But the Admiral forestalled such a sensation by asking in a mild and complacent manner to hear the reading of Aguado's commission, and when this request was granted he declared his perfect deference and respect to the will and purpose of their Majesties. While this conduct in a measure disarmed the malice of Aguado, the Spaniards looked upon Columbus as a fallen man, for they had no doubts that the reports which had been carried to Ferdinand and Isabella by Margarite and Buyl had sufficed to work his ruin.

The effect upon the natives was even more disastrous. The caciques and head men began at once to take counsel how they might throw off the Spanish yoke and regain their independence. All these discontents, threatenings, mutterings and rising troubles were so much pabulum to Aguado, who soon gathered all the desired materials and informa-

tion and reckoned himself ready to return to Spain. He accordingly prepared his ships and was about to sail when, without warning, the sky grew black on the side of the east, the sea and the heavens began to commingle and roar, while the lightnings blazed and a terrific hurricane such as not even tradition had ever before recorded burst along the coast. The havoc was astounding. The ocean rolled in landward, deluging the lowlands for miles from the shore. The forests were torn and twisted out of the semblance of nature by the irresistible winds; dwellings were blown away like bunches of straw; and worst of all, the ships in the harbor, with the solitary exception of the little *Niña* of blessed memory, were dashed to pieces. After some hours of this terrible work the tempest went on its way to Cuba, and Aguado and his proposed report were indefinitely stranded.

It now remained for the Admiral to reorganize the resources of the colony, and even to provide for the home voyage of his adversary. To this end he ordered that the *Niña* should be repaired, and that the timbers of the wrecked vessels should be collected for the construction of another ship, which he named the *Santa Cruz* (Holy Cross). At length, the work having been completed, preparations were made to sail. But it was the purpose of Columbus to take one of the ships for himself, leaving the other to Aguado, the Admiral having made up his mind that the royal emissary should not return to Spain alone. He also would go thither and confront Aguado in the very court and before their Majesties. In the meantime, however, destiny had prepared for him an argument of more solid structure than any which his sanguine nature had been able to devise. Now it was that young Miguel Diaz, having heard of the disaster and discontent at the colony, had arrived at Isabella from the new gold fields of the River

Ozema, thinking that the time was most propitious for the plans which he had conceived. As fortune would have it, the soldier whom he had wounded as he supposed to death had recovered, so that to his surprise Diaz could return to the colony without being under the reproach of a serious crime. He at once communicated to the Admiral and his brother Bartholomew the tidings about the new discovery of gold. This intelligence was accompanied by the presentation of many fine specimens of the precious metal, so that nothing was left for skepticism. So often had he been deceived, however, that Columbus deemed it expedient to dispatch Bartholomew and a company of experts to make a thorough examination of the new mines, to the end that his information might be definite and exact.

The explorers crossed the island without accident and arrived at their destination on the southern coast about two hundred and forty miles distant from Isabella, where they found everything as Diaz had represented. Not only were evidences of gold to be found in great abundance, but particles were picked up without difficulty and in a fair measure of abundance. This distribution of gold was found to be uniform over a district or territory about six miles square, where Bartholomew discovered many old mining pits in which the workmen of a vanished race had toiled and gathered the precious metal ages before the coming of Columbus. The company of explorers were able to gather and take away such considerable quantities of gold as to furnish the Admiral with a visible proof of the value and promise of the new discovery. With these valuable specimens, which were to prove a blessing to Columbus in the hour when he should meet the Spanish sovereigns to give account of his stewardship, he prepared his ships, also taking on board a cargo of trophies, including Caonabo, his brother and nephew, and Carib Indians to the number of thirty.

There had been so much sickness and melancholy in the colony that when the ships were ready to sail a majority entreated Columbus for permission to return home, and not being willing to oppose these requests in the presence of Aguado, who might construe the act as cruel, Columbus granted the privilege to nearly all those who asked. For this reason the ships were crowded with passengers whose disappointment and grief might well have darkened any voyage.

On the 10th of March, 1496, the two vessels departed from Isabella and set out to sea, bearing towards the south. Had the Admiral veered toward the north he might have escaped the adverse trade winds and found free sailing towards the European coast. Taking the other route, however, the eastern winds struck his vessels and constantly pressed him back among the Caribbean Islands, so that, all of March and the first week of April, the vessels made scarcely any progress whatever. In fact, on the 9th of April the Admiral found himself on the coast of Maria Galante, which he had named in the early part of his second voyage. On the next day he was at Guadaloupe, where the ships were anchored and exploring parties sent on shore. Their reception by the islanders was as hostile as it had been two years previously, and descending to attack, the Spaniards opened fire upon the savages, who fled into the interior and took refuge in their village, which stood nearly a league from the shore.

The Spaniards, making an incursion some miles from the beach, discovered honey in considerable quantities, and at one of the villages they found implements apparently of iron (probably iron-wood), and the limbs of human beings roasting on spits before the fire, where they had been abandoned by the Indians at the approach of the white visitors,

Several wild exploits characterized this visit of the Spaniards, who, not being able to come in contact with the Indian men, succeeded in capturing a band of native women and boys. Among the former was one who had the appearance of a savage princess. At all events she was an aboriginal Bellona, whom the whites had great difficulty in capturing. Outstripping all her pursuers except one fleet-footed Spaniard, she suddenly turned round, and seizing him with the clutch of a tiger was about to strangle him to death, and would no doubt have succeeded but for the timely arrival of his companions, who relieved him from his dangerous situation. This company of women and boys was taken on board the Admiral's ships, but he immediately set them all at liberty in obedience to the orders which he had received from the Queen. The Amazonian princess, however, became acquainted with the captives on the vessel, in particular with King Caonabo, with whom she fell wildly in love and refused to return on shore, thus casting in her lot with the other captives. On the 20th of April the squadron finally cleared the islands and stood off for Europe, but a more tedious voyage or one ultimately attended with greater hardships has rarely been known. Progress was particularly slow and the voyage was so long protracted that both crews and passengers were reduced to a short allowance through the failure of provisions. Week after week passed, and when the first of June came the condition of the crews and passengers was horrible in the extreme. A rage of hunger began to prevail over reason, until at last came the suggestion of that very cannibalism which the Spaniards had observed among the Caribbean islanders. Some of the sailors began to look askance at the Indian prisoners, and then the proposal was openly made that they be killed and eaten. This proposition, however, Columbus strongly resented, and when the enraged men were disposed

to execute their threats in defiance of his orders he put himself between them and the cowering Caribs, exhibiting at once such dignity and resolution that the sailors shrank from his glowering gaze. Next the men proposed that the Indians should be thrown overboard, that the consumption of food might be thus diminished. But this proposition was likewise refused by the Admiral, and the mutinous spirit of the men rapidly increased. In an hour when hunger and rage were upon the point of manifesting themselves in violent action the Admiral perceived from his chart that the vessels were near Cape St. Vincent. He tried with this assurance to soothe the rage of the crew, but they only mocked at his hopefulness and faith. With the coming of the evening he ordered the taking in of sails lest the vessels might in the darkness be run upon the rocks of the expected shore, which orders the men obeyed with sullen looks. But in the morning there, sure enough, rose St. Vincent from the sea, and the usual reaction from despair to confidence was exhibited by the men gathering around Columbus and apologizing for their insubordination.

It was the 11th of June when the harbor of Cadiz was reached and the storm-shattered ships brought to safe anchorage. Such was the pitiable condition to which both passengers and crew had now been reduced that the going ashore was a spectacle most melancholy and disheartening. Nor may we conclude this narrative of the second voyage without noting the end of Caonabo. That haughty chieftain had maintained his indignant but silent anger against the Spaniards until his barbaric pride at last yielded to death, which occurred just before the completion of the voyage. By his side in his last hours were assembled his brother, his nephew, and the Amazonian princess of Guadaloupe, and the other captives. Thus he expired—perhaps the bravest and most capable chieftain of the West Indies. Certainly

his character was of a kind to impress itself strongly upon the minds and memories of the Spaniards, who could but hold him in respect for his courage and manly bearing. His body was committed to the sea; there in that deep, oozy bed which has swallowed up in everlasting silence so many of the secrets and tragedies of human life, the Carib King of Cibao sleeps until the final day, while—

“ Descends on the Atlantic
The gigantic
Storm-wind of the Equinox.”

CHAPTER XIV.

FAME is as fickle as fortune and rarely more enduring. Like the flower that blooms in beauty for a season and is cut down by chilling frosts, so does fame perish under the withering breath of calumny and envious rivalry. Rewards for great deeds are rarely bestowed upon the living, so slow is man's appreciation, the disposition of mankind being to withhold acknowledgment of dues, to confer apotheosis after death, when jealousy has nothing more to feed upon. How singularly trite do these observations appear when we apply them to the life of Columbus! In the beginning, so obscure as to invite the ridicule of dignitaries when appealing to the great for recognition of his beneficent scheme; in his success raised to such eminence as won the homage of the world when even royalty would pay to him a degree of reverence. But while winning renown the sleuth-hound of vindictive envy was pursuing with relentless muzzle of hate to tear with teeth of spite and malice his reputation and bring him into national disrepute.

So well had the power of malevolence been exercised by his enemies that when Columbus landed from his second voyage there were none to give him becoming welcome; none to offer congratulations; no royal messenger to greet his return. Stung by the deceits of those who should have been his votaries, and overwhelmed by the success of his traducers, Columbus for a while seriously contemplated retirement from the vanities of the world within the convent walls of La Rabida, whither his best friend, Father

Perez, had returned to end his days. To this purpose he adopted the garb of a Franciscan monk and wrapped about him the cord of consecration, intending henceforth to devote himself to pious contemplation, trusting in God to reward the services which those who were most advantaged by them neglected to recognize.

Informing the Spanish sovereigns of his arrival, it was not until one month afterwards that a reply came to his notification in the form of a message written from Almozan, which was manifest proof that the director of marine had awaited the report of Aguado, as well as statements of others who had proved themselves hostile to his acts and purposes, before giving him any recognition. But strange as it may appear, the royal message, tardy as it was, felicitated him upon his successful voyage and invited him to repair at once to Burgos, where the court had a temporary residence. So encouraging and congratulatory was the letter that Columbus, roused from his despondency, cast aside his Franciscan habit and proceeded at once to Burgos, carrying with him the rich trophies of his second expedition, among which were many masks and nuggets of gold to please the avaricious eyes of Ferdinand. Several of the Indian captives also accompanied him, including the brother of Caonabo, who wore around his neck a chain of gold weighing six hundred castellanos, equal to the value of \$3,200.

Greatly to his delight, Columbus was received by Isabella with many marks of admiration, as if to show him that her faith in his integrity and noble intentions had not been affected by the base charges of his enemies; and with a feeling of thankfulness and pride he narrated to their Highnesses his new discoveries among the Antilles, and presented the valuable as well as many curious specimens which he had brought from the New World. Ferdinand was sensibly touched by the nuggets of gold that were shown in proof

of Columbus' statements concerning the wealth of Hispaniola, but Isabella's interest was excited most by the many curious objects exposed, including images, weapons, birds, animals and plants, of which Columbus brought a large collection. So pleased were the Spanish sovereigns with the interview that in dismissing Columbus they took occasion to publicly honor him to the great confusion of his enemies.

A week later the Queen consulted Columbus, by letter written from Laredo, as to the best route to be taken by the fleet of one hundred and thirty vessels commissioned to convey to Flanders the Infanta Doña Juana, affianced to Archduke Philip of Austria, which furnished additional evidence of her confidence in him as a faithful servitor. But while Columbus was grateful for these royal kindnesses, he chafed under disappointments which threatened the colonists in Hispaniola. On arriving at Cadiz he found three caravels, under command of his old pilot, Pedro Alonzo Niño, ready to sail with supplies for the colonists, and was barely able to receive dispatches intended for him and to transmit a few additional instructions to his brother, Don Bartholomew, before the flotilla departed. These supplies were sufficient to meet present emergencies, but the necessity for Columbus' quick return to Hispaniola was still very great, because he had left the island in a disturbed state, as already explained, and in case the islanders rose in rebellion or withheld supplies the colonists would be in a dangerous situation. He had therefore expected to meet his accusers at the Spanish Court, clear his good name, recruit a large additional force, and with a fleet well laden with stores accomplish his return to Hispaniola in less than three months. Instead of realizing his expectations he found no opportunity to present his requests to the Queen, whose urgent engagements gave her no time to consider his needs. He

was therefore compelled to wait in silence, to restrain his impatience, and trust to time for a favorable presentation of his necessities. Month after month thus slipped by until autumn arrived, and nothing was as yet done towards securing a fleet of vessels. When at length application was made, Ferdinand met the request with the statement that the condition of the public treasury would not permit of the equipment of another squadron; besides, neither vessels nor men were procurable for the purpose.

In his dilemma Columbus finally found opportunity to appeal to Isabella, who promptly responded with an advance of six million maravedis from the treasury of Castile; but about this time, October 20th, Pedro Alonzo Niño returned from Hispaniola, and proceeding to his home, sent a letter to the court announcing that he had a large amount of gold on board his ships. Upon receipt of this news Ferdinand diverted the six million maravedis contributed by the Queen to perfecting the fortifications of Roussillon, threatened by the French, and ordered that a like sum be supplied to Columbus from the gold brought by Niño's caravels. Thus affairs rested until the latter part of December, when it was ascertained that the large amount of gold which Niño claimed to have brought from Hispaniola was in the form of three hundred Indian captives, which he explained might be converted into the treasure of which he exultingly spoke.

This harmful metaphor, or rather absurd hyperbole, threw Ferdinand into a fit of rage, while the Queen was both angered and chagrined, and Columbus was grieved beyond expression. Isabella, mild in manner and always generous, was nevertheless prompted to punish the presumption of Niño, or whoever was responsible for the violation of her orders, and she was only persuaded from such a course by the defense that was set up, wherein allegation was made that the Indian captives were charged with the murder of

many Spaniards, who had been brought to Spain for sentence, enslavement being the most fitting punishment.

After his awakening from a golden dream, the enemies of Columbus assailed him anew with increased disparagement and virulence, but Isabella continued steadfast in her friendship through all the evil report that mendacity could devise. But she was not able to give him substantial encouragement until April 23d, 1497, when she issued an ordinance for the purchase of supplies for the expedition and granted permission to the Admiral to enlist under pay of the crown three hundred and thirty persons, representing the various trades, who should become colonists of the Indies; at the same time reaffirming all the privileges granted to him by the compact signed at Santa Fé five years before. But it now became necessary to make some modifications in that agreement, because Columbus had been unable to carry out his part of the covenant. He joyfully accepted the conditions, which were indeed of his own proposing, that for an eighth of the revenue accruing from his explorations he was to provide a like part of the expense, but to his mortification his expeditions, while of great geographical importance and prospective commercial value to the Spanish Crown, had not been attended by those profits which his over-sanguine mind had pictured, and hence he was too poor to comply with his agreements. Thus was he therefore still dependent upon the Queen's bounty, even as much as when a petitioner for royal patronage under which to equip his first expedition.

Queen Isabella was as magnanimous as she was pious, and being appreciative of the honor which his glorious deeds had conferred upon her crown she remitted that part of the agreement which imposed pecuniary obligations upon Columbus, and yet confirmed to him not only the rights stipulated in the original compact but also made a generous

tender to him of a dukedom in Hispaniola, comprising a tract one hundred and fifty miles long by half as many wide. This kindly proffer, however, he declined, foreseeing that its acceptance would only serve to expose him to more malignant attacks of his enemies, who would make the most of such a gift as an evidence of his sordid ambition. But the Queen, anxious to show her regard for his unselfish service, granted to him the right of perpetual entail of his estates and titles, and at the same time rescinded the prerogatives given in 1495 to other explorers to make discoveries in the New World.

In the exercise of the privilege the Queen had in her magnanimity conferred, Columbus executed his will at Seville in April, 1498, by which he made a devisement to his male descendants and in default of these to his female lineage, of all his property, titles, royalties and benefits accruing under the terms of his agreements with the Spanish crown. By this testament he provided generously for his brother Bartholomew, then serving as Adelantado or governor in his absence at Hayti, and likewise settled bountiful portions upon his sons Diego and Fernando, though the bequests were of properties prospective rather than real. His relatives at Genoa were also remembered liberally, after which he set aside one-tenth of all the revenues that remained for charitable purposes. Nor did he forget to provide for the execution of his controlling ambition, which was the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher, to which end his will contained a request that Diego, or whoever inherited his estate, should invest whatever moneys he could spare in the stock of the bank of St. George at Genoa, there to remain as a permanent and growing fund until it could be used in reasonable effort to accomplish the conquest of Jerusalem. If the king did not undertake the recovery, then at an auspicious time Diego himself was charged to set on foot a crusade at his

own risk and invite other sovereigns to join him in wresting the holy shrine from the profanation of infidels.

The hopes renewed by these evidences of the Queen's regard lifted Columbus again into latitudes of golden expectation, a felicitous feeling which was further accentuated by official permission to equip another expedition at government expense, consisting of three hundred and thirty persons in the royal pay, and a fleet of six vessels; of those to be enlisted for the expedition, one hundred men went as foot-soldiers, and there were forty servants, thirty sailors, thirty cabin boys, fifty agriculturists, twenty miners, twenty mechanics, ten gardeners and thirty females. As an incentive to enlistment Columbus was authorized to grant lands to those desiring to engage in agriculture, and to issue patents after an occupation of four years.

But while the interests of the colonists were thus promoted by generous concessions, the Queen showed her care for the natives by charging Columbus to treat them with the greatest leniency, and to see that their religious instruction was attended to; in short, to conciliate them by acts of kindness and in no case to exercise harshness except as a last resort in restraint of rebellious or murderous propensities.

The preliminaries having been arranged, Columbus published a call for volunteers under the royal manifesto, but it only served to bring him into unexpected difficulties which threatened to abort all his plans. The activity of enemies operating to bring him into odium and to depict the world of his discovery as a land of misery, poverty, hardships and death, chilled the ardor of enthusiasts and adventurers so effectually that none could be induced to proffer their services. The sorry showing which Columbus had been able to make on his return from two expeditions likewise inspired ship-owners with caution, and these now hesitated to charter

their vessels for such an enterprise. His plans being thus brought to an abrupt termination through the influences of envy and cowardice, Columbus was compelled to apply to the Queen for permission to impress men and ships for his service. This request was not fully complied with, but the second proposal that a company be recruited from condemned criminals was accepted. Under this arrangement culprits convicted of crimes other than heresy, treason, counterfeiting and murder were permitted to enlist, and their terms of imprisonment were commuted to service under Columbus in the New World for periods proportionate to the atrocity of their crimes.

But even after the required ships and recruits were obtained, vexatious delays continued to harass Columbus and threaten the departure of the expedition. A change was made about this time in the superintendence of Indian affairs which necessitated a withdrawal of commissions issued jointly to Columbus and Antonio de Torres; while Fonseca, one of Columbus' most bitter enemies, was reinstated as De Torres' successor. The commissions and contracts had therefore to be issued anew, which it took some time to do. As if in confirmation of the old adage that troubles never come singly, in the midst of these annoyances the good Queen was overwhelmed with intelligence of the death of her only son and heir apparent to Leon and Castile, Prince Juan, whom Fernando and Diego had served as pages. To add to the woe that had crushed her great heart, her daughter, Juana, just married to the Archduke Philip of Austria, was seized by a mental malady that clouded her mind forever.

Poor Isabella! Even a queen filled with such tender graces as thine may not escape the blinding calamities that break the hearts of mothers whose throne is set up in the affections of their children. But bravely, as became a

woman consecrated to the holiest service of God and man, she bore up under her afflictions, and though her eyes were filled with scalding tears her ears opened to the appeals of Columbus. She never forgot that across the great sea was a feeble colony possibly suffering, aye, dying, for want of supplies which she only could furnish. So, from the money which she intended as an endowment for her daughter Isabella, who was soon to marry Emmanuel, King of Portugal, she took enough to load two ships with supplies, and these were dispatched early in 1498 under the command of Pedro Fernandez Coronel. Then as an evidence of her special regard for Columbus she made Fernando and Diego pages in her own court.

Fonseca spared no pains in his malignant effort to harass Columbus, which his new position enabled him to do so effectually that on several occasions the great mariner was so disheartened as to secretly resolve to abandon his enterprise. And these resolutions would no doubt have determined his actions had they not been overborne by the kind encouragement of the Queen, for whom, especially under her afflictions, he entertained the tenderest attachment born of profound sympathy. But every harassment has an end, as life itself, and Columbus, after great length of time, found himself making progress. The six vessels were finally fitted for sea, crews and companies obtained, to which a surgeon, apothecary, physician, several priests and a band of musicians were added.

The annoyances from which he had now suffered for two years were to continue even to the hour of his departure, and their effects were felt the remainder of his life. Among the pestiferous hirelings of Fonseca was a Christianized Jew named Ximeno Breviesca, who held the position of accountant to his equally unworthy master. This most turbulent and insolent fellow seized the occasion to assail Columbus

with all manner of vituperation, even at the time of weighing the anchors, evidently obeying Fonseca's wishes to humiliate him before the people whom he had been appointed to command. Incensed beyond the power of further control, Columbus struck down the wretch and administered to his contemptible body the kicks which he deserved. It was only the spirit of manhood asserting itself against the wolfish instinct of contumelious jealousy that had bitten his heels and showed its ravening teeth wherever he had gone ; but enemies turned this exhibition of outraged nature against him by pointing to the act as a proof of his overbearing cruelty with which he had long been charged by his traducers.

CHAPTER XV.

THE equipment of the expedition having at last been completed, Columbus ordered the anchors lifted and his fleet of six caravels departed on May 13th, 1498, from the harbor of San Lucar de Barrameda. Gayly the vessels trimmed their sails and swept out of the mouth of the Guadalquivir, past the old Moorish castle that stood commanding the entrance to the harbor, a mute reminder of the commercial importance of the port before the invaders had been driven out of Spain through the persistent valor of Spanish arms.

This third voyage of discovery was undertaken in pursuance of two distinct purposes, namely: Believing that Cuba was part of the main continent with a severe trend towards the west, along which he had sailed a considerable distance, Columbus concluded that another continent lay somewhere towards the south, an opinion first advanced by King John II., of Portugal. This conjectured continent he now determined to seek; but he was actuated to this search not merely by the honors such a discovery might bestow, for his ambition now took a more decidedly commercial turn, but also with the hope of being able to satisfy the covetous desires of Ferdinand and Isabella, who had become importunate for some compensation for the large expenditures which the two previous voyages had entailed. Columbus was also greatly influenced by the opinion advanced by a philosophic lapidary, who maintained that all productions of nature were sublimated by the rays of a torrid sun,

and that not only was vegetation forced into the greatest exuberance by the tropic heat, but that precious metals and stones were likewise produced in the largest profusion under the rays of a vertical sun. Towards the equinoctial line he accordingly bent his way in the belief that, discovering a southern continent he would find there in great abundance those precious articles which would enrich his sovereigns, and that while thus obtaining their favor he would also bring confusion to his enemies.

The voyage was directed southward to Porto Santo and Madeira, now known as the Canary Islands, upon reaching which Columbus came unexpectedly upon a French warship that had just captured two Spanish prizes. He abandoned his purpose for the time being, and pursued the French vessel, the commander of which, having discovered the great odds against him, had sought safety in flight. Two days were thus lost. But Columbus had the satisfaction of recovering one of the Spanish vessels and seriously crippling the French cruiser. Turning south again, he proceeded to the island of Faroe, where he brought his vessels to for some needed repairs. He then decided to divide his fleet by sending three of the vessels, with all the stores that he could spare, directly to the colonists at San Domingo, while he retained the other three to pursue the purpose for which the expedition was organized.

The next detention occurred upon reaching the Cape Verd Islands, where he arrived on the 27th of June, and having taken in some additional supplies and a quantity of water, he set sail in a southwesterly direction until he fell into the calms, where his crew suffered all the agonies of extreme heat, and his provisions were so seriously injured as to render a great part of them unfit for human food. As they gradually advanced further into this fiery heat the fears of the sailors were increased, as they well might be,

by the alarming effects which they now observed. The pitch with which the ships were smeared was melted and the seams opened, admitting the water, so that it was only by the most extraordinary exertions that they were kept afloat. So also the wooden vessels in which their store of fresh water was kept shrank until the hoops dropped off and the contents were wasted. Occasional showers fell, but these seemed rather to intensify than alleviate the dreadful heat, for the humidity of the atmosphere was thereby increased and rendered all the more oppressive.

This alarming situation continued for eight days and was so debilitating that the superstitious crew concluded that they were upon the confines of that world to which lost souls are condemned, and Columbus was forced to exert all his persuasive influence to prevent them from leaping into the sea and thus concluding their insupportable misery. But as the crews of former expeditions had been relieved by changes which they had despaired of realizing, so at length they passed out of this intolerable condition and beyond the meridian of heat, emerging at last into a cooler atmosphere where a fresh breeze stimulated their hopes anew, and they proceeded with great encouragement out of their despondence. But the spoiling of the provisions rendered it necessary that Columbus should reach land as soon as possible, and accordingly he changed his course directly westward, in the hope of gaining some of the Caribbee Islands, where he might anchor and repair his vessels.

Their progress, however, was slow, and food so scarce that serious alarm was renewed. But good fortune was to attend them in the hour of greatest despair, for on the last day of July a mariner of Huelva, named Alonzo Perez Nizardo, acting as watch on board the Admiral's ship, gave the signal of land ahead. Every eye was quickly strained westward, and to their inexpressible delight they saw the

triple peaks of a mountain range rising from the ocean. By one of those coincidences which Columbus was always quick to discover and upon which his mind, still deeply immersed in the bonds of superstition, rested with so much confidence, these three mountain heights were imagined by him to answer to a vow which he had made that he would name the first new land discovered The Trinity. Accordingly he gave the name *La Trinidad* to the new island—for such it proved to be—and that name it has borne to the present day. A short sail to the westward brought him along a shore on which all the luxuriance of the tropical islands was exhibited, but no natives were visible. Further inland, however, villages were seen, but the people had taken flight and concealed themselves in the forest coverts.

A voyage of several leagues was necessary before a safe landing-place was found, but a favorable anchorage was at length reached in a sheltered cove, on the banks of which was a luxurious vegetation, and running down the hillside was a brook of crystal water. Here the crews went on shore and collected native foods and laid in a supply of fresh water. But though many marks of human habitation were visible on every hand, the inhabitants continued to keep themselves so well hidden that not one was anywhere to be seen.

A sufficient quantity of supplies having been obtained, the voyage was renewed, and presently scanning the southern horizon Columbus discovered the outline of a long, low country rising but a few feet above the sea but extending a distance which he estimated at twenty leagues. He did not doubt but that it was another of the islands so plentifully distributed in the western waters. It proved, in fact, a tongue of land stretching out from the South American continent, which for six years he had been half-consciously approaching. Reaching the southwestern extremity of

Trinidad, another stretch of land was seen, the point of which was marked by a lofty eminence resembling a tremendous rock, separated from the mainland by a dangerous channel through which the water was rushing with an ominous sound. Here the vessels were greeted by a boatload of natives who paddled out in their canoes from the shore and hailed the ships, but in a tongue which the interpreters could not understand. Every inducement was offered the natives to approach, but they were extremely wary, holding their paddles ready for instant flight in case any movement was made to arrest them. The men were armed with bows and arrows, and some of them also had bucklers. Around their heads they wore rolls of cotton cloth fashioned somewhat like a turban, while their persons from the loins to the thighs were covered with colored clothing, in which respect they bore some resemblance to the fiercer natives that Columbus had met on the island of Cuba.

In equipping the expedition Columbus had taken a band of musicians, appreciating how great was the influence of music upon the Indians with whom he had come in contact. Being unable to induce the new people to approach his vessel he now ordered his musicians on deck, and to the lively music which they produced the Spaniards executed a dance, but the significance of this action was radically mistaken by the Indians, who instead of responding with some form of native music and jubilation, let fly a shower of arrows at the performers, which belligerent action Columbus met by ordering a discharge from his crossbowmen, whereupon the barbarians fled with great precipitation. They were afterwards induced to approach one of the smaller ships, the captain of which made them some presents of hawk-bells and looking glasses. But their confidence they strangely withheld, and when a boat was lowered to follow

them to shore they took alarm, and gaining the beach ran into the woods and were seen no more.

While lying at this point of land, which he called Cape Arenal, Columbus watched with great interest the ocean river which was seen to rush between the island and the opposite promontory. Acquainted though he was with ocean currents he had never beheld before such a turbulent and tossing rapid as was presented in this down-flowing channel. The seething salt sea river looked to him like a vast serpent rising and twisting between the two shores, on which account he called the pass into this roaring channel *Boca del Sierpe*, meaning the Mouth of the Serpent. Notwithstanding the dangers which seemed to threaten a passage of this turbulent strait, Columbus was resolved upon gaining the mainland, but as a precautionary measure he sent forward one of the boats to make soundings, and was greatly pleased to find that instead of a reef the depth was fully ten fathoms, which fact served to prove that the disturbance of the water was due to the meeting of incoming tides and a counter current. Before entering upon the passage a striking and frightful portent occurred, which the Admiral thus describes:—"Late at night," says he, "being on board my ship, I heard a terrible roaring, and as I tried to pierce the darkness I beheld the sea to the south heaped up in a great hill, the height of the ship, rolling slowly towards us. The ships were lifted up and whirled along, so that I felt that we should be engulfed in a commotion of waters; but fortunately the mountainous surge passed on towards the mouth of the strait and after a contest with the counter current gradually subsided." Such tidal waves as Columbus thus described are of frequent occurrence on the coast of South America, to which they seem to be peculiar, though at rare intervals they have been seen along the shores of other tropical countries and even in mid-ocean.

Fortunately he escaped injury by this awe-inspiring occurrence, and setting his sails moved into the broad and open Gulf of Paria, or Gulf of Pearls, bounded on the east by the curving coast of Trinidad and on the north by the long-projecting peninsula of Carriaco. He had proceeded only a few leagues into the gulf when his attention was called to the appearance of the water through which he was sailing, and on testing it, to his great surprise he found it fresh, yet everywhere as far as his eye could discern was an open sea. He was struck by the anomaly of a fresh-water sea which was manifestly a part of the Atlantic, and he was therefore deeply anxious to pursue his inquiry to a solution of this singular mystery. He was not a long while, however, in concluding that he must be near a great continent, from the shores of which rushed down rivers in such great volumes as to overreach the sea and make the surface fresh, as it frequently is after a heavy rain. He sailed northward across the gulf, discovering that the passage from it led through another tempestuous outlet, even more threatening in appearance than was that of Boca del Sierpe. Rocks lined either shore, and the current was so swift that to this exit he gave the name of *Boca del Dragon*, signifying the Mouth of the Dragon. He did not choose to enter this passage at once, but continued westward on the side of the peninsula until he came to a district some parts of which appeared to be under cultivation. Before this alluring region a landing was made and Columbus with several of the crew went on shore, this being the first time he had put his foot upon the soil of the great South American continent. Several natives were observed along the coast, but in every case they exhibited great timidity and took refuge in the forests whenever effort was made to approach them.

As Columbus went further inland he found the country in such a state of cultivation as to indicate the great industry

of the inhabitants. At length, by the offer of presents and pacific assurances, some of the Indians were induced to enter a canoe to visit the ships, when some of the Spaniards who were near by succeeded in capsizing the boat and capturing half a dozen of the natives, upon whom they showered every possible favor, and after loading them with presents sent them off to their friends, trusting that the result would be beneficial. And so it proved, for seeing how well the captives had been treated, their friends became more free in their intercourse, and at length a covenant of friendship was established whereby some of the natives acted as guides, and not only showed Columbus a considerable district of the country, but supplied him with information concerning its people and products.

After a stay of a few days at their first landing place the vessels resumed their course until they came to another beautiful country, in which the landscape, as presented from the ship, was fascinating beyond anything the Spaniards had ever before beheld. The natives were also found to be friendly and very numerous, nor were they so timid as the other Indians whom Columbus had seen, for they sought intercourse with the Spaniards and presently came with a message from their cacique inviting the strangers to go on shore. The Admiral noted with delight that personal adornments, particularly collars and wristlets of burnished brass, were plentifully worn. But the natives insisted that these precious things were obtained from afar off and were the products of cannibal workmanship. Not so, however, with the pearls, which were now for the first time found in the hands of these Indians, for the natives assured him that they might be obtained in the greatest profusion among the oyster beds on the northern coast of their country, which was the peninsula of Carriaco. Presently came the Indian king himself, accompanied by his son, the prince, who

having heard of the arrival of the white people upon the borders of his country, became anxious to see and welcome them. His conduct was that of a dignified official, appreciative of royal honors, and yet having a generous demeanor which immediately excited the admiration of Columbus. He extended an urgent invitation to the Spaniards to visit his capital and enjoy the pleasures of his board, which was accepted by a company of twelve; but Columbus was at this time suffering so severely from gout that he could not accompany them. The Spaniards returned on the same evening with enthusiastic reports of the richness of the country and the abundance of the feast that had been set before them, besides collections of pearls, many implements of brass, also ornaments of the same, and not a few trinkets of gold. The manner of their reception was more refined, too, than any hitherto witnessed among the West Indian people. Nor was their visit entirely without profit, for they found the Indians glad to exchange their pearls and necklaces for such gewgaws as the Spanish visitors chose to offer. They also brought back to the Admiral, as presents, from the cacique, many pearls of very great size and fine quality, which Columbus treasured with sacred pride with the intention of presenting them to her Majesty the Queen.

The country was indeed so picturesque, productive and healthful that Columbus was for a while persuaded that he had discovered here the site of the terrestrial paradise, which legend had described as being in some inaccessible part of the earth, around which the air was freighted with most delicious perfumes and out of which four great rivers that watered the banks of Eden poured down their sweetened tribute to the sea. Indeed, several subsequent letters written by Columbus confirmed the impression which the rare sights that he beheld in this favored region excited in him. He could not but believe, up to the time of his death, that he

had been thus permitted to approach as near to the Eden out of which sprang the mother and father of mankind as Moses had gained in his march towards the land of promise.

Having sailed around the Gulf of Paria and finding himself hemmed in on the western circle, he made his way northward through the Mouth of the Dragon, but not until he had first explored it by a boat and determined the depth of the channel. It was through this passage, as the reader may well discover from its position, that the tremendous and ever accumulating floods of the Gulf of Paria must find a vent into the open sea. So from south to north through the Boca del Dragon the water poured like the broken rapids of a great river. Indeed it were not far from truth to call the Gulf of Paria the bulb of that wonderful Gulf Stream which sweeps up the eastern coast of North America, spreads broadening across the Atlantic, and washes with its potent volume of tropical waters not only the British Isles but all the adjacent coasts of Europe. Threatening as this outlet appeared to be Columbus was nevertheless resolved to attempt its passage. His provisions were now almost wasted, and there were other reasons prompting him to return to San Domingo as soon as possible. Trusting his vessels, therefore, to the current, they were swept out in safety, notwithstanding the fact that the wind was hushed at the most critical moment, preventing the pilot from giving the ships any direction. After gaining the open sea he discovered two other islands, to which he gave the names of Assumpcion and Concepcion, which are known in modern geography as Tobago and Grenada.

Not being willing to abandon the country without informing himself more fully as to its pearl productions, he turned to the west and proceeded as far as the islands of Marguerite and Cubaqua. Here, much to his gratification, he discovered the pearl fisheries and saw a boat-load of

natives engaged in rifling the pearl oysters of their treasures. Making a stop here he opened communication with the Indians, and perceiving a woman around whose neck was a chain of unusually large and lustrous pearls, he induced her to come on board his ship and exchange her possessions for pieces of a colored porcelain plate which he broke up and distributed in barter for a large quantity of these precious products of the oyster. Three pounds of pearls rewarded him for this short stay among the natives, all of which he treasured for the benefit of Queen Isabella, and he was satisfied that had the time been at his disposal he might have gathered here a rich cargo of pearls. Several circumstances, however, conspired to compel a resumption of the voyage. His ships were again in need of repairs; there was danger that the remainder of the stock of provisions intended for the colonists would become worthless if the voyage were prolonged; anxiety to learn the condition of affairs in Hispaniola; and above all the condition of his health, demanded of Columbus that he should as soon as possible reach the colony and recruit from his exhaustion. His gout, too, was a constant torture, and he had suffered for weeks from an inflammation of the eyes that had almost destroyed his sight. In fact, so generally helpless had he become through these afflictions that he was incapacitated from duty, and turned over the charts, compass and sextant to other observers into whose hands he had to intrust the command of the vessels.

Columbus had intended to sail direct to Ozema, the point where he had ordered a colony planted for the development of the gold mines of Hayna. But after a five days' sail he reached the southern shore of San Domingo at a point one hundred and fifty miles west of his reckoning, which was due to the westward sweep of the Gulf Stream, which he had not noticed and therefore had not estimated

its influence. The point of San Domingo where the squadron came to anchor was the Island of Beata, from which point the Admiral sent a messenger on shore with a letter for Don Bartholomew, whom he expected to find on the west coast of the island. It was believed that the courier could reach the mines of Hayna before a squadron could make its way to that part of the island, an opinion which proved to be correct; for after struggling eastward for some days along the shore a Spanish caravel came in sight bearing Don Bartholomew and others, who on receipt of the message had sailed to meet Columbus. The ship of the Adelantado returned with the Admiral's squadron to Ozema, where they arrived on the 20th of August, 1498, three months to a day from the time he set sail from San Lucar. It was well for Columbus that the protracted voyage was at an end; for the combined effects of old age (he was now about sixty-five years old), severe maladies and long exhaustion were upon him, and his condition was well calculated to excite the commiseration even of his enemies.

CHAPTER XVI.

DURING the two and a half years in which Columbus had been absent from Hispaniola many startling incidents had occurred on that island, in which the colonists had acted both whimsical and tragic parts. A company combining so many heterogeneous characters: the dissimilar qualities of pietist and criminal, the warring instincts of the cavalier and the peon, the adventuring sensualist and the avaricious hireling of cowardly men, could hardly give other expectation than explosive and adventitious results in opposition to the animating objects for which as a body they ostensibly contended. Some of these it is necessary should now be briefly noticed in order that the reader may be familiar with the new conditions with which Columbus had to contend upon his return.

