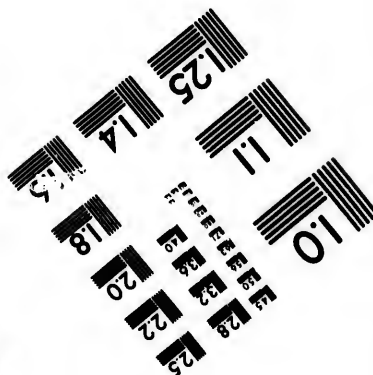
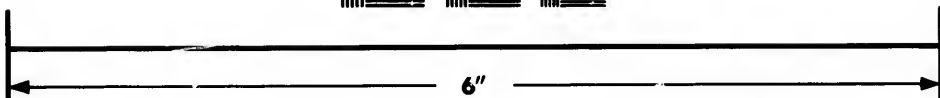
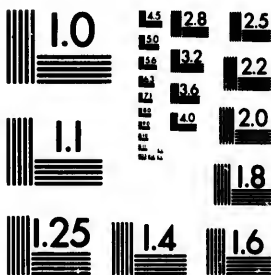


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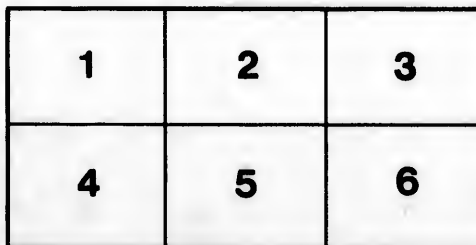
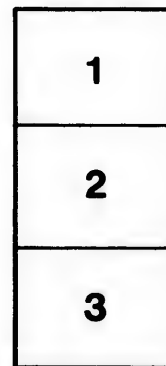
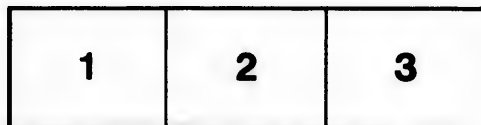
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A HISTORY  
OF THE LIFE AND VOYAGES  
OF  
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Venient annis  
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus  
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens  
Pateat tellus, Typhisque novos  
Detegat Orbis, nec sit terris  
Ultima Thule.  
*SPINCA : Medea.*

PREFACE.

BEING at Bordeaux, in the winter of 1825-6, I received a letter from Mr Alexander Everett, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Madrid, informing me of a work then in the press, edited by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, Secretary of the Royal Academy of History, etc., etc., containing a collection of documents relative to the voyages of Columbus, among which were many of a highly important nature, recently discovered. Mr Everett, at the same time, expressed an opinion that a version of the work into English, by one of our own country, would be peculiarly desirable. I concurred with him in the opinion; and, having for some time intended a visit to Madrid, I shortly afterwards set off for that capital, with an idea of undertaking, while there, the translation of the work.

Soon after my arrival, the publication of Mr Navarrete made its appearance. I found it to contain many documents, hitherto unknown, which threw additional lights on the discovery of the New World; and which reflected the greatest credit on the industry and activity of the learned editor. Still the whole presented rather a mass of rich materials for history, than a history itself. And invaluable as such stores may be to the laborious inquirer, the sight of disconnected papers and official documents is apt to be repulsive to the general reader, who seeks for clear and continued narrative. These circumstances made me hesitate in my proposed undertaking; yet the subject was of so interesting and national a kind, that I could not willingly abandon it.

On considering the matter more maturely, I perceived that, although there were many books, in various languages, relative to Columbus, they all contained limited and incomplete accounts of his life and voyages; while numerous valuable tracts on the subject existed only in manuscript, or in the form of letters, journals, and public monuments. It appeared to me that a history, faithfully digested from these various materials, was a desideratum in literature, and would be a more satisfactory occupation to myself, and a more ac-

ceptable work to my country, than the translation I had contemplated.

I was encouraged to undertake such a work, by the great facilities which I found within my reach at Madrid. I was resident under the roof of the American Consul, O. Rich, Esq., one of the most indefatigable bibliographers in Europe, who, for several years, had made particular researches after every document relative to the early history of America. In his extensive and curious library, I found one of the best collections extant of Spanish colonial history, containing many documents for which I might search elsewhere in vain. This he put at my absolute command, with a frankness and unreserve seldom to be met with among the possessors of such rare and valuable works; and his library has been my main resource throughout the whole of my labours.