From Don Bartholomew the Admiral learned the course of events which had transpired during his extended absence. Trouble, as might have been anticipated, had hovered over the island like a cloud. Bartholomew had conformed in all good will to the wishes and directions of his brother, but the work had been attended with turmoil and distraction at every step. But in pursuance of his instructions, the Adelantado had set out with a considerable force in the spring of 1496 to establish a fortress and colony at the gold mines of Hayna, leaving Don Diego Columbus in charge of the home government during his absence.

On reaching the gold region Bartholomew selected a suitable location and began the building of a fort, to which he

gave the name of San Christobel, which was presently renamed by the Spaniards the Fortress of the Golden Tower. For three months he prosecuted the work of establishing this new settlement, though attended with many difficulties, chief of which was the scarcity of supplies, which the Indians no longer furnished with a liberal hand at the mere bidding of the Spaniards. The hard lesson had been forced upon the natives that their visitors were controlled by avarice, cupidity and cruelty, and they, therefore, became wary of dealing and communicating with men whom they had come to dread as evil spirits. The result was that provisions were only obtainable by purchase or through the exertions of foraging parties, and neither of these means could be depended upon to furnish such supplies as were urgently needed. The pressure of want, which at length approached near to a famine, compelled the Adelantado to leave ten men to hold the fortress of San Christobel while he departed with the main body of his colonists (about four hundred) to Vega Real, where he reckoned on procuring an abundance of provisions from the well-supplied towns of Guarionex.

Don Bartholomew had another mission also in this part of the country. One clause of the orders received from the Admiral urged a prompt collection of the tribute which had been imposed upon the natives. Three months had now elapsed since the last payment was made, and another was due. Cibao and the Vega Real were the best fields for this harvest, and its exaction called for the presence of the Adelantado. In this service Don Bartholomew continued through the whole month of June, during which time he succeeded in gathering a goodly quantity of food through the assistance of Guarionex and his subordinate caciques.

In the following month (July) the three caravels which had been dispatched from Spain under the command of

Niño arrived, bringing a reinforcement of men and a large supply of provisions. But a considerable part of the latter had become spoiled during the voyage, a misfortune particularly serious in a community where the least pressure of scarcity produced murmur and sedition. It was by this ship that the Adelantado had received letters from the Admiral, directing him to found a fortress at the mouth of the Ozema River, and further requesting him to send to Spain as slaves such caciques and their subjects as had been concerned in the death of any of the colonists. On the return of the caravels, the Adelantado dispatched three hundred Indian prisoners and three caciques under these instructions, which had formed the ill-starred cargoes about which Niño had made such absurd vaunting as though his ships were laden with gold, and which had caused such mortification, disappointment and delay to Columbus.

Having obtained a considerable supply of provisions Don Bartholomew returned to the fortress of San Christobel, and then to the Ozema to choose a site for the proposed seaport. The mouth of the river afforded secure and ample harborage, while the river ran through a beautiful and fertile country, where, it was said, fruits and flowers might be plucked from overhanging trees, while sailing on the stream. This vicinity was also the dwelling-place of the female cacique who had conceived an affection for the young Spaniard, Miguel Diaz, who had enticed his countrymen to that part of the island.

At the mouth of the river and on a commanding bank Don Bartholomew erected a fortress which was first called Isabella, but the name was afterwards changed to San Domingo, and was the origin of the city which still bears that name. Having made his fortress secure, the Adelantado left it in charge of twenty men, and with the rest of his force set out on an expedition to the country of

Behechio, who was one of the principle caciques of the island. His province, known as Xaragua, comprised a greater part of the coast on the west end of the island, and was the most populous as well as most fertile district, also possessed of the most healthful climate in all Hispaniola. The manners of the people were hospitable and graceful, and being remote from all the fortresses they had had no close communication with the Spaniards, and had consequently remained free from the incursions of the white subjugators. With this cacique resided his sister, Anacaona, the widow of Caonabo, who, it will be remembered, so miserably perished on the ship during the return voyage of Columbus to Spain. She had taken refuge with her brother after the capture of her husband, and was most affectionately regarded by him. Her name in the Indian language signified "The Golden Flower," a title which well became her, since she is reputed to have been one of the most beautiful of women and possessed of a genius far in advance of that credited to her race. She was also of a poetic nature, and to her is ascribed the composition of many legendary ballads which the natives chanted at their national festivals. And though she had felt the heavy arm of the cruel and rapacious Spaniards her nature was so mild that she entertained no hostility towards the white men, rather regarding them with admiration for what she believed was their superhuman power and intelligence. Perceiving the futility of resisting the superiority of the invaders, she counseled Behechio to conciliate and foster the friendship of the Spaniards, and it was this influence which probably induced the Adelantado to undertake his present expedition.

Don Bartholomew, however, did not neglect to employ the greatest precaution in his march to the dominion of Xaragua, and he used such imposing measures as had been found useful on former occasions. His cavalry he sent in

advance, realizing the terror which a sight of horses inspired among the natives. These were followed by the foot soldiers, who advanced in martial array to the sound of the drum and trumpet. After several days' march the Adelantado met the cacique Behechio, who had moved out of his capital with a great army armed with bows, arrows and lances, probably intending to offer opposition to an invasion of his domain ; though if so, he lost his resolution before the formidable appearance of the Spaniards. First ordering his subjects to lay aside their weapons, he advanced and accosted Don Bartholomew in the most amicable manner, and assigned as his excuse for his appearing in such force his purpose to subjugate certain villages along the river. The Adelantado was equally reassuring of his peaceful intentions, and a friendship having been cemented by mutual protestations, the cacique dismissed his army and sent forward messengers to announce the approach of the Spaniards and to make preparations for their suitable reception. In this wise the two armies marched together until they came at length to a large town beautifully situated near the coast, at a bay called the Bight of Leogan. Many accounts had been given the Spaniards of the extraordinary salubrity and softness of the climate of Xaragua, in one part of which was placed the Elysian fields of Indian tradition. They had also heard from natives who had traveled in all parts of the island of the incomparable beauty and urbanity of the inhabitants, which had inclined them to favorable prepossessions that they were now to see confirmed in a most lavish hospitality. Knowledge of the approaching army having been heralded, thirty females, wives and daughters of Behechio, sallied forth, singing their weird ballads and waving palm branches in consonance with the dreamy but rhythmic motions of their dancing. The married and unmarried were distinguishable by the garments

which they wore, the former being designated by aprons of embroidered cotton which extended from the shoulder to the knee, while the young women had no other covering than a fillet around the forehead and their thick and lustrous hair which fell in waves from their shoulders, and in many cases extended below the waist. Their forms might well be called Hebeic, while their motions were sylph-like, their skin extremely delicate and their complexions a clear amber brown.

Peter Martyr declares that the Spaniards, when they beheld these beautiful women issuing forth from the green woods, almost imagined that they beheld the fabled dryads and native nymphs and fairies of the fields sung by the ancient poets—a delusion which might well be excused when we consider the Edenic surroundings, which were calculated to inspire the most practical and prosaic with poetic imaginations. As the women advanced they knelt before Don Bartholomew and then gracefully presented to him the green palms which they carried. They then divided, half on either side, to give place to Anacaona, who was now brought forward on a light litter or palanquin borne by six Indians, where she gracefully reposed until conducted into the presence of the Adelantado, when she advanced and gracefully saluted him. She had on no other garment than an apron of various colors, made of cotton, but around her head she wore a garland of red and white flowers, while a wreath of fragrant and flaming blossoms bedecked her neck and arms. Her charm of manners was only equaled by the grace of her person, both of which were well calculated to infatuate even a less impressionable cavalier than Don Bartholomew. The gallant governor accepted her salutation by kneeling in the most deferential manner and by taking her hand as a sign of his admiration and unalterable friendship. The ceremonies of reception having been con-

cluded, the Spaniards were conducted to the house of Behechio, where an elegant banquet was served, consisting of a variety of sea and river fish, utias, a species of rodent resembling a rat, and a variety of fine fruits and roots, which were served in a manner that imparted delightful flavor to the meats. Another dish with which the Spaniards were thus for the first time made acquainted was the flesh of the iguana, a reptile most repugnant in appearance, but which is regarded as a special delicacy among the Indians, who highly esteem it to this day. The Adelantado was the first of the Spaniards to taste of this strange animal food. His stomach being well fortified by a fast of nearly twenty-four hours' duration, he found it to be highly palatable, and this opinion directly brought it into high repute among all the Spaniards.

At the conclusion of the banquet the Spaniards were disposed among the several dwelling-houses of the inferior caciques, while six of the principal officers were lodged in the palace of Behechio. Here they were entertained for two days in the most hospitable manner, and during this time games and festivities were introduced for their entertainment. Among the amusements was a sham battle which, however, proved serious in its results, though this appears to have been the usual termination. A considerable body of Indians armed with bows and arrows was divided into two squadrons, and marching double-quick into the public square a skirmish began, which, though somewhat tame in the beginning, directly became so exciting that the contestants fought with such earnestness that four were killed outright while twice as many more were seriously wounded. This fatal consequence did not appear to abate but rather added to the interest and pleasure of the spectators, and the battle would have continued longer had not the Adelantado opposed his objections to such

bloody sport and begged the cacique to terminate the exhibition.

At the conclusion of the two days' visit Don Bartholomew thought it proper to communicate to the cacique and Anacaona the real object of his visit. He began by acquainting them with the orders which he had received from his brother, which were to collect the tribute which had been imposed upon the tributary caciques of the island, for which purpose he had visited Behechio, under the protection of the Spanish sovereigns, to arrange a tribute to be paid by him in the manner most convenient and satisfactory.

Behechio was somewhat embarrassed by this demand, not so much by the terms in which the request was conveyed as the anticipations aroused by the sufferings which had been inflicted through the avidity of the Spaniards for gold upon the other caciques of the island. He, therefore, replied that he knew that gold was the object for which the Spaniards had visited his island and that many of the caciques had paid their tribute in that precious metal; but that, unfortunately for him, the value of his territory lay in its fertility rather than its products of gold, that his people had at no time followed mining, and that he doubted very much whether gold was discoverable in any part of his domain. To this, however, Don Bartholomew replied by affecting the most amiable manners and assuring the chief that he had no intention of imposing a burden beyond his ability to discharge; that while his sovereigns were pleased with tributes of gold, they were no less thankful for other products, and that they would esteem with equal favor tributes paid in cotton, hemp, cassava bread, or such other products as the country afforded. To this request the cacique gave a cheerful compliance and immediately issued orders to his subordinates commanding them to have the fields planted with cotton abundantly and thus prepare

themselves to pay the necessary tribute in that staple. Thus by pacific measures and assurances Don Bartholomew had been able to accomplish that which others with a less generous mind were able to perform only through violence and rapine. Behechio had gracefully complied with the requirements, and at the same time his friendship had been made secure, a procedure and result which had not characterized dealings between the Spaniards and natives in other provinces of the island.

Don Bartholomew had not been many weeks absent from Fort Isabella on his visit to Behechio, nevertheless when he returned a sorry condition of affairs confronted him. Many of the colonists had succumbed under climatic diseases, while a greater part were sick, and the lack of remedies or adequate medical treatment was emphasized by the insufficiency of food. The supplies brought out by Alonzo Niño had been consumed and no effort made to replenish them by cultivating the fields, which needed but the planting to bring forth in largest abundance. The Indians, unused to work and outraged by their oppressors, fled to the mountains, preferring to brave the hardships of the fastnesses than to remain in their luxurious valley subject to the inhumanities of the Spaniards. With famine staring them in the face and the miseries of disease afflicting them, the colonists turned their angry complainings against the Admiral, whom they charged with luxuriating at the Spanish palace, courting the Queen's favors with stories of Indian wealth and aggrandizing himself with tales of his exploitations, leaving them to miserably perish of hunger through his neglect. Nor did Bartholomew wholly escape their censures, for they reckoned him as culpable, chiefly because he was brother to Christopher and likewise a foreigner.

This was the condition in which the Adelantado upon his return found the colony planted with so much hope at

Isabella ; but instead of reprimanding or stopping to plead his defense he set resolutely to work to remedy the situation. First, he ordered the construction of two vessels which were to be used by the colony in sending its own messengers to Spain in case of necessity ; or, if urgency demanded, they might serve as a means of returning to Spain. Second, he caused all the sick and disabled to be removed to more salubrious districts in the interior, which served the double purpose of relieving the suffering, and at the same time dissipated the discouraging feeling which the appearance of the sick and dying had upon those not yet stricken down. Third, as a means of further promoting the security and comfort of the colony, Don Bartholomew conceived the enterprise of a general system of fortifications across the island. To this end five principal points were chosen, which were to constitute a chain of fortresses. Ninety miles from Isabella were laid the foundations of Fort La Esperanza ; twenty miles beyond that was placed Fort Santa Catalina ; twenty miles farther inland was Fort Magdalena, where Santiago now stands, and fifteen miles from this latter, in the valley of Vega Real, was located Fort Concepcion. By this provision safe means of travel by easy stages was provided between Isabella and the new town of San Domingo.

The wise policy of Don Bartholomew was productive of excellent results and was followed by immediate advantages ; but while thus guarding against one source of mischief by giving employment to the unemployed, and making his rule more secure against the power of the confederated caciques, a new and equally serious trouble arose which was attended with calamitous consequences. The immediate cause was due to the zeal of two priests, whose work was a reaction against the prelatie efforts of De Buyl. One of these friars was a hermit named Roman Pane, and

the other a Franciscan proselyter known as Juan Borgoñon, both of whom entered the villages of the Vega Real bearing tidings of new religious faith to the simple natives, who were little prepared to understand a religion professed by men who had outraged every sense of justice and repaid hospitality by brutal license. But the labors of these two priests were attended with some success, for a single family of sixteen persons accepted the new faith, and being baptized, the head of this family received the title of Juan Mateo.

The first fruits of their enterprise bore no promise of a prolific or even second crop, so the friars turned their attention to another field. They rightly reckoned that the most direct way to the hearts of the natives was through their chiefs; to gain the chieftain would be to gain the whole tribe; conversion might thus be undertaken after the manner which Charlemagne employed with the Saxons at the River Weser. Accordingly they directed all their efforts towards converting Guarionex, who, being a man of flexible mind, was directly impressed by the mystery of the new faith, and according to the measure of his intelligence he embraced the new doctrine and learned to repeat the Paternoster, the Ave Maria and the Credo.

The news that Guarionex had been converted to the religion of the Spaniards quickly spread through the province of Vega Real, but the result was not what had been anticipated. The natives, who could not forget their wrongs, immediately construed the act as a renunciation of their cacique's nationality, and the subordinate chiefs were loud in their denunciations of his recreancy. But even while this charge of infidelity was sweeping through the villages of Vega Real an incident occurred which in a moment aroused all the ferocity and vengefulness in Guarionex's nature, and transformed him into the bitterest foe of every-

thing that was Spanish. One of the officers at Fort Concepcion, which was scarcely four miles from the cacique's residence, contrived to ingratiate himself into the affections of Guarionex's favorite wife. The king was not long in discovering the guilty *liaison*, and his anger became at once as boundless as his wrongs, but helpless to avenge his disgrace he could only drive the priests from his presence and await his opportunity.

Seeing that their efforts in Vega Real must thereafter be attended with danger, the two friars went into a neighboring province, taking Jean Mateo with them as interpreter, and there renewed their attempts to proselytize the natives. Here they erected a rude chapel to serve as a meeting-house, and at the same time as a shelter for such new converts as they might be able to win. But scarcely was the chapel finished for service when some of Guarionex's subjects pulled it down, seized the images and emblems, which they buried in a neighboring field, and then returned and burned the ruins. This crime, in those days, called for a swift and awful retribution. Report of it was speedily made to Don Bartholomew at Isabella, who promptly ordered a judicial inquest to be made and the guilty punished by burning at the stake. Horrible to be related, several natives were adjudged guilty of the charge and suffered this inhuman punishment for their act.

Can we blame the Indians that this last shocking injustice, this barbarously cruel deed, nerved them to the desperate undertaking of destroying every hated Spaniard who had invaded and despoiled their peaceful homes? Guarionex, who was at once king and a principal sufferer, was besought to put himself at the head of a confederacy of all the tribes and lead them in one decisive attack on the foreigners. This proposition he gladly accepted, and it was arranged that the attack should be made on the next tribute day,

when it was the custom of the natives to gather in great numbers. But though the conspiracy was admirably conceived, there was one difficulty which the natives had neglected to provide against. In the multifarious relations which had now come to exist between the Spaniards and native islanders, it was impossible to prevent disclosure of the plan if generally known among the Indians themselves, for several of the Spaniards had native women for wives, while many others sustained the most intimate relations with them. These matrimonial unions were particularly dangerous to a plot like the one concocted, and we are not surprised, therefore, that before it could be put into execution the Spaniards were apprised of their danger. The information being obtained, it was conveyed to Don Bartholomew by secreting a letter, in a hollow cane which was carried by an Indian pretending to be dumb and foolish, and safely delivered. That officer, equal to any emergency, organized a large force which he dispatched to the Vega Real district, and quietly distributed his soldiers among the villages where the inferior caciques had their respective residences. This being accomplished without exciting any uneasiness, on a fixed night and hour the soldiers invaded these houses, and seizing fourteen of the caciques bore them away to Fort Concepcion. As the Adelantado had anticipated the Indians were terrified beyond expression by this abduction of their chiefs, and forgetting their revenge in this greater calamity they raised their voices in lamentations and beseechings pitiable to hear.

Don Bartholomew was present at the judicial inquest which followed, and by this examination he was made acquainted with all the causes and circumstances which led to the conspiracy. Feeling it imperative for the safety of the colony that an example should be made by a severe punishment of some of the leaders of the plot, he ordered the exe-

cution of two of the most vindictive chiefs, but magnanimously pardoned all the rest. Nor would his sense of justice permit the wrong that had been done to Guarionex to go unrevenged, and accordingly the Adelantado proceeded with stern measures against the Spaniard who had violated the sanctity of the cacique's home, but historians fail to mention the punishment that was inflicted. The clemency and justice of Don Bartholomew subdued the anger in Guarionex's heart, and that chief now earnestly exhorted his people to henceforth cultivate the friendship of the Spaniards, advice which was sincerely followed, and tranquillity was thus happily restored without further effusion of blood.

After this incident the Adelantado repaired to Xaragua with many of his soldiers, to receive the quarterly tribute which Behechio had notified him was ready for delivery. His reception on this second visit was equally as cordial as it was on the first, and the occasion was made one of much rejoicing. The natives gave an entertainment and great feast to their visitors, and were in turn amused by the Spaniards, who had brought up one of their ships to receive the tribute of cotton, which was sufficient to make a large cargo. The guns of the vessel were fired, to the great alarm of the natives, but they were reassured by acts of kindness extended by the Adelantado, who distributed presents among them and then had his soldiers execute maneuvers to manifest their skill in arms.

While Don Bartholomew was absent in Xaragua a rebellion was incited by a Spaniard named Francisco Roldan, whose ambition had inspired him with the belief that he might take advantage of the disaffection of the colonists, and by subverting the authority of the Adelantado and Don Diego raise himself to the gubernatorial dignity. In pursuance of this mad purpose he succeeded in winning to his aid

a considerable faction, and then detaching himself with forty well-armed followers from the main body, he boldly proclaimed his intention to launch the remaining vessel and depart from the country for other fields, or take up his quarters in another part of the island. To prevent this act Don Bartholomew, who had now returned to Isabella, assembled seventy of the soldiers who remained loyal to him and prepared to give the conspirator battle. His force being as yet too weak to hazard an engagement, Roldan drew off and entered upon a systematic effort to attach the caciques to his fortunes, by promising to free them from the exactions laid upon them by their oppressors. But in these efforts he did not succeed; whereupon he determined to proceed to Xaragua and there set up an independent government. Taking advantage of the Adelantado's absence from Isabella, he suddenly made a foray upon the place, broke open the magazine and supplied his followers with arms and ammunition therefrom. He then attempted to launch one of the vessels drawn upon the beach, but his efforts were in vain, and fearing some surprise if he remained longer at Isabella, he returned to the interior with the purpose of putting into execution some strategy whereby he might gain possession of the person of Don Bartholomew, who was at Fort Concepcion, afraid to oppose the rebel with the restless few who composed the garrison. In a day after leaving Isabella Roldan appeared before Fort Concepcion, and vaunting his loyalty to the Spanish sovereigns, used every artifice to corrupt the garrison, who for a while manifested a disposition to abandon their allegiance to the Adelantado. This, indeed, they would have no doubt done had not the sagacious governor met the inducements held out by Roldan with similar promises of reward for their fidelity.

But though he was unable to corrupt the garrison at

Concepcion, Roldan made headway by enlisting the cooperation of several chiefs, who supplied him generously with provisions and made the payments of tribute to him instead of to the lawful authority. In this contention the colony was brought to the verge of ruin, nor can we foresee how they would have escaped destruction had not the critical situation been relieved at this juncture by the arrival at the port of Isabella of two vessels dispatched under command of Pedro Fernandez Coronel with supplies, by order of the Queen, as already related. This happy event occurred on the 3d of February, 1498, and was the means not only of saving the colony from the disasters of rebellion, but Coronel brought, besides supplies and men, a commission confirming Don Bartholomew's title as governor, thus relieving him of whatever cloud that rested upon the title conferred by the Admiral.

Considering that the colony had already suffered all that it could well bear, Don Bartholomew, in his anxiety to reunite his men, sent Coronel with a pacific message to Roldan, requesting that he would submit to his authority, and promising pardon for all past offenses; but Roldan rejected these overtures, and feeling secure in his plans he sowed the seeds of intrigue among the caciques, and then departed for Xaragua to take up his residence in that sensual paradise which had been the objective point of all his promises.

The machinations of Roldan had been so well laid that Guarionex, who had been accounted as faithful to the authority of Don Bartholomew, organized a conspiracy for the capture of Fort Concepcion, being instigated thereto by Roldan's agreements to extend protection and relieve him from his vassalage to the usurping Spaniards. It was arranged to assault the fort on the night of a full moon, but by some mistake an impetuous chief with a small following

began the attack on the night preceding the appointed time, and they were easily repulsed by soldiers quartered in the village, while the garrison were thus timely put upon their guard. The chief who had thus unluckily anticipated the plans of the confederated caciques fled to Guarionex for protection, but that king was so incensed at his hasty conduct that he struck him dead upon the spot. Don Bartholomew now saw the futility of temporizing any longer with the conspirators, and having a strong force under his command, he set out first in pursuit of Guarionex, who, taking warning by the fate that had overtaken other chiefs who had opposed the Spaniards, fled with his family to the mountains of Ciguay, and there sought the aid of a cacique named Mayobanex, who lived at Cape Cabron, thirty miles from Isabella. This chief would not withhold his friendship in the hour of greatest need, and therefore not only gave Guarionex and his handful of followers an asylum but promised to protect them to the last extremity.

By forming a junction with Mayobanex, who had a considerable force of hardy native soldiers, Guarionex was able to vex the Spaniards by cutting off straggling parties and destroying villages; annoyances which Don Bartholomew resolved to prevent by sending a company of one hundred and fifty men into the mountain fastnesses to punish the guerillas. His advance was noted by Indian spies, and a big native army was gathered that hung upon his flank, but was concealed by intervening hills and dense vegetation until the time to strike was at hand. This opportunity was presented when the Spaniards began fording a stream of swift running water, and when everything indicated that they were least expecting an attack. In a moment six thousand hideously painted savages rushed out from their ambush and let fly a shower of arrows and lances, which wounded several of the Spaniards notwithstanding their

armor. But the Indians were too timid to follow up their advantage, and retreated at the first fire of the enemy. The Spaniards pushed on up the valley towards Cabron, halting from time to time to repel the sorties of the Indians, who would rush down within arrow range and discharging a volley would retire precipitately to their fastnesses, seldom doing any great mischief, however.

At length the Adelantado approached within less than a mile of Cabron, where he halted and sent forward a messenger to Mayobanex, demanding of him the surrender of Guarionex, promising him pardon and friendship if the demand was complied with, but threatening a direful vengeance if it was refused. With Spartan-like courage and a fidelity which may even amaze the civilized world, Mayobanex returned this reply: "Tell the Spaniards that they are bad men, cruel and tyrannical; usurpers of the territories of others and shedders of innocent blood; I do not desire 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; I will keep my word."

Don Bartholomew could be stern when occasion appeared to him to justify vigorous measures, and seeing that further parley meant defeat of his purposes, he ordered the village to be set on fire, and then threatened Mayobanex with a still more terrible vengeance if he remained obstinate in his refusal to surrender to him the rebellious Guarionex. His subjects, alarmed, besought him to comply with this demand, as the safety of their homes depended upon it; but however strong the pressure, his friendship for the unhappy chief was still stronger, and he vowed to defend his guest to the last, even though it should cost him his kingdom and his life.

The torch of the Spaniards was now applied to all the

Etching by Russell.

MARTYRDOM FOR OPINION'S SAKE.

The earliest settlers of America sought these shores for an asylum against religious persecution, and it is interesting to note that at the time Columbus discovered the New World, that was to become a land of freedom, a nation founded upon the principle of perfect religious liberty, and of universal suffrage and sovereignty, the country whence they came was persecuting with the fires of torture to compel confession and adherence to a prescribed faith. Surely, we have traveled since then, and God's blessing have attended us as a nation.



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villages, while soldiers were sent to hunt down the two fraternal chiefs and their subjects. Abandoning the smoking ruins of their homes, the caciques and their followers fled to the mountains, where they were remorselessly pursued, until at last two Ciguayans were captured, and under threats of death were forced to pilot the Spaniards to a cave in which Mayobanex had taken refuge. The unhappy chief was taken by surprise, together with his family and a sister who had left her husband in a neighboring province to share the fortunes of her miserable brother. Her captivity was soon reported to her husband, who, loving her tenderly, visited the Adelantado and with prayerful entreaties besought him to release her, offering his allegiance and that of his subjects for her restoration. To these pleadings Don Bartholomew could not turn a deaf ear, for his compassion being aroused he restored her to her now overjoyed husband, an act which brought him a generous return in the fulfillment of all the promises of the cacique.

Soon after this Guarionex was driven from his retreat by the pangs of hunger, and was betrayed by some Ciguayans, who regarded him as the author of all their miseries. He was by this means captured by a party of lurking Spaniards and carried to Fort Concepcion. This being his third offense, Guarionex expected nothing less than an extreme penalty; but the Adelantado mercifully considered the causes which had led him into rebellion and again extended to him the fullest pardon, though he regarded it as prudent to detain both caciques for a time at Fort Concepcion as hostages to insure the fidelity of their subjects.

This was the condition of affairs in the colony, which had been restored to a degree of tranquillity, with Roldan a fugitive, when Columbus returned, after an absence of nearly thirty months, to resume command.

CHAPTER XVII.

EVIL flourishes where virtue would perish from inaction. Circumstances more frequently favor the wrong than they encourage the right, because the wicked passions of men beget in them a cunning to turn even the most beneficent conditions to their advantage, thus extracting the bane of mischief from the elixir of rectitude. These observations were strikingly verified by the fortune which assisted the traitorous acts of Roldan, since one circumstance after another occurred as if by some maleficent spirit's direction to promote his infamous designs.

When Columbus returned to Hispaniola his physical condition, which rendered him almost helpless, was not more deplorable than that of the colonists. Insurrection, rebellion and their attendant evils had left the Spaniards in a sorry and wretched plight, out of which they were not to be brought before greater suffering had been experienced. A heart less strong than Columbus' would have lost all hope and abandoned further effort to establish a permanent settlement in the new world of his discovery. In every fort and station there were famine and insubordination; the mines at Hayna were no longer productive; every industry languished; the Indian villages were in ruins, while the natives, driven to the last extremity by their oppressors, had abandoned their fields and escaped to the mountains; they were at peace now, but it was the peace that simulates death or hopelessness; more than all this, the flower of the Spanish troops were in rebellion, thus dividing the strength

of the colonists and leaving them a readier prey to the miseries that were at hand.

To a man almost blinded by ophthalmia and racked by the tortures of gout, as was Columbus, the picture was one of inexpressible sadness, but in such an emergency inaction meant destruction, so, enfeebled though he was by physical and mental afflictions, Columbus aroused all his energies to bring order out of this chaos of misfortune. His first duty was to ratify the acts of his brother Don Bartholomew, and then to inform himself fully respecting the rebellion of Roldan, and adopt measures, if possible, to punish the traitor; but this, alas! he was not destined to accomplish.

Carrying out his original intentions Roldan had taken up his residence in the province of Xaragua, where, not knowing his defection, Behechio received him with the same hospitality he had shown towards the Adelantado. In this delightful retreat Roldan and his followers indulged their idle and sensual appetites, free from all restraints, accounting themselves as the most fortunate of mortals, since Behechio supplied all their wants.

Within a week after Columbus had returned to Hispaniola some of Roldan's subjects, while walking along the beach, descried three vessels making towards the shore, which gave them some alarm at first, anticipating that it might be a part of the fleet of Columbus laden not only with supplies, but with men who might be sent to give them the punishment they merited. But Roldan was not so easily frightened, for with his resource of strategy he esteemed himself equal to any emergency.

The three vessels proved to be those which Columbus had sent forward with supplies from the Canary Islands and which had been detained long beyond their time by heavy gales and contrary winds. Fortune had strangely directed them to the coast of Xaragua, as if fate was in league with

evil to oppose the plans of Columbus. When they came to anchor off shore Roldan put out in a boat to welcome the Spaniards to the New World. A fellow of excellent address, he soon convinced the captains of the fleet of his trustworthiness and that he was in authority in that part of the island. Therefore, by representing his needs he procured from the officers swords, crossbows, lances and a variety of military stores, at the same time craftily distributing many of his men among the vessels' crews to wean them from their allegiance to Columbus and to induce them to accept the free and delightful life which he had to offer them in Xaragua. When we consider that nearly all the men who had shipped on the vessels were criminals, and therefore possessed of the basest instincts, we cannot wonder that the flattering proposals made by Roldan's men readily influenced them to desert and join the rebels.

For three days Roldan entertained the crews before Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, commodore of the fleet, discovered his real designs, at which time the mischief was consummated, for the rebel had received his supplies and had planted the seeds that were to bring him a great harvest. Contrary winds had also served Roldan beneficently, for the ships being unable to beat up the coast Carvajal was persuaded to send a large number of the people on board overland to the settlement at Isabella. In pursuance of this intent Juan Antonio Colombo landed with forty well-armed men, who, however, no sooner gained the shore than thirty-two of them went off and joined the rebels, nor would they listen to any overtures from Colombo to return to duty.

Unable to accomplish anything on shore, Colombo returned to the ships and contrived, after great danger and delay, to bring the vessels to Isabella, though not until one was badly injured by running on to a bar, and a larger part of the provisions was spoiled.

The next six months were spent in a fruitless effort by Columbus and his associates to conciliate Roldan and induce him to renew his allegiance to the lawful authority. But having tasted the sweets of gratified ambition he was unwilling to surrender any of his advantages, unless it were done in the acquirement of greater ones. His power had become superior to that of Columbus himself, and in the success of his rebellion he maintained that the Admiral should practice that condescension which he had himself required.

In the meantime, while these negotiations were being carried on there were other things to worry and vex the already anguished spirits of the Admiral. He had prepared a lengthy report of all his explorations and discoveries in the Gulf of Paria, not omitting to send to his sovereigns a gilded representation of the vast wealth which might be acquired by collecting pearls which were to be found in the greatest abundance and finest variety on the coast of South America. But this report he did not conclude without describing the insurrection of Roldan and depicting the deplorable condition of affairs which had been precipitated through the rebellion of that ambitious man and an uprising of the natives. It was particularly unfortunate for Columbus that it was necessary he should make such a report, because his attack on the hireling of Fonseca at the time of his departure had materially prejudiced him in the estimation of the sovereigns, while the repeated complaints and revolts served as a further proof to them of the charge that he was often actuated to imprudent acts by an uncontrollable temper. In consequence of this feeling the reply which he received from Ferdinand and Isabella was couched in most formal language, plainly intimating their waning confidence in his judgment and stability.

Roldan had been induced, through the good offices of

Carvajal, to hold an interview with Columbus, at which such concessions were made by the Admiral that the rebellious officer had agreed to take passage with his disaffected followers for Spain. To accomplish this three caravels were made ready, after considerable delay, in which the rebels embarked. But they had scarcely gotten out of the harbor of Isabella before a storm arose which drove them violently on the shore and compelled them for the time being to abandon the purpose and return home. This unfortunate accident seemed to prove that the elements were opposing the designs of Columbus, since his hope of ridding himself of the rebellious element of the colony was thus suddenly destroyed; as upon regaining Isabella Roldan reconsidered his determination to return to Spain and renewed his demands for greater concessions, to which, notwithstanding their injustice, Columbus was compelled to yield. As a price of peace Roldan received a title to a considerable tract of land in the immediate district of Isabella and another in the valley of the Vega Real, and was likewise appointed, under the pressure of his insistence, *alcalde of el Esperanza*.

Upon receipt of the reports and letters of Columbus the Spanish sovereigns, influenced by the representations of Fonseca, who lost no opportunity to impair the authority of Columbus, permitted the fitting out of four caravels under Alonzo de Ojeda, who had formerly been under great obligations to the Admiral but was now a creature of the Spanish secretary. In violation of the exclusive prerogatives which had been granted to Columbus, Ojeda sailed under the sovereign permit to the Gulf of Pearls, with the ostensible purpose of verifying the discoveries reported by Columbus, but really intending to profit thereby if he should find his statements to be true regarding the great quantity of pearls which he located there. While Ojeda failed to

procure any considerable quantity of the pearls, he did succeed in gathering some gold and a large number of slaves, with which he returned to Spain; after which successful voyage, emboldened by the protection of Fonseca, he set sail for San Domingo with the purpose of hurrying the downfall of Columbus by seizing his power and person.

Ojeda appeared off the coast of Hispaniola at a time when the affairs of the colony were in a most abject state, and putting into the port of Yaquimo, a few miles from Isabella, he began to industriously circulate reports among such of the colonists as he could find to lend a willing ear to his pretenses that Columbus was no longer in favor at court, and that the Queen was then in declining health beyond the hope of recovery, so that henceforth Fonseca, his patron, was practically the true authority controlling in the Indies. The old companions of Roldan applauded this proceeding and a large number joined him, thus complicating the situation more than it had ever been before. In the face of all these intrigues and evil instigations, having their origin apparently near the Spanish Court, the courage of Columbus, which had until then been undaunted, suddenly failed him. He foresaw that the purpose of his enemies was to remove him by assassination if necessary, and the instinct of self-preservation impelled him for the moment to escape with his brothers in a caravel from the rage of those who designed his destruction.

But in this darkest hour of his dejection his star of hope suddenly shone through a rift in the cloud of his despair, caused by a report which was brought him that a rivalry had sprung up between Roldan and Ojeda, the outcome of which could not fail to prove of advantage to the cause of justice; for it is a trite and ancient saying that, "When thieves fall out, honest men have their dues." Roldan, perceiving that his power was rapidly diminishing by the aliena-

tion of his followers through the intrigues of Ojeda, determined to unreservedly sustain in the future the authority of the Admiral, whence his power of alcalde or chief-justice was derived. So employing all his audacity and cunning as well as physical force, after a series of curious incidents he finally compelled Ojeda to take to his ships and put to sea.

At this time another event occurred which in the end proved of service to the colonists and assisted greatly in the restoration of the power which Columbus had lost. One of Roldan's chiefs living in Xaragua, becoming infatuated with the daughter of Queen Anacaona, desired to marry her and applied to the Church to legitimate the union. Roldan, however, appears also to have been enamored of the beautiful princess, and took steps towards preventing the marriage, which so inflamed the young officer that he hatched a plot against the life of the chief-justice. Accordingly he fomented a rebellion, and surrounding himself with a few bold spirits who had given a solemn vow to perform his orders, he formulated the desperate plan of seizing Roldan and putting out his eyes. The plot was fortunately discovered in time to avert the crime, and some of the conspirators being taken and adjudged guilty of the charge, they were arrested and carried to San Domingo. As Roldan was himself the chief-justice, within an hour after the time they were brought before him, he had pronounced their condemnation according to the degrees of their culpability. The leader, Adrien de Moxica, was condemned to death, while his accomplices were either banished or imprisoned. The execution of Moxica was to take place from the top of the fortress, but at the moment when the executioner was prepared to do his duty the condemned man repulsed his confessor, at which Roldan ordered the wretch to be thrown from the top of the battlements into the moat. But others of the conspirators had escaped, and

these Columbus on the one hand and Roldan on the other pursued with vigor, taking with them a priest in order that those made prisoners might have the benefit of a confessor, for in each instance they were destroyed upon the spot where they were captured. These heroic measures not only ended the conspiracy but put an end to the rebellion which had been fomented by Guevara, the aspirant for the hand of the young princess. At the same time, by conceding to the demands made by Roldan, Columbus had re-established himself at the head of the colony, and was taking new courage, when report reached him of the machinations of his enemies at the Court of Spain, who had not yet abandoned their intent of depriving him of his power and bringing him to judgment on the charges which had been preferred, as previously described. The intent of these enemies, however, had been carefully veiled up to the time of putting their designs into execution, so that Columbus, while learning that some evil was hatching, had no intimation of the real measures concerted against him.

The result of these machinations was that the sovereigns, through the advice of Fonseca, sent a Commissary to Hispaniola in the person of Francisco de Bobadilla, a man high in the esteem of Fonseca and who likewise enjoyed the confidence of the court. On the 23d of August, 1500, while Columbus was engaged in enlarging the fortress of Concepcion, two caravels made their way through the mouth of the Ozema River. Don Diego Columbus, thinking that the caravels brought the eldest son of the Admiral, he having written him to come, dispatched a boat to inquire if he was on board. The reply brought back was that the vessels had come bringing a Commissary of the sovereigns to judge the Roldan rebels and that young Diego had not embarked. Most unfortunately for Columbus, as the vessels put into port Bobadilla, who was a hasty, harsh and vindictive man,

and withal a blind tool who had been well posted by the malignant Fonseca, saw two gibbets on the beach, from which were suspended two bodies that had been executed the day previous. This sight in his mind justified the charges of cruelty brought against the Admiral, and he was thus the better prepared to give his judgment in opposition to the advice or even evidence which might be presented by Columbus.

Bobadilla and his suite disembarked and on the following day attended mass, where at the conclusion of the services he ordered his letters patent to be read, authorizing him to investigate the late troubles that had arisen in the island. Diego Columbus, who was present, replied that the viceroy, his brother, had titles superior to this commission and should be consulted in whatever action it was deemed advisable to take. But in the most imperious and insolent manner Bobadilla silenced Diego, and impertinently arrogated to himself rights far beyond what his letters credited him with, and his actions thereafter were those of a lawless and supercilious blackguard. He seized the fortress, took possession of the prisoners and declared his purpose of sending the viceroy and his brothers in chains to Spain. These high-handed outrages were reported to the Admiral by a messenger, upon receipt of which information he left Concepcion and proceeded to a village called Bonaio, from which place he wrote to Bobadilla, felicitating him on his arrival, but requested him not to take any more steps before he had carefully studied the situation. At the same time he assured the Commissary that he was willing to resign to him the reins of government and would cheerfully furnish him all the information that he might need to enable him to make a true inquiry concerning the rebellion and unhappy incidents that had so disturbed the island during the past year. To this communication Bobadilla returned

no answer, but continued his arrogant pretensions to the viceroyalty, to the subversion of all rightful authority over the people.

The impudent audacity of Bobadilla, who had acted the part of a pirate rather than an accredited officer of dignity, at length aroused the enmity not only of the friends of Columbus, but of some of the caciques who remained loyal in their allegiance to the Admiral, and fearing that some concerted movement would be made to resent his rude assumption of absoluteness, Bobadilla finally concluded to employ persuasive and gentler means in bringing Columbus to submit to his authority. Accordingly he commissioned a priest to proceed to Bonao and there inform the Admiral of his having fallen into disfavor with his sovereigns, and to show him the letters of credence under which he had come to Hispaniola to assume direction of the affairs on that island.

Having received these letters and a request to come to San Domingo, Columbus set out on horseback without servants and clothed in the costume of a Franciscan. But when he reached the city he was immediately arrested and incarcerated in the fortress, and that his humiliation might be the greater his feet were shackled with iron fetters. After perpetrating this outrage Bobadilla ordered Columbus to address a letter to his brother, Don Bartholomew, ordering him to relinquish his authority in Xaragua and come to San Domingo without his soldiers. Complying with this demand the Adelantado had scarcely arrived at the residence of the viceroyalty when he was likewise seized, with his brother Don Diego, and cast into prison—the three being isolated to prevent communication and all fettered alike. Insufficiently clothed and compelled to lie upon a cold stone pavement, Columbus suffered excruciating agony from rheumatism and twinges of gout which had not left him free from pain for a period of nearly two years. But he was uncomplaining, in the

hope and belief that his wrongs would be redressed when he should return to Castile and could present his case to the sovereigns.

Bobadilla, having now the three Columbus brothers secure in a dungeon, began to inquire into the charges which had been preferred by summoning to the inquest all the rebels, ringleaders, criminals and prisoners who had been punished by the Admiral, the Adelantado and Don Diego for their crimes. The result might have been readily foreseen. They were found guilty upon all the charges. The malignancy of Bobadilla did not, however, extend to the execution of his prisoners as Columbus had anticipated, but still shackled he sent them on board the caravel *Gorda* for transportation to Spain, with a lengthy report justifying their condemnation, and recommending them to the severest punishment. The care of Columbus and his brothers was committed to Alonzo de Vallejo, with Andreas Martin as master of the vessel, which departed early in October for the shores of Spain.

The spectacle of the discoverer of a new world, who had passed through ordeals which few men in this life are called upon to bear, whose acts had conferred upon the world the largest possible measure of benefits, was one so grievous to behold that the sympathies of Vallejo and Martin were aroused, and they volunteered to remove the chains which shackled the feet of the aged Admiral. But this alleviation of his injuries Columbus refused, as he did not wish to appear to contravene the orders given by the representative of his sovereigns, preferring to bear the pain and anguish of mind and body which his galling fetters produced rather than find relief through an infringement of the orders under which he was being transported.

In these afflictions Columbus was no doubt sustained by a feeling that he had been called upon to bear the revilings and the persecutions of those in authority, that his great mission

might thus become prominent in the world's estimation, a feeling which he betrayed in a letter which he wrote to a friend of the Queen, in which he appears to liken himself unto John and those of the prophets who had passed through the dark valley of persecution and thence upwards with the world's applause to the sublime heights of heavenly reward.

The voyage to Spain was blessed with such favorable winds that the passage was accomplished in five weeks, a much quicker trip than had ever before been made ; nor was it attended by any unpleasantness of rough sea or foul weather. So careful in his attention to the wants of Columbus had been the master of the *Gorda* that, excepting the inconvenience of his fetters, the Admiral had fared exceedingly well, and when the ship came to anchor in the Bay of Cadiz, on the 20th of November, Captain Martin dispatched a confidential messenger to Granada, where the sovereigns were then residing, with a letter from Columbus to the nurse or preceptress of the infant Don Juan, who was his particular friend and in the highest confidence of the Queen. This letter, which rehearsed all his difficulties and wrongs in San Domingo, was borne with such celerity that it reached its destination considerably in advance of the condemnation proceedings and reports of Bobadilla ; and as Columbus had anticipated, after reading the letter the nurse placed it in the hands of the Queen. The indignation and grief of Isabella was so great over the insufferable wrongs that had been put upon the viceroy that she sent a courier with all haste to her officer of marine in Cadiz, commanding him forthwith to release Columbus and his brothers. The sovereigns also joined in a letter to the Admiral, deploring the indignities that had been put upon him, and gave assurances that what he had suffered was through the unwarranted acts of a representative unfortunately chosen. But their reparation for the offenses of Bobadilla was not confined to mere expres-

sions of regard and mortification, for desiring to demonstrate their feeling by substantial tokens, they sent Columbus a purse of two thousand ducats (equivalent to more than eight thousand dollars at the present day) to remedy the destitution in which he had been placed, and accompanied the gift with an invitation to attend at court when his convenience would allow.

As soon as he was thus freed and restored to honor the Admiral prepared to accept the invitation of his sovereigns and visit them at Granada. By one of those remarkable reactions to which his mind was subject he chose to prepare himself in state for the journey. He purchased an elegant court dress and cloak in the style of the Spanish nobility, and set out with attendants suitable for a man of noble rank. He arrived at Granada on the 17th of December, 1500, and was received by the King and Queen in the hall of the Alhambra.

The scene was worthy of the poet's song and the painter's brush. The hair of the Admiral was now white as the almond blossom. His aspect was venerable in the highest degree; but the furrows of grief and care were deeply plowed in his aged face. The manner of the sovereigns, especially of the Queen, was as gracious, in fact more condescending than it had ever been before, for it is narrated that when Isabella saw him approach the tears coursed down her face and the woman could scarcely be restrained by the Queen. As for Columbus, his feelings quite overcame him and he sank down weeping, sobbing at the feet of her whose friendship for more than a decade of years had been his chief defense and hope in the day of extremity and despair.

A long and interesting interview was now held between the discoverer and their Majesties. Their bearing towards him and their words of cheer soon revived him from des-

pondency, and he entered with spirit and animation upon an account of the incidents and results of his third voyage, and upon a justification of his purposes and policy in the government of Hispaniola.

The reaction in his favor, which occurred all over Spain immediately the news of his arrival in chains had been spread, as well as his appearance and the wrongs he had suffered, predisposed the King and Queen so greatly in his favor that they refused to receive and read the report or protocol of Bobadilla. For a while they showered every possible attention upon him, and gave him a room in the palace, where he was permitted to exercise all the freedom and dignity of the most noble officers of the realm. Though Isabella was particularly anxious to make amends for the evil conduct of which he had been the chief sufferer through the unadvised appointment of Bobadilla, after the first few weeks of special favor Columbus found that opportunities were not yet open for him to prosecute to the end the enterprises which he still had in his mind.

It is more than probable that Ferdinand prejudiced the Queen more or less against her natural inclination to reconfirm him in the governorship of Hispaniola, of which he had been deprived by the usurpation of Bobadilla, for, when Columbus approached her with a request for the renewal of her patronage for a fourth expedition, she reminded him of some of the cruelties which he had inaugurated in direct opposition to her wishes, if not commands. She accused him of having subjected many of the natives to slavery, and of his insistence in continuing the slave traffic, which she had hoped to end by explicit commands; that in his treatment of the Indians of San Domingo he should at all times be actuated by a merciful disposition and regard for their temporal as well as their spiritual welfare. She took occasion also to remind him that many acts of apparent cruelty

had been committed of which, it appeared to her, rebellious feelings and overt acts had been the immediate outcome. For these several reasons she deemed it unadvisable to reinstate him at once in the governorship of Hispaniola, and begged that he would wait at least two years, until affairs had quieted down in that island under the administration of a new governor whom she had in her mind to temporarily appoint. But as an alleviation of this apparently harsh act the Queen assured him that she had no disposition to deprive him of any of the honors which he had won, or of the dignities which had already been conferred. He should, therefore, continue to hold the position of nominal governor of the island and viceroy of the high seas.

As for Bobadilla, there was no other thought on the part of the sovereigns than to depose him, if not to dismiss him in disgrace. Even if Ferdinand was willing to reap the benefit of the things that had been done, he was by no means willing to incur the odium of defending and upholding his agent. Bobadilla was, therefore, consigned to that ignominious place in the page of history where he presents a striking example of the impetuous, vainglorious and cruel autocrat of an hour.

The sovereigns decided to send out at once a royal viceroy with orders to supersede Bobadilla, and not only to restore order in the island, but to give attention and direction to the nascent industries of the colony, to the end that all might as soon as possible become regular and organized.

After due consideration, their Majesties chose for the important place of Governor of Hispaniola a Spanish nobleman and military commander of the Order of Alcantara, named Nicholas de Ovando, a man of excellent traits, but lacking in some essential qualities for a successful administration of affairs in the condition which Bobadilla had left them in the island. But when we consider that he was a

close friend of Fonseca, the appointment was not so bad as Columbus had reason to expect.

The fleet appointed to accompany Ovando was the largest which had yet sailed to the New World, consisting of thirty vessels, five of which were from ninety to one hundred and fifty tons burden, twenty-four caravels of from thirty to ninety, and one bark of twenty-five tons. The number of souls who embarked in this fleet was about twenty-five hundred, many of whom were persons of rank and distinguished families. There were also live stock, artillery, arms, munitions of all kinds, everything, in short, which was required for the supply of the island. The fleet put to sea on the 13th of February, 1502. In the early part of the voyage it encountered a terrible storm, in which one of the ships foundered with one hundred and twenty passengers, while the others were compelled to throw overboard everything that was on deck, and the whole fleet was completely scattered. The shores of Spain were strewn with articles from the fleet, and a rumor quickly spread that all the ships had perished. When this news reached the sovereigns they were so overcome with grief that they refused to see any one for a period of eight days. Fortunately the rumor proved to be incorrect, for but one ship was lost. The others assembled again at the island of Gomera in the Canaries and pursued their voyage, arriving at San Domingo on the 15th of April.

Being deprived of his command, and arrested in the exciting pursuit which he had begun ten years before, Columbus became depressed with melancholy reflections on the unjust treatment to which he had been subjected, not only by the appointment of the sovereigns, but by a two years' relegation to inaction, a time which was inexpressibly dreary to one who had been so long and actively engaged in adventurous enterprises.

But though disappointed in his hopes of immediate restoration to his government, he still had the visions and speculations in which his mind had been so richly productive since boyhood. It will be remembered that among the Admiral's dreams had been one relative to the recovery of Jerusalem from the Turks. This, indeed, had been a project of co-ordinate importance in his mind with the discovery of a westward route to the Indies. The vow which he had recorded to undertake the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher from the infidels within a period of seven years he had not been able to fulfill, and the hope of raising fifty thousand infantry and five thousand horse from his own means seemed further removed now than ever. Indeed, instead of being in a situation of power, wealth and influence sufficient for that great undertaking, he now found himself lodged at the Spanish Court, not wholly unembarrassed in resources, cordially disliked by the Spanish nobility, and dependent almost entirely upon the pledge of the Queen for his hopes of future aggrandizement. But while his condition was calculated to affect his ambitions, had there been any extraneous influences, his spirit was aroused to the grand results which might be obtained if he could induce the King and Queen to undertake a recovery of Jerusalem.

The Spanish Court was, as we have seen, sitting in Granada, that ancient and glorious stronghold of the Moors around and in which the arts and learning and religion of the Arabs had flourished for eight centuries. There was the old palace of the Moorish kings, the Alhambra of great fame, with its richly adorned halls and court of lions, from which the last of the Islamite kings had been driven only nine years before. The Admiral himself had witnessed that famous surrender in which the Crescent, after many centuries of splendid elevation, bowed to the Cross and the

followers of the Prophet were driven back into Africa and the East. What more natural than that the mind of Columbus should follow in the course of the retreating Moors ; that he should pursue them along the African coast to Egypt, to Acre, to the Holy City ? He gave himself up to his old-time speculation and devoted a large part of the nine months of his residence at Granada to the promotion of his scheme for the retaking of Jerusalem. But after this long fruitless effort with both the King and Queen to undertake a crusade, he found the uselessness of pressing further a scheme in which Ferdinand could not be prevailed upon to take any interest.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ALL his efforts to arouse the fiery religious zeal of the Spanish sovereigns availing him nothing towards the realization of his pious dreams, Columbus turned his ambition once more to further exploration in the waters of the Occident. He now conceived the idea that he had reached a northern and southern continent between which there must be a strait or passage, which if once gained would bring him to the land of Cathay, where he might secure the inestimable riches and reward which had been the prime motive of his first voyage. So well did he set forth his plans and schemes before the Queen that she approved of his design and signified her willingness to become his patron on a fourth expedition. With these assurances, notwithstanding his age, Columbus set about in the most vigorous spirit preparations for a fourth voyage. Before taking his leave of the Queen, however, he asked permission to take with him his second son, Don Fernando, now in his fourteenth year, who with his brother had been acting as page to the Queen for nearly two years. Having gained her consent to this request Fernando was commissioned as a naval officer, and the Admiral then proceeded to Seville to give the necessary orders for the fitting out of his proposed expedition. Columbus desired also the company of his two brothers, neither of whom, however, was disposed in the beginning to continue longer in a service which had brought them nothing but revilings and suffering. Don Bartholomew, however, was finally persuaded to sacrifice his inclinations to fraternal

love, and consented to embark with the Admiral. But Don Diego could not forget the crying injustice committed towards the viceroy and himself, and he accordingly resolved to quit the world and in future serve only the Church, acting upon which determination he embraced the ecclesiastical state, in which he continued to the end.

The fleet equipped for the fourth voyage consisted of four small vessels, ranging from fifty to seventy tons burden each, and the crews comprised one hundred and fifty men. All the preparations, while they were possibly adequate for the intended expedition, were modest to a degree and could but be in strongest contrast with the extraordinary magnificence and splendor of the fleet which had been prepared for Nicholas de Ovando. When Columbus asked that on the outward voyage he might be permitted to touch at Hispaniola, his request was refused on the pretense that the priests and the officials of the island were incensed against him and that his presence would only tend to intensify the difficulties against which Ovando had to contend.

The little fleet departed from Cadiz on the 11th of May, 1502, passed over to the coast of Morocco and anchored before Ercilla on the 13th, intending to offer some assistance to the Portuguese garrison, which it was learned was closely besieged by the Moors. But on his arrival there the Admiral learned that the siege had been raised, so after a short detention he continued on his way and arrived at the Canary Islands on the 20th, leaving there five days later for the New World. The trade winds were so favorable that the little squadron sped swiftly on its course without shifting a sail, arriving on the 13th of June at Martinano (probably the modern Martinique), one of the Caribbee Islands. Here the ships' supplies were renewed and the men permitted to revive their energies by a three days' sojourn on land. Then the voyage was continued to Domin-

ico and from that island to Santa Cruz, thence to Porto Rico and finally to San Domingo.

It will be remembered that Columbus had solicited the privilege of visiting the capital of his own island, but had been refused. A misfortune, however, had come upon the fleet which might well give the Admiral an excuse for departing from the letter of his instructions. The largest of his ships had proved to be so defective that she could no longer keep her place in the fleet without severe detention to the other vessels. Columbus deemed it expedient, therefore, to put in at San Domingo to exchange the bad ship for one of the vessels of Ovando's fleet, which he could so well spare. It thus happened that at the time when Ovando had completed the preliminaries of administration, when Bobadilla and many others had been put on board for the home-bound voyage, the fleet of Columbus on the 29th of June arrived at the harbor of San Domingo. At first the Admiral lay off and sent one of his captains to Ovando with polite messages and a request that an exchange of vessels might be made. But the governor would not accept the proposal, and even refused to grant Columbus the privilege of bringing his ships to shelter in the harbor. The Admiral had noted just at the time of his arrival the unmistakable signs of an approaching tempest, and he requested an opportunity to shelter his squadron until the coming hurricane should pass. To the less weather-wise, however, there were no such indications, and Ovando no doubt imagined that the request of Columbus was a pretext for opening communication with friends on shore. At all events the act of courtesy was withheld, and the discoverer of the New World was excluded from anchoring in the harbor of his own capital.

But this was by no means the end of the incident. The messengers whom Columbus had sent learned while on shore

of the intended departure of Ovando's squadron for Spain. Moved by a lofty spirit of humanity which well becomes so great a man, the Admiral, though refused permission to come to a place of safety, sent back his officers to solemnly warn Ovando of the approaching storm and to counsel him by all means to forbid the departure of the fleet until the danger had passed. This warning, however, was put aside as of no value, being disregarded by the pilots and mariners as it was by Ovando. In this false security the fleet of Ovando sailed away and reached the eastern extremity of the island; but, as Columbus had predicted, the fleet was now suddenly arrested by a fearful tempest which struck the vessels with such impetuosity that they were driven upon the rocks, and the shore was soon strewn with the wreckage. The ship on which Bobadilla, Roldan and many other of the insurgents had been placed for transportation to Spain, including the cacique Guarionex and other Indian prisoners, and in which gold and other treasures gathered during Bobadilla's administration were stored, was caught in the dreadful fury of the storm and torn to pieces as though it had been a toy. The vessel broke and rolled helplessly on the surge for a moment, then plunged head foremost with all on board into the great vortex of the sea and disappeared forever! A judgment very different from that which might have been rendered by Bishop Fonseca in the packed courts of Seville was thus suddenly passed upon the reckless and despotic adventurers whose misdeeds had affected so disastrously the fortunes of Columbus; and both the men and their crimes were swiftly buried in the endless oblivion of the angry sea.

The ruin of Ovando's squadron was complete. A single vessel, one of the smallest of all, which strangely enough had as a part of its cargo the revenues of Columbus, collected for him in Hispaniola by Alonzo de Cavajal, his

agent, escaped from the tornado and reached Spain in safety. It might well seem to the Spanish sovereigns that all discouragement and fate itself were against them in their attempt to take the West Indies for their own. To Columbus and his band the late events appeared as a signal interposition of Providence. His own ships escaped without extreme damage and were able to come together after the tempest and make their way in safety to Port Hermoso, on the south coast of the island, about twenty-five miles from San Domingo. Here Columbus refitted his vessels, and having taken on some additional stores, notwithstanding that the weather continued stormy, he renewed his voyage; but before proceeding many leagues the storm increased to such an extent that he was driven back to Port Jacquemel, where he remained until the 14th of July. Departing from this place, he skirted the coast of Jamaica and paid a brief visit to the Queen's Gardens, the small group of islands which he had discovered eight years before. Thence continuing his voyage in a southwesterly direction, he discovered an island so covered with lofty pines that he gave to it the name of *Isla de Pinos*, the Indian name of which was *Guanaja*, which it has since retained though sometimes called Bonacca. A short stay was made at this island, during which time Don Bartholomew went on shore and made some interesting discoveries among the people, whom he found hospitable though differing greatly in their ethnic peculiarities from other natives with whom he had come in contact. Among the interesting curiosities which he was permitted to see while visiting this island was a state barge formed from the trunk of a single tree, and yet fully eight feet in width and as much as seventy feet long. On this great canoe the cacique had a sort of cabin constructed and fitted up in the most luxurious manner, in which he spent a great part of his time. Columbus was pleased to find that

these people made a free use of the metals, though bone and wood were still largely employed in the manufacture of implements. Instead of the rude *celts*, or stone hatchets of the Bahamas and Antilles, these natives used copper for nearly all their weapons, and in fashioning these they displayed no little skill.

The pottery of the Guanajans had a fair claim to elegance, as did their textile fabrics, which were chiefly of cotton dyed with considerable skill. The products of the island were cocoa, the chocolate tree, Indian gum and the usual fruits found in tropical countries. But nowhere was Columbus able to find either gold or silver, so that he was permitted rather to gratify his curiosity than his avarice. These people tried to tell him of a country, great and powerful, lying somewhere west of their own; but communication with them was so difficult and their meaning so doubtful that the Admiral did not choose to make any effort to verify what they sought to reveal. Had he done so he must in less than a two days' sail have reached Yucatan, with its quaint and varied civilization, and afterwards, by necessary sequence, the gorgeous Mexico, where his dreams of oriental splendor might well seem to be realized in the silver-bright halls of the Montezumas.

Strangely enough, however, Columbus' whole attention was fixed on the finding of that strait which he confidently believed would lead him directly to the country where Genghis Khan was supposed to live in unexampled splendor and magnificence. It thus happened that the Admiral, confident of his ability to make his way through into the Indian Ocean, really cared little for the reports which the natives gave him respecting the wealth and opulence of the populous countries immediately to the west, but rather cared everything for the ocean currents to which he yielded himself in the confidence that they would bear him directly

to his goal. He accordingly passed by one of the grandest opportunities of his life. Yucatan and Mexico were not discovered. Those lands, rich in the wonders of an ancient civilization, inhabited by millions of people belonging to a strange and unknown race, were left to others, while the Admiral's destiny carried him as if by a deluding vision into the most trying episodes of his whole career.

Leaving Guanaja, after a short voyage Columbus reached the coast of Honduras, where a landing was effected and the sailors were permitted to rest for three days. The country was claimed with the usual formalities, and on the 17th of August the squadron proceeded eastward along the northern coast of Honduras, but was arrested by ocean tides and such fierce storms that several times shelter had to be sought in the harbors along the coast. Rains poured down in such torrents as the Spaniards had never before witnessed, while occasionally, for a space of twenty-four hours, thunder reverberated with a continuous crash that seemed to shake both ocean and sky; lightnings pierced the darkened horizon, and the general confusion and terror were so great that the hardy sailors, though long weather-beaten and well experienced in the hardships and perils of the deep, frequently gave up in despair, confessed themselves and made ready for what they momentarily expected would be the final summons. Columbus was himself at intervals apprehensive that the end was at hand, and his sorrows were aggravated by the thought that he had brought to this stormy world his most devoted brother and his second son probably to perish with him.

The storm having at length partially abated, Columbus was permitted to land from time to time at inviting harbors, where he came in contact with the natives and made many efforts to gain their confidence and a knowledge of their country. But in many cases they employed a language not

understood by the interpreters, and communication with them was, therefore, uncertain. The first natives that Columbus observed on the coast of Honduras were generally naked and tattooed on different parts of the body with figures of the deer and jaguar. But he found others who were clothed with cotton waistcoats and a few had cuirasses made of the untanned skins of animals. In other places along the coast the natives bedaubed their faces with ocher, so as to give them a horrible appearance, greatly intensified by painting white circles around the eyes. Many of these people lived on uncooked fish and preferred all their meats raw, on which account rather than from ocular evidence they were believed to be cannibals. Farther eastward another tribe of natives was found whose peculiarity was in their practice of boring the ears and distending the orifice thus made by the insertion of pieces of bones, so that Columbus named the district *Costa de la Oreja* (Coast of the Ear).

After departing from this latter region the vessels stood out to sea, but only to plunge into another storm of exceeding severity. To add to the distress of the crews continuous rains had rotted the sails until they were unable to withstand the wind, and were blown into tatters, while the caravels were so perforated by the teredo-worm that it required constant work at the pumps to keep them afloat. Exposure and want of sleep told severely on the strongest, and a majority of the men became incapacitated by sickness, while all were fairly helpless from terror. "I have seen many tempests," says Columbus, "but none so violent and of such long duration." Indeed from the time of leaving San Domingo his voyage had been a succession of storms, culminating in one of extraordinary fury. But after forty days of trials and dark forebodings they came in sight of a cape on the 14th of September, and doubling this point

they reached a protecting body of water and were able to make a landing near the mouth of a river and attend to the necessary repairs of the ships. In commemoration of this relief Columbus gave to the cape the name of *Gracias a Dios*, or Thanks to God. Their stay at this place was cut short by a sudden swelling of the river, which poured down so great a flood that the vessels were swept out to sea, but happily when the repairs were so far made that they were able to withstand this new danger.

Following the Mosquito shore along Darien, on the 25th they came to anchor opposite an Indian village called *Cariari*, where the prospect was delightful and the natives disposed to hospitality. But Columbus mistrusted the mysterious conduct of the Indians and became in turn the object of their distrust. A venerable old cacique brought two of his girls to Columbus as hostages for his pacific conduct, but even this offering did not fully restore confidence, for the young girls carried a magic powder with them which the Spaniards dreaded as much as the Indians held in terror the writing materials of their visitors. Being unable to establish mutual confidence, Columbus took his departure from *Cariari* and sailed along *Costa Rica*, the Rich Coast, landing at several places to communicate with the natives. He here found many evidences of abounding gold, but the signs of a strait being likewise conspicuous, he did not stop long enough to fully explore the country for that precious metal.

A voyage of several days towards the south failed to reveal the passage of which he was in search, and the weather becoming stormy again, Columbus was induced by the expostulations and urgings of his crews to turn back and visit the gold mines of *Veragua*, of which he had heard many wonderful reports. His next point was, therefore, *Puerto Bello*, where he tarried two days. But upon putting to sea

another fierce storm arose which prevented him from regaining the harbor and left him again at the mercy of dashing wave and lightning stroke. Instead of abating after the first day the storm increased in violence, and the vessels were so severely buffeted by the wild waves of a raging sea that their seams were opened and the horror of a desperate situation fell upon all on board. Columbus had been suffering such great agony from gout that these hardships, so long protracted, with only brief intervals of relief, rendered him unfit for duty. But he had a small cabin built for him on the fore-castle deck, through the windows of which he could see from his bed all that was transpiring about him. Here for eight days he watched with deepest anxiety the falling torrents of rain, the booming billows that pounded like battering rams against the little vessels, and the lightnings that shot like fiery serpents out of the sky and burst with thundering detonations around the ships.

Before these awful portents of frightful disaster the crews lost all hope of rescue, and set their thoughts on heaven as the harbor towards which their souls must now be directed. To add to the general terror, Father Alexandre, the Franciscan chaplain, succumbed to sufferings to which the storm had subjected him, and in his death the superstitious sailors saw a fresh proof of God's afflicting hand in determining their destruction. But the worst incident of this tragical and horrific tempest was yet to come, that well might frighten fear itself. On the 15th of December the Admiral was startled by shrieks rising above the storm din and beating surges as if all the agonies of hell had burst through some rent in the sea to convey to earth an idea of the pangs visited upon lost souls. In this most appalling omen—this despairing cry that broke as it were from hearts stung by the darts of death—Columbus forgot his own sufferings in the excitements of a new danger. He tottered to the door,

and sweeping the horizon with his feverish eyes discovered the cause of the sailors' consternation and affrightment. The four vessels had contrived to retain their positions, despite the fierce winds that assailed them, and in this relative proximity was now a danger of their engulfment together. Towards the north, less than a league away, the distressed watchers perceived the breaking waves gathering into one mountainous billow, growing higher and higher until its peak was whitened by a foaming cap of violent agitation. Immediately above this high-reaching watery summit black clouds that hung before the heavens like curtains of midnight began to boil and spread out their horrid hands to grapple and amass the inky vapor that broke only before the lightning's bolt. Gaining a circular motion, the clouds whirled faster and faster until directly the center began to fall lower and lower to meet the upswirling mountain of water, when quickly an embracement occurred, frightful to behold, and in a death waltz the whirling waterspout came rushing towards the ships. It was as if the clouds were sweeping up the sea with inexorable ravenings—a summoning of the waters of the earth before that great Power who had once before imprisoned the deep in the heavens to turn it back in a deluge and drown the world.

No human skill could avert the calamity that was threatening. Nothing but God's providence could restrain this Satanic maneuver. In an age so superstitious we are not surprised that in his extremity Columbus had recourse to exorcism to compel the demons of anger and calamity to yield their power, while he conjured the aid of blessed spirits to give him protection from the furies of the air. Taking six candles which had been consecrated by the Church, and wrapping about him the cord of St. Francis, he unsheathed his sword and, holding this aloft in his right hand, he held the book of the Gospels in his left, and facing the water-

spout, read the opening chapter of St. John. Having performed this holy service he spoke to the winds as if by the authority of Jesus Himself, commanding them to abate and the waterspout to dissolve itself into the sea. To make this adjuration the more effective he described a magic circle with his sword and drew the sign of the cross therein, at which, strange to relate, the waterspout seemed to swerve somewhat from its track and pass off obliquely with a bel-
lowing noise to lose itself in the immensity of the ocean. And following the disappearance of the waterspout the curiosity in the result is increased by the fact that the raging of the sea measurably abated, and in a brief time there was a great calm.

On the 6th of January, 1503, the squadron had regained the coast and entered the mouth of a river, which in honor of the feast day Columbus called the *Belen*, or Bethlehem, which was scarcely more than a league from Veragua. The extraordinary difficulties which had attended the voyage from Puerto Bello to Veragua may be understood when we consider the fact that the distance was less than a hundred miles, and yet to traverse it required the labors and sufferings of nearly a month, during which interval Columbus had passed through more privations and anxieties than perhaps he had ever before experienced.

At the mouth of the Belen was a considerable Indian village, the inhabitants of which made a show of hostile intent at the effort of the Spaniards to land. But Columbus contrived through the interpreter to make them understand that his object in visiting them was to open a trade to their advantage. At these assurances they laid down their arms and accorded a welcome to their visitors, and after the first greetings were exchanged they became quite civil and traded several large pieces of gold to the Spaniards for hawk-bells and other European trinkets. A few

days later Don Bartholomew, taking with him some of the more courageous spirits of the expedition, ascended the river to the residence of the cacique of the country, who was known among the natives by the name of Quibian. This chief welcomed him with a hearty spirit of cordiality and accompanied his peaceful overtures with presents of gold ornaments, and was more than content with such gew-gaws as were given him in return. The chief also accompanied his visitors back to the vessels and was induced to come on board, when the Admiral gave him a reception, had his musicians perform several pieces, and after showing him through the caravel made him many presents of such trinkets as mirrors and hawk-bells. But suddenly some suspicion arose in the mind of the cacique, and without stopping to give any explanation of his conduct he left the vessel abruptly, nor could he be persuaded to return. On the following day Don Bartholomew, at the head of seventy men, made a second trip of several miles into the interior to explore the country and ascertain its products. He found some indications of gold, and was assured that at the distance of twenty days' journey beyond there existed gold mines of large extent and exceeding richness, a report which the Spaniards were anxious to confirm by investigation.

Since his physical condition as well as need of supplies prevented Columbus from continuing his search for the conjectured strait, he decided to establish a military post at the mouth of the river, while he himself would return to Castile to procure reinforcements and supplies, with the intent of accomplishing a permanent occupation of the gold-bearing country. He therefore conciliated some of the inferior chiefs by liberal presents, and gained their consent thereby to the building of a fortress on their lands. After completing the post he left a garrison of eighty men under

the command of Don Bartholomew in charge of the fortress, and also a caravel for their use in case it became necessary for them to abandon the country. Having settled everything satisfactorily, Columbus raised his anchors preparatory to departing with the other two vessels. But in the meantime the water in the river had become so shallow that he was compelled to wait until rains came to swell it to the necessary depth to enable him to pass over the bar at the river mouth.

Meanwhile Quibian, learning that a settlement had been formed on his territory, resolved to attack the Spaniards unawares and burn their ships, a vague report of which plot reached Columbus, but the particulars were wanting, nor could Columbus determine in his own mind the cause of this hostile purpose.

Diego Mendez and Rodrigo de Escobar, whose bravery and sagacity had already served Columbus in the most perilous extremities, and were to give services no less valuable thereafter, volunteered to enter the Indian camp as spies and ascertain the plans and intents of the enemy, a purpose which, hazardous as it was, Columbus gladly accepted, for upon their success depended the fate of the expedition. The two proceeded up the river a short way until they came upon two Indians whom they engaged, by signs and such speech as they had mastered, to convey them in a canoe to the residence of Quibian, which was upon the river bank. Though the voyage was hazardous to a degree, the two resolute spies succeeded in reaching the cacique's capital without accident, but they found the village in a great state of agitation through warlike preparations, and danger signs were observable on every side. The audacity of the adventurers seems to have fairly appalled the natives for a time, but recovering from their surprise they manifested a murderous disposition which,

however, Mendez restrained by representing himself as a surgeon come to cure an arrow wound in the leg of Quibian, who had been shot in an engagement three days before. By this subterfuge the two passed on up the crest of a hill to the cacique's mansion, which occupied a level space of some dimensions, around which were arranged the skulls and decaying heads of three hundred enemies killed in battle. Even this horrible sight failed to excite great fear in the mind of the intrepid Mendez; but scarcely had he crossed the court when a powerful son of Quibian rushed out and dealt the courageous Spaniard a blow in the face that knocked him backward, though not prostrate. This assault Mendez thought it unadvisable to resent, but rather to employ pacific measures to accomplish his ends. With this purpose he sought to conciliate the young man's anger by gentle words and by showing him a box of ointment which would cure his father's wound. These overtures serving to make him amenable to other advances, Mendez presented the belligerent youth with a looking-glass, comb and pair of scissors, and showed him how to use the articles to improve his looks. Under the influence of these gifts the young man became not only tractable but even friendly, though no amount of persuasion availed to gain admittance to the chief. But being permitted to freely mingle with the Indians, Mendez and Escobar succeeded in discovering particulars of the designs of Quibian to assault and burn the ships, after which they returned in safety and apprised the Admiral fully of the plot, who took action at once to circumvent and punish the treacherous natives. The chief and several of his principal men were arrested by Don Bartholomew, who descended suddenly upon them with a force of eighty men. But through the negligence of the officer charged with his care Quibian contrived to make his escape, a result which the Spaniards did not seriously

deplore, for they felt that their ends had been as effectually accomplished by a dispersion of the natives and the arrest of the chief as though he had been severely punished for his perfidy.

On the 6th of April the River Belen had risen to a stage of water permitting the passage of the ships, and the Admiral accordingly prepared to take his departure. Sixty of the men who had been left for garrison duty came out in a long boat to bid their comrades in the ship adieu, leaving only twenty men with Don Bartholomew to guard the fortress, and these were scattered, some on the banks of the river and others through the country in aimless wanderings. The lesson which the Spaniards had supposed Quibian had learned by his arrest did not prove so salutary as they had fancied, for seeing his advantage in the temporary diminution of the garrison, he gathered his force of about four hundred natives and surrounded the camp. Fortunately before making the attack the Indians filled the air with their cries, which gave the Spaniards timely warning and opportunity to arm themselves to meet their assailants. The result of the battle which followed was the killing of nineteen Indians and the taking captive of fifty others, who were conveyed to one of the caravels and imprisoned in the hold as hostages, but in the encounter seven of the Spaniards were wounded, two of whom died on the following day. Don Bartholomew also received an arrow wound in the breast, but not sufficiently serious to render confinement to his quarters necessary.

But this tragic incident was only the prelude to one which proved very much more serious; for on the following day Diego Tristan was sent up the river in one of the ship's boats with eleven men to procure a supply of fresh water, though he proceeded against the remonstrances of Diego Mendez, who was well acquainted with the char-

acter of the Indians and had made himself fairly fluent in their tongue. Tristan felt secure, however, with the force at his command, falsely reckoning that the natives had met with such disaster in their conflict with the Spaniards that they would hardly hazard another engagement at any odds. The consequence was that when he reached the place that afforded fresh water his boat was surrounded by Indians, some of whom were on shore and others in canoes, who fell upon the Spaniards with such surprise and impetuosity that all but one were massacred, and this sole survivor only escaped by the strategy of swimming under water to the opposite shore.

This tragic event distressed Columbus so much that he could not prevail upon himself to leave under circumstances which would appear as an abandonment of the feeble garrison to the implacable hostility of an innumerable number of infuriated savages.

On account of the boisterousness of the sea communication with the shore was impossible, hence Columbus was left without information as to what was being done at the fortress. But he felt the insecurity of the men, though he had hopes that the Indians would not make an attack on account of the fifty prisoners who were detained as hostages on board his caravel. Every evening these captives were shut up in the forecastle of the vessel, the hatchway of which was secured by a strong chain and padlock. But one night the Spaniards neglected to fasten the chains, which fact came mysteriously to the knowledge of the Indians, who collected a number of stones from the ballast of the vessel, with which they made a heap sufficiently high to allow the men to exert their strength against the unsecured hatchway. Several of the most powerful warriors mounted on the top, and bending their backs, by simultaneous effort forced up the hatch, flinging the sailors who slept on it to the oppo-

side side of the vessel. Having thus gained their liberty, several of them plunged into the sea and swam ashore. Others, however, were less fortunate, and being seized on the deck, were forced back into their prison quarters and the precaution of locking them in was then attended to. What was the surprise of the officers, however, when distributing the rations early in the morning, to find that during the night the imprisoned Indians had strangled themselves in their despair. Thus the situation was dreadfully complicated, for those who escaped would communicate to their friends on shore the situation on shipboard, while the suicide of the prisoners would be calculated to nerve the natives to a greater determination to avenge them.

In the fear that the Indians would now attack the garrison, Columbus was determined in some way to apprise his brother of the circumstances and put him on his guard. The rough sea, however, still precluded the possibility of a boat living to reach the shore, so Columbus was deeply distressed in mind how he should communicate the necessary intelligence, until a sailor named Pedro de Ledesma, a Biscayan, volunteered to swim through the breakers if the boat would take him sufficiently near. This proposal was eagerly seized upon, and the brave sailor successfully accomplished his hazardous undertaking. Reaching the camp unexpectedly, he was received with the greatest joy as a liberator of the garrison.