I found also the Royal Library of Madrid, and the library of the Jesuits' College of San Isidro, two noble and extensive collections, open to access, and conducted with great order and liberality. From Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, who communicated various valuable and curious pieces of information, discovered in the course of his researches, I received the most obliging assistance: nor can I refrain from testifying my admiration of the self-sustained zeal of that estimable man, one of the last veterans of Spanish literature, who is almost alone, yet indefatigable in his labours, in a country where, at present, literary exertion meets with but little excitement or reward.

I must acknowledge, also, the liberality of the Duke of Veragua, the descendant and representative of Columbus, who submitted the archives of his family to my inspection, and took a personal interest in exhibiting the treasures they contained. Nor, lastly, must I omit my deep obligations to my excellent friend Don Antonio de Uguina, treasurer of the Prince Francisco, a gentleman of talents and erudition, and particularly versed in the history of his country and its dependencies. To his unwearied investigations, and silent and unavowed contributions, the world is indebted for much of the accurate information, recently imparted, on points of early colonial history. In the possession of this gentleman

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are most of the papers of his deceased friend, the late historian Muñoz, who was cut off in the midst of his valuable labours. These, and various other documents, have been imparted to me by Don Antonio with a kindness and urbanity which greatly increased, yet lightened the obligation.

With these, and other aids incidentally afforded me by my local situation, I have endeavoured, to the best of my abilities, and making the most of the time which I could allow myself during a sojourn in a foreign country, to construct this history. I have diligently collated all the works that I could find relative to my subject, in print and manuscript; comparing them, as far as in my power, with original documents, those sure lights of historic research; endeavouring to ascertain the truth amid those contradictions which will inevitably occur, where several persons have recorded the same facts, viewing them from different points, and under the influence of different interests and feelings.

In the execution of this work I have avoided indulging in mere speculations or general reflections, excepting such as rose naturally out of the subject, preferring to give a minute and circumstantial narrative, omitting no particular that appeared characteristic of the persons, the events, or the times; and endeavouring to place every fact in such a point of view, that the reader might perceive its merits, and draw his own maxims and conclusions.

As many points of the history required explanations, drawn from contemporary events and the literature of the times, I have preferred, instead of incumbering the narrative, to give detached illustrations at the end of the work. This also enabled me to indulge in greater latitude of detail, where the subject was of a curious or interesting nature, and the sources of information such as not to be within the common course of reading.

After all, the work is presented to the public with extreme diffidence. All that I can safely claim is, an earnest desire to state the truth, an absence from prejudices respecting the nations mentioned in my history, a strong interest in my subject, and a zeal to make up by assiduity for many deficiencies of which I am conscious.

WASHINGTON IRVING.

Madrid, 1827.

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## BOOK I.

WHETHER in old times, beyond the reach of history or tradition, and in some remote period of civilization, when, as some imagine, the arts may have flourished to a degree unknown to those whom we term the Ancients, there existed an intercourse between the opposite shores of the Atlantic; whether the Egyptian legend, narrated by Plato, respecting the island of Atlantis, was indeed no fable, but the obscure tradition of some vast country, engulfed by one of those mighty convulsions of our globe, which have left traces of the ocean on the summits of lofty mountains, must ever remain matters of vague and visionary speculation. As far as authenticated history extends, nothing was known of terra-firma, and the islands of the western hemisphere, until their discovery towards the close of the fifteenth century. A wander-

ing bark may occasionally have lost sight of the landmarks of the old continents, and been driven by tempests across the wilderness of waters long before the invention of the compass, but never returned to reveal the secrets of the ocean. And though, from time to time, some document had floated to the shores of the old world, giving to its wondering inhabitants evidences of land far beyond their watery horizon; yet no one ventured to spread a sail, and seek that land enveloped in mystery and peril. Or if the legends of the Scandinavian voyagers be correct, and their mysterious Vinland was the coast of Labrador, or the shore of Newfoundland, they had but transient glimpses of the new world, leading to no certain or permanent knowledge, and in a little time lost again to mankind. Certain it is that at the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the most intelligent minds were seeking in every direction for the scattered lights of geographical knowledge, a profound ignorance prevailed among the learned as to the western regions of the Atlantic; its vast waters were regarded with awe and wonder, seeming to bound the world as with a chaos, into which conjecture could not penetrate, and enterprise feared to adventure. We need no greater proofs of this than the description given of the Atlantic by Xerif al Edrizi, surnamed the Nubian, an eminent Arabian writer, whose countrymen were the boldest navigators of the middle ages, and possessed all that was then known of geography.