The intrepid and herculean Ledesma found his countrymen in a deplorable situation, shut up in their fortress, for the time safe from their savage foes, but contemplating with horror the hour when provisions should fail them and their ammunition be expended. Their alarm was also intensified by the depressing news of the tragic death of Diego Tristan and his companions, whose swollen bodies were now beginning to drift by on the stream, objects of contention among

a thousand carrion birds. The men therefore surrounded Ledesma and in frantic terms pleaded with him to urge the Admiral to save them from the certain destruction which awaited them if they continued in that deadly place. Already they had been preparing to debark in canoes and gain the ships, a desperate undertaking only delayed by the high rolling surf and tempestuous weather. Further they declared that if the Admiral abandoned them they would embark in the caravel that was left as soon as it could be floated over the bar.

Having received these gloomy and desperate reports from the beleaguered garrison, Ledesma set out on his return and succeeded again in passing the mad breakers in which it appeared that no human being could sustain himself a moment, and gained the ships, where he communicated the ominous tidings to Columbus. In such a situation some action was imperative, for to leave the men on shore would expose Don Bartholomew to the fury of a mutiny and end in a destruction of the settlement. There was no other alternative presented, therefore, than to embark the people, a thing which was impossible in the present turbulent state of the sea. The position of the ships was also perilous, subjected as they were to the hard-beating waves which threatened their annihilation, crazy, worm-eaten, rotten, as they were.

Anguished in mind, debilitated by age and wrecked with physical suffering, Columbus became affected by a diseased imagination, and in this disturbed condition he beheld a vision, which he described in a letter to his sovereigns as an angelic admonition and encouragement conveyed in the similitude of a dream. This he regarded as a direct revelation, and it gave him strength to bear the misfortune which had wasted his energies and hopes almost to the limit of despair. Under this inspiration, as soon as the gale sub-

sided he set about the extrication of his people. The caravel within the river's mouth was abandoned through inability to bring her over the bar, but by lashing canoes together a raft was made on which was conveyed the munitions, stores and men of the fortress to the two ships in waiting, after which the imprisoned caravel was dismantled and such of her equipment as was useful was towed out and put on board the vessels. When the men found themselves freed from their perilous position and safe on the ships with their comrades they manifested the wildest joy, giving themselves up to the most exuberant transports, embracing each other in a very delirium of ecstasy and offering up prayers of gratitude and thanksgiving. Diego Mendez had superintended the embarkation and had otherwise rendered such efficient service that Columbus appointed him to the command of one of the caravels in place of Diego Tristan, who had perished at the hands of the Indians, as described.

CHAPTER XIX.

AFTER incredible sufferings and unexampled perils, costing the lives of a dozen brave Spaniards, it was with unspeakable joy that towards the end of September, Columbus took his departure from the accursed coast of Veragua and proceeded on his course for Hispaniola, which it was necessary he should reach as quickly as possible to repair the ships and procure provisions. Bad weather continued, however, and the extraordinary number of tempests that they had encountered terrified the imaginations of the crews, who became persuaded in their minds that the Indians possessed some wondrous power of magic, and by a practice of their black arts had raised the storms and in the end would accomplish their destruction. Finally, after thirty leagues had been accomplished, one of the caravels was found to be leaking so badly that it was necessary to abandon her, some time being lost in transferring her equipment to the two remaining ships.

But even in this sorry condition the Admiral still had a yearning to prosecute his search for the strait which he believed would surely lead him to the opulent country of Cathay. To pursue this desire, however, it was necessary for him to practice some deception, as his crews would have objected and possibly mutinied had they known of his persistence in seeking for that which they were now confident did not exist. But Columbus himself, overmastered by the situation which confronted him, presently abandoned his purpose, appreciative of the dejected state of his sailors, en-

feebled as they were by their privations and fatigue. Thus steering north they proceeded until near the vicinity of the Queen's Gardens, when they were assailed by another tempest and in a few hours had lost successively three anchors and sustained a collision between the two vessels, in which both were greatly injured, and it was almost a miracle that they were not destroyed. At length they contrived to reach the coast of Cuba, at Macaco, where they rested a while and succeeded in procuring a few provisions, when they set sail again, endeavoring to beat up to Hispaniola against the force of contrary winds. The *St. James*, one of the caravels, was compelled to run into a port, while the *Capitana*, the other vessel, unable to gain the shore, was so buffeted that she was upon the point of foundering. Notwithstanding the fact that the pumps were worked with all the energy that the crew could command, the water had risen to the deck, and in another twenty-four hours the vessel would have undoubtedly sunk had she not, by what Columbus always declared was a miracle, reached the land in a sheltered cove.

At this point necessary repairs were made, and on the 23d of June the two vessels pushed on to the northern coast of Jamaica, along which they sailed a considerable distance until they reached a beautiful harbor which he had discovered on a previous voyage, and to which he had given the appropriate name of *Santa Gloria* (Holy Glory). Here the two caravels, which had been reduced almost to wrecks and were upon the point of sinking, were fastened together and run aground.

As the indications now pointed to a considerable stay at this place, some thatched cabins were erected on the forecastles and sterns of the two vessels in which the crews managed to make themselves comfortable, while Diego Mendez went on shore to obtain a supply of provisions from the caciques. But Columbus knew the fickle and untrustworthy character

of the natives with whom he had now to deal. While they apparently cheerfully furnished a supply of provisions their sinister conduct was such as to give him much uneasiness; for he appreciated the defenseless position in which he had thus been unhappily placed. The natives were exceedingly numerous and were provided with many large war canoes, which plainly indicated that they were a people little disposed to peace and were most probably in open hostility the greater part of the time with their neighbors.

The caravels could not be put to sea again, and as all the master carpenters had perished in the disaster of the 6th of April no hope of other ships being built could be entertained. Not only was the Admiral thus greatly concerned for his safety, but he knew not how to procure aid or any means of making known to the Queen his discovery of the gold mines of Veragua, or of the countries which he had taken possession of in the name of their Catholic Majesties. Notwithstanding the fact that there seemed no possible means of transmitting a message, should he take the pains to prepare one, Columbus nevertheless concerned himself with the making of an elaborate report, probably trusting to some miracle for the means of its delivery. In this letter he detailed at great length not only the discoveries he had made, but all the incidents which had befallen him from the time of his departure from Spain until his arrival in wrecked vessels at the harbor of Santa Gloria. The utter despair which he felt at this time is indicated by the closing words of his letter, which are as follows: "I have hitherto wept for others, but now have pity on me, and, O earth, weep for me! Weep for me whoever has charity, truth and justice."

Ten days passed after the penning of this communication, and nothing occurring to relieve the anxiety of his situation, Columbus called to a private conference Diego Mendez, in whom his chief confidence was now reposed. At this inter-

view (as reported by De Lorgues) he affectionately addressed that daring sailor as follows: "My son, none of those who are here but you and I know the danger in which we are placed. We are few in number, while these savage Indians are many and of irritable and fickle natures. On the slightest provocation they could easily from the land set fire to our straw-thatched cabins and burn us all. The arrangement we have made with them for supplying us with provisions, and which they now fulfill with so much cheerfulness, may not continue acceptable to them, and it would not be surprising if to-morrow they brought us nothing; nor have we the means of compelling them by force to supply us, but are left entirely at their pleasure. I have thought of a means of rescuing us if it meets with your views; in the canoe you purchased some one may venture to pass over to Hispaniola and there procure a ship by which we all may be delivered from the perilous situation in which we are placed. Tell me your opinion of the matter."

Mendez replied: "Señor, the danger that threatens us is, I well know, far greater than is imagined. As to the project of passing from this island to Hispaniola in so small a vessel as a canoe, I hold it not only extremely difficult, but even impossible; and I know not who there is would venture to run the extreme risk of traversing a gulf of forty leagues between islands where the sea is so extremely impetuous."

Notwithstanding the declaration of Mendez as to the impossibility of performing such a hazardous passage, the silence which now ensued and the dejected and hopeless appearance of Columbus on receiving this opinion prompted the brave sailor to offer himself as a sacrifice if need be to any of the designs which the Admiral might entertain. He thereupon advised Columbus to assemble all his men on deck the following day and call for some volunteers who would undertake the perilous enterprise. Adopting this advice, Columbus did as

Mendez had recommended, but the men regarded his proposal with astonishment, declaring it the height of rashness, whereupon the intrepid Mendez stepped forward and said : " Señor, I have but one life, yet I am willing to hazard it for the service of your Excellency and the good of all here present, because I hope that God, seeing the intention that governs me, will preserve me, as He has already done so many times."

No man could appreciate a sacrifice like this more keenly than Columbus, and taking the noble Mendez to his bosom he embraced him fervently, and then looking upward, he said : " I have a firm confidence that our Lord God will enable you to overcome all the dangers that threaten." The courage of Mendez excited others of the Spaniards with a noble emulation, and several now came forward and signified their desire to accompany him. Through this means thirteen other Spaniards volunteered their services, and in two canoes, and with six Indians in each as oarsmen, they set out on their perilous voyage.

Fortunately the sky was clear and the surface of the sea was unruffled, giving propitious commencement to a voyage more hazardous than perhaps was ever before or since undertaken by any man. Their progress, however, was very slow and the Indians presently began to suffer exceedingly from thirst as well as from exhaustion. They had hoped to reach a small island called Navassa, which lay in their route, where they might obtain water and find refreshment and a short repose. But the third night passed without any sight of the expected land, while their privations had so increased that one of the Indians died and the others were so completely prostrated that the Spaniards had themselves to take the oars. They had almost abandoned hope in their extremity of suffering when Mendez discovered at break of day a dark line on the horizon, which, through God's provi-

dence, proved to be the island of Navassa. Here an abundance of water was obtained, but some of the Indians, who could not be restrained, drank so immoderately that they died on the spot, while half the Spaniards gorged themselves to the point of serious illness.

Having reposed for several hours on the shores of Navassa, the voyagers re-entered their canoes, and by rowing hard during the night they reached a point called Cape St. Michael, on the shore of Hispaniola, where they were hospitably received by the natives, who supplied them abundantly with provisions and administered to all their comforts. The exhaustion of the Spaniards, however, was so great when they had reached this point that Mendez rested for two days before beginning his journey to San Domingo. During this stay he fortunately learned that Ovando, who was now governor-general of Hispaniola, was in Xaragua, and accordingly he proceeded to that place to make his reports and to request the assistance of which Columbus stood distressingly in need.

Though it had required only three days for these intrepid voyagers to make the passage to Hispaniola, so imminent had been the peril that Captain Fiesco, who had accompanied Mendez as commander of one of the crews, could not induce any of his comrades to return with him to Santa Gloria and report to Columbus the success of their undertaking, considering that they had accomplished it through the interposition of Providence and that to attempt a return would be like challenging fate. Accordingly they accompanied Mendez to Xaragua and thence to San Domingo.

A secret presentiment seemed to assure Columbus that Diego Mendez had arrived safely in Hispaniola, and though his return was not so soon as had been expected he made his submission to the Divine will and used all his arts to soothe the secret irritations that agitated the minds of his

sailors. But privations and sickness, as well as unheard of fatigues, created dissensions among the crews, who were confined to limited quarters and compelled to support life on a meager subsistence. They accordingly began to ascribe all their sufferings to faults committed by Columbus, and to these disaffections serious accusations were soon added by those who constituted themselves the ringleaders of the disloyalty which was now to flagrantly manifest itself.

•Columbus, while apprised of these mutterings and mutinous spirit, nevertheless diligently employed himself looking after the welfare of the men and administering to the sufferings of those who were prostrated. But the mildness of his manner, the assurance of his speech, and the kindly disposition with which he treated those who were sharing with him the unfortunate situation did not serve to restrain the guilty disposition of those who had conceived a violent enmity for the commander. Finally, on the 2d of January, 1504, a seaman named De Porras placed himself at the head of forty-eight adherents and arose in open revolt. Their first purpose was to kill Columbus, and they were only restrained from this wicked act by the fear that the crime would be severely punished by the sovereigns and by the courageous front which Don Bartholomew opposed to the mutineers; but taking six canoes which the Admiral had purchased from the Indians, and storing these with arms and provisions, they abandoned the Admiral and the few sick and infirm who were unable to accompany them.

The departure of these mutineers was not made with signs of regret or the bidding of farewells, but with shouts of defiance and revilings, and not before they had incensed the Indians by violent appropriation of much of their property. Thus Columbus became exposed to the anger of the natives who he believed would hold him accountable for the out-

rages of the disloyal men who had abandoned him. But he bravely bore up against these added wrongs, and though scarcely able to support his own physical infirmities he exerted his efforts to relieve the pains and illness of those more helpless than himself, for whom he felt the tenderest sympathies.

De Porras, at the head of his followers, set out in ten canoes and proceeded along the coast until they gained the eastern extremity of the island, when, unwilling to trust their own skill in the management of the canoes, the rebels prevailed upon several Indians, by liberal gifts and many promises, to accompany them, and when at length the weather was favorable they set out for Hispaniola.

Scarcely had the canoe squadron gained a league seaward when a contrary wind arose, followed by rapid swelling of the sea, which became so threatening that they turned towards the shore. But now a fresh trouble confronted them. The canoes being without keels and heavily loaded it was impossible to so manage them as to prevent the waves from dashing over, nor could vigorous baling long keep them afloat unless some remedy were applied. The cause for alarm growing with the increasing wind, the mutineers threw overboard everything that could be spared. But this sacrifice of stores being insufficient to prevent the continued shipping of water they compelled all the Indians to fling themselves into the sea, except a few who were needed to paddle the canoes. If any refused to obey this order they were thrust out by the sword or lance, and being too far from shore to risk an attempt to gain it by swimming, the poor Indians kept by the canoes, grasping at the sides when their strength was spent. The Spaniards, fearing that these efforts at self-preservation would result in overturning the canoes, savagely cut off the hands of the swimmers, or more humanely stabbed them to death with their swords;

so that in this way eighteen of the Indians miserably perished, none surviving save those who had been retained to do the work of paddling.

By sacrificing their stores and murdering nearly all the natives who served them in the desperate undertaking to reach Hispaniola, the wretched band regained the coast of Jamaica, enraged at the miscarriage of their own crimes. Dissatisfaction now began to show itself, and some of the mutineers were in favor of returning to Columbus and, confessing the evil of their conduct, implore his forgiveness ; but a majority resented this proposal, preferring to lead a life of lawlessness and the indulgence of a riotous license which opportunity now offered, since they could force subsistence from the Indians and compel them to minister to their licentious passions. Thus they went from village to village despoiling the natives and committing all manner of excesses, exciting in their victims not only a hatred of themselves but of all Spaniards.

It was not long before Columbus began to experience the effects of the marauding incursions of the mutineers. The Indians, considering him as in sympathy with the freebooters, through being of the same race, exhibited a waning confidence and gradually reduced the offerings of provisions, until presently they broke off all intercourse, leaving Columbus and his feeble followers to face a threatened famine. To add to the dangers of his situation there was the fear of an uprising of the natives, who were beginning to manifest a disposition to hostility. In this emergency, calculated to quicken the wits of a resourceful man, Columbus conceived a happy expedient for restraining not only any evil designs which the Indians might have, but also for regaining their confidence and assistance. By some means unreported, Columbus had knowledge of a total eclipse of the moon about to occur, and he concluded to utilize this

event to impress the natives with the belief that it was a mysterious portent of the sky sent as a forewarning of the Great Spirit's intent to punish them for having withdrawn their hospitality from the white or celestial strangers who had visited their shores.

To carry his scheme into effect he sent his interpreters to the neighboring caciques to reveal to them the calamity of famine and pestilence which would be swiftly sent upon them as a visitation of Divine anger. As an evidence of the truth of this prophecy he declared that at a certain hour on the second night following the moon would gradually pale and then fade entirely away in the heavens.

The natives at first treated this direful prediction with disregard. But at the time appointed the most dreadful fear fell upon them, as looking towards the star-spangled vault of a clear sky they perceived a shadow deep and awful spreading across the moon, and before the obscuration was complete the villages and forests were resonant with wailings and cries to the Great Spirit for mercy. In response to their appeals Columbus offered to lift his voice in prayerful petition to the world's Master to grant deliverance to the natives on condition that they would supply him and his people generously with food and continue faithful in their friendship as long as he remained among them. To this condition there was a universal assent and with a thankfulness which showed the depth of their sincerity. Thereupon Columbus retired to his cabin and remained until the moon emerged brightly from the earth's penumbra, and when he ventured forth it was to be hailed by the grateful Indians as one who possessed the special favor of the Deity, and their promises they according faithfully fulfilled.

But though their immediate wants were supplied, the followers of Columbus still had much to complain of, for their quarters were both small and insecure, while sickness

became so general among them that they grew first despondent and then irritable. So long a time had elapsed since Mendez and Fiesco had departed on their hazardous journey to obtain relief that the impression prevailed they had perished, nor could the kindness and assurances of Columbus dispel the gloomy, despairing thoughts of his restless men. Out of this irritation soon sprang another mutinous spirit, under the incitements of two leaders named respectively De Zamora and De Villatoro, who decided to seize the remaining canoes and in them endeavor to make a passage to Hispaniola. But almost at the moment when their plan was to be executed the white sails of a vessel were seen in the offing, and a few moments later it was discovered to be bearing towards the harbor of Santa Gloria. At this gracious sight the voice of murmuring became hushed and joyful anticipations replaced the despondency which had harassed the stranded explorers so many weeks.

Nearer came the vessel; but when it reached the harbor entrance anchor was cast and a boat lowered in which an officer with half a dozen seamen came ashore. The ship proved to be one sent by Ovando in command of Diego de Escobar, a renegade who had been a follower of Roldan and once condemned to death by Columbus. The boat came close to the stranded ship, but without debarking Escobar delivered his message from Ovando and waited until Columbus could write a reply. He then deposited in a boat a cask of wine and a side of bacon as presents from Ovando, after which he took his departure without even so much as giving a promise to relieve the suffering men at any future time.

The circumstance of a ship being sent by Ovando to the stranded explorers was proof that Mendez had successfully performed his mission, but in Escobar's refusal to extend relief or transport them to San Domingo the men affected

to discover more evil designs. Columbus, while sharing the despondency of his followers, sought to revive them by assurances that his letter from Ovando contained a promise that a large ship would be sent to their aid as soon as it could be made ready, and excused his neglect to rescue them immediately by the statement that he had no suitable vessel at hand for the purpose.

Feeling the need of increasing his force, and appreciating the importance of conciliating the friendship of the natives, harassed as they were by the outrages of the mutineers, Columbus sent to the rebels, as an offering of good-will, a piece of bacon left by Escobar, exhorting them to return under promise to remit their crimes with a full pardon and an agreement to give them a place on the ship which he said would soon be sent for his deliverance. But De Porras was so distrustful that when he learnt of the approach of the agents of Columbus he took care that they should not have communication with any but himself. He told the men that he had no desire to return to the Admiral; that his party were fully satisfied with their condition and desired only to be left alone in peace. But he added that in case two ships of rescue should arrive Columbus should give him and his followers one of them with half the stores and provisions, and he followed this suggestion with a threat that if this were not done they would come and take it for themselves. Such was the communication which De Porras returned to the peaceful overtures that were made by Columbus. But to satisfy his followers, whose fidelity he did not fully trust, he declared to them that the purpose of the Admiral was simply to get them into his power and then punish them for their laudable endeavor to save themselves from the certain death which awaited them had they remained on the stranded vessels. He further treated the story of the visit of a ship from Ovando as a delusion and

a snare. He said that Columbus was in league with the powers of darkness and a practicer of the black art. The ship that had seemed to approach the harbor was nothing therefore but a phantom conjured to deceive the men who had remained faithful to him. He counseled his followers further, that the only way remaining to them was to fall upon Columbus and his minions, take them prisoners, and then conduct their affairs with respect to the one great question of escaping from the island.

The effect of these misrepresentations was all that De Porras could desire. The rebels rallied to his call and made a descent upon the stranded vessels with the intention of either taking Columbus prisoner or killing him outright. But their murderous scheme was discovered by some friendly Indians who brought information of the plot to the Admiral, who assembled fifty of his trusted soldiers under the command of Don Bartholomew, and sent them out to repel the attack. When the two forces approached each other on the 19th of May (1504), Bartholomew, acting under the Admiral's direction, sent messengers to confer with the insurgents and offer terms of settlement. But these De Porras refused to hear, confident in his ability to execute his purpose. The first aim of the rebels was to kill Bartholomew, and for this purpose six of the most intrepid followers were stationed about De Porras with instructions to follow him into the fight. The attack was accordingly made directly upon Don Bartholomew himself. But this courageous man, who was an intrepid fighter as well as a great commander, received his assailants with such vigor that several of the rebels fell dead under the blows of his sword. Having disposed of the first antagonists he came face to face with De Porras himself, and a personal duel was fought in which, at the first pass, Don Bartholomew was wounded through the buckler. But the sword fortunately hung in a

cleft, and seizing his enemy in his powerful grasp Don Bartholomew overmastered him, but sparing the wretch's life was satisfied to take him prisoner. No sooner had their leader fallen thus early in the fray than the insurgents withdrew, leaving Don Bartholomew to return in triumph to the Admiral, bringing De Porras and a half-dozen other prisoners. When De Porras was brought before Columbus he no doubt expected a punishment commensurate with his crimes. But humane and generous impulses were always predominant in the heart of the Admiral, and instead of executing him on the spot, as he might justly have done, he was satisfied to hold him a prisoner and even extend a proposition of surrender to the other mutineers, promising freely to pardon and receive them into his service as before, which magnanimous proposal they were glad to accept. But as a measure of prudence Columbus deemed it advisable to hold De Porras a prisoner until such time as he could be tried and convicted according to law.

About the time that affairs were thus reduced to quiet in Jamaica, the long-expected succor came in the form of two ships well supplied for the deliverance of the stranded Spaniards. A year had now elapsed since the departure of Mendez in the almost forlorn hope of reaching Hispaniola by canoe. During this time he had assiduously agitated the rescue of the Admiral and his companions. It is the opinion of Las Casas that public sentiment in Hispaniola gradually bore more and more heavily upon Ovando for his seeming neglect of his great countryman in his distress, and the time came when the governor was constrained to make a virtue of necessity by sending out a relief expedition from San Domingo to Jamaica.

One of the ships ordered for this purpose had been equipped by Diego Mendez himself out of the revenues due Columbus, and to him was therefore intrusted the command,

while the other was committed to Diego de Salcedo, who had been one of the Admiral's officers at San Domingo. On the 28th of June (1504) the two vessels arrived at the harbor of Santa Gloria, and the long stranded mariners were taken on board with their few remaining effects, and the sails were at once set for San Domingo. But the weather was so inclement and the winds so constantly violent and contrary, that it was not until the 13th of August following that the voyage was accomplished and the aged discoverer of the New World was permitted once more to land in the town which he had founded as the capital of his New Indian Empire.

We are gratified to learn that upon his arrival the reaction in favor of Columbus was so great that he was hailed with enthusiasm by the very men who had sent him forth with gyves on his wrists to be carried as a common criminal to Spain. It is not possible to suppose that these acts of public applause, temporary and fictitious as they were, could be grateful to Ovando even though his rival were an aged man stricken with many maladies and worn down under the accumulation of many griefs. Nevertheless the governor made a show of uniting in the kindly reception, taking the Admiral even to his own house and extending to him the fullest courtesy and respect. In a short time, however, causes of difference began to work between the two men, and the irrelations henceforth, though superficially amicable, were never sincere. The first dispute between them arose over their respective authority to punish the prisoners that Columbus had brought to the island for trial. The governor claimed that Jamaica as well as Hispaniola was a part of his government, while Columbus contended that under the last letters issued to him by Isabella he had full rights to try and punish any offenders against his authority. Another ground of complaint which Columbus

urged against Ovando was neglect to collect the revenues which were due him from the island according to the original compact with the sovereigns. Under these stipulations Columbus was entitled to an eighth of all the tributes collected from the natives, as well as the products of the mines, and he had, therefore, reason to expect a large sum to his credit upon his return, unless the revenues had been wasted and his rights neglected. But he found himself practically penniless, and thus again dependent upon the generosity of the crown.

CHAPTER XX.

UNDER the governorship of Ovando affairs in Hispaniola had become more deplorable than they had appeared at any time since the Spanish discovery. We may therefore pause here in the narrative of incidents in the life of Columbus in order to hastily sketch the progress of events in that island from the time of the arrival of Ovando down to the return of Columbus. We have seen how great a company of colonists and adventurers, 2,500 in all, he brought with him, and with how much *éclat* he came to San Domingo and undertook the duties of viceroy after the temporary suspension of Columbus from that office.

The men whom Ovando had thus brought to the New World were, with the exception of seventy colonial families, of the same general character as those who had preceded them. Fully a thousand of the number had gone out with the expectation that gold would be found in such great abundance throughout the island of Hispanolia that it would be gathered in unlimited quantities at the expense of no other exertion than the shoveling of it into bags which were brought along for that purpose. They had no sooner arrived, therefore, than a great rush for the gold fields of Hayna was made, each man taking with him his mining implements and a limited supply of provisions.

There is no disappointment so bitter as that which follows a miner who sets out under the glowing prospects excited by stories of inexhaustible wealth, and coming to the mine so flatteringly described finds that the precious ore exists

in the sparsest quantities and is obtainable only by the most onerous and persistent exertions. This experience has been common to many men in many ages.

The Spaniards made a rush across the intervening country, and reaching the gold fields undid their packs and began to dig. It required only a day or two to dispel the illusion. Here and there small quantities of fine gold-dust might be found in the sand, and occasionally particles of the precious metal would glitter in a spadeful of earth thrown up by hands unused to working with delving implements. But fatigue and exhaustion came after a few hours of this unrequited labor, and then the miners, disgusted and hungry, sat down by running streams and springs of water to devour their provisions. But ever devouring and never producing soon exhausted the supply which they had brought with them, and the Indians refusing to supply them with either fruit or products of the fields, the hungry miners were brought face to face with famine, and they gave over their golden dreams for the harsh necessity of seeking food to avoid starvation. Worn out, homesick, despondent, starving, many of them perished in the forests, but a majority returned to San Domingo and inaugurated a mild reign of terror.

The situation was so serious that the governor undertook to deal with the mining question by creating a regular system under which the business of gathering gold might be profitably conducted. He saw that the disappointment of those who had come out under his promise of great gain was such that it might end in compromising him not only with his followers but with the sovereigns; for not a few had influential relatives residing at court who would voice and urge their complaints. To afford them some relief and encouragement, Ovando issued an edict reducing the percentage of the gold due to the crown to one-fifth, and then inaugu-

rated a system of slavery by which each Spaniard was allowed according to his rank the use of the free labor of a certain number of Indians. The very evils which had been the source of so much complaint against the former administration, namely, that the Spaniards were abusive to the Indians, treating them with untold cruelties by compulsory labor in the mines and fields, were thus revived by Ovando, and it was not long before the severity of his system surpassed all that had been witnessed or heard of before.

As a justification of his course the governor set forth to the sovereigns that a reduction of the natives to regular labor under the authority of a master class was a necessity of the conditions present in the colony; that otherwise the tributes could not be collected; that the natives were by nature indolent, and in short that the only method of bringing them to the blessings of a civilized and Christian life was to subject them to servitude under which a Catholic training could be the more effectually given them. The Queen herself was deceived somewhat by that part of the argument which related to the allotment of the Indians as slaves to the Spaniards, who were expected to exert a Christianizing influence over them. Little did her Majesty understand the profound hypocrisy of this excuse. Likewise she failed to comprehend the utter indifference of the Spanish masters in Hispaniola to all considerations of the welfare of the wretched natives.

The Spaniards proceeded under their license to demand of the caciques the required assignment of laborers, and the chieftains were compelled by the government to comply. At first there was some show of respect for native rights, but this presently ceased. In the beginning it was agreed that the Indians should have a small wage as recompense for their labor, and that they should also be instructed in the catechism of the Church and be baptized by the priests.

But the whole thing was a mockery. Even the limit of the period of service to six months of the year was presently extended to eight months, and might have been extended to twelve, since the feeble constitution of the natives generally gave way under the intolerable tasks imposed upon them during their first term of servitude.

No sooner was the system regularly organized than it became apparent that the native foods, mostly of fruits, would not suffice for the men engaged in severe toil. But the Spaniards had no other food to waste upon their Indian slaves, being concerned in getting the most out of them that was possible, regardless of what the result might be. Sometimes a very small distribution of meats was made to them, but such was the hunger of the poor wretches that they struggled and fought like ravening animals for the scraps and bones that fell from the tables of their masters. As they sank and fainted under their tasks the lash of exacting masters began to descend upon their backs. Their flagging industry was quickened by the horrid thong of the driver, so mercilessly applied that to this added misery they succumbed in such numbers that only a small proportion survived to the end of their term of service, and many of these perished before they could reach their homes, which in not a few cases were as much as a hundred miles distant from the place of their labors. Thus the roadsides and forests were strewn with the victims of this horror and despair, and the air was polluted with the decay of human bodies.

While these indescribable abuses prevailed in the vicinity of San Domingo, in the mines of Hayna another form of calamity came upon the hapless Indians in the fairest western province of Hispaniola. It has been recounted how the followers of Roldan had been granted a partition of land in Xaragua, whither they had betaken themselves after the collapse of their rebellion. It is needless to affirm that such

men, without family ties and under no restraint of civil authority, were incapable of developing into anything better than licentious vagabonds. The Spaniards thus distributed throughout a once happy district were a standing menace to the peace and prosperity of the natives. They were no better than robbers and tyrants following no other law than the impulse of passion and degenerate will.

A short time after the foundering of the squadron which Ovando had dispatched to Spain with Bobadilla, Roldan and others, Behechio, who held the scepter of native authority in Xaragua, died and was succeeded by his sister, the amiable, beautiful and devoted Anacaona. Her acquaintance with Don Bartholomew has been mentioned in a former chapter, wherein was described the royal welcome which she accorded him and the devoted friendship which she ever manifested for the Spaniards. Nevertheless she seems to have discriminated between the good and bad and to have gained by superior intelligence a knowledge of the degraded character of the Roldan followers who were in her territory. Against these she probably cherished a just enmity, as they were and had been a constant source of menace and trouble to her government. With respect to Ovando and his government, however, she had so far as the record shows a favorable opinion.

The reader will readily perceive how easily, under such circumstances, the Roldan rebels living in Xaragua might become the agents of mischief between the Spanish authority and the native government. We are, therefore, not surprised to learn that local difficulties and disagreements between the late Roldan rebels and the Xaraguans might be reported with the wildest exaggerations to the authorities at San Domingo, with appeals for interference. The minds of the governor and his counsel would thus be poisoned against the natives, and in the disturbed if not chaotic condition of

the government there would be little disposition to accord justice to a people who had been outraged in every possible manner almost from the time that the Spaniards set foot upon Hispaniola. This advantage was accordingly taken. The Spanish Xaraguans began to complain against Anacaona and excited the governor against her on the charge that she was secretly concerting a rebellion and had already made arrangements to that end. They sought to substantiate this by pointing to the fact that the Indians had delayed the payment of the last tribute with a view to collecting provisions and preparing themselves to make a descent upon the settlers.

Alarmed at these reports, which he seems to have been disposed to believe without investigation, Ovando determined to visit Xaragua and settle all difficulties in his own arbitrary way. Accordingly he collected an army of three hundred infantry and seventy cavalry which he equipped in the most thorough manner for an expedition of conquest, though he was careful to give it out that his purpose was merely to pay a state visit of friendship to Queen Anacaona. The latter, having no distrust of her enemy, gathered all her chieftains, head men and nobility, including men and women, into her town and prepared to receive the governor in a manner which had been so captivating to Don Bartholomew and his cavaliers. A description of their reception may be repeated with added circumstances of picturesqueness and enthusiasm. Again the beautiful maidens of noble birth came forth dancing, waving palm branches and singing their native songs, many of which had been composed by the Queen herself, for as already stated she was an Indian Sappho. The finest house was set in order for the governor, and the army was well quartered and provisioned; nor was anything omitted by the Queen to manifest her regard for the Spaniards. To provide an entertainment for her visitors,

many games were introduced, and for three days such sports as the Indians had been able to devise for the white men were indulged in to the great delight of all present. But even while this pleasant entertainment was in progress and the friendly regard of the Queen was being manifested, the purpose grew and matured in the mind of Ovando to destroy with horrid perfidy the unsuspecting people whose friendly hospitality appeared to be unbounded. He conceived the project of accomplishing his purpose in so dramatic and spectacular a manner as to make the event one of the most tragic incidents in the annals of the times. He informed the Indians at the conclusion of their sports that he and his men would in their turn perform a game for the entertainment of the Queen and all present. The spectacle should be given in the public square, and the games would be a jousting match, performed after a manner the Spanish chivalry had borrowed from the Moors. Meanwhile Ovando ordered his soldiers to appear in the public square not only with reeds for lances and sticks for swords, but also with their real weapons whetted and charged for slaughter.

The situation was such as to favor the atrocity. Nearly all the caciques and Xaraguans were gathered in a large house which had been assigned to Ovando, while the public square was filled with the common people. The governor had just risen from a dinner given in his honor by the Queen, and had gone out into the open air to pitch quoits with some of his officers. As soon as the cavalry arrived it was marshaled in array. Ovando, while lifting a quoit in one hand, raised the other and grasped a gold ornament suspended from his neck as a signal for the massacre to begin! Instantly a trumpet sounded, the cavalry put their lances at rest, the infantry drew their swords, and simultaneously the murderous army rushed to the assault. The house where the caciques were assembled was surrounded

and all of them taken prisoner to the number of forty. Some authorities declare there were eighty. These were bound and then put to torture in order to extort a confession of a plot conceived by the Indians to slaughter the Spaniards. Some of the Indians, in their terror and suffering, shrieked out impossible things respecting their Queen, and these false ejaculations were considered by the defamers as legal proof of guilt. Then the cavalry began in earnest. The horsemen rode down and thrust through the natives without discrimination or mercy. The aged, the children, the women were all given up together to the horror of a bloody and mutilated death. The caciques were confined within the house, and being bound to prevent the possibility of their escape, the building was fired and they all perished in the most miserable and horrible manner. Anacaona was rudely seized by vulgar soldiers, and being bound with chains was carried to San Domingo, where she was subjected to the mockery of a trial, and without the shadow of legal evidence and against all indications of guilt was hung in the streets.

Horror and frightful criminality, however, did not terminate the riot with Anacaona's execution, for the massacre extended until all the better families in Xaragua were decimated. The terrible story runs to the effect that for six months together the Spaniards, breaking into bands and making their way from village to village, and even to the fastnesses of the woods and hills, cut down the unoffending and defenseless natives with all manner of added atrocity, until Xaragua was a desolation. When the work was finally completed and the ruin needed no further touch of infamy, Ovando wrote to the sovereigns a gilded report of how he had succeeded in restoring good order and how he had founded a town in commemoration of the happy deliverance of the Spaniards, to which he had given the sig-

nificant name of *Santa Maria de la verdadera Paz*, that is, St. Mary of the True Peace.

The destruction of Xaragua marked the conquest and consequent ruin of the fourth of the native kingdoms of Hispaniola. There now remained only the fifth and last, namely, the mountainous district of Xigüey. The reader will remember that it was upon the shores of this province that the first blood had been shed by Spanish soldiers in the West Indies. The people were Caribbeans by descent, and were, in the year 1504, ruled by a cacique named Cota-banama, an original Goliath of Gath. His stature is represented as being of herculean proportions, and he was no less famous for his strength, while his reputation as a great warrior was coextensive with the island. For the past twelve years the relations between the Indians of this district and the Spaniards had been strained. On one occasion a Spaniard on the coast, accompanied by his bloodhound, had hissed the brute upon one of Cota-banama's under caciques, who was torn to pieces for the sport of the foreigner. This gross outrage rankled in the breasts of the Indians, and they determined to seize the first opportunity to have their revenge. In course of time a boat bearing eight Spaniards came to the little island of Saona, in sight of the coast of Xigüey. The natives, fired with a remembrance of the horrible outrage perpetrated upon one of their innocent people, surrounded the crew and massacred them to a man. This was regarded by Governor Ovando as an insurrection, and he immediately fitted out a force of four hundred men, under command of Juan de Esquivel, to march into the Indian country, put down opposition and administer exemplary punishment for the crime.

The story of this expedition is but a repetition of others which have already been described. The Spaniards being in irresistible force marched through the Indian villages

slaughtering without regard to age or sex and perpetrating cruelties which fairly shame the race. In many instances not only men but women were hung and quartered, and other inconceivable cruelties, such as the lopping off of hands and feet of natives who had fallen into the power of the remorseless Spaniards, were practiced under the name of exemplary punishments. This riot of murder continued until it is estimated by Columbus himself, as well as by Las Casas, who was an eye-witness of many of these atrocities, that six-sevenths of the entire native population were destroyed. Human depravity could go no further, and we recoil with horror at the mention of such crimes, especially under banners which bore the sign of the Cross and in a country which had been consecrated to the propagation of the Holy Faith. Cotabanama was hunted like a lion, and refusing all overtures for peace with such human blood-hounds, he fought to the last extremity, but was finally seized in a cave in which he had taken refuge with his wife and children. Being first overpowered by a great force he was bound in chains and carried back to San Domingo, where he was publicly executed on the gibbet as another example of the unmercifulness and rapacious cruelty of the Spaniards.

We have seen in a former chapter in what manner Columbus was received in San Domingo after his escape from the perils which for nearly a year beset him in Jamaica. We have also mentioned the beginning of the difficulty and misunderstanding between him and the governor in the matter of De Porras and his fellow-prisoners. As to his local affairs, the Admiral found them, as already stated, in an extremely unsatisfactory condition. Alonzo de Cavajal informed him on his arrival that the revenue had been held back in many instances and that his attempts to collect the same had been impeded by the covert or open opposition

of the governor. Other causes for complaint existed, and the Admiral may well be excused for finding fault with Ovando's policy towards the Indians, which had almost totally obliterated the native population. But Columbus was also dissatisfied with the whole condition of his environment. The two years which had been named by the King and Queen as the limit of his suspension from office had about expired. The sensation and reaction in his favor produced by his late arrival in the colony began to wane, and he decided to return to the mother country at the earliest possible date. There before the King and Queen he would renew his plea, and he hoped to be heard by their considerate Majesties in his own cause, to the end that they might bestow upon him justice with honor as a reward for his great toils and sacrifices. The Admiral knew not that at this very date Isabella had taken to her couch with that lingering malady strangely mingled of mental and bodily griefs from which she was never to recover.

It was not long after his arrival at San Domingo, therefore, that Columbus with the consent of the governor began to prepare for his departure for Spain. Two ships were fitted out for this purpose, the command of one being given to Don Bartholomew, while the Admiral had charge of the other in person. On the 12th of September the vessels left the harbor of San Domingo, but were not far at sea when the weather became stormy and the masts of Columbus' ship were broken and carried away, rendering her unfit for the voyage. Being in haste to reach the mother country, the Admiral sent back the disabled ship and transferred himself and companions to the vessel commanded by Don Bartholomew. Still the weather continued severe and the masts of the remaining vessel were likewise seriously injured, so that progress was extremely slow. Nor was this condition of affairs improved at any time during the voyage ;

for the weather continued at all times so extremely rough that it was not until the end of the fifty-eighth day after leaving San Domingo that the caravel carrying Columbus and his brother reached the port of San Lucar. Thus concluded the ill-starred fourth expedition of discovery on the 7th of November, 1504.

The afflicted Admiral was so exhausted by his physical sufferings that he was unable to support his own weight, and had, therefore, to be borne on shore in a litter constructed for the purpose. He was then taken at the earliest practicable moment to the city of Seville, where among his friends, attended by faithful kinsmen and loyal companions, he hoped in a short time to revive from the fatigues of his long voyage. Realizing, as he must, his failure to accomplish the glorious things which he had promised for the crowns of Castile and Aragon, harassed by enemies who had the ears of the court, it is and will ever be a matter of surprise and admiration to note the enthusiastic faith by which the veteran explorer, tottering under the accumulated griefs of years, was still borne on buoyant wings in the direction of those dreams and visions that had haunted him since the days of his youth.

CHAPTER XXI.

GREAT men as a rule are the victims of great embarrassments, and usually through the world's inappreciation. Those who have accomplished the most beneficent things, who have placed the greenest laurels on the brow of civilization, who have won the eternal applause of mankind and gained a place in the affections of humanity because of what they did in life, have most frequently been targets for the world's abuse. It is a proverb as lamentable as it is true that no man is fully appreciated until after he is dead. Wealth receives its honors in the flesh, while genius finds its reward only beyond the grave, because prejudice and envy cannot cast their poisonous darts across the valley of death. When a nation discovers a redeemer it is to persecute him first and worship him afterwards ; hence, were it not for monuments and the slower justice of biography, humanity would be without emulous examples, and philosophic ambition would not attain to even the shadow of a dream.

The truth of these observations is scarcely more conspicuously attested in the life of Jesus than it is in the career of Columbus, since both fell victims to the hostility of a depraved human nature in its envy of the truly good and beneficent.

While intending or implying no comparison, we may be pardoned for the sake of illustration in saying that what Jesus was in the Divine essence Columbus was in his secular character ; the one perfect and, therefore, worthy of wor-

shipful reverence as God ; the other, with the imperfections of the human, entitled to the highest laudations as a man.

With the great measure of his deserving, who had practically enlarged the world by half and set in the crown of Spain a jewel so lustrous that all the gems of earth grow pale in its light, Columbus was in his latter days not only neglected, but his distinguished services, instead of aggrandizing, rendered him the victim of every wrong that mad envy and avarice could inflict. And these marplots under the wings of royalty pursued him even to the grave, while anger and hate would fain have disturbed him there, so implacable were these foes of justice.

Though robbed most shamefully by Bobadilla and Ovando and brought, through their conniving, to the verge of penury, yet so buoyant was the nature of Columbus that he hoped for a correction of his wrongs when he should lay his complaints before Ferdinand and Isabella. Poor and deeply afflicted though he was, and confined to his bed in Seville, he trusted to the influence of those few friends who still remained faithful to him. Among these was Diego his son, who was now of age but still in the service of the Queen as page ; also his brother Don Bartholomew, Diego Mendez, Alonzo de Cavaial, a nobleman named Geronimo, and Diego de Deza, the latter an old friend who had been elevated to the bishopric of Palencia. Through the aid of these and his own efforts, and by letters and proofs which he would lay before his sovereigns, Columbus did not doubt that he would recover the dignities and property to which he was so clearly entitled.

The complaints which Columbus had to make were set forth in a lengthy communication which he addressed to their Majesties very soon after his return to Seville, and contained two specifications : 1st, That he had been deprived of his revenues, and that the rentals due from his

estates in San Domingo and his percentage from the mines were withheld by officers of the crown, thus virtually reducing him to poverty; 2d, That his honors, titles and rank which had been conferred and confirmed by royal guarantees in the form of patents and charters were jeopardized, if not nullified, by his suspension from office.

The enormity of withholding from Columbus his percentage of one-eighth, but afterwards one-tenth, of the gold gathered in Hispaniola, and his consequent reduction almost to mendicancy in his old age, may be estimated when we reflect upon the aggregate yield of the Indian mines during the administration of Ovando. The question has been carefully considered by Robertson for the year 1506. According to his estimates the yield of the mines for that and several preceding years amounted annually to a sum equal to about \$500,000. Considering the greater purchasing power of gold and silver in the sixteenth century, it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that his annual revenues from this source, had they been justly paid him, would have been equivalent in value to more than a million of dollars of our present currency. This would have given to Columbus a revenue which, apart from all other resources, would have lifted him from beggary to wealth and enabled him to prosecute his one supreme ambition of recovering the Holy Sepulcher from the possession of the Moham-medans.

In the letters which he transmitted to his sovereigns he justly complained of the withholding of his dues, saying that he was compelled to live by borrowing; that he was unable to own in Spain a roof to shield him from the elements, and that he had no place of resort but the common inn, and that even the small charges for attention there he was unable to pay. But besides these he had other complaints to make. He reminded the sovereigns that the

men who had accompanied him on his last perilous voyage had received no pay since the time of their departure, in consequence of which their families had suffered greatly for the necessaries of life. Not only did he urge the King to an immediate payment of the rewards to which the sailors were entitled, but he wrote a special letter to his son Diego urging him to remind the King of the infinite toils and perils which the sailors had endured, and that they had brought home to Spain and to all the world invaluable tidings for which their Majesties ought to thank God and rejoice.

Before sufficient time had elapsed for a reply to his communication Columbus transmitted another letter to the King, urging upon him the justice as well as the necessity of a restoration of the honors and titles of which he was virtually deprived. At the conclusion of this second letter he appended a note animadverting upon the government of Ovando, citing many facts in the provisional governor's administration about which the sovereigns ought to be greatly solicitous.

To these communications, however, the answers of the court were complimentary but non-committal, since Ferdinand, anxious to annul the charters under which grants had been bestowed upon Columbus, adopted the policy of temporizing with the situation until the beneficiary should die, an event which he had every reason to expect would not be long deferred. He argued within himself, "If we can but placate this aged and importunate Admiral for a little longer his voice and pen will both be still in the incurable paralysis of death; after that we shall deal as we may with his son and kinsmen, taking pains always to interpose between them and their rights such excuses and obstacles as shall make their letters patent and the charters granted to the father of no effect."

His inability to obtain any decisive answer from the King

gave Columbus great worry of mind, intensified by the physical sufferings which confined him for weeks to a bed in the little inn where he had found refuge after his arrival in Spain. Preparations were being made to bring De Porras to trial under the charges which had been preferred by Columbus, and it was very necessary that he should attend at the court to give his testimony. His anxiety, therefore, was so great that he twice ordered a litter to be prepared on which he might be carried to Granada. But on both occasions the project had to be abandoned through the intensity of his sufferings and the inclemency of the weather. His friends in the meantime were exerting themselves in his behalf. But his enemies at court were more numerous and influential, and succeeded in overcoming whatever small inclination the King might have had to accord him justice. And thus, week after week and month after month was spent by Columbus in the deepest anxiety of mind, without the least indication of obtaining that which had been solemnly guaranteed by royal compact, and which he had earned through eight years of toilsome and unremitting service to the Spanish sovereigns.

It at last became clear to the apprehension of the suffering and despairing veteran that the King was against him and his cause. As for the Queen, who had so long been his friend and benefactress, her last days had come. Clouds and shadows darkened around her halls and chamber. Her son, the Prince Juan, was dead, while Juana, married to the Archduke Philip, had contracted an unfortunate alliance with a man whose sympathies and devotion were all abroad. The Princess herself was already, in the first years of her married life, beclouded by a mental malady through which her faculties were jangled out of tune and her mind finally brought to chaos. These troubles fell so heavily upon the Queen that she became the victim of melancholy.

Disease preyed upon her and she sank under the accumulated griefs of broken womanhood. She had been the best sovereign of her age. Her abilities were great and her beauty was praised by all her contemporaries. Her application to the duties of the crown was assiduous and successful, and according to the measure of her powers and the limitations of her education she exerted herself to benefit her subjects and diffuse a generous friendship among the nations. Her true greatness and sympathy for the oppressed are evidenced by her interposition between the humble natives of the West Indies and the cruelty of her Spanish subjects. There can be no doubt that she faithfully sought to protect them from the wrongs and rapacity of her people and bring them to the standard of such poor civilization and religion as the fifteenth century could supply. How great must have been her grief when in her last days reports reached her ears of the horrible abuses practiced upon the Indians by Ovando and his colleagues! One of her last rational acts was to order his recall, and she exacted of the King a pledge that this deed of justice should be at once fulfilled, a request, however, which was wholly disregarded until circumstances five years afterwards rendered that cruel officer's dismissal a necessity.

Isabella fully appreciated that the day of her departure was near at hand. She had not yet reached the end of her fifty-fourth year, but her bodily powers were completely shattered and her deeply religious mind now turned almost with aversion from the noise and splendor of the world to a contemplation of the future. She accordingly prepared her will, giving particular directions not only respecting the disposition of her worldly estates, but also how she should be buried, asking that her body might be committed to a low sepulcher in the Alhambra of Granada and that no other monument than a plain stone properly inscribed be

set to mark her last resting-place. But in her dying moments she did not forget her loyalty and devotion to the King, and among her last requests was one that she might at last be laid beside him when all the things of this earth had faded from his Majesty's view. Thus prepared for the great event, she sank away, and on the 26th of November, 1504, expired at the town of Medina del Campo. Her body was conveyed with great pomp and interred according to her directions, but was afterwards transferred to a tomb in the royal chapel of the Cathedral at Granada, where the King, at his death on January 23d, 1516, was buried beside her.

The news of the death of his friend and patroness was all that Columbus could bear. To that true friend of discovery for many years he had turned, like the crusader gazing on his crucifix, and now in his old age was he indeed left naked to his enemies. But deep as was his dejection over the death of his greatest friend, and supreme as were the sufferings which confined him constantly for a long while to his bed, his mind was to revive to a contemplation of glorious accomplishments of ambitions conceived even in the depth of his extremity. Continuing to petition the King for a restitution of his honors and emoluments, and receiving in reply letters that constantly flattered but gave no substantial promises, Columbus at length finding himself somewhat improved decided to proceed to Segovia, to which place Ferdinand had now transferred his court, and there renew in person the importunities which had thus far proved wholly unavailing. At this time there was a government edict forbidding people to ride on mules, as it was reckoned that the introduction of these cheap and easy-going animals as a means of conveyance had distracted attention from the production of horses, in consequence of which the breeds of the latter had become deteriorated. Columbus, therefore, desiring to make his journey on this

safer conveyance, asked permission of the proper authorities at Seville to make the trip on mule-back. This being granted, in May, 1505, he set out, accompanied by a few faithful attendants, for the Spanish Court.

The arrival of the Admiral at Segovia was attended with no excitement. The people gazed on him merely as an old, broken-down, sorrowful and disappointed man, whose deeds were already forgotten in the public mind, and who from an object of great pomp and circumstance had fallen to a condition so lowly as no longer to attract the attention of any of the populace. The King, however, granted him an audience and even made a pretense of receiving him with accustomed cordiality. He condescended also to hear from the discoverer an account of the fourth expedition and its results. Columbus accordingly narrated the whole, emphasizing in particular the value of the gold mines of Veragua and indicating the benefits which might accrue from the establishment of colonies on that coast. While the King affected interest in the narrative, at the conclusion of the interview he dismissed the Admiral with no substantial evidence of a purpose to restore him to the honors of which he had been so unjustly deprived. But Columbus continued to persist in his demands until the King, as a means of freeing himself from the annoyance of importunity, proposed to refer his claims to arbitration. To this Columbus consented, until he discovered in the papers an agreement to likewise refer his rights to the viceroyalty and governor-generalship of the Indies. As an agreement to such arbitration would have put in debate his titles for which he held the royal patents, Columbus could not, while in the possession of his senses, consent to the opening of a question so fatal to all his rights. He accordingly declined to submit his major claim to arbitration, since about that there was under his charter no possible doubt. The whole

matter was accordingly put aside and the conference of arbitration was never held.

After this miscarriage of his claims Columbus renewed his persistence with the sovereign for a restitution of his honors and for such a decree as would compel the officers of Hispaniola to pay him his dues. He appealed to the conscience and justice of the King to save him in his old age from the hardships of poverty and the shame of dishonor. But month after month continued to roll by, and though Ferdinand treated him with marks of suitable regard, and continued to be effusive with his deceptive assurances, all favorable action was postponed or evaded.

The last formal effort made by Columbus with King Ferdinand related to the young man Diego. To him the fond father looked as his successor and defender of his fame. The jeopardy in which his titles stood admonished the Admiral that the time had arrived when it was advisable for him to abdicate all his claims in favor of his son. In pursuance of this design he sent a last petition to his sovereign, in which he solemnly proposed to waive his own rights and honors in favor of Diego. He besought the King to confirm the youth under the charters granted to himself in the government of the Indies and in the prerogatives and benefits of which he had been unwarrantably deprived so long. But this petition, as had been the former, was evaded by Ferdinand, and it became evident, even to the persistent spirit of the discoverer of the New World, that he had nothing further to expect from his Catholic Majesty of Spain. Sorrowfully he says in a letter to the Archbishop of Seville: "It appears that his Majesty does not see fit to fulfill that which he and the Queen (who is now in glory) promised me by word and seal. For me to contend with the contrary would be to contend with the wind."

The end of 1505 was now near at hand, having been spent

in a fruitless effort to vindicate his rights and to persuade the King to do a simple act of justice as some recompense for the imperishable glory which Columbus had reflected upon his crown. Confined to his bed at a tavern in Segovia, Columbus was now as hopeless in mind as he was infirm in body. Yet out of this suffering condition he was aroused in the following year by a rumor, soon confirmed, that the Princess Juana and the Archduke Philip, her husband, were on their way from Seville to Valladolid, to which place the King had removed his court from Segovia. A brief hope seems to have been inspired in him by this incident, and though in the tortures of old age and infirmity, he determined to seek an audience with their Highnesses. After proceeding a short way, however, his extreme sufferings admonished him of the impossibility of carrying out his intentions, and he was reduced to the necessity of preparing a communication to their Highnesses which he transmitted through his brother Don Bartholomew. In this letter he made profession of his profound loyalty and devotion to the Spanish crown, and described the severe afflictions and numberless misfortunes by which he was detained from going to them in person. In the most touching language he reminded them of the great things which he had accomplished for the glory of Castile first and the honor of mankind afterwards, and followed this with a touching tribute to the virtues of her mother, the Queen.

In penning his letter, which evidently aroused in him ambitions as intense as those which prompted him to his first voyage, he described with glowing enthusiasm the vision which now arose in dazzling splendor before him. Long cherished hopes and aspirations revived like a dying flame, and the aged breast, storm-beaten and exhausted, throbbed and heaved with the fires of an expiring enthusiasm. Old, infirm, tottering on the very brink of the grave

as he was, he yet told the Princess that still greater things remained for him to accomplish. It was of course the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher from the infidel Islamites. That great enterprise, most famous of all his ambitions, he declared he could yet undertake and accomplish if her Highness, after the manner of her noble mother, would hear him for his cause. Nothing in human history has a touch of greater sublimity than this dying passion of a decrepit and worn-out man, rising as it were from the couch of his penury and despair to place himself at the head of an army of Spanish crusaders to wrest the City of David from the hated Moslemites.

It is on record that the appeal of Columbus had its due effect upon the princess and her husband. They gave assurances that the cause of the Admiral should receive their earliest attention, the sincerity of which declaration was shown in the cordial reception of Don Bartholomew and the great interest which the communication evidently excited. But however encouraging the reply of their Highnesses, he for whom the tidings were intended was never to know the results of the message which his brother was prepared to bring from the daughter of Isabella. It may well be believed that the expiring force of his great spirit was exhausted in the composition of the letter to Juana and her husband. At all events, after the departure of Bartholomew he sank back upon his couch and never again rallied to his accustomed animation. He was able between the first and middle of May to prepare one or possibly two codicils to his will, in which he made a more particular disposition of his property. He divided his possessions as though all the revenues to which he was entitled would be paid to his legitimate heirs, and he consequently made provision not only for his immediate but even remote relatives, and besides setting aside an annuity for his brothers and

Doña Beatrix Enriquez, mother of Fernando, he ordered that certain sums might be used for the benefit of others to whom he had become indebted, and also for the establishing of a charitable institution in Genoa. Besides these bequests the Admiral gave small sums to certain companions and servants whose fidelity had won his trust, among these being Bartholomew Fiesco, the companion of Diego Mendez in the perilous canoe voyage from Jamaica to Hispaniola; nor did he forget Diego Mendez, whom he recommended to the sovereigns for appointment as governor of some of the West Indian possessions.

Thus was accomplished the last act in the life of Christopher Columbus. Death was now at his door. But the Admiral had become so weak through his sufferings that he hailed him as a welcome guest.

The glories, the pride and the lofty ambitions which bound him to earth were now dissolving into clouds, behind which were for the moment concealed those greater and more substantial rewards for which his benignant soul thirsted. Cruel destiny, unfathomable wrongs, had denied him a death-bed in a courtly chamber invested with the luxury which kings infinitely less worthily enjoy, but had consigned him to a room that bespoke the poor comforts of a miserable little hotel. No mementos of art, no rich fabrics of the weaver's loom, but with bare floors and walls hung with no other decorations than the chains which had bound him as the seal of a king's ingratitude! There on a bed of pain, forgotten by those whom he had enriched with a measureless opulence, he lay watching the advancing shadows that were obscuring the world, and noted the roseate hues that reveal the approach of eternal day breaking beyond. Beside him were sorrowful watchers in the persons of his two sons, the devoted Fiesco and some Franciscan fathers, who in fulfillment of his last wishes had

clothed him in the habit of the Third Order of St. Francis and prepared him for the last struggle. His mind continued clear even to the moment of dissolution. After exhorting with pious admonitions his sons, he received the Sacrament of Penance, then requested that the chains which he had worn as the badge of a nation's shame might be buried with him. The remembrance of the wrongs he had suffered, which his shackles recalled, appeared to somewhat revive him, and he talked for a while in great seriousness of mind on spiritual matters, indicating that in these was his sole concern in the last hours of his life. When again he felt the chilling paralysis of death stealing over him he asked for the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, and was able to give all the responses himself; but his pulse was feeble and his breath came fitfully. Turning his head slightly in a last movement towards the Franciscan father, who stood sorrowfully awaiting the final summons, he asked in broken speech if it were not Ascension day. Receiving an affirmative reply, his face appeared to be illumined with intense satisfaction as he repeated the words of our expiring Saviour on the cross: *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.* "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." In this wise, on May 20, 1506, he fell into that sleep which is eternal waking, and his great soul that had been so violently tempest-tossed in the turbulencies of a stormy life sailed now across peaceful waters and entered a harbor where the anchorage is secure and where faithful service meets a just reward. His age was about seventy years.

Ferdinand had succeeded in his infamous policy of evading the claims of one of the most importunate men who had ever haunted his court in quest of justice and restitution. The silent form lying in Valadolid could never trouble him further. The great Admiral was gone from earth to that

higher King who would restore to him not only the rights for which he had vainly contended, but grant unto him a crown as a reward for the incomparably great services he had rendered to the world. The sovereign might well assume the virtue of sorrow, particularly when he saw that the death of Columbus produced a great sensation in the kingdom, the people at this late hour beginning to appreciate the luster which he had reflected upon their country. Preparations were therefore made for an elaborate funeral, which was celebrated with much pomp in the city where the Admiral died, and his body was interred with great civic honors in the parochial church of Santa Maria de la Antigua.

After seven years, or in 1513, the remains of the discoverer were transferred to the Carthusian monastery of Las Cuevas, in Seville, where in the chapel of Santo Christo the body was for a second time committed to the sepulcher. There it reposed for twenty-three years. In February, 1526, Don Diego, the son and successor of the Admiral, died and was entombed by the side of his father in the monastery. But ten years afterwards the bodies of both father and son were exhumed and transferred to Hispaniola, where they were reinterred in the chapel of the Cathedral at San Domingo. Here it might well be supposed they would remain forever in the soil of the beautiful land which he had discovered and settled, but which had been despoiled by the ruthless hand of the avaricious Spaniards. In 1795-96 the island of Hispaniola, however, was ceded by Spain to France, when it was reckoned as a fitting thing that the remains of the discoverer of a new world should be again disturbed and committed to a soil above which the flag of Spain still floated. A commissioner was, therefore, appointed to transfer the sacred relics to the Cathedral of Havana in the island of Cuba, where it was supposed, until within the last few years, they reposed.

Investigation recently made by a learned German historian has led to the belief that the relics found reposing in a square casket in a recess of the Cathedral sanctuary of San Domingo and conveyed with such military pomp and religious ceremony to the Cathedral of Havana were not the bones of Columbus, but were those of some ecclesiastical dignitary whose remains had been committed to the sacred crypt in a casket without inscription. The chief grounds upon which this opinion rests is the statement that Columbus' bones, after the third exhumation, were placed in a reliquary on which was stamped his coat of arms, list of his titles, name, date of birth, death and time of last removal; whereas, the chest which contained the mortuary relics that were transferred to Cuba was without inscription or lettering of any kind. But this question will in all probability remain as long in contention as the island which he first sighted, the place of his nativity and the date of his birth, disputes which hardly admit of conclusive settlement.

The Spanish government rejects the conclusions of the German historian referred to, and adheres so strenuously to the belief that the remains transferred from San Domingo to Havana were those of the great discoverer, that when Spain surrendered her sovereignty over Cuba after a war with the United States in 1898, another removal of the mortuary relics was made. Spanish sentiment, never mindful of Spanish injustice, demanded that the remains of Columbus should rest upon the soil—not such as he consecrated by the act of discovery—over which the Spanish flag waves. The government, therefore, after relinquishing Cuba, through the arbitrament of war, sought and obtained permission to transfer the precious remains from Havana to the Cathedral of Seville, which was done in the early part of 1899, and the services attending the deposition of the casket were made especially imposing by the people of the rich old

city from which Columbus equipped his third expedition of discovery.

But though we may not positively know where the remains of the great Admiral repose, his memory is no less effectually preserved in history as well as by monumental tributes that proclaim in granite and marble the imperishable glory and honor in which the world holds his name and deeds. Already before the death of King Ferdinand that monarch had honored himself rather than the discoverer of America by ordering a monument to his memory. This was done while the remains of Columbus were still sleeping in the monastery of Las Cuevas. The tomb was said to be worthy of the great man to whom it was erected. The inscription already granted as a motto to Columbus by his sovereigns was repeated in his epitaph :

“ A CASTILLA Y A LEON
NUEVA MUNDO DIO COLON.”

“To Castile and Leon Columbus gave a New World.”

CHAPTER XXII.

THE life of Columbus may be fittingly concluded with some account of his descendants, of their success in maintaining their rights and their vicissitudes of fortune down to the time when the male line of the Admiral became extinct. No sooner was his father's body put into the tomb than the young Don Diego came forward and claimed under the will all the rights, prerogatives, titles and emoluments which Columbus had enjoyed, and of which in recent years he had been so unjustly deprived. It was hardly to be expected, however, that Ferdinand, who had dealt so unjustly with the father, would be more liberal and just with the son, and we are not surprised, therefore, to learn that he began at once to employ the same temporizing and crafty policy which he had so successfully used with the father.

It was not long until the King was drawn by the emergencies of his reign into Italy, but not until he had conceded to Don Diego, first at Villa Franca in June of 1506, and afterwards at Almazan in August of 1507, what may be called his commercial and property rights under the testament of his father. This was, in a word, a grant that the one-tenth of the revenues derived and derivable from the Indies and *terra firma* discovered by Columbus in the West should go to his son. But Don Diego, like his father, was more concerned about his titles, his rank, his honors as viceroy and governor-general, than he was about his dues and percentages of gold. The young Admiral accordingly

lost no opportunity of representing his claims to the King, and finally made bold to ask the sovereign in so many words whether he would or would not invest him with the titles which had been granted to his father. The question being thus explicitly put, the King could no longer temporize and was thus made to express his will. He therefore refused, and as an excuse for so doing brought forth a principle of the Spanish constitution, reaffirmed by an edict of 1480, that henceforth no grant in perpetuity should be made of any office by the crown which involved the exercise of judicial functions. He claimed that the viceroyalty of the Indies was of this interdicted kind, and that, therefore, though he himself by the stipulations and agreements of 1492 had given such a title to Columbus, the same was unconstitutional and invalid.

After the return of the King from Naples, in 1508, Don Diego again renewed his claim, but this time in another form. He respectfully petitioned the sovereign for the privilege of instituting a suit against the crown before the Council of the Indies, in which his cause, and involving therewith the cause of his father, should be legally heard and decided. The request was granted and the suit was accordingly instituted, continuing for more than a year and resulting in the triumphant establishing of Don Diego's claims. The crown was fairly beaten, and it only remained for the young Admiral, under judgment of the court, to assume the titles and honors of which his father had been so long deprived.

This trial occupied a great part of the years 1508-9, and the record, which has been investigated by the historian Muñoz, is of great value as throwing light upon all the Columbian controversy. The defense of the crown was first of all that above stated, namely, that an entailed viceroyalty granted to Columbus was only for his natural life;

that even this power had been limited by the suspension of the Admiral from office ; that, moreover, Columbus had not been, as was claimed, the first discoverer of *terra firma* but only of the Indian islands ; and that, finally, the crown of Spain must defend itself and its prerogatives against the tendency of unconstitutional and dangerous acts as a measure of self-protection and perpetuity.

All of these questions were ably and impartially considered before the tribunal, and though decided in favor of Don Diego, the nature of the Spanish administration and the power of the crown were such that the application of the decision to Diego's rights was for a while impeded. The young man, however, had by this time secured by marriage an alliance of the greatest possible advantage to himself and his posterity. He had won the heart of Doña Maria de Toledo, daughter of Fernando de Toledo, who was grand commander of Leon and a man of great influence and rank in the kingdom. Greater even than he was his brother Fadrique de Toledo, better known as the Duke of Alva, who was not only powerful by his rank and wealth and talents, but was personally a favorite at court and with the King himself. Such was the reputation which the Columbian family, in spite of its foreign origin and the intrigues and enmities of hostile factions, had attained not only in Spain, but in all the world, that the two princes of Toledo, one the father and the other the uncle of Doña Maria, assented to the marriage of that noble lady to Don Diego. Thus was secured an alliance whereby the Columbian line was to be blent with that of the ancient Spanish nobility.

In view of this condition and relationship Ferdinand gave a reluctant and cold assent to the validity of the judicial decision ; but at the same time he would go no further than to concede to Don Diego the same dignity and rights

which had been for some years and were now enjoyed by Ovando, Governor of Hispaniola. This construction cunningly excluded the title of viceroy, and possibly excluded the extension of the young Admiral's rights to other islands and to *terra firma*. Nevertheless, in a general way, it was agreed that Don Diego should assume the titular dignity of viceroy and that his noble spouse should be recognized as Vice-Queen of the Indies.

Such was the termination of the famous controversy. Up to this date Ferdinand had failed to comply with the promise which he had made to the dying Isabella, to recall Ovando. Circumstances now rendered this long-deferred duty imperative, and in 1509 it was accordingly performed. The young Admiral prepared for his voyage to the Indies, gathering around him many noble and courtly people who were to accompany him to San Domingo and compose his court. His uncles, Don Bartholomew, and Don Diego, senior, were of his retinue. By the beginning of summer, 1509, everything was in readiness, and the fleet prepared for the occasion sailed on the 9th of June from the harbor of San Lucar. Diego arrived at his destination and assumed the government of Hispaniola, which he began to administer with great ceremony and splendor. Ovando was relieved of his duties and sent home with the returning fleet; but he went away in wealth and honor, and the purpose of Isabella to prosecute him for his crime in murdering the innocent people of Xaragua, and in particular for the execution of Anacaona, perished with her merciful Majesty.

It was not long after Don Diego had assumed the government of his island before the purpose of Ferdinand with respect to the Indies was clearly manifested. A royal decree was framed by which the coast of Darien was detached from all connection with the insular parts and was divided

into two provinces, the governorship of one of which was assigned to Alonzo de Ojeda and the other to Diego de Nicuesa. This act was resented and resisted by the Governor of the Indies, but all to no purpose. The slow and toilsome processes of history went on and the wishes of Diego Columbus were disregarded, for his viceroyalty was in name rather than in fact.

It was evidently the purpose of the King that the authority of Diego should be restricted to Hispaniola, or at most to the Indian islands. It was clearly not intended that his jurisdiction should extend to that *terra firma* which was a part, indeed the principal part, as the event was soon to show, of the new lands discovered by the first Admiral. This conflict of purpose was from the beginning a source of embarrassment and distrust between the crown and the young Governor of the Indies.

Diego, however, entered upon his government with much spirit and with many magnanimous purposes. Like his father he was an optimist, and like his father he was destined to inherit perplexity and disappointment from the age and the people with whom he had to deal. He soon found that the malcontent, and jealous and insubordinate dispositions with which the Admiral had had to contend had been transmitted to himself. First of all a certain Miguel Pasamonte, who was the royal treasurer of the island, became the head of an anti-administration party, the motive of which was an ostentatious devotion to the interests of the Spanish crown.

With this movement Fonseca, head of the Indian Bureau and now a privy councilor of the King, was in hearty accord. Not satisfied with having pursued the elder Admiral to his last day he now took up and renewed the warfare on the younger. Nevertheless Don Diego for a season held his own and presently added laurels and palms to his administration by the peaceable occupation or conquest—

if conquest it might be called which brought no shedding of blood—of Cuba. This event took place in 1510 and was at once reported to the King.

Meanwhile the opposition to the government of Don Diego acquired much strength and many complaints were sent home to Spain against him. At length, in 1512, the King gave attention to these murmurings to the extent of sending Don Bartholomew to assist the young Admiral in the duties of his administration. Another circumstance also induced Ferdinand to show this mark of confidence in Bartholomew, and that was the recent failure of both the royal governors in Panama. Ojeda and Nicuesa, with their governments, went by the board; and the King was constrained, under the circumstances, to recognize the rights of Don Diego on the mainland of the isthmus.

Ferdinand accordingly directed that Don Bartholomew should repair to Veragua, and assume the duties of governor under the more general authority of his nephew. But this large and promising scheme was destined to come to naught. Don Bartholomew had already received as his special patrimony the island of Mona, off the Cuban coast. But he was now an old man; the arduous enterprises in which he had been so long engaged had shattered his constitution. Sickness came on, and in the year 1514 Don Bartholomew died, upon which event the island government of Mona was recovered by the King, who thus again showed his disposition to limit the Columbian grants to the life or lives of the present holders.

The death of Don Bartholomew was a serious loss to Diego, for thereafter his enemies became bold in preferring such complaints that in 1515 he was called to Spain to make a report of his administration and to vindicate his rule from the charges brought against him. He there conducted his defense with the greatest ability and came forth from the

inquest with a flying banner. It is probable that had Ferdinand lived he would henceforth have resolutely supported the governor and repressed his enemies, but the King himself now came swiftly to the closing scene. On the 23d of January, 1516, he died, transmitting his crown, as the world knows well, to his grandson, that Charles V. who was destined to be for more than a quarter of a century the most conspicuous figure of the age. Henceforth Don Diego was thrown into relations with the new sovereign, the vastness of whose inheritance, the complications of whose reign were so pressing and multifarious as to make it almost impracticable for him to give adequate attention to the affairs of the Indies.

In the meantime a new historical force had become operative in Hispaniola, which was destined to enter largely into the general movements of civilization in the New World and to cast its shadow, portentous and vast, across the annals of several centuries. This was the introduction, first into Hispaniola and afterwards into all the West Indies and Spanish America, of negro slavery. By the time of which we speak, namely, about 1515, the Indian inhabitants of Hispaniola had been virtually exterminated. A disconsolate and despairing remnant survived from the horrors of the war and the repartimiento. But the survivors were weak and inefficient even under the lash of the master.

The necessity, or at least the advantage, of slave labor had increased as the native slaves were decimated and swept away, and to supply such labor the suggestion of kidnaping and transporting slaves from Africa was heartily received and adopted. Some shiploads of Guinea negroes were brought over, and it was soon found that they were able to endure the severest trials and cruelties of servitude. The trade became at once popular, and the great infamy of modern times was established under the auspices of the

Spanish crown in the new countries which Spanish enterprise had revealed and opened for occupation.

It was not long, however, until the system of servile labor brought a measure of retribution to those by whom it was instituted. In 1522 a negro revolt broke out in Hispaniola, and it was accompanied with much violence and destruction of life and property before it could be suppressed.

Don Diego had now established his family on what appeared to be an excellent foundation. Five children had already been born of his union with Doña Maria de Toledo. These were two sons, Luis and Christopher, and three daughters, Maria, Juana and Isabella. The Columbian line seemed in fairest prospect of perpetuity and honor, but Don Diego himself was involved in ever-recurring difficulties with the crown. This is to say that his enemies in Hispaniola and the enemies of his family in Spain were constantly active and embroiled him once and again in serious complications with the young Emperor. To counteract the evil influence of his enemies Diego was obliged to spend the last years of his life in Spain, following the court from place to place and seeking to obtain redress, or a vindication of his conduct and the re-establishment of his rights and honors.

Doña Maria, acting as Vice-Queen of the Indies, remained with her sons and daughters in San Domingo. Don Diego's death occurred at the town of Montalvan on the 21st of February, 1526. His rights and titles and honors were transmitted by will, and in accordance with the principles of primogeniture, to his oldest son, Don Luis, who became his successor under the authority of the mother. At the time of his father's death Don Luis was but six years of age, and Doña Maria deemed it expedient to go to Spain and have him confirmed in the government which had been derived from his grandfather. An audience was obtained from the young Empress, and the rights and titles of the

third Admiral were confirmed, with the *exception* that the title of viceroy was refused to Don Luis by the Emperor.

A period of comparative quiet now ensued, covering the minority of the third Admiral. In 1538 Don Luis brought suit before the Council of the Indies for the recovery of his title as viceroy. Institution of these proceedings resulted in the question being submitted to arbitration, by which it was declared that henceforth the political honors of Don Luis should be embraced under the two titles of "Admiral of the Indies" and "Captain-General of Hispaniola." In course of time a second compromise was made in which the young governor accepted as a finality the titles of "Duke of Veragua" and "Marquis of Jamaica," instead of the more comprehensive and honorable and significant title of viceroy of the Indies.

Nor was Don Luis permitted to enjoy for any great time the smaller honors which had been substituted for the greater. He died about 1542 leaving two legitimate daughters by his wife, Doña Maria de Mosquera, and one illegitimate son named Christopher. The younger of the two daughters entered a convent and became a nun, and the claim of Don Luis seemed to rest upon his remaining daughter Philippa. The fact of the death of Don Luis without a legitimate son terminated the right male line of Christopher Columbus, and brought in shortly afterwards one of the most complicated and, indeed, important lawsuits of the century. There were many parties to the cause, each having his own interests to conserve, and the issue involved the consideration of the whole Columbian generation from the period before the birth of the great Admiral down to the close of the sixteenth century.

The three daughters of the late Don Diego had all been married to important personages. Maria, the eldest, was wedded to Don Sancho de Cardono; Juana, the second,

was married to Don Luis de Cueva, and Isabella, the third, to Don George of Portugal, Count of Gelves. There stood also in the field of view as a claimant the illegitimate Christopher, son of Don Luis, and in particular his legitimate daughter Philippa. Moreover, Don Diego Columbus, the second Admiral, had two sisters, Francisca and Maria, who came forward and entered their claims in virtue of collateral descent.

Meanwhile a distant and rather factitious figure arose in the person of Bernardo Columbo, of Cogoleto, who declared himself to be a natural son of Don Bartholomew. Still more remotely and strangely appeared the figure of Balthazar Colombo, of the ancient house of Cuccaro, the existence of which the reader will recall from one of the earlier chapters of the present work. Balthazar came forward with a family scheme, showing that a certain Domenico Colombo, who was lord of Cuccaro, was the father of Christopher Colombo of great fame. The Cuccaro Colombos were descended from Domenico; therefore they were the collateral kinsmen of the late Admirals, and they having become extinct in their male line their rights had passed to the Italian branch.

Such was the vast and peculiar complication which had now to be settled in a judicial inquiry before the Council of the Indies. In the first place the decision, which was rendered on the 2d of December, 1608, declared the legal extinction of the male line of Christopher Columbus. In the next place the claims of Balthazar Colombo were under indubitable proofs put aside as spurious. In the third place the family of Doña Isabella, married as above to Don George of Portugal—she being the sister of Don Luis, the third Admiral—was selected as the true line of Columbian descent. At the time of the decision this family was represented by Don Nuño Gelyes de Portugallo, grandson of

Doña Isabella above referred to, who according to the decision of the court became Duke of Veragua. The Don George of Portugal, grandfather of Don Nuño, was himself one of the collateral princes of the House of Bragança, and here the political and civil honors, the titles, ranks and privileges granted aforetime to Christopher Columbus by Ferdinand and Isabella were made finally to rest. The issue was sufficiently strange in the dénouement and sufficiently instructive to the student of biography.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE first attempt to make a conquest and settlement in North America must be credited, if there be credit in it, to the most impetuous desperado that probably ever set foot upon the New World. The discovery of America naturally greatly stimulated the ambition for discovery, and it is not to be disregarded, as a matter of no surprise, that the purpose which actuated Columbus, and which led him by good fortune to the shores of a new continent, had a still further result, for to the success of his voyages Europe is indebted for the discovery of a sea-route to India. Vasco da Gama, one of the boldest of Portuguese mariners, was commissioned by his sovereign, King Manoel, to make a quest for the India described so extravagantly by Marco Polo, and by doubling Cape Good Hope he brought his vessel to anchor at Calicut, on the Malibar coast, May 20, 1498. He returned to Lisbon with glorious accounts of the Zamorin of India, September, 1499, and made a second voyage to India, from which he returned in September, 1503, with ships so laden with gold and rich stuffs that all Europe became intensely excited and the spirit of discovery was thereby fostered to the exclusion of almost every other interest. It was the beginning of that fierce rivalry between Spain and Portugal for new colonial possessions that raged for a century and primarily was the cause of piracy, by which the high sea was ravaged for nearly three centuries.

In her efforts to colonize Cuba, St. Domingo and the islands of the Caribbean, Spain sent ships, supplies and men

to several points which appeared favorable for settlements, and over those established in Hispaniola (St. Domingo) Ovando, one of Columbus' bravest comrades, was appointed governor. But Ovando became inimical to the interests of Columbus, and at the latter's instigation he was recalled, and Diego, the eldest son of Columbus, was appointed in his stead. Upon assuming this dignity Diego took the title of Viceroy and affected such magnificence as is usually reserved for royalty. But he was not content with an august and splendid rule on a small island, and scarcely had he gained the gubernatorial office when he became ambitious to extend his power over new dominions in the name of Spain. In pursuance of this desire for greater glory Diego organized an expedition of 300 men against Cuba, with the view of annexing that large and most beautiful island, and gave the command to an adventurous and daring character named Diego de Velasquez. Such an enterprise, of course, attracted the attention of all the bold spirits that had settled in Hispaniola, and among those who sought enlistment under Velasquez was a youthful scapegrace named Hernando Cortez. This remarkable character was a native of the little town of Medellin, in Spain, where he was born to a captain in the Spanish navy in the year 1485. With a disposition remarkable for recklessness, we are not surprised that he should be expelled from school, and that he gave his father no end of trouble by his wild escapades, in which guilty and shameless amours were most frequent. Unable to restrain Hernando at home, his father concluded to send him to St. Domingo, but on the evening of his intended departure the reckless boy, then but seventeen years of age, while making an effort to secretly gain the balcony of his lady-love's room, lost his hold upon the railing and fell so heavily to the ground below that his life was for a while despaired of. Recovering at length, however, he sailed

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
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away to the New World and found congenial companionship with the bold rovers who had preceded him.

Hernando spent seven years with his uncle, Ovando, governor of St. Domingo, occupying some minor official positions, but in this time performing no special service beyond that of messenger to natives living in the interior of the island, whose hostility and treachery were such that no one but a daring character could be engaged to treat with them.

On account of his bravery and the experience acquired by his intercourse with the natives of St. Domingo, Hernando was accepted as a valuable acquisition to the expedition sent out by Diego Columbus in 1511, under Velasquez, to accomplish the subjugation of Cuba. This most fertile island on the globe was discovered by Columbus during his first voyage (Oct. 28, 1492), and in honor of Prince John, son of Ferdinand and Isabella, was named Juana, but at the death of the king the name was changed to Fernandina. Some years later it was designated, in honor of Spain's patron saint, Santiago, and subsequently it was called, after the holy virgin, Ave Maria. These several names became so confusing that it was finally decided to continue the designation by which it was known to the natives at the time of its discovery, viz., Cuba. At this time the island was divided into nine principalities, each preserving its independence, and ruled by as many caciques or chiefs. The people are described as living in an easy, voluptuous and contented manner, and at peace among themselves because they appeared to be indifferent to conditions. They were semi-religious; that is, they appeared to entertain a belief in the existence of a supreme being and in the immortality of the soul, but they practiced no ceremonies, and employed no rites, nor were their beliefs well defined.

In the several conflicts between the marines who accom-

panied Columbus and the Cubans the latter had exhibited little valor, being, as they were, such voluptuaries that they accepted any harsh conditions rather than engage their foes, whose severities they had more than once felt. The invasion of Velasquez met with so little opposition that the march was not once interrupted, the natives fleeing at the sight of the white invaders, leaving their burning villages to be plundered at will. Only one cacique offered the slightest resistance, and for his appeal to his people to repel the white robbers he was taken by Velasquez and given the alternative of embracing the Christian religion or being burned alive. When told, in reply to his inquiry, that many Spaniards were in heaven he accepted the latter, for, said he, "I would rather be annihilated by fire than be compelled to associate even in heaven with such fiends as are the Spaniards." With characteristic malignity and mercilessness Velasquez bound the unhappy chief to a stake, and heaping fagots about him ordered fire to be applied to the pile, and watched with satisfaction the slow consumption, and heard with laugh of pleasure the piercing screams of his helpless victim. This horror brought the natives to make an acknowledgment of perpetual submission to Spain, and by this bloody title Cuba has continued to remain a possession of that country to this day.

Having mastered the island, on July 25th, 1515, Velasquez established a settlement on the south coast, at the mouth of the River Mayabeque, and in honor of Columbus called the place San Cristobel de la Habana. But the location proving unhealthy the town was removed to the mouth of the Rio Almenderes; but this site being no better than the first, the settlement was again transferred in 1519 to its present location, at the entrance of one of the finest harbors in the world, and to the new town was given another name, Havana, by which it has ever since been known. At nearly

the same time that a settlement was formed at San Cristobel another was established on the southeast coast and called Santiago, which Velasquez made his capital, while still another was made on the south central coast and named Trinidad, both of which flourished and developed into important ports of commerce, and which they have continued to be to this day.

The acquisition of Cuba was directly followed by the appointment of Velasquez as governor, and in recognition of his valuable services Cortez was chosen his secretary. But the intimate relations between Velasquez and his secretary were not to remain long undisturbed, for an enmity was presently engendered by the infamous conduct of Cortez towards one of four sisters, daughters of a rich gentleman from Castile, who had come over with hundreds of other wealthy families to settle in the fair land of Cuba. Velasquez resented the insult, being deeply attached to one of the young ladies, and to avenge himself Cortez entered into a conspiracy to secure the removal of his chief. He was detected, however, and being arrested was tried and sentenced to death, but he contrived to break his fetters, and forcing his way through a window of the prison sought refuge in a church, where, according to the customs of the time, he was secure, for the church sanctuary must not be violated. After remaining for some days in this place of refuge he attempted to escape in the night, but was again arrested and taken on shipboard to be sent to St. Domingo, with a cord, as the badge of a traitor, about his neck. But for a second time he managed to divest himself of his manacles, and slipping out upon the deck plunged into the sea and swam ashore and regained the sanctuary of the church. Being badly disabled and exhausted, to end his distress he offered to marry the girl that he had wronged, and his proposal was accepted. This act reinstated him in the good

opinion and confidence of Velasquez, who soon after selected him to command an expedition, the results of which served to establish his fame for all ages.

A year before the incident just related, Velasquez had dispatched an expedition of three small vessels, and something more than 100 men, under the command of Francisco Hernandez, to make an exploration among the adjacent islands with the view of attaching them to the Spanish crown. This expedition sailed as far west as Yucatan, which they discovered, and by trading with the natives the Spaniards obtained a large number of brightly burnished hatchets and other articles which they thought were gold. But they were so avaricious that what they were unable to secure by barter, they sought to possess by force, which precipitated a conflict, in which a greater part of the Spaniards were killed. Only about thirty of the original number returned, and several of these were so severely wounded that they died, among these latter being Hernandez, the commander.

The fate of the expedition was, however, forgotten in the wild excitement produced by reports that the land from which the remnant of the voyagers returned so abounded with gold that the natives used it as the commonest of metals. And even after an assay of the burnished hatchets had disclosed the fact that they were copper instead of gold, the excitement did not seem to abate, for the belief continued that somewhere in the interior of the country thus discovered there were mines and mountains of the precious mineral from which the natives procured it in great abundance. Acting under this belief Velasquez fitted out another expedition of four ships and 240 men, which, under the command of Juan de Grijalva, left the port of Santiago in April, 1518. After a sail of eight days they reached the shore of Central America, but found the

natives so hostile that it was not deemed prudent to make a landing. Continuing along the coast, therefore, the expedition anchored before a Mexican town, which has since been named St. Juan de Uloa, where they were hospitably received, and a profitable trade was conducted with the people. A considerable quantity of gold was here secured in exchange for glass beads, and information was also obtained of a wondrously rich kingdom and of a magnificent capital in the interior, where a mighty ruler known as Montezuma lived in unexampled splendor.

When the expedition under Grijalva returned with its report and with many specimens of gold in verification of the stories concerning wealth of the Mexican kingdom, excitement was unbounded, not only in Cuba, but also in Spain, where the news was transmitted by Velasquez with request for assistance in organizing another expedition for the subjugation of the new country. The help asked for was so speedily rendered that in a surprisingly short time a fleet of vessels was provided, and Hernando Cortez was appointed to the command, but a full complement of men yet remained to be obtained. Before preparations were fully completed, with the fear that Velasquez might deprive him of the honors bestowed, Cortez raised his anchors and sailed away from Santiago for Trinidad to procure additional troops. Here, by his impassioned appeals to the people, exciting both their religious zeal and their cupidity, he succeeded in enlisting several hundred cross-bowmen, and besides muskets and other weapons he obtained several small cannons. Having been joined by nearly 200 men in Trinidad, Cortez collected a large quantity of military supplies, provided padded coats for some and armor for others of his soldiers, and set them through a thorough course of drill. Besides inspiring his followers with promises of large rewards in the land of gold, Cortez intensified their ardor by declaring that

one of his prime purposes in undertaking the conquest was to supplant the idol-worship of the Mexicans with the cross of Christianity, and to emphasize this intent in the minds of his men, he planted before his tent a banner of black velvet embroidered with gold, on which was a gilt sign of the cross surrounded with an emblazoned device, "Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer."

Just before his departure from Trinidad, Cortez perceived two ships with valuable cargoes putting into the harbor, which he captured under the pretense that the Lord had made him an instrument for spreading the gospel, and that as a servant of God he had need for the vessels, which, with their cargoes, should be devoted to the Lord's service. Singular enough his eloquence was such that he persuaded the crews of both vessels, including their owners, to join his expedition, after which he sailed to Havana, and there completed his preparations for the enterprise which he had so auspiciously undertaken. He found his expedition now to consist of eleven vessels, most of which, however, were only open barks, with one of 100, and three of seventy tons, but into these he embarked 110 seamen, 553 soldiers, and something over 200 Indian men and women who acted as servants. On account of the smallness of his vessels Cortez took with him only sixteen horses, but these valuable animals had not been brought over from Spain in any considerable numbers as yet, and were, therefore, difficult to procure; but had he known the important part they were to play in his expedition he would have taken a larger number at whatever expense or hazard. Formidable weapons were also scarce, so that he was able to arm only thirty of his men with muskets, and thirty-two with cross-bows, the rest having to be content with swords, spears, and a few battle-axes.

Thus poorly provided in an undertaking to subjugate

millions whose power he had no means of knowing, Cortez left Havana on the 18th of February, 1519, for the shores of Yucatan.

After a stormy passage of a week's duration, the expedition came in sight of the island of Cozumel, which is a considerable body of land thirty miles from the shores of Yucatan. A large number of natives were assembled upon the beach, and viewed in terror the sails of the approaching squadron. They were horror-stricken at the spectacle, in expectation of the Spaniards coming to avenge the murder of their comrades under Grijalva whose expedition met with such a sorry defeat at their hands. After the squadron had made anchor, a large party of Spaniards debarked and entered one of the native temples in which an idol, decorated with gold, was discovered and was seized as lawful prey by one of the sub-commanders of the party. Cortez, however, rebuked this rash and impolitic act, and not only restored the idol to the sanctuary from which it had been ravaged, but took every means to assure the natives of his peaceful intentions, by which efforts he finally obtained their confidence and opened a lucrative traffic, which redounded in no small benefits to the Spaniards.

On the 4th of March the squadron departed from the island upon which they had had a pleasant stay, and on the following day reached the shores of the continent, along which he sailed a distance of 200 miles, until he reached the mouth of the River Tabasco, before which he anchored his ships, and with a well-armed party, in boats, ascended the shallow stream. After proceeding several miles he attempted a landing at a beautiful place before which stretched a wide and inviting meadow. But he was intercepted by a large party of natives, who, flourishing their weapons, shouted words of defiance, and as the day was far spent, Cortez prudently decided to wait until morning

before engaging the hostiles. He accordingly anchored off shore, where, for the time, he would be secure, as no canoes were near in which the natives might reach his boats.

When morning broke on the following day, there was presented to his startled view an enormous force of savages who had been rallying the entire night and now stood in battle array, armed with weapons from which the sun flashed in blinding brilliancy, and with heads covered with plumes that gave them both a wild and martial appearance. The blast of trumpets and the roll of drums, mingled with shouts from thousands of dark-skinned natives, was quickly answered by the firing of the few muskets that Cortez had, and a charge from the entire force of Spaniards. The natives were armed principally with bows and arrows, and at the first attack the air seemed filled with these missiles. But the Spaniards were protected by their helmets and shields, so that few casualties resulted to the invaders, and a heroic charge soon put the natives to rout, with a loss of several hundred. The Indians had believed the thunder of the cannons and muskets was produced by supernatural powers, and fled from what they were convinced was the anger of an enraged god. Only fourteen of the Spaniards were wounded, and none of these so seriously but they were able to continue the march. On the following day Cortez proceeded to Tabasco, which was the capital of a province in Central America, of which he took possession without meeting any resistance from the natives, all of whom fled in dismay upon the approach of the invaders. Cortez' arrival in the town was the signal for another gathering of the Indians, who sent out couriers in every direction, and in a surprisingly short time thousands came flocking to the standards of their chiefs to repel their white foes. But anticipating an attack, Cortez sent back to his vessels for all the arms that were brought over and for every man that

could be spared from the ships, so that he was able to marshal a force of more than 500 men, splendidly equipped, and six cannons the thunder of which was more terrible to the natives than the slaughter which they wrought.

On the 25th of March the great battle which had been anticipated for nearly a week began. The enemy is estimated to have numbered 40,000 warriors, armed with arrows, slings, stones and javelins, against which there were to contend less than 600 Spaniards, whose lack of number was more than compensated by their superior weapons and their religious fanaticism, Cortez having been careful to arouse their fervor by declaring that God would fight their battles for them, and that they were but instruments in His hands to extend Christianity in the New World. The natives were first to attack with a volley that wounded seventy Spaniards, but only one was killed. But the charge was heroically met by the invaders, who opened a fire with muskets and cannons that tore great gaps in the ranks of the Indians, and was followed by a slaughter that has few parallels in the history of Mexico. Cortez, at the head of his small force of cavalry, had made a detour, and arrived unperceived in the rear of the natives, whom he charged with such impetuosity that many were trampled beneath the hoofs of his horses and hundreds were cut down by the broad-swords of his men. But the slaughter and dismay caused by the charge were nothing to the terror inspired by the sight of the horses, which the natives had never before seen. They believed that horse and rider was some strange creature, half man, half beast, that devoured as well as killed, before which nothing mortal could stand.

The slaughter had now been so great that 30,000 of the natives lay dead upon the field, while but two of the Spaniards had been killed outright, and scarcely more than a hundred wounded. Terror-stricken and beaten, a panic

now seized the Indians, and a dreadful rout ensued, in which many more were slain. Upon this blood-stained field Cortez now reassembled his army, and setting up his banner and erecting the cross, prepared to celebrate mass in a manner as imposing as the scene immediately before had been awful; the wounds of the Spaniards were then dressed with fat stripped from Indians that had been killed, and night coming on, peace again brooded over that terrible field.

The power of the natives about Yucatan having been completely broken, they were ready to sue for peace upon any terms, and accepted the conditions which Cortez imposed. They renounced their own religion, embraced Catholicism, destroyed their idols, and accepting the priests that were offered them, were confirmed in the holy religion from which they have not since departed. Before leaving Yucatan, Cortez was presented with twenty Indian girls whom he distributed as wives among his captains, retaining for himself the most beautiful one, whose name was Marina. Polygamy was the custom of the country, so that this young woman believed her relations to Cortez to be legitimate, and by her devotion and loyalty soon won his love. She was the daughter of a powerful Mexican cacique, but her father having died, her mother married again, whose affections were estranged from the daughter by the influence of a son by her second husband, so that the beautiful Marina was finally driven from home, and became a slave to a merchant of the country. Thus she acquired the language of Yucatan, and being familiar also with the Mexican tongue, proved invaluable in her services to Cortez, not only through her devoted loyalty to him but by acting as interpreter through a Spaniard who had some years before been driven by a storm and wrecked upon the shore of Central America, among the natives of which country he

had lived until the landing of Cortez gave him opportunity to escape and join the expedition.

Leaving Tabasco, Cortez continued his voyage up the Central American coast, until he arrived before the island of San Juan de Uloa, which is at the mouth of one of the principal harbors of the Empire of Mexico.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CORTEZ resumed his voyage up the coast, with gay streamers of various colors floating from the masts of his vessels, until his squadron dropped anchor in the beautiful harbor of Uloa, where he was directly visited by a canoe bearing two important chiefs of the natives, acting as an embassy from the court of the Emperor of Mexico. The Indians were not entirely unacquainted with the Spaniards, for they had met the expedition of Grijalva some years before, and held a short intercourse with their visitors, which so impressed them that when they perceived the large squadron now lying at anchor they believed that the strangers had come with the purpose of invading and destroying their peaceful homes. The emissaries, therefore, came bearing rich presents to Cortez and to pay respectful homage, with the hope of averting the disaster which they believed was now impending. Cortez received them kindly, and gained their confidence through a long interview, conducted by the aid of Marina and the Spaniard as interpreters. Having reassured them of his peaceful intentions, Cortez obtained the information that 200 miles in the interior was the capital of the empire, where dwelt a monarch named Montezuma, who was beloved by his subjects, and whose reign extended over a vast realm. He ascertained also that the country was divided into provinces, over each of which a governor presided, and that the executive over the territory at which he had landed was named Teutile, whose residence was some twenty miles distant.

Dismissing his official visitors with some gifts, and renewed assurances of his peaceful intentions, Cortez landed his entire force upon the shore, and set immediately about constructing a fortified camp, the outer works of which was defended by his artillery, so planted as to command the immediate surrounding district. In this work the Spaniards were assisted by the natives, who brought daily an abundance of provisions, and in every way manifested their hospitality and kindness.

After a week spent in this place, during which time the Mexicans and Spaniards mingled freely on intimate terms, Governor Teutile, with a numerous retinue, made a visit to Cortez, at which demonstrations of friendship were exchanged. The cupidity of the Spaniards, however, was excited by the rich ornaments of silver and gold of the most splendid workmanship which decorated the persons of the governor and his staff, and incited them with a stronger desire to penetrate the territory where incredible wealth was now confidently believed might be had. At the request of Cortez, Teutile sent a communication to Montezuma, informing him of the arrival of the strangers and their desire to visit the Mexican capital. This communication was made by picture writing, as the Mexicans made no use of letters, which custom was peculiar to all the peoples of North America up to the time of the settlement of the country by the whites. Mexican painters were also employed to make pictures of the Spaniards and of the arms which they bore, also of the fleet and the armor, horses and general equipment of the expedition, by which means they were enabled to convey to Montezuma a very correct idea of the arms, character and power of the Spaniards.

On the eighth day after the transmission of the communication to the Emperor, an embassy, consisting of two nobles, accompanied by a staff of a hundred men laden with mag-

nificent gifts from Montezuma, presented themselves before Cortez with the Emperor's reply. Among the many presents which they bore were articles of silver and gold, wrought in such exquisite manner that they vastly surpassed the best workmanship of European artists; and besides these, a Spanish helmet, which had been sent to Montezuma, was returned filled with nuggets of pure gold. Accompanying the presents was the following reply to the communication transmitted through Governor Teutile: "Our master is happy to send these tokens of his respect to the King of Spain. He regrets that he cannot enjoy an interview with the Spaniards, but the distance of his capital is too great and the perils of the journey too serious to allow of this pleasure. The strangers are, therefore, requested to return to their own homes, with these fruits of the friendly feelings of Montezuma." This reply not only disappointed but chagrined Cortez, who, though unwilling to immediately offend the great emperor, insisted upon a renewal of his request for permission to visit the Mexican capital; but the ambassadors assured him that another application would be equally unavailing. However, they accepted of a few presents of shirts and ties, and departed again on their return to Montezuma, and conveyed this second message from the Spanish commander.

Days passed without any reply from Montezuma, and as the natives now began to feel some uneasiness, they acted with more reserve, and withheld the supplies of provisions which they had before freely given. The weather, too, was insufferably hot, and a deadly sickness was soon manifested in the camp, from which thirty of the Spaniards died. Some of the party were now anxious to return to Cuba, fearing to encounter the perils which they must endure on a trip through a country of which they knew nothing, and among people whose number exceeded the entire population of

Spain. But Cortez was not to thus supinely abandon an undertaking which promised both wealth and glory, and by impassioned appeals and assurances of success he succeeded in exciting anew the ambitions of his comrades, and it was determined at length to push on, despite whatever might happen, for the Mexican capital.

At the expiration of ten days, another message was received from Montezuma, more peremptory than the first, declaring that the Spaniards would not be permitted to approach the capital, and begging that they would depart from his shores, lest the friendship which he entertained might be turned to hostility. This reply of Montezuma inflamed Cortez with passion, which he made no effort to conceal, and turning to his soldiers he said: "This is truly a rich and powerful prince. His great treasures shall repay us well for the hardships which we must encounter. If we cannot visit his capital by invitation, we will go as soldiers of the Cross." The ambassadors retired with expressions of courtesy, but with manifest displeasure at the pertinacity of the Spaniards.

On the following morning, the huts of the Mexicans about the place where Cortez had built his fort were abandoned, and not one native reappeared to offer the Spaniards food, or to exchange the kindly civilities which had before characterized them. When provisions began to grow scarce, there was another disaffection among the members of the expedition, fully one-half of whom now seemed so determined to return to Cuba that Cortez apparently acquiesced, but secretly set those who were favorable to marching to the capital to cause a mutiny in the camp against the proposed return. According to a preconcerted arrangement, his emissaries surrounded his tent in the evening, and with great show of force declared that, having entered upon an enterprise of converting the country to Christianity, they

were determined to persevere in the effort, and that if Cortez wished to return with the other cowards to Cuba, they would choose another general more valorous, who would lead them through paths of glory to the palace of the idolaters. This ruse was completely successful, for Cortez seized the occasion to make another patriotic address to his followers, which changed their former determination and set every one to contemplating the wealth and glory which must follow their efforts to win the country to Christianity.

Cortez now established a settlement on the coast at Uloa, and assembled a council for the organization of the government. Before the council thus selected, he bowed in obsequious homage and, in order to obtain a commission from the government, surrendered the authority which he had received from Velasquez, which had indeed been long before revoked; and in exchange was tendered a commission from this body ostensibly representing Charles V. of Spain. By this means he was chosen Chief Justice of the colony and Captain General of the army, thus shaking off his dependence upon Velasquez and assuming the dignity of a governor responsible only to his sovereign.

About this time, and while preparations were being made for the invasion, five Indians of rank came soliciting an interview with the commander. They represented themselves as envoys from a chief of a province not far distant, who reigned over a nation called Totonacs, a people who had been conquered by Montezuma and annexed to the Mexican Empire; but that they suffered all manner of severities and trials under their conqueror, and now sought an alliance with the Spaniards with the hope that they with their help might regain their independence. Cortez saw that this was an opportunity that he could not afford to waste, as here lay the means for largely augmenting his

force, and by stirring up civil war he might divide the empire so as to make its subjugation more easily accomplished. First changing his settlement to a more desirable location some forty miles further up the coast, Cortez set himself at the head of his army and proceeded on a journey to a city twelve miles in the interior, where the cacique resided. When he had arrived within three miles of the palace of the chief of the Totonacs, he was met by a vast concourse of men who brought presents of gold, fruit and flowers, and who omitted nothing in a generous exhibition of their friendship and desire for an alliance.

The country through which the Spaniards passed was beautiful almost beyond comparison, and the inhabitants possessed elements of refinement which might well do credit to the most civilized of European nations. The town, too, was beautifully laid out and handsomely ornamented with shade trees, and was as clean as the most carefully swept floor. The chief gave a magnificent welcome to his visitors, and exhibited such polished manners as led Cortez to believe that he had acquired his conduct at some magnificent court. After the first greeting, the cacique addressed Cortez in these words: "Gracious stranger, I cannot sufficiently commend your benevolence, and none can stand in more need of it! You see before you a man wearied out with unmerited wrong. I and my people are crushed and trodden under foot by the most tyrannical power upon earth. We were once an independent and happy people, but the prosperity of the Totonacs is now destroyed; the power of our nobles is gone. We are robbed of the produce of our fields; our sons are torn from us for sacrifices and our daughters for slaves; and now, mighty warrior, we implore thy strength and kindness that thou wouldst enable us to resist these tyrants, and deliver us from their exactions." Promising him his assistance, Cortez rode through

the streets of the capital, and through the great court of the temple which had been assigned for his accommodation. At the head of his column floated gilt-bespangled banners, followed by his cavalry of sixteen horses, animals which the Totonacs had never before seen, and behind these came the artillery, which, in the eyes of the natives, were supernatural agents, dealing lightning bolts and thunder roars at the will of the Spaniards.

On the following morning, Cortez returned to the point selected for the settlement, and was met by another cacique, who tendered him the service of 400 men to assist him in removing his baggage, or to perform any other labors which he might desire. The country was densely populated, and Cortez was offered such aid that in a short while a sufficient number of huts were erected to house all his people, and a flourishing town was brought quickly into existence, the first established by whites on the continent of the New World.

Every movement of the Spaniards had been reported to Montezuma, who, now perceiving the intention of the strangers, saw the necessity of doing something to prevent their more thorough establishment in the country. Accordingly, he sent five messengers, large and imposing men, each of whom carried a bouquet of flowers, followed by obsequious attendants. These ambassadors visited the settlement with authority from the Emperor to take such action against his rebellious subjects as the exigencies of the occasion seemed to justify. They commanded that the Totonac chiefs appear immediately before them, which, like terrified children, they promptly obeyed. At the conclusion of the interview, the Totonacs in great fear appealed to Cortez, informing him of the indignation of the Emperor at their conduct in supporting the Spaniards, and of his demand that, as a penalty for their actions, they immedi-

ately surrender to the five ambassadors twenty young men and as many young women of the Totonacs, to be offered in sacrifice to their gods. The terror inspired by this demand may well be excused, when it is known how these sacrifices were obtained and accomplished: At the time of Cortez' visit, and long anterior thereto, it was a practice among the Aztecs (which word may be used to designate all the peoples occupying that territory lying between the isthmus of Darien and the Rio Grande River) to make sacrifices of human beings to their Sun god. These victims were generally obtained from the flower of the people, as those thus offered up were supposed to be without blemish; otherwise, they would not be acceptable to the deity. The place of sacrifice was in the temple court, upon a pyramid specially constructed for the purpose. Here the victims were laid upon a sacrificial stone, with arms extended and bound with iron wristlets and collar. Six priests officiated upon these occasions, one of whom plunged the copper knife into the breast of the offering, and tearing out the heart, held that fresh, palpitating and bleeding organ towards the sun, at the same time reciting his orisons and devotions. The religion of these people was essentially a bloody one, calling so frequently for human sacrifices that it has been estimated that no less than fifty thousand victims were required every year to placate the Aztec gods. But, in addition to these pious offerings, the Aztecs invariably tortured their prisoners and celebrated their victories by the bloodiest rites, and not infrequently the bodies were served up and eaten at sacrificial banquets with accompaniment of great rejoicing.

When the determination of the ambassadors dispatched by Montezuma was described to Cortez, he assumed an air of bitter indignation, and set earnestly about promoting an open rupture between the Totonacs and the Mexicans. Not

only did he declare that God had commissioned him to abolish the abominable practices of these heathens, but he commanded the Totonac chiefs to arrest the ambassadors and convey them immediately to prison. Having been accustomed to look upon Montezuma as the greatest monarch of the earth, whose power none might successfully resist, the Totonac chiefs were horrified at the order given them by Cortez. But reflecting again upon the surrender of their young men and women to be sacrificed for their own rebellious acts, and feeling themselves now between two fires, they accepted the last alternative and, with many misgivings, they hurried the ambassadors away to prison. This was an act of open rebellion, which they realized was unpardonable, and henceforth they were to be the slaves of Cortez, to whose strong arm they could alone look for protection. With a perfidy which the most depraved of human wretches would scarcely manifest, on the following night Cortez secretly released two of the ambassadors, and with specious words of friendship sent them back to Montezuma, with a promise to set the others at liberty at the earliest possible moment. The next morning, the other three were also set free and were given some presents to convey to Montezuma, and bidden specially to report the outrage (as he characterized it) which had been committed upon them by the Totonacs. Thus, while pretending to be the friend of each, Cortez succeeded in his design of setting one part of the empire against the other, and fomenting a rebellion of which he was to be the chief beneficiary.

The settlement which Cortez had thus established he named Villi Rica de la Vera Cruz, which interpreted means The Rich City of the True Cross. Its location was a few miles above where the present city of Vera Cruz stands. Here he remained for some time, and until he received another message from the court of Montezuma, which was

couched in very different language from that which had previously been transmitted. The Mexican Emperor, being deceived by the specious pretensions of Cortez, and alarmed as well by the appalling power which he manifested and which the Emperor believed must be supernatural, adopted a conciliatory policy, and even invited Cortez and his soldiers now to visit his capital. The peaceful relations which had thus been suddenly established between Cortez and Montezuma were kept secret from the Totonacs as far as possible, and, appreciating their position towards the Emperor, they omitted no opportunity to show their faith and reliance in the strangers with whom they had thus formed an alliance, and to strengthen this bond the cacique made an offering to Cortez of eight of the most beautiful maidens that he was able to find in the country, and in urging the acceptance of this singular gift begged that they be joined in marriage to his officers. This proposition Cortez turned to his advantage by a show of gracious condescension and a promise to receive them upon the condition that these maidens would renounce their idolatry and be baptized into the holy Catholic Church, which the Totonacs agreed to, and thus were the first converts to Christianity made among the people of Mexico.

Having thus succeeded in his first efforts to convert a few of the people by peaceful means, he urged upon the Totonac chiefs an abandonment of their heathenism and a general adoption of the Catholic faith. But this proposition they respectfully declined, reminding Cortez of the power of their gods, whom they had from time immemorial faithfully worshiped, and declaring that their abandonment now would result in the destruction of the entire nation. This loyalty to their religion severely provoked Cortez, who, unable to appreciate the nobility of these sentiments, attributed their inclination to an obstinacy which he was deter-

mined to overcome by force, if persuasion were unavailing. Accordingly, on the following day, in a solid column, the soldiers marched directly to one of the most magnificent temples of the district, and amid the panic created by the pageantry that he presented, he ascended with fifty of his men up the winding stairway of the pyramid within the temple's court, and with violent hands hurled down the massive wooden idols, which broke in fragments as they struck the streets. Gathering up the remains, he placed them in a pile and applied the torch, by which they were speedily consumed. Appalled by this violence, and realizing their own helplessness, the Totonac chiefs docilely acquiesced in all the demands made upon them by the invaders. Cortez then ordered that the Totonacs be dressed in the sacerdotal robes of the Catholic priesthood; and placing lighted candles in their hands, he forced them to participate in the rites of the Papal Church. Upon the apex of the pyramid, where human sacrifices had been offered upon more than a hundred occasions, Cortez erected an altar, before which mass was solemnly performed. And there, on that bloody spot, the psalmody of the Catholic priests ascended in the air, the first offering made to the true God from a country in which, aside from its religion, there was a splendid civilization. This incident so affected the minds of the natives that many wept, and the whole nation directly accepted the Christian religion, perceiving its superiority to the brutalities of their own.

Thus far there had been no serious obstacles to the progress of the purpose of Cortez. But about this time, for some unexplained cause, there was another disaffection among his soldiers, a party of whom had secretly seized one of the brigantines with the intention of escaping back to Cuba. At the last moment, however, one of the conspirators disclosed the intention of his comrades, and Cortez, at

all times fearful of the results of his assumption of the gubernatorial position, as already described, determined to make an example of the conspirators. He accordingly ordered all the mutineers to be brought upon shore, where, after a brief trial, the two ringleaders were condemned to be beheaded. The pilot was committed to the more brutal penalty of having his feet cut off, while two others of the foremost sailors received 200 lashes, from the effects of which they did not recover for several months. But, not entirely satisfied with the results of his harsh measures, to prevent the destruction of his disaffected followers, Cortez adopted a desperate expedient: He was now upon an unknown shore, in the midst of millions of people, the most of whom were loyally attached to their emperor, and who by combination might easily accomplish his destruction. But, dismissing all danger, in his blind ambition Cortez ordered all the vessels of his fleet dismantled, and after every movable thing had been placed on shore, the ships were scuttled and sunk. At this bold act the soldiers were struck with consternation, for they perceived how hopeless was their expectation of ever again returning to their friends unless Providence protected them in all the perilous marches which lay before them, and which the majority of the company contemplated with feelings of despair. But their destiny lay entirely in the hands of their leader, whom it were no avail now to oppose, and their feelings of insubordination gave place to a blind obedience, which was directly aroused to enthusiasm and devotion by a thrilling speech which Cortez delivered to pacify his men.

On the 15th of August, 1519, Cortez had so far completed his preparation for the great march to the interior that he brought up his little army in review, and after putting them through many military evolutions, addressing them again in the most impassioned manner, appealing alike to their

cupidity and religious zeal, he marched out of the town where he had formed a flourishing settlement, and set his face towards the capital of Mexico. His force consisted of 400 Spaniards, armed as already described, fifteen cavalymen, and seven pieces of artillery. The rest of his party he left at the garrison at Vera Cruz, many of whom were sick or disabled, and the others were required for the defense of the place. But the cacique of the Totonacs furnished him with 2,300 men, a majority of whom, however, went as porters to the expedition, to carry burdens and to draw the artillery. At the head of this considerable force, Cortez set out upon a career of cruelty and bloodshed positively unparalleled in American history, as we shall see.

CHAPTER XXV.

FLAMING meads and waving meadows stretched away almost as far as the eye could reach on either side of the road over which Cortez marched his troops towards the magnificent capital of the Mexicans. At brief intervals Indian villages were passed, out of which came the wondering population stricken with amazement at the military procession as it sped swiftly by. On elevated sites, commanding lovely prospects, might be seen beautiful villas of rich natives, which betrayed the marvelous wealth and unexampled productiveness of the country. It was not until the fourth day that they reached the mountain slopes of the Cordilleras, at the foot of which they entered a large and populous town, called Naulinco, which was distinguished not only for its numerous population, but also for its many massive temples, upon whose altars sacrifices of human bodies were made many times every year. At sight of these the indignation of Cortez was again aroused, and he would have proceeded to demolish both the idols and the temples but for the restraint that lack of time put upon him. He was, therefore, content to erect in the broad plaza of the place a giant cross, as a memorial of his visit.

The route now lay up the mountain side, and it was not until the third day, over rugged paths and assailed by fierce storms of wind, that they reached a table-land seven thousand feet above the sea. But at this elevation they found the country as luxuriant with fields of maize, and as populous

with towns and villages as the level lands over which they had before passed. On the westward side of this table-land was located the city of Tlatlanquitepec, the architecture of which was vastly more imposing than that of any place the Spaniards had seen. The houses were nearly all built of stone, much of which was exquisitely carved and of rocks of extraordinary size. But more wonderful than these structures were thirteen enormous temples which attested the religious fervor of the people. While the sight of these buildings excited wonder and amazement, the Spaniards were appalled by the spectacle of one hundred thousand human skulls, piled up in the form of a pyramid, and exhibited as an evidence of the devotion of the citizens to their gods.

The people of the city received Cortez with cold formality and endeavored to persuade him against visiting the Mexican capital. But he was not to be thus deterred from his purpose, and would have desecrated the temples and destroyed the idols of those debased people, as he had done before, had not a priest, a prudent father, named Olmedo, who accompanied him, showed the rashness of such a course.

After a rest of five days in Tlatlanquitepec, the march was resumed over a beautiful roadway that ran along a transparent stream of water and an unbroken line of Indian villages. Fifty miles further brought them to the city of Xalacingo, which was on the frontier of a very powerful nation, called the Tlascalans, who were not only numerous but so warlike that they had successfully resisted every attempt of the Mexican Emperor at their subjugation. Every man among them was a warrior, holding himself in readiness for service at any instant, and bloody battles were of constant occurrence between them and the Mexicans, by which they had been able to maintain their independence.

Appreciating the importance of an alliance with such a valorous people, Cortez rested several days at Xalacingo, and sent an embassy of Totonacs with a courteous message to the chief of the nation, soliciting permission to pass through his country. Contrary to his expectation, the embassy was not a success, for having had information of the landing of the Spaniards, who were represented as being armed with thunder and clad with wings, and been informed of the desecration of the temples and the destruction of the gods wherever they went, the Tlascalans seized the ambassadors and were determined to sacrifice them to their gods. But by some means, which history does not explain, the four ambassadors contrived to make their escape, came back with all speed to the camp of the Spaniards, and made report of the cruel manner in which they had been received. A less bold man than Cortez would have hesitated to attempt a passage through the country with so small a force in the face of such a number of powerful warriors as the Tlascalans were able to muster. But he seems never to have been moved by any feelings of fear, but rather by a consuming ambition which did not allow him to hesitate before any obstacle. Lifting high the standard of the Holy Cross, Cortez, again appealing to his soldiers in the name of God, resumed his march towards the country which he had been forbidden to enter.

A few miles brought them in view of a solid wall of masonry, extending to the right and left, through valleys and over hills, until lost to view. It was constructed of immense blocks of stone with a base fully twelve feet in thickness, narrowing at the top to half that breadth, and strengthened at intervals with castellated parapets, in which respect it bore a striking resemblance to the great Chinese wall, and that it was built for a like purpose was evident. To the grateful surprise of the Spaniards they found the main gate

undefended, nor did their approach seem to have been heralded ; for no Indians were to be seen until an entrance had been secured, and the march continued towards the city. Suddenly, from behind the hills and out of the woods dashed a large force of Indians, who attacked the Spaniards with the greatest fury, and succeeded in killing two of the cavalry horses and wounding several of the invaders before Cortez really comprehended his danger. For the moment the Spaniards were thrown into dismay, so splendid had been the discipline and military tactics of the Indians. But his somewhat distracted force was directly rallied by Cortez, who quickly ordered the artillery brought into position, and opening fire, a terrible storm of grape-shot went tearing through the ranks of the Indians, dealing such dreadful carnage that they were instantly thrown into confusion and retreated, leaving six thousand of their dead upon the field. This decisive defeat of the Tlascalans resulted to the very great advantage of Cortez, for from their ranks he recruited nearly a thousand warriors, and the whole nation promptly acknowledged their fealty to the conqueror.

But, though Cortez subjugated the people about Xalacingo, he was yet to encounter other bodies of these people, who were to offer him an obstinate resistance. The recruits which he obtained were therefore carefully drilled, and the Totonac allies were also made effective by a discipline which readily made them available as soldiers. Cortez recognized the necessity of having every man under him, whether porter or servant, sailor or soldier, ready for service in case necessity called. Occasion soon arose to justify and commend this wise precaution. A five days' march after his battle with the Tlascalans brought him to a lovely valley, where to his astonished gaze he saw the enemy drawn up in battle array, and in such numbers that their boundary on either side could not be perceived.

It was not until late in the afternoon that Cortez stretched his tent and posted sentinels to watch the foe, feeling certain that on the following morning he would be required to give battle to an enemy whose strength he was unable to estimate. Two of the chiefs whom he had captured at the first battle informed Cortez that the foe before him consisted of five divisions of ten thousand men, and that each division was under the command of a chief, and designated by a distinct uniform and banner. With the hope of averting a dreadful calamity, Cortez sent his captive chiefs with a conciliatory message to the enemy, asking permission to pass unmolested through their country and declaring that he had no designs against the Tlascalans. But to this a fierce reply was returned, to the effect that they would not only resist his passage through the country, but that if he attempted it they would offer the hearts of the Spaniards as a sacrifice to their gods and then devour the bodies, according to the custom with which they treated all their prisoners. It was a supreme moment for the Spaniards, and fear of the result caused a solemn feeling to brood over the camp, and in the night, during the still watches, the voice of prayer arose from every tent, for God alone seemed able to deliver them from their desperate situation. Cortez nevertheless at no time exhibited any alarm, but went about among his troops encouraging them by every means he was able to put forth, and prophesying the certain defeat of the Indians, whose power, he declared, would be speedily dissipated by the arm of the Almighty.

At an early hour, on the 5th of September, the blare of bugles aroused the sleepless camp, and the order was given to prepare for action. Even the wounded men that were barely able to stand in rank with assistance were compelled to do such duty as they were capable of performing, while the recruits from the two Indian nations were stationed in

the center, supported on either wing by the Spaniards, and the cavalry was sent forward to bring on the battle. As the sun rose over the Cordilleras a magnificent view was presented: stretching away across the valley from hill to hill, and covering a plain fully six miles square, was the vast army of the Tlascalans, sturdily awaiting the moment for the conflict. The native warriors were gorgeously decorated with feathers and paint and other appliances of barbaric pomp, and as they were separated in divisions, Cortez was now able to form a correct estimate of their number, which he declares was fully one hundred thousand. Their weapons were slings, arrows, javelins, clubs and wooden swords, while flints were imbedded in their wooden weapons, which made them extremely effective in close combat. Scarcely had Cortez put his troops in motion towards the valley when a vast field of natives began to move with celerity, but military precision, towards their advancing foe, and in a few moments the attack was begun by such a discharge of arrows and darts from the Tlascalans as to fairly becloud the sky. The armor worn by the Spaniards was scarcely a sufficient protection against such a hail of weapons, and many fell sorely wounded. But employing tactics which had served him so efficaciously in his first battle, Cortez brought up his pieces of artillery and opened a fire of ball and grape-shot upon the astonished natives, which slaughtered them in astonishing numbers at each discharge. But so desperate was their courage that the Tlascalans, while betraying amazement, rushed in and filled up the gaps made by the cannons, and regardless of the rain of death that was now mowing down thousands every moment, they continued valorously the unequal fight. On every side the dead lay piled up in ghastly confusion, while of the Spaniards every horse was wounded and seventy of the men were severely injured, and nearly every one had

been struck by some of the flying missiles. The chief of the Tlascalans, at last seeing how futile it was to contend any longer with an enemy which he now believed was fighting by the aid of supernatural weapons, sounded the retreat. But in retiring, the same discipline that had distinguished their advance characterized the present movements of the natives, who left the Spaniards with little more glory than the mere satisfaction of having routed their enemies, for exhausted with the long and severe fighting, and maimed, wounded and discouraged, the victors sought repose upon the grass, too nearly depleted of physical strength and ambition to erect tents for their protection. During the day a storm arose, and the temperature fell so low that the sufferings from cold were even greater than from the wounds that the soldiers had received. The previous night they had slept little or none through fear of the results of the following day, and the weather was now so inclement that they were unable to obtain the rest and refreshment which they so sorely needed. To discouragement a mutinous feeling succeeded, and the expedition was again upon the point of disbandment through the open threats of more than half the number to abandon a course which seemed so hopeless, and which must, if persisted in, bring irreparable calamity upon the whole.

Our surprise is exceedingly great when reading the reports furnished by Cortez, and a comrade named Diaz, who seems to have been historiographer of the expedition, to learn that in this bloody contest, in which it is said thirty thousand of the enemy were slain, only one Spaniard was killed upon the field of battle, and that all their sufferings arose from wounds which in every case healed, so there was no substantial loss in the fighting force which Cortez had marshaled.

Again the influence of Cortez was exerted to quiet the

fears and mutinous spirit of his followers, and his success in this effort was as signal as it had been on many previous occasions; for when he was unable to arouse them by assurances of the glory that they would obtain, as well as the wealth which awaited the expedition at its conclusion, he had the unfailing resource of appealing to their religious zeal, which in every instance brought such immediate change that from depression the most mutinous rallied again to his standard with assurances of their renewed devotion. On the day succeeding the battle, Cortez armed some of his soldiers sufficiently to make a foray among the neighboring villages, which he despoiled and burned, taking also 400 prisoners, about one-half of whom were women. He then pitched his tents and gave his soldiers an opportunity for the rest which they had not had since leaving Xalacingo. But on the second day he was surprised by an army very much larger than that with which he had contended in the unfortunate valley, and which, he declares, exceeded 150,000 in numbers. This enormous force had been collected through the extraordinary exertions of neighboring caciques, who brought their legions from every direction, and appeared in front of Cortez without any intimation having preceded them of their intention. Almost as quickly as they came in sight this immense army made a fierce charge, and descended upon the Spaniards in such awful might that Cortez was completely overwhelmed. Everything for a while was in inextricable confusion, the natives and the Spaniards grappling in a deadly contest which would have meant annihilation to the Spaniards had not the artillery been brought promptly into action, and its thunders inspired the natives with a new terror. For four hours this desperate battle continued, at the end of which time, to the surprise of Cortez himself, so many thousands of the natives had been slain that the rest drew off in hopeless

discouragement, feeling that their gods had abandoned them and were fighting upon the side of their enemies. When night came on, Cortez made another foray among the villages several miles in the surrounding country, and after pillaging them of their contents, burned three thousand houses and took many of the inhabitants prisoners. Contrary to his previous treatment, he kindly cared for his captives, and so amazed the natives by his humanity, that, disheartened, the Tlascalans were ready to sue for peace. Accordingly, they sent a delegation of fifty of their principal men, bearing a great quantity of valuable presents to Cortez, and conveyed through a respectful message their desire to form an alliance with him. But misinterpreting the purpose of their visit, and suspecting some treachery intended, which seems to have been thoroughly justified by the second attack that had been made upon them, but with inexcusable cruelty he ordered the ambassadors to be seized and their hands cut off, and thus mutilated he sent the unfortunate victims back to the Tlascalan camp with a defiant reply.

Subdued by terror and cruelty, and the supposed supernatural power of the Spaniards, the chief of the Tlascalans made no further resistance, and with a numerous retinue entered the Spanish camp, with abject proffers of submission, promising also to prove as faithful in peace as he had been bold in war. Thus yielding themselves as vassals to the Spaniards, they completed an alliance with Cortez, and the two armies thus amalgamated proceeded together to the great city of Tlascala, and there concerted measures against their common enemy, the Mexicans. Tlascala is represented by Cortez to have been one of the most imposing cities that his eyes ever rested upon, more nearly resembling Grenada, the great Moorish capital, than any other place that he had seen. Upon their entrance to the city,

they were met by an enthusiastic multitude, who came out to greet them with barbaric music, preceding native warriors gayly decorated with variegated plumes and clothed in the splendors of half civilization. Among the other surprises which awaited Cortez was the splendid police regulation of the city and the many luxuries which the people enjoyed; for here he found barber-shops, and baths with hot and cold water, broad plazas in which native bands of musicians discoursed every evening, flowing fountains, and seemingly all the accessories of a highly refined people. On the way, however, fifty-five of the Spaniards had died of wounds received in the latter engagement, while the most of his army was so fatigued that palanquins had to be provided to convey them. Those that were wounded had also received small attention, as the injuries could only be dressed with the fat cut from the dead bodies of the natives, the result of which treatment Cortez unfortunately neglects to record. But upon reaching Tlascala every comfort was immediately provided, not only for the care of the sick but for the perfect rest of the fatigued, while provisions were in such abundance that the army forgot their troubles in the luxurious entertainment which they now received. It is estimated by Cortez that at least thirty thousand people appeared daily in the market place of the city, and that the population of the province which he had invaded numbered not less than 500,000.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GRAND and imposing was the entrance of Cortez into Tlascala, while so magnificently hospitable was his entertainment that opportunity was offered, not only for acquainting himself with the resources of the empire, but for persuading the Tlascalans to join him in the enterprise of overthrowing Montezuma. So well did he succeed that the entire fighting force of the province was placed at his disposal, and preparations were begun on a gigantic scale for the invasion. In the meantime, however, Montezuma had been made acquainted with the result of Cortez' conquests, and his fears being excited that the gods were in some mysterious way working to accomplish his ruin, with the hope of averting such fate the Emperor sent an embassy of five noblemen, accompanied by a retinue of 200 prominent men of the empire, to visit the Spanish conqueror; nor did he forget to send with them such valuable presents that the gold which they brought is alone estimated to have been equal in value to \$50,000. Accompanying the presents was a message couched in the most respectful language, beseeching him not to invade the empire and pledging the assistance of the Emperor in any undertaking which Cortez might have in mind that did no violence to his own territory. Surprised and angered at this sudden change in the disposition of Montezuma, whose invitation to visit the capital had only a few weeks before been extended to him, Cortez returned a reply full of courtesy, but declaring his intention nevertheless to visit the Mexican capital in obe-

dience to his sovereign's order, and intimating that he should do so regardless of the wishes of the Emperor, even to the extent of employing force and laying waste the country.

Before departing from Tlascala, Cortez had carried his crusade against idol worship and the cruel practices of the natives so far that he prevailed upon his new allies to discharge the prisoners whom they had in the temples fattening for the next sacrifice; and he also obtained from them a promise to discontinue such heathen practices thereafter, a promise, however, which was no longer kept than the stay of Cortez in their capital continued, for almost immediately upon his departure the old orgies and bloody rites were re-instituted, and their altars flowed with the blood of the offerings of hundreds of victims almost before the sound of the tramp of the vanishing Spaniards had died away.

But Cortez nevertheless left some of the seeds of the Church, by receiving into baptism five beautiful maidens who had been offered to him by the chief of the province, as wives for his soldiers. These, having been first formally baptized and received by the Church, were left with one priest to propagate the faith in Tlascala, while Cortez at the head of an immense army continued his journey towards the Mexican capital. About this time also Cortez received a second embassy, with even richer presents than those which the first had carried, and these, making the most abject obeisance to the white conqueror, presented their gifts, together with a message assuring Cortez of the Emperor's high consideration and regard, and in the hope of winning his friendship as well as averting the fate which he believed was impending, he renewed his invitation to Cortez to visit his capital and promised him an enthusiastic and friendly welcome. But he besought him to form no alliance with the Tlascalans, whom he designated as the most

fierce and unrelenting foes of his empire, and whose natures were so treacherous that they might not be depended upon even in the face of the strongest protestations of fidelity. But Cortez no longer regarded the messages from Montezuma, having now a sufficient force to easily make his way against any resistance that the Emperor was able to offer.

Indeed, the Tlascalans flocked to his standard in such numbers that Cortez declares he might easily have enlisted 100,000 volunteers. But instead of taking soldiers from among these indiscriminately, he accepted but 6,000 select troops, with which large re-enforcement he now set out, with banners streaming, trumpets sounding, and his enthusiastic soldiers shouting, for the great Mexican capital.

The great city of Cholula, having a population of 100,000 souls, was only eighteen miles from Tlascala. But it was situated in the Mexican Empire, and the bitterest animosities then prevailed between its inhabitants and the Tlascalans. Cortez was, therefore, warned against treachery in case he made an entrance into this city. But, regarding these alarms merely as the fears of an excited people, he continued on to this great metropolis, and when in sight of its gates a delegation came out to receive him and to pay their respectful homage. But though they welcomed him with smoking censers, waving banners and bands of music, the people of Cholula declined to admit their enemies within the city walls, and to avoid giving offense before he had been able to ascertain what were the defensive forces of the city, Cortez ordered his Tlascalan allies to camp outside the walls. It was a city, not only of extraordinary proportions, but distinguished for its handsome streets and magnificent dwellings, while here and there the most splendid temples rose in grandeur from the city's squares, and there was every indication of extraordinary wealth and the rewards of successful industry.

While viewing the grandeur of the place, Cortez had not failed to note several suspicious movements, which his quick comprehension taught him to believe denoted that some treachery was in contemplation. To re-enforce this belief, two Tlascalans, who had been acting as spies, having entered the city in disguise, reported to him that six children had just been sacrificed in the chief temple, as an offering to the god of war and as an imploration for the destruction of the Spanish invaders. This information did not serve to considerably increase the fears of Cortez, half-believing that it might be prompted by the sincere desire of the Tlascalans to embroil Cortez with their inveterate enemies. But the facts as they disclosed them were presently confirmed by testimony furnished by Marina, the faithful native wife of Cortez. This woman had by some means obtained the confidence of a wife of one of the Cholulan nobles, who, to save Marina, had disclosed to her a plot then in progress designed to accomplish the ruin of the Spaniards. She told how deep graves had been dug in the streets and concealed, which were intended to serve as pitfalls for the Spanish cavalry, and that stones had been carried to the tops of the houses and temples to be hurled at the proper moment upon the heads of the invaders, as they marched through the streets. To counteract this treachery, and to bring punishment upon the inhospitable people, Cortez conceived a horrible project: He gave orders to quietly assemble all the Spaniards and Totonacs, at a given moment, in the chief market place of the city, and to come prepared for a desperate measure. At the same time he ordered the Tlascalans to approach at a given signal, and when he should signify, they were to rush in and fall upon the Cholulans, whom they were to strike down and massacre without mercy. He next sent a friendly message to the chief men of the city and nobles, requesting their

immediate presence at a public place in the city, and when these responded, an order for the slaughter was given. Taken completely by surprise, the Cholulans could offer no resistance, while the Tlascalans, finding this their opportunity for a savage vengeance upon their implacable enemies, swept through the streets like devouring wolves, and instituted a carnival of blood more terrible than that which drenched the streets of Paris during the slaughter of the Huguenots. They were no respecters of persons: children, women, old age, alike fell before the merciless hand of slaughter, and when the carnage ceased the pillage began. For two days this riot of murder, plunder and burning continued, until at last the city presented the sad spectacle of nothing but smouldering ruins, while the streets were filled with mutilated carcasses polluting the air. Six thousand persons were thus massacred, the other inhabitants fortunately escaping to the hills and avoiding pursuit. A proclamation of amnesty was now issued to the fugitives, who were induced to return to the ruins from which they had fortunately escaped; and, as some amends for the ruthless desecration and spoliation that he had wrought, Cortez set about erecting other buildings and restoring order, so as to make the place again habitable. The idols had all been broken up and the temples defaced, so that Cortez thought now was a suitable time to institute the Christian religion. Accordingly, he set up in several places crosses and images of the Virgin, and ordered public thanksgivings to God for having purified the temples of the heathen, and for the establishment of the holy religion in the places built by idolaters.

Some idea of the extraordinary size of the temples which were built in Cholula may be formed by a statement made by the Hon. Widdy Thompson, who visited the place where once the city of Cholula stood, in 1842. He says that not

a single vestige of that great city remains except the ruins of the principal pyramid or temple, which still stands in solitary and gloomy grandeur in the vast plain which surrounds it. Its dimensions at the base are 1,440 feet, its present height 177 feet, while the area on the summit is something more than 45,210 square feet, or a little more than 212 feet square. A Catholic chapel now crowns the summit of this enormous mound, the sides of which are covered with grass and trees.

The terrible massacre of the inhabitants of Cholula was a great advantage to Cortez, for the news spread rapidly to all the other cities of Mexico, and so appalled the people that from every point came messages of humble submission, accompanied by rich presents and offerings, as a propitiation to secure the favor of the Spaniards. Montezuma, when he heard of the thunder and lightning of Cortez' artillery, aided by cavalry horses, destroying thousands in the streets of Cholula, and that they had even put to flight the vast armies of Tlascalans, trembled with fright, and, retiring to his secret chamber, spent a week in consultation with his priests, and in petitionings to his gods for protection against the ruthless invaders. But the gods of Montezuma had deserted him, as they had the Totonacs, the Tlascalans and the Cholulans, and Montezuma read his fate as plainly as Belshazzar perceived the handwriting on the falling walls of Babylon.

The success of Cortez had also drawn to him many disaffected parties from other provinces who had real or imagined grievances against Montezuma, and who, while seeking to avenge their wrongs, sought to protect themselves by joining the standard of the invader. Thus Cortez found his force continually increasing, until it became so unwieldy that further accessions to his ranks were refused. From less than 500 in the beginning his force had aug-

mented until it now numbered nearly 20,000, and it might have easily been recruited to ten times as many without effort on his part. The most of these, however, were hardly available in battle, except as they might be used to draw the fire of the enemy and act as a barrier for his own men. With this vast army Cortez left the ruined city of Cholula and marched towards Mexico, which lay less than seventy miles towards the east.

The country through which he advanced was luxuriant and immensely populous; provisions were everywhere abundant; the water was clear and wholesome, and the journey being without annoyances was pleasant in the extreme. There were on every side rivers, orchards, lakes, beautiful villages, highly cultivated fields, splendid villas, and a tropical growth of flowers and vegetation positively amazing. Through this Edenic country Cortez continued his journey with short advances, being in no anxiety to reach the end of what was proving only a delightful excursion.

It was not until seven days after leaving Cholula that the Spaniards gained the heights of Ithualco, from which a majestic and splendid view of Mexico was obtained. Under the spell of the landscape that spread out in picturesque panorama below him, Cortez stood in pious contemplation of how God had protected and aided him in carrying the banners of Spain and of the cross over such a stretch of productive country, to be planted in the heart of the richest heathen nation of the world. As the verdant landscape stretched away into the distance, there were outlined against the sky mountain peaks and the snow-covered volcanoes of Pococatpetl and Iztaccihuatl, rising in grandeur and overtopping the great city of Mexico, which lay in queenly splendor upon islands in the bosom of Lake Tezcuco, more than five hundred miles in circumference. On

the margin of the lake were suburbs of the capital, with lofty temples, snow-white dwellings, from which long causeways led to the main city that was surrounded by the lake. There were everywhere the indications of a refinement fully equal, if not superior, to that found anywhere in Europe. The architecture would rival that of the Moors, who introduced into Spain a style which has never since been abandoned. There were bridges, and buildings, and tunnels that exhibited the most splendid engineering skill; factories that provided the most costly fabrics; plantations that were most perfectly cultivated, and machinery of various kinds that manifested the progressive spirit of the people. Before these sights the boldness of the Spaniards recoiled, considering how few they were in number and in the center of a hostile country where so many hundreds of thousands of bold warriors might be mustered upon a call from the Emperor, and how easily destruction might be brought upon them if their allies should be weaned from the loyalty which they professed. But Cortez exhibited the most striking self-assurance, reposing a perfect reliance in the destructive power of gunpowder and the protection which the sacred banner of the cross afforded.

Though Cortez was in sight of Mexico, he was yet some considerable distance from the city, and it was necessary to pass through several large towns which lay in the Mexican valley. He accordingly marched through the cities of Amaquemecan and Ayotzingo, which, Venetian-like, was built in Lake Chalco, and Cuitlahuac, which was also in the lake, where many floating gardens were constructed that moved about like beds of roses driven by the wind; and thence on to Iztapalapan, which latter place was near the city of Mexico, and was remarkable for a gigantic stone reservoir which had been built of such ample dimensions that it held sufficient water to irrigate the grounds over a

district many miles in extent. It also possessed an aviary filled with birds of the most gorgeous plumage and of sweetest song. Here Cortez halted for a day, and was most hospitably entertained by the people, who were in constant dread lest he should violate their beautiful homes and put them to the sword.

On the following day, which was the 8th of November, 1519, Cortez proceeded on his journey to Mexico, and when within two miles of the outskirts of the city, he was met by a procession of a thousand of the principal inhabitants, each of whom was provided with a waving plume and clad in the most exquisitely embroidered mantle. They came to announce the approach of their beloved Emperor, who desired to personally welcome the strangers to his chief city. This procession met Cortez as he approached the principal causeway leading from the mainland to the island city. It was nearly two miles in length, substantially built, and wide enough to admit of a dozen horsemen riding abreast. On either side the lake was covered with gondolas and boats of various shapes, all laden with interested spectators, while further down the long avenue was seen approaching the glittering train of the Emperor, that reflected the sunlight back in dazzling splendor from the tinsel decorations of his retinue. Montezuma was himself seated in a gorgeous palanquin trimmed with gold, and borne on the shoulders of four noblemen, while from the top spread out six gigantic plumes of various colors. Immediately before the palanquin three officers walked, each holding a golden mace, while over his head four attendants carried a canopy of skillful workmanship, gorgeously embellished with green feathers, gold and precious gems, that sheltered him from the sun. The Emperor wore upon his head a crown of gold, which, being open at the top, permitted a beautiful head-dress of plumes to project. Over his shoulders he

carried a mantle that was embroidered with costly ornaments, and was brought together in front with a rosette composed entirely of jewels. Buskins fastened with gold lace work were worn upon his feet and legs, while the soles of his sandals were of pure gold. His features were peculiarly handsome, but he was of an effeminate appearance, evidently unused to public appearance and seldom exposed to the sun.

As the Emperor drew near, Cortez dismounted from his horse, as Montezuma alighted from his palanquin, and they proceeded towards each other. Montezuma was supported by two of the highest dignitaries of his court, and other attendants spread before him rich carpets, that his sacred feet might not be profaned by contact with the ground. He showed in his face the deep anxiety and melancholy which had depressed him constantly since news of the arrival of the Spaniards had reached his capital. Cortez greeted him, and the two extended courtesies in a manner which outwardly professed high appreciation, but inwardly there was a distrustful feeling felt by each. After an interchange of civilities, Montezuma conducted Cortez to the quarters which had been prepared for his reception in the heart of the metropolis. In order to reach these it was necessary for the immense cortege to pass over the causeway again, and through streets thronged with thousands of men, women and children, who viewed with painful anxiety the visit of the strangers. The place assigned to the Spaniards was a palace of immense proportions, having a correspondingly large court. It stood in the center of the metropolis, and had been erected by Montezuma's father, who, not always feeling secure of his person, had surrounded the palace with a strong stone wall, surmounted with towers for defense. The proportions of this building may be understood when we know that it was ample for the accommoda-

tion of seven thousand men, who found very comfortable lodgement in the chambers with which it was provided. The rooms which were assigned to Cortez were tapestried with the finest cotton cloths, elegantly embroidered, while mats were spread upon the floor, soft and downy, which might easily be removed for purposes of cleanliness. Cortez immediately set about securing himself against the possibility of surprise or treachery, and besides keeping nearly the half of his army posted by night and day, he planted his artillery in such a manner that it would sweep every street leading to the palace. Nor were these precautions ill-advised, as subsequent events showed.

On the following evening after his arrival, Montezuma paid a visit to Cortez, taking with him presents of great value, which he distributed among the officers and the privates also, after which he retired to the royal audience chamber and there held a lengthy interview with Cortez, in which each professed a friendship for the other, not omitting to expatiate upon the grandeur of their respective countries. When these matters had been talked of to the satisfaction of each, Cortez conveyed to Montezuma a request, which he claimed to have brought from his sovereign, Charles V., to adopt certain laws and customs which had obtained in Spain, and to accept the holy Catholic religion as superior to the bloody creed which the Mexicans professed. As Montezuma lent a willing ear to an explanation of the tenets of Christianity, Cortez was impelled to press his request for an abolition of the rites of human sacrifice and the eating of the flesh of the victims, to which Montezuma made no other reply than a nod of the head, which might be construed either as an acknowledgment of the awfulness of these rites, or a determination to continue in their practice. After the interview had terminated, Cortez ordered all his artillery, at the moment of the setting of the

sun, to be discharged simultaneously, in the belief that the noise would bring Montezuma to an understanding of the great power which he possessed. At the sound of the booming guns, and sight of the dense smoke that rolled up in stifling volume, the Mexicans fled in terrorized amazement, confirmed in the previously circulated opinion that the Spaniards were favored of the gods and fought with supernatural weapons, against which no human agency could contend.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ON the day following his spectacular entrance into the city, which ended with noisy demonstration of roaring cannon and rattle of musketry, Cortez proceeded, at the head of a retinue of horsemen, on a visit to the Emperor, who graciously met him at his palace door, and with a large body of police accompanied him on a visit to the important places of the capital. The chief object of interest which attracted the attention of the Spaniards was a gigantic pyramidal temple, which rose from the center of an extended plain to a height of nearly 150 feet, the summit of which was gained by an ascent of 114 steps. It was upon this pyramid that bloody human sacrifices were offered up by the devout Mexicans of the city, and before the sacrificial stone, which occupied a corner of this altitudinous plain, was the hideous image of two idols, thickly incrustated with the dried blood of thousands of victims that had been slaughtered as a propitiation before it. On the summit was also an enormous gong, which the priests sounded at the time of the execution of their victims, the noise being made to drown their shrieks and groans, and to heighten the effects of the ceremony. After viewing this horrible spectacle, Cortez besought Montezuma to order an abandonment of the bloody rites, and expatiated upon the abominableness of their religion and the inefficacy of their gods; which, however, instead of producing a favorable impression, caused Montezuma to turn away in anger, shocked at what he regarded as the blasphemy of his visitors' declarations, and,

in fear that a swift retribution would be wrought by the angered gods, he entreated Cortez to appease their wrath by an adjuration of his sacrilegious sentiments.

Unwilling as yet to proceed to violence to accomplish his designs, Cortez hoped to counteract the influence of the Mexican priests by the institution of the Christian worship, to which end he converted one of the halls of the residence that had been set apart for him into a Christian chapel, where the rites of the Church were solemnly performed by Father Olmedo, and prayers were offered up for the speedy conversion of the heathens.

Several days were spent inactively, until at length the question arose what should be their next proceedings. Cortez was not unmindful of the dangers which beset him, for, in addition to being in the center of a city whose population was not less than 500,000 souls, the adjacent district was numerously populated, and every advantage was upon the side of the Mexicans for an annihilation of the Spaniards, had they chosen to make an exhibition of their power.

The Tlascalans, to whose inveterate enmity for the Mexicans was added the fear of punishment for their rebellion against the Emperor, became importunate for some action upon the part of Cortez that would inaugurate immediate hostilities, thinking that by so doing they would be enabled to wreak a vengeance upon their enemies similar to that which they had satisfied upon the Cholulans. They accordingly sought every opportunity to impress Cortez with the peril of his situation, and daily advised him that the Mexicans were planning a strategy by which to overcome them. They called to his mind the fact that the causeways were bridged at certain intervals, which might be easily cut so as to prevent an escape from the Mexicans if hostilities were begun, and they directed his attention to many suspicious actions which seemed to confirm their worst fears.

It was not long until these persuasions induced Cortez to adopt an expedient to prevent the fate which had been predicted unless averted by prompt and heroic measures. He therefore caused Montezuma to be seized and held as a hostage for the safety and peace of his soldiers, an act which he excused by the hostile measures adopted by some of the officers of Montezuma, who had laid a tribute upon the Totonacs, several of whom had been killed for their refusal to make payment of the taxes thus levied. Montezuma at first refused to submit to such indignity to his person, but yielded at length, upon the assurance that his prerogative as emperor would be in no wise interfered with, and that in the Spanish quarters he would be permitted to execute his edicts in the same manner as before.

The holding of Montezuma as a hostage, however, proved to be only the beginning of greater indignities, which Cortez had foreseen could not be continued without involving the Spaniards and Mexicans in open hostility. His next act was the seizure of the chief who had levied tribute upon the Totonacs, and in revenge for the execution of those who had refused payments, he submitted the chief to a torture which wrung from him a confession that he had acted upon his sovereign's orders. Having obtained this admission, Cortez, not content with merely torturing the chief and his aids, caused them to be bound to stakes in the market-places of the capital, where they were burned to death before the gaze of the terrified inhabitants. A raid was then made upon the magazine of the city, from which was forcibly taken all the arms, consisting of javelins, spears, arrows and clubs, which were thrown into a pile and consumed, thus greatly reducing the power of resistance to his cruel conduct. Continuing his harsh measures, Cortez pitilessly ordered his soldiers to bind the hands and feet of the Emperor in iron manacles, and set him out be-

fore his palace in the character of a common felon until sunset, when the shackles were with a show of magnanimity stricken from him. But the insult which had thus been offered, in addition to the inexcusable crimes which Cortez had perpetrated, while humbling the Emperor, aroused the indignant ire of the populace, who began to concert measures for the annihilation of the Spaniards. But their attempt at resistance, for the time being, only resulted in the levying of a tribute of gold upon the whole of the Mexican territory, by which was exacted for the benefit of the conquerors a sum equal to a million of dollars.

Things quieted down again for a while, but there was a constant dread in Cortez' mind that his rash acts would yet lead to disasters, and he continually conceived new means for strengthening his position. Retreat by way of the causeways, which at intervals might be easily destroyed, was so precarious that Cortez set about the building of two brigantines, in which to embark his troops in case it became necessary to suddenly abandon the city, when other avenues of escape were closed. With the aid of hundreds of natives, whose curiosity to see vessels which had never before been upon their waters prompted them to lend an industrious assistance, in a few weeks the brigantines were completed.

Being now more securely situated than heretofore, Cortez resolved upon the overthrow of the bloody religion of the Mexicans, and the institution of Catholicism in its stead. He again appealed to Montezuma to renounce his false gods, but so deeply ingrained was his faith, that the Emperor turned a deaf ear to all entreaty, which so provoked Cortez that he ordered his soldiers to march to the temples and despoil them of every vestige of Paganism. At the first hostile demonstration thus made towards the destruction of Mexican idolatry, the Aztec priests called the multitude to their assistance, who, with every available weapon, hastened

heroically to the defense of their religious institutions; the force thus mustered was so large that Cortez soon discovered how rash had been his undertaking, and withdrew his soldiers before any violence had been committed.

Nine months thus passed with intermittent acts of violence and condescension, without any substantial gain, or an attempt to execute any radical measures, until Cortez received information that a large fleet and 1,500 soldiers had been sent by Velasquez to Mexico, under command of Spanish officers, with orders to seize him for his assumption of viceroyal honors and for other acts of insubordination. Narvaez was General-in-Chief of this considerable army, who, beside bearing orders from Velasquez, was intrusted with a message from Charles V., directed to Montezuma, disclaiming all sympathy in the acts committed by Cortez and an appeal to assist in driving the invaders from his country. Upon receipt of this information, which had been secretly conveyed by a friend of Cortez after the arrival of the fleet at Vera Cruz, with his characteristic sagacity Cortez immediately assembled 250 of his bravest men, leaving the remainder of his troops on guard at the Spanish capital, and by forced marches reached Vera Cruz in less than a week's journey. The troops of the fleet had been debarked with more than twenty pieces of artillery and eighty horses, and had gone into camp at the place of settlement founded by Cortez, to await the landing of their stores, which consumed considerable time. This delay enabled him to reach Vera Cruz before any intimation of his intentions could precede him, while the weather favored his designs in a surprising way. Cortez arrived in sight of Vera Cruz just as the shades of night began to envelop the landscape in darkness. An hour later a terrible storm arose, and the rain poured down in such torrents that the Spanish camp was compelled to be astir to save some of the stores that had been landed.

All this favored Cortez, and as he was a man not to waste opportunities, at the moment when everything was in greatest confusion, he rushed to the attack. Taken completely by surprise, the Spaniards under Narvaez could make no resistance (for indeed they were totally unprepared) and in less than half an hour Cortez was complete master of the situation and received from Narvaez terms for the most abject submission. Instead of submitting his prisoners to any punishments, in a spirit of affected magnanimity he loaded them with favors, and by artful speech contrived to win the whole expedition over to his service; and thus augmented by a force of nearly 1,500 effective men, all of whom were well armed, and with an ample supply of military stores, he started on his return journey to complete the subjugation of Mexico. On his way he was joined by two thousand more soldiers of the Totonacs, and he felt himself now strong enough to contend with the combined armies of all Mexico.

Scarcely had he started upon his return, when news came to Cortez by a messenger that the Mexicans had fallen upon the feeble force which he had left under his sub-officer, named Alvarado, and had massacred the entire party. With the hope that some might have escaped, and a desire to execute speedy vengeance for this act of treachery, Cortez made no halts, but pushed on with incredible speed, vowing constantly to exterminate every Mexican within the capital as he had slaughtered his enemies at Cholula. But when he reached the main causeway leading to the capital, he found the bridges still intact and the city apparently peaceful, though no one came out to receive him, nor were there any demonstrations to indicate that any serious event had transpired during his absence. When he gained his quarters, his surprise was all the greater to learn that, instead of Alvarado and his command having been massacred, they

themselves had been the aggressors, and that for some fancied grievance they had descended upon the Mexicans while they were in the performance of their religious rites in the court-yard of the great temple, and had cut down nearly six hundred of the flower of Mexican nobility. The indignation of Cortez, upon receipt of this information, was almost boundless—though it is more than probable that he affected a feeling which, in reality, he did not experience. But before the people he showered upon Alvarado all manner of vituperation, and pronounced his conduct that of a madman. The only excuse which his subordinate gave for this atrocious act was that he had suspicions that the Mexicans were preparing to cut off his retreat and massacre his soldiers, though he could give no substantial reason for this supposition.

This act of incredible cruelty was followed almost immediately by a desperate resolve upon the part of the Mexicans, who had already suffered the limit of indignity and cruelty. So, on every side arose the sound of drums, and there was a hurrying to and fro of the natives upon a mission which it did not take Cortez long to interpret. His force now consisted of 1,200 Spaniards and 8,000 native allies, who were well protected by an encampment encircled by stone buildings; but provisions were scarce, and the Mexicans had refused to continue their contributions. The dangers of starvation now became greater than the power of the Mexicans, and immediate action was necessary to avert a calamity which threatened the entire force with destruction. Cortez accordingly sent 400 of his men into the streets to reconnoiter, but scarcely had they made their appearance before the fortress when they were assailed by a large party of Mexicans, who, with cries for vengeance, opened fire with arrows and javelins with such effect as to throw the Spaniards into a wild disorder. It was with the

greatest difficulty that they were able to fight their way back to the fortified quarters, having lost in the onset twenty-three killed and twice as many wounded. The success of this attack inspired the Mexicans with a new resolution. They found that their enemies were not invulnerable, and cutting off the heads of the slain, they carried them about the city to show how easily the invaders might be destroyed, if the Mexicans would but act boldly and in concert. The fortress was now besieged by a body of probably 50,000 Mexicans, while their forces were continually augmented by volunteers who poured in from every part of the surrounding district. The artillery, which now comprised twenty-five pieces, was opened up and tore great gaps through the assaulting force, but did not succeed in putting them to rout as it had done heretofore. Fighting for their altars and their gods, the Mexicans were inspired to the most extraordinary acts of valor, and twice they were upon the point of scaling the walls and gaining the Spanish quarters, and were only prevented by desperate hand-to-hand conflicts, in which swords, cannons and muskets of the Spaniards wrought dreadful havoc among the unprotected bodies of the besiegers. All day long this frightful conflict continued, until in the evening the ground was covered with the slain, and darkness put a stop to the horrible carnage.

Resolved to adopt a desperate expedient and release himself from an appalling situation, before dawn on the following morning Cortez placed himself at the head of his cavalry, now numbering 100, and made a rush upon the enemy that were sullenly awaiting the light of day to renew the attack. Another desperate fight now took place, in which the Spaniards were repulsed, though not before they had slaughtered more than 1,000 of the Mexicans, but whose numbers had so increased during the night that Cortez estimates their force at above 200,000. Nor had they been

inactive, for under cover of the darkness they had destroyed the bridges which connected portions of the causeway, thus cutting off retreat, while great quantities of stone had been carried to the housetops, which they poured down with great destruction upon the Spanish cavalry, that wounded where their other weapons would have been ineffective. Besides the desperate fighting which characterized the day, they set fire to a large number of houses, the conflagration of which added immensely to the other excitements.

But towards evening there was a cessation of hostilities, both parties for a while resting upon their arms, neither being willing to assume the aggressive. During this interval, however, the Mexicans continued to increase, as they had the day before, and Cortez, who had been severely wounded in the hand by a stone, began now to appreciate the fact that he could only save himself through the intercession of Montezuma himself. In this dire extremity, he had the audacity to transmit a message to the Emperor, couched in the most beseeching language, deploring the awful carnage that had drenched the streets of his fair capital with blood, and begging that he would interpose his royal influence to put a stop to a slaughter, which, if continued, must end in the entire destruction of the city and a greater number of its people.

Montezuma, who had watched with bitterest anguish the progress of the battle, and had seen so many thousands of his people slain while heroically battling for their homes, was moved by compassion not only to hesitate, but to actually issue an order for the cessation of hostilities. But the populace was now so insanely excited that the order was not credited, and on the following morning the battle was renewed and continued through the better part of the day, until there lay in ghastly piles, on every avenue and house-top of the city, more than 50,000 dead bodies of the Mexi-

cans. Suddenly, as if heaven itself had declared a truce, the tumult of battle ceased ; the Mexicans laid down their arms, and stood in an attitude of the most devout veneration. This instant cessation was caused by the appearance of the Emperor, who, dressed in his imperial robes, walked out upon the walls in front of his palace and waved his imperial hand to command the attention of his loyal subjects. In this moment of silence he earnestly besought them to cease the fierce conflict which was resulting in the destruction of so many thousands of his loyal people, giving them his assurance that the Spaniards would retire from the city if his subjects would lay down their arms and cease the bloody strife. During the delivery of this peaceful declaration, Cortez had sent a body-guard to stand by Montezuma and protect him upon the wall ; but, misconstruing this act, the Mexicans conceived the idea that their Emperor was but voicing the dictation of the Spaniards, and that he was, indeed, a prisoner in their hands. Their indignation and desire for vengeance was such that there arose a loud cry from the enraged Mexicans, which was instantly followed by a shower of arrows, two of which pierced the body of the unfortunate Emperor, and he fell back badly wounded into the arms of some of the body-guard that had attended him. He was tenderly carried to the apartments of his capital, but so thoroughly crushed in spirit that he resolved no longer to live to be the subject of Spanish tyranny and insult : so, after his wounds had been carefully tended, and he had patiently submitted himself to the care of the surgeon, in a moment when the attention of his attendants was directed elsewhere, he tore the bandages from his wounds and declared his resolution to die. This he carried so far that he refused all nourishment, and at every favorable opportunity he aggravated his wounds, and thus lingering between suffering of both mind and body, in three days after

the receipt of his injuries he was released by death from all the contentions of this life.

The assault which wounded the Emperor was the signal for a fresh renewal of the battle, which continued now to rage with intense fury, nor did it abate at any time during the whole of the day. The Mexicans contrived to gain possession of a high tower which overlooked the Spanish quarters, from which lofty vantage they hurled down stones upon the Spaniards, and thus succeeded in killing several who were otherwise inaccessible to the weapons of the besiegers. So commanding was this situation that Cortez saw the necessity of dislodging the enemy, and to this hazardous enterprise he resolved to lend his own aid. His left hand had been dreadfully crushed in an attack on the preceding day, but he ordered his shield to be bound to his arm and placed himself at the head of a select party who had been chosen to attempt the dislodgment. In spite of a shower of stones and arrows, this heroic body bravely ascended until they reached a spacious platform, where a dreadful hand-to-hand battle now took place. Two Mexicans, who were members of the nobility, anxious to destroy Cortez, even at the sacrifice of their own lives, seized him by the body and made a desperate effort to drag him to the edge of the battlements, where they had hoped to hurl him and themselves to destruction below. But by his wonderful agility and extraordinary strength, Cortez contrived to break from their desperate grasp and slay them both, after which the other Mexicans were put to rout, and the tower was set on fire.

The battle thus went on, nor did it halt when night's shades fell; for everywhere the lurid flames of consuming buildings lighted up the scene, and enabled the combatants to continue the dreadful slaughter. Thousands had been slain, but thousands yet were to pay the penalty of

heroism, and so the fires, and shrieks, and groans of bloody tumult continued until towards morning Cortez summoned the Mexican chiefs to a parley. His beautiful wife, Marina, acted as his interpreter, and through her he admonished the Mexicans to immediately submit or else suffer the entire destruction of their city and the slaughter of every man, woman and child who composed its population. But the answer was a defiant one. The Mexicans had correctly measured the strength of the Spaniards. But, against their superior weapons, they were ready to measure their own superior numbers.

Failing in his efforts to compromise, or to secure the peaceful withdrawal of his troops, while his position was every moment becoming more perilous, Cortez resolved to retreat at any hazard, since the dangers which lay ahead could not exceed those which encompassed him. To this end he set about the construction of movable towers, which, after a week, were so far completed that he attempted at midnight to withdraw under their protection. A platform was constructed on the top of each tower from which his soldiers might fight, an elevation which placed them upon a level with the tops of the Mexican houses, while inside were placed the sharp-shooters and the artillery, so disposed as to sweep the streets. The army thus singularly protected was separated into three divisions, led respectively by Sandoval at the head, Alvarado commanding the rear, while Cortez had charge of the central division, in which were placed the distinguished prisoners that he had made, among whom were a son and daughter of Montezuma, besides many noblemen. He had also provided a portable bridge, which he hoped to be of service in throwing across the breaches that had been broken in the causeways. Scarcely had this strange march of moving towers begun when out of the darkness poured a volley of stones

and javelins that broke like hailstones upon the sides of the towers, and harmlessly fell upon the ground. Progress was slow, but the Spaniards had provided an effectual protection, while giving such free play for their cannons and muskets, that they swept down opposing obstacles and piled up the streets afresh with bleeding victims. Thus the Spaniards moved cautiously and slowly until they at length reached one of the broken causeways, when the portable bridge was let down in the hope of providing a passage. The head of the Spanish column succeeded in crossing, but when the weight of the tower with its heavy contents was drawn upon the superstructure, with one great crash it fell into the chasm, and left hundreds of Spaniards struggling in the water and with their foes. A greater part, however, by some extraordinary fortune, succeeded in escaping, and now, abandoning the towers, rushed towards another breach, planting their cannon in such a manner as to partially keep the pursuing Mexicans at bay. In the meantime, stones and timbers of every kind torn from demolished buildings were thrown into the breach to make a passage; but it was slow work, and for two days the battle continued as before, the Spaniards being unable to make their escape.

The story of this remarkable battle, which continued for nearly a week, is more tragic than that of Waterloo, or of Gettysburg, or of the Wilderness. It is so gory that pen runs red while writing it. It is so horrible that heart turns sick in its contemplation. Though the Spaniards numbered less than 1,500, and their loss did not exceed 500, owing to the protection which their armor afforded, their enemies, whose heroism has perhaps never been equaled in all history, were slaughtered in numbers that are positively astounding, and equaled only by that of Megiddo's bloody field.

On the last day the wail of anguish, the groan of dying,

the crackling of burning houses, the roar of cannon and musketry, the pandemonium of noise, were increased by the shriek of the storm that broke in wind and rain, as if in sympathy with the woes of the contestants. Under the cover of this storm, the Spaniards, having abandoned their towers, sought retreat through the two miles of causeway, and were proceeding, apparently without pursuit, when of a sudden their progress was stopped by an assault of natives, who poured up from out a thousand boats, where they had been lurking in anticipation of the approach of the Spaniards. Their attack was one of incredible fury, and the defense which the Spaniards made was no less terrible. Under the blanket of darkness, it was impossible to distinguish friend from foe, and the fight went on without abatement through all the dreary hours of that dismal night, until Cortez, left with scarcely a hundred men, and using the bodies of those whom he had slaughtered to bridge the breaches which he had yet to cross in order to reach the mainland, pushed on despite the missiles of his foes. They at length succeeded by herculean and heroic effort in reaching the shores, where the possibility of their escape was increased. But behind him he left scores of his faithful soldiers, more than forty of whom, though all wounded, were taken alive and reserved for a fate as horrible as he had visited upon many of the unoffending Mexicans. Others of his men contrived to escape, and he now rallied a feeble force and awaited approaching dawn.

When the sun uprose, it shone down upon a spectacle that wounds the eye of remembrance. Along the two miles' length of that causeway lay piled in confusion and deadly embrace friend and foe, and in the breaches were not only thousands of dead and distorted bodies, but baggage of every description, cannons and plundered treasure, while about upon the lake were seen floating fragments of

every character, including broken canoes and bloated bodies. Four thousand of the Spanish allies had given up their lives in this slaughter, while 870 of the Spaniards, despite the armor which they wore, had surrendered their lives in this horrible and long-continued battle. Cortez himself, though inflexible in defeat, and whose heart seemed prompted by the most cruel passions, was unable to look upon such a scene without being moved by the mute appeals of humanity, and bowing his head, for the first time in his life he wept bitter tears of sorrow and disappointment. The Mexicans had suffered so seriously in the fight, however, that there was no longer disposition to pursue him. They were content to wreak their vengeance upon the captives that had been left in their hands, and to permit a retreat of the remnant which they knew had received already a punishment which only the hardiest spirits could possibly survive. Cortez accordingly retreated to a large stone temple some distance from the lake, where he fortunately found both protection and a supply of provisions. Here he reorganized as best he could the little force that was left him, and after a short rest proceeded upon the long journey back to Tlascala, a distance of sixty-four miles, where he reasonably expected provisions and relief which he still stood so sorely in need of. But on the way they were not to escape further tribulations. The tributary tribes of the Mexicans were now set upon their heels and harassed them at every step, and so effectually prevented them from securing food on the way that, in their extremity, they were at times forced to kill some of the few horses which had survived the fight to save themselves from starvation.

While pursuing this dreary and terrible march, in passing through a defile of the mountains, the Spanish were suddenly brought in sight of an enormous army of the

enemy assembled upon a plain, awaiting to descend upon them. Even the stout heart of Cortez sank with despair before such a spectacle of vengeance. But rallying his nearly exhausted band around him, he animated them as best he could by a speech appealing to their vanity and to their faith in God. At the word of command they dashed into the great masses of serried ranks of the enemy. The onset of the Spaniards was so fierce that the natives recoiled before it, and knowing the superstitious veneration which the Mexicans entertained for their imperial banner, at the head of his force, Cortez drove directly towards it, and by unexampled valor he cut a pathway through the enemy, and at last, seizing the sacred banner from the hands of the bearer whom he had stricken down with his broad-sword, he waved it aloft and shouted praises to God for the favors He had bestowed. With cries of grief and rage the Mexicans immediately broke in wild tumult, and fled away to the mountains, in the belief that their gods had abandoned them, leaving twenty thousand of their dead upon the field.

Without meeting any further obstacles, the Spaniards reached the territory of the Tlascalans, where they were hospitably received and generously entertained until the sick and the wounded were fully recovered. It was here that Cortez for the first time gave any attention to his own wounds, which had now become so severe that he had to submit to an amputation of two of his injured fingers, and the trepanning of his skull, that had been fractured by a club in the hands of one of the natives, and from which injury he was threatened with concussion of the brain. But he recovered despite the dangerous character of his hurts, seemingly destined by fate to continue his career of unexampled spoliation, cruelty and insatiable ambition.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

DEFEAT, misfortune, suffering, tribulation of any kind, could not repress the indomitable spirit of this extraordinary man, and despite the calamities through which he had passed, Cortez in his sorest hour resolved to seek a means to continue the enterprise which had apparently ended so disastrously. When able to rise from a bed of suffering, he began recruiting his force from among the Tlascalans until he had secured the co-operation of several thousand, after which he returned again to Vera Cruz, where he enlisted as many more of the Totonacs. He sent a dispatch also to the sovereign of Spain, giving specious reports of his acts while in Mexico, and assigning as a reason for an invasion of the territory his desire to win souls to God and to magnify the splendor of his sovereign. At the same time, or directly after his return to Vera Cruz, two ships were seen approaching the harbor, that had been dispatched by the governor of Cuba with supplies for Narvaez, report of whose conflict with Cortez had not yet been received. No sooner had these vessels dropped their anchors than they were visited by Cortez, whose influence seems to have been irresistible, and by his flattering promises he induced the crews to enter his service and surrender to him all the stores that had been brought over. Three vessels, which had also been dispatched by the governor of Jamaica to conduct an independent expedition of discovery and contest, also cast anchor at Vera Cruz about this time, and these likewise fell into the hands of Cortez, and the men composing the expedition enlisted under his banner. Another ship,

that had been fitted out by some merchant, arrived from Spain with military stores, the cargo of which Cortez purchased, and then persuaded the crew to join his army. He had also sent agents to Hispaniola and Jamaica, whose commissions were so successful that in a short while they returned with 200 soldiers, 80 horses, two cannons, and a large supply of ammunition and muskets. In this manner he succeeded in raising his force to 818 foot soldiers, 86 cavalymen, three heavy guns and 15 field-pieces. Besides these recruits, he enlisted the services of 8,000 men of burden, chiefly from among the Tlascalans and Totonacs, and provided material for the construction of a fleet of thirteen brigantines, which were to be carried a distance of sixty miles over rough roads on the shoulders of men, for use upon the lake about the city of Mexico. Thus provided for renewal of the siege of Mexico, and with a determination to accomplish the subjugation of the territory, he returned to the outskirts of the city and began his preparations to carry it by assault.

At the death of Montezuma, his brother, Cuitlahua, succeeded to the emperorship, and being more warlike than Montezuma in disposition, it was under his energies that the Spaniards had been driven from the metropolis. Directly after the retreat of the invaders, he set about fortifying his capital and recruiting and drilling his army that had now become familiar with European weapons. He also sent an embassy to the Tlascalans, urging them to remit their former enmity and unite with him against the common foe, who, without their assistance, would be helpless. But his overtures to his old enemies were without effect, and in addition to the other woes from which he suffered, that had been introduced by the Spaniards, small-pox made its appearance in his territory, which, breaking out suddenly, swept like a besom of destruction throughout the land,

until it became a pestilence so fearful that it threatened the depopulation of the entire country. Within a few weeks' time several cities were plague-stricken, and the living were insufficient to bury the dead, so rapid were its ravages. It was not long until the disease invaded the Mexican capital, and one of its first victims was the Emperor, Cuitlahua. His death intensified the panic, and but for the fact that several Spaniards also succumbed to the epidemic, the Mexicans would have no doubt abandoned their city in the belief, which for a while obtained, that this disease, of which they had never before heard, was another supernatural aid employed by the Spaniards for their destruction.

Cuitlahua was succeeded by Guatemozin, a son-in-law of the late Montezuma, who, though only twenty-four years of age, quickly proved himself more heroic, resourceful and indomitable than his predecessors. With an admirable conception of the exigencies which threatened his crown, Guatemozin set resolutely about repairing the damage wrought by Cortez, and putting his capital in a more perfect state of defense. Outwardly manifesting a friendly spirit for the Spaniards left in the country, he craftily hid his designs, or kept them from reaching Cortez. His army, which was recruited to a force exceeding 200,000, was carefully drilled, stores of provisions laid in, barricades erected on the several causeways, and a large fleet of canoes built to co-operate with the land forces, their use having been proved in the battle of the dismal night.

Cortez, having completed his preparations for another siege of the capital, by having provided himself with an immense supply of military stores and a largely increased force, started on his return for Mexico, presenting a pageantry that attracted to his banner 200,000 Tlascalans and Totonacs, with which army he felt himself equal to any undertaking. He proceeded directly to Tepeaca, a con-

siderable town on the northern shore of the lake, where he put together the timbers of his fleet of thirteen brigantines, each of which he manned with twenty-five Spaniards, and set on the prows a cannon, so as to command a sweep of the lake.

A few feeble efforts were made to harass the Spaniards while they were at Tepeaca, but it was not until the squadron was ready and the sails were spread for crossing the lake to enter upon a siege of the capital, that an attack of any pretension was made. Guatemozin, perceiving how these vessels might be employed to his great disadvantage, sent against them a flotilla of more than three hundred canoes, each manned by twelve natives armed with bows and arrows, thinking to overpower the Spaniards and destroy the ships by sheer force of numbers. But to his horror he saw his armada run down by the large and fleet vessels, while a hail of grape-shot and showers of arrows from the Spanish cross-bowmen literally annihilated the fleet of canoemen, leaving the waters red with their blood and choked with their mutilated bodies. A wail of anguish went up from the Mexicans at this destruction of their hopes, but they were not long permitted to peaceably indulge their lamentations, or to make their sacrifices unmolested to their gods, for, having destroyed their fleet, Cortez now began the siege in earnest. He divided his army into three divisions, under command respectively of Sandoval, Alvarado and Olid, who were to begin the attack upon three separate causeways, while Cortez himself assumed command of the brigantines, and co-operated with the land forces by attacking from the sides. The bridges over the causeways were obstructed, as before described, by formidable barriers, behind which the Mexicans were stationed in immense force. But by concentrating a heavy artillery fire upon them, these were gradually battered down, and every foot of the way

was then hotly contested by hand-to-hand conflicts. At the moment of beginning the assault, the fleet opened fire from the side and slaughtered thousands, whose bodies interposed additional obstacles, which could only be surmounted by throwing them over again into the water.

The obstinacy of the Mexicans, despite the frightful slaughter to which they were subjected, was so astonishing to Cortez that he feared disaster even at the time of his most effective assault, and to provide means for a retreat, in case of necessity, he carefully bridged all the breaches, and threw out a force to protect his rear. But at length the Mexicans relaxed the vigor of their defense, and by inaction lured the Spaniards into the belief that their victory was already secure, which so excited their hopes that, unmindful of possible treachery, they rushed across the remaining portions of the causeway and directly into the city. The strategy which Guatemozin had thus employed directly became apparent, for suddenly the alarm drum sounded from the summit of the great temple, which was the signal for the collection of the full fighting force of the capital, who now, in concert, threw themselves in a fierce charge upon the surprised Spaniards. So sudden and irresistible was the onslaught that both the Spanish foot and horsemen were alike thrown into the utmost confusion and driven in great numbers back into the last chasm which they had neglected to bridge. For the moment defenseless, the Spaniards fell in great numbers, victims to the showers of arrows and javelins of their encouraged enemies. More than a score were killed outright, while twice as many more were wounded and fell into the hands of the Mexicans, besides the loss of a thousand of their allies. This awful and unexpected reverse became presently still more dreadful, when the Spaniards viewed the frightful fate that was about to overtake their captured comrades.

The darkness of night had now settled down, but towards the middle watches a great light suddenly appeared upon the summit of the temple, and a spectacle speedily followed which fairly froze the blood of the Spaniards, as they plainly saw the awful rites that were now being performed. Amid a great gathering of priests and waving plumes of soldiery that had assembled in great number upon the lofty plain of the pyramid, were to be seen, by the aid of the torches, the white bodies of the Spanish victims, as they were stripped by their captors and prepared for the sacrifices which were now to be offered up.

The horrified Spaniards watched their wretched comrades and saw each prisoner stretched upon the sacrificial stone, and heard the despairing shrieks that went up as the bodies were gashed with the obsidian knife of the priest, and the quivering hearts torn out and held aloft as offerings to their gods. Diaz, the historian of the expedition, and who was an eye-witness of this frightful scene, gives us the following soul-sickening description :

“On a sudden our ears were struck by the horrific sound of the great drum, the timbrels, horns and trumpets of the temple. We all directed our eyes thither, and, shocking to relate, saw our unfortunate countrymen driven by blows to the place where they were to be sacrificed, which bloody ceremony was accompanied by the dismal sound of all the instruments of the temple. We perceived that when they had brought the wretched victims to the flat summit of the body of the temple, they put plumes upon their heads and made them dance before their accursed idols. When they had done this, they laid them upon their backs on the stone used for the purpose, when they cut out their hearts alive, and having presented them yet palpitating to their gods, they drew the bodies down the steps by the feet, where they were taken by others of their priests.”

The elation of the Mexicans at the success of their onslaught was further manifested by cutting off the heads of the prisoners whom they had thus sacrificed, which they sent to neighboring provinces as a proof that their gods, now appeased by the offering of blood, had abandoned the Spaniards and concerted their destruction. The Pagan priests also predicted that in eight days the enemy would be entirely destroyed, and that Mexico would rise from her tribulations to greater glory than had ever before dawned upon the people. So great was the general confidence placed in this prophecy, that the native allies of Cortez began to waver in their allegiance, and to prevent their desertion in a body he was compelled to remain inactive until the period set for the calamity should have passed. When the eight days were ended, and the gods had not fulfilled the prediction which the priests boastfully declared would terminate the conflict, Cortez seized the occasion to taunt the Mexicans with their ignorant credulity and false reliance, and to claim the favor of Almighty God, who extended His protection and conferred power upon the Spaniards. So immediate was the effect of this declaration, which seemed to be proved by the circumstances, that the Tlascalans not only renewed their adherence, but other natives of the adjacent country came flocking to his standard, and thus increased his force by the addition of nearly 50,000 more active warriors.

So great now was his army, while so obstinate continued to be the resistance of the Mexicans, who, for a while, effectually prevented his progress towards the citadel, that a famine broke out among the besiegers, as well as among the besieged, and to the horrors which had been perpetrated by shot, and arrow, and lance, and javelin, were now added terrible feasts of cannibalism, a practice easily instituted by reason of the custom which had long prevailed among the

natives of devouring the bodies of their victims at the sacrificial feasts.

But gradually, almost inch by inch, the Spaniards pushed forward, breaking down, but only after the most heroic measures, such barricades as were erected in their paths, until after the expiration of nearly two months' time the broad avenues of the city were gained. But here every house was a fortress, from the top of which stones were thrown down, while windows were used by the Mexicans from which to pour their hail of arrows upon the invaders. The firebrand was therefore again applied, being the only means of dislodging the enemy, until half the town was in flames. At the same time the brigantines kept a careful patrol of the lake, to prevent the escape by canoes of any of the inhabitants, and continued a desultory fire from the cannons upon buildings where bodies of the Mexicans had taken refuge.

Though Cortez was gradually and surely reaching the heart of the Mexican capital, he was touched with the frightful misery being inflicted alike upon his own army and the Mexicans, and time and again sent messages to Guatemozin, demanding in the name of humanity the capitulation of the city. But to each an indignant and defiant reply was returned, and the unequal fight went on. The three divisions had accomplished a passage of the causeways, and had concentrated in the great square of the city, from which avenues radiated in all directions. Here cannons were planted, and the streets were kept clear of moving bodies, since to appear in such exposed places meant certain death. In this desperate situation the Mexicans at length adopted an expedient for securing the safety of their beloved monarch. Soliciting a truce, upon the ground that it was necessary to remove the great piles of corpses that were polluting the streets, they utilized the time which was

thus granted in preparing for a secret removal of their Emperor to the main shores. Accordingly, he embarked in a beautiful canoe, with several of the nobles of the capital, and was rowed swiftly across the lake. But, anticipating a ruse of this character, Cortez sent one of his brigantines in pursuit, which intercepted the canoe before it had gone a mile upon its way. Cross-bowmen crowded the prow of the vessel ready to discharge a volley of arrows at the occupants of the canoe, when, seeing the peril in which their Emperor was now placed, the nobles arose and anxiously besought them not to fire, confessing that the Emperor was in the boat with them who desired to surrender. The canoe was brought alongside, and Guatemozin, at the command of Cortez, was taken on board the brigantine and conveyed to the shore, with the hope that in an interview he might be persuaded to surrender the city and prevent further carnage. Imagine the surprise of the Spanish commander when the Emperor, instead of humbling himself, as he might have been supposed to do, wore a proud and imperious air, and grasping the dagger which Cortez wore by his side, in the most tragic manner presented it again, and besought him to plunge it into his bosom and thus end a miserable life. Cortez endeavored to console him by assurances that he should not be treated as a captive, but rather as a dependent upon the clemency of the greatest monarch of Europe, who would soon restore him not only to liberty but place him again upon the throne which he had so valiantly defended. But the Mexicans had been too often deceived by the specious words of the Spaniards to place any confidence in present assurances, and understanding the perfidy and treachery which had marked every act thus far of the invaders, Guatemozin asked no clemency for himself, but begged that Cortez would be merciful to his suffering people and treat with proper respect the noble ladies who were with him.

The capture of the Emperor and the deplorable straits to which the Mexicans were now subjected so completely discouraged them, that they abandoned all further defense and permitted the victorious Spaniards to have full and complete possession of the destroyed city.

A period of seventy-five days had been spent in almost incessant conflict, during which time scarcely an hour passed that had not been characterized by some furious battle. During this unexampled siege it is estimated that not less than 140,000 Mexicans perished, while nearly 400 Spaniards and not less than 25,000 of their allies met a like fate. The streets were so choked with the dead and dying that, to the miseries of famine, a plague of disease quickly followed. Singular to relate, the epidemic of small-pox seems to have suddenly abated, but greater horrors took its place, and but for prompt measures in disposing of the dead, it is probable that scarcely a Spaniard would have been left to tell the story of this unexampled siege. For three whole days all the surviving Mexicans and the allies of Cortez were engaged conveying the dead to the hills for interment, and this gruesome employment did not stop either night or day until it was completed. The streets were then purified by the building of large bonfires and the consumption of such débris as lay scattered about, after which Cortez began a search for the large treasures which he had confidently expected to secure.

It was on the 13th of August, 1521, that the city was surrendered into his hands, on which date it may be said that the great empire of Mexico perished, and became thereafter a colony of Spain.

For a week his search through buildings, and cellars, and channels of every description continued, but Cortez was only able to collect of all kinds of treasure a sum not exceeding in value \$100,000. This small amount of spoils

was such a disappointment to the Spaniards that they became clamorous for the adoption of means that would compel Guatemozin to disclose where his riches were secreted. To their inquiries he responded that nearly the whole had been conveyed to the center of the lake in boats, and there sunk to such depths that recovery was impossible. But, not satisfied with this answer, and believing that torture might wring from him a confession that much of the treasure was yet recoverable from some readily accessible place of the city, the more turbulent of the Spaniards became importunate in their demands that such disclosure be forced from him. To this proposition Cortez at first opposed a vigorous refusal, but as the disaffection of his troops and their clamor became greater, he was at length reluctantly compelled to accede to their horrible demands. Accordingly, the unhappy monarch, and the cacique of Tacuba, who was the highest officer of the Emperor, were brought to the market-place, and their feet being first drenched with oil, were exposed to the burning coals of a hot fire until the soles were entirely roasted. The Emperor bore his sufferings with such fortitude as to add luster to a name which had already been ennobled by his heroism in conducting the defense of his capital. Not once did he give voice to the excruciating agony which he must have suffered, which conduct so affected Cortez that with his own hands he rescued the imperial sufferer, and declared that, whatever might be the sacrifice to himself, the horror should not be continued in his presence.

Cortez now set about restoring the capital, and in making some amends for the inexcusable ruin that he had wrought. Though beset by perplexities, through information and threatenings which had reached him that Velasquez was concerting measures to bring him to punishment for the power which he had without authority assumed, he never-

theless set his men to work, with the aid of their allies, to rebuild the fallen capital. The labor went on without interruption, and so speedily that in a few months there arose out of the ashes of Mexico new buildings, in many points equaling in grandeur those which they replaced; at the same time Cortez constructed for himself a palace which has rarely been exceeded for splendor. But while engaging in this restoration of the capital, he reduced the natives to a condition of servitude which presently developed into the most abject slavery, from which the Tlascalans and Totonacs alone escaped. The poor natives were compelled to do their work under the lash, to labor in the mines, to till the fields, and to engage in all the arts under the hand of the most cruel and exacting taskmasters. For this audacious and cruel abuse of a sudden power Cortez has never been excused, and in the eyes of civilization never can be excused, and it will remain, along with the other dark blots upon his character, the one supreme blemish which beclouds all the glory which might otherwise brighten his name.

Occasionally the natives in remote districts rebelled under the harsh treatment to which they were subjected, and in one instance, in the province of Paluco, the number of rebellious subjects exceeded 70,000 warriors, who arose with the intention of massacring their masters, and who had ambitious hopes even of uniting the natives of the entire territory for an expulsion of the Spaniards. So formidable did the insurrection become, that Cortez placed himself at the head of an army of 130 horsemen, 250 infantry and 10,000 Mexicans, with which he made a forced march, and engaged the rebellious subjects in such a hot contest that the greater part of them were slaughtered, and such a signal victory secured that no subsequent efforts of any considerable character were made by the Mexicans to regain their freedom,

For more than four years Cortez devoted all his energies to a rebuilding of the Mexican capital, and to a zealous effort for the conversion of the natives to Catholicism, and so successful was this attempt that Mexico became, under his rule, more magnificent than ever before; and the natives gradually abandoned the bloody rites of their ancient worship, and under the influence of the Spanish priests became amenable to the Church. Numbers of priests were brought over from Spain, and twenty-five churches erected within the city, while others were instituted in the surrounding country. These had such influence that the natives ultimately adopted Catholicism as their religion, to which they have continued to adhere to the present time.

During the quiet life which Cortez lived during these years in Mexico, his amiable native wife, Marina, had borne him a son, whose instruction had been his constant care, in the hope that his mantle might in time descend upon him. In the midst of these pleasant anticipations, he was surprised by the sudden appearance of Donna Catalina, the Spanish lady whom he had married in Cuba, who had come over, accompanied by her brother, seeking her recreant and long-absent husband. Cortez, affecting a pious regard for the tenets of the religion which he professed, could not discard his lawful wife, and made pretensions of great joy at having been thus reunited to her. But at the expiration of three months she died suddenly, some say from a natural cause, but more suspicious minds entertain the belief that her life was cut short by the agency of poison.

Peace had spread her white wings over the fair territory of Mexico, and Cortez was permitted for a while to enjoy her benefactions. But to one of his restless spirit, designs and ambitions would not allow a long continuance of this peaceful and happy state. Charges he knew had been prepared against him by Velasquez, and industrious enemies

were at work at the Spanish Court to divest him of the glory and honors which he had acquired. To secure the favor of the Spanish sovereign, he therefore not only sent emissaries to the court at Madrid, but prepared elaborate reports of all the adventures, discoveries and events that had befallen him from the time of his departure from Cuba until his subjugation of the Mexican Empire, in which he did not omit to show the great advantages which had accrued to Spain through his efforts, and the inestimable riches which he had obtained in his conquests, and which, under proper convoy, he promised would be sent as an offering to his sovereign.

These reports placated whatever hostile feeling might have been directed towards Cortez at the Spanish Court, and reposing again in the confidence which he had inspired on every side, but still ambitious to acquire greater honors, he projected an expedition against Honduras by which he hoped to add new lands to the Spanish crown. He accordingly sent Christoval de Olid to found a colony in that country. But this man, while he had been an effective commander in the siege of Mexico, was little qualified to undertake such an enterprise; for, flattered by the little power which had thus been placed in his hands, no sooner had he formed the nucleus of a colony than he threw off his dependence upon Cortez, as the latter had upon Velasquez, and asserted his independence of all authority save that of the Spanish crown. Report of this assumption of authority reached Cortez, who immediately sent another expedition, under Las Casas, with five ships and a hundred Spanish soldiers, to arrest the disobedient officer. This expedition sailed away over a distance of 2,000 miles to the Bay of Honduras, and arrived suddenly before the town which Olid had founded, and which, in a spirit of religious fervor, he had named Triumph of the Cross. Olid was taken

unawares, and after a very short engagement sent a humble message to Las Casas, begging for a truce that would enable them to confer upon the terms of surrender. Consent to this request proved disastrous to the expedition, for on the same night a tempest arose, which wrecked all the ships, and in which thirty of the crew perished. Las Casas managed to escape with the others of his party, but, disregarding the truce, Olid, who had now gathered his forces together, seized them and gave them the alternative of death or taking an oath of allegiance to his service. Las Casas chose the latter, but, feeling justified in any perfidy as an offset to that which Olid had practiced, he finally succeeded in forming a conspiracy, and seizing Olid, without even the preliminaries of a court-martial, ordered him beheaded.

Information of the wreck of the vessels by some means reached Cortez, but he was not apprised of any of the subsequent proceedings, and so incensed was he at the conduct of Olid in violating his truce that he resolved to lead an expedition himself and bring a dreadful punishment upon the violator of his authority. At the head of 100 Spanish horsemen, fifty infantry and 3,000 Mexican soldiers, Cortez left Mexico on the 12th of October, 1524, for Honduras, which would necessitate a land march of 1,500 miles. With the fear that in his absence Guatemozin and the cacique of Tacuba, whom he had so tortured, might instigate a rebellion, he decided to take those two as captives with him. Several Catholic priests also accompanied the expedition with the purpose of spreading the teachings of the Church among the heathen tribes of Central America. Marina, his native wife, also bore him company, as her services were indispensable as interpreter. But Cortez, looking forward to an alliance with some noble family of Spain, to relieve himself from the embarrassment of a native wife, delivered

her in marriage to a Castilian knight named Don Juan Xamarillo, and, as some amends for his conduct, he assigned to the newly married couple the most valuable estate in the province of Marina, through which the route to Honduras lay. History makes no further mention of Marina, but her son, known as Don Martin Cortez, through the patronage of his father, became one of the most prominent grandees of Spain, filling many posts of opulence and honor; but he was at last suspected of treason against the home government, and shamefully put to the torture in the Mexican capital some time after the death of his father.

This march of 1,500 miles by Cortez was one of the most terrible ever undertaken by any commander. The hardships, perils and starvation which beset them were almost incredible, as we read them in the reports made by Diaz, who was an enforced member of the expedition. Nor was it free from the outrages which characterized the conduct of Cortez from the first moment that he landed on Mexican soil. Among his other crimes, during this march he seized a pretext for ridding himself of Guatemozin and the Tacuban cacique. Pretending that he had received authentic information of efforts being made by these two unhappy captives to incite the natives along the way to revolt, he required no further proofs than his belief in the truth of such report, and in the most hurried manner hung them upon a tree by the wayside, where they were left suspended, to become the prey of carrion birds.

Cortez was absent nearly three years upon this expedition, and when at last he contrived to reach the colony planted at the village known as Triumph of the Cross, he found only a few stragglers, and these at peace and ready to render him a faithful obedience, while nearly half of those who started with him had perished on the way. Cortez then embarked for Cuba, where he was received with great

demonstrations of respect, but he remained there only a short while, returning again to the Mexican capital, where the people hailed him as one come back from the dead, and offered him the most obsequious honors, to which he was not wholly unentitled.

The last days of Cortez were naturally his most unhappy ones. He brooded over the crimes which he had perpetrated, over his indefensible subjection to slavery of the people whom he had invaded and despoiled; and, as evil is its own avenger, we are not surprised that Cortez should be overwhelmed with troubles in his last days. He had now an ample fortune, but his enemies were still active in their efforts to bring him to the justice which had long been delayed. So serious were these charges, that Cortez finally decided to go to Spain in person and answer before Charles V., which he did with such address and cunning that he not only succeeded in relieving himself from the odium that had been heaped upon him by many of the most influential members of the Spanish Court, but for a while he seems to have thoroughly ingratiated himself into the favor of the Spanish sovereign, who not only knighted him, but made him Governor-General of Mexico for life. During his visit to Spain he also formed an alliance, through the niece of the Duke de Bejar, with one of the most distinguished families in Spain, and the marriage ceremony was honored by the presence of Charles V. and his Queen.

With his new bride in 1530 Cortez returned to Mexico and occupied the magnificent palace which he had built some few years before. But scarcely had he departed, when his enemies, again obtaining the ear of the Spanish sovereign, at length made such representations, and presented such proofs, that they persuaded him to recall the commission issued to Cortez, and to not only appoint a new Governor-General, but bring him to the bar of public judgment

and trial upon several of the old charges which had been preferred, and additional ones that had been framed after his departure. Ignorant of the proceedings which had thus been instituted against him, Cortez squandered nearly the whole of his wealth in fruitless expeditions, sent out for further discoveries and the founding of new colonies; and when the ambassadors of the court of Charles V. at last reached the Mexican capital, they found Cortez absent on one of his ambitious enterprises, and had to wait a period of nearly one year for his return. By them he was now divested of his honors, and thrown upon the world a poor and prematurely old man, with whose misfortunes very few sympathized, while many seized the occasion to wreak a vengeance which had long rankled in their bosoms; for Cortez by his vigorous, and not always humane, actions had made many enemies, not only at the Spanish Court, but in Cuba and the Mexican capital as well. Having spent his fortune in what he declared were efforts to advance the interests of his sovereign, in his poverty he was induced to return again to his native land in 1540 and make a personal appeal to Charles V. for a reimbursement of moneys which he had expended in his service. But though he was graciously received, his petition met with little consideration, though every word of promise he took as an encouragement, and with lingering hopes he remained in Spain nearly two years. He was at last a pitiable spectacle, moneyless and friendless, with nothing but the glamour of earlier heroic days to keep him from the most complete obscurity.

Crushed in spirit, all hope at last disappeared, and Cortez resolved to return again to Mexico, where it were better for him to die in the remembrance of the people he had conquered than to perish in neglect in the land of his birth. He had proceeded as far as Seville, when he was overcome by his melancholy, which took a fatal turn, and he was un-

able to continue his journey any further. Realizing that death was near at hand, he made and executed his will in a manner that manifested the continued vigor of his iron will. He left nine children, five of whom were born out of wedlock, among whom he equally divided the small property which he possessed on the outskirts of Mexico. Not being content with the poor accommodations provided for him at Seville, at the entreaty of his son, who accompanied him, he was removed to the neighboring village of Castilleja. There, on the 2d day of December, 1547, he died in the sixty-third year of his age, so completely neglected that only his faithful son was present during the last hour. Immediately upon his death there was a reaction among the public in his favor, and he seemed suddenly to have been magnified in the eyes of every one in Spain. A vast concourse of people attended his obsequies, and he was buried in great pomp in the tomb of the Duke of Madina Sidonia, at Seville. Five years later his remains were disinterred and removed to Mexico by his son Martin, who deposited them in the family vault in the monastery at Tezcuco, where they remained for sixty-seven years and until disturbed again in 1629 and deposited beneath the Church of St. Francis; here they reposed in peace until they were for the third time resurrected, in 1794, and transferred to the Hospital of Our Lady of the Conception, which Cortez had founded and endowed. The remains when last disinterred were deposited in a glass coffin, bound with bars of iron, and over them a splendid monument was reared in commemoration alike of his fidelity to the Church, his extension of Christianity among the pagans of the New World, and of the unexampled military skill and spirit which he exhibited.

THE END.