"The ocean," he observes, "encircles the ultimate bounds of the inhabited earth, and all beyond it is unknown. No one has been able to verify any thing concerning it, on account of its difficult and perilous navigation, its great obscurity, its profound depth, and frequent tempests; through fear of its mighty fishes, and its haughty winds; yet there are many islands in it, some peopled, others uninhabited. There is no mariner who dares to enter into its deep waters; or if any have done so, they have merely kept along its coasts, fearful of departing from them. The waves of this ocean, although they roll as high as mountains, yet maintain themselves without breaking; for if they broke, it would be impossible for ship to plough them." \*

It is the object of the following work, to relate the deeds and fortunes of the mariner who first had the judgment to divine, and the intrepidity to brave, the mysteries of this perilous deep; and who, by his hardy genius, his inflexible constancy, and his heroic courage, brought the ends of the earth into communication with each other. The narrative of his troubled life is the link which connects the history of the old world with that of the new.

\* See Illustrations at the end of this work. Article SCANDINAVIAN DISCOVERIES.

† Description of Spain, by Xerif al Edrizi: Cowde's Spanish translation, Madrid, 1799.

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## CHAPTER I.

## BIRTH, PARENTAGE AND EDUCATION OF COLUMBUS.

OF the early days of Christopher Columbus nothing certain is known. The time of his birth, his birth-place, his parentage, are all involved in obscurity; and such has been the perplexing ingenuity of commentators, that it is difficult to extricate the truth from the web of conjectures with which it is interwoven. Judging from the testimony of one of his contemporaries and intimates,<sup>1</sup> he must have been born about the year 1435 or 1436. Several places contend for the honour of having given him birth, but it seems satisfactorily established that he was a native of the ancient city of Genoa. A like contention has arisen with respect to his lineage. More than one noble family has laid claim to him, since his name has become so illustrious as to confer rather than receive distinction. It is probable that all these branches may have sprung from one common stock, though shaken asunder, and some of them cast down, by the civil wars of Italy. It does not appear that there had been any nobility in his family, within the knowledge of himself or his contemporaries; nor is the fact material to his fame. It is certainly more honourable to his memory, to be the object of contention among various noble families, than to be able to designate the most illustrious descent. His son Fernando, who wrote his history, and who made a journey to investigate the subject, tacitly relinquishes all claims of the kind; pronouncing it better that his family should date its glory from the Admiral, than look beyond him, to ascertain whether his predecessors had been ennobled, and had kept hawk and hound; for "I am of opinion," he adds, "that I should derive less dignity from any nobility of ancestry than from being the son of such a father."<sup>2</sup>

The immediate parentage of Columbus was poor, though reputable and meritorious, his father being a wool-comber, long resident in the city of Genoa. He was the eldest of four children, having two brothers, Bartholomew, and Giacomo, or, as his name is translated into Spanish, Diego, and one sister, of whom nothing is known, excepting that she was married to a person in obscure life, called Giacomo Bavarello.

The family name in Italian is Colombo; it was latinized into Columbus by himself in his earlier letters, and by others in their writings concerning him, in compliance with the usage of the times, when Latin was the general language of correspondence, and that in which every name of historical importance was written. The discoverer, however, is better known in Spanish history as Cristoval Colon, having altered his name when he removed to Spain. The principal reason given by his son for this altera-

tion, was, that his descendants might be distinguished from collateral branches of the family. For this purpose, he recurred to what was supposed to be the Roman origin of the name, Colonus, which he abbreviated to Colon, to adapt it to the Castilian tongue. From his variety of appellations, the name of Columbus is retained in the present history, as that by which he has been most generally known throughout the world.

His education was but limited, but as extensive, probably, as the indigent circumstances of his parents would permit. While quite a child, he was taught to read and write; and wrote so good a hand, says Las Casas, who possessed many of his manuscripts, that with it he might have earned his bread. To this succeeded arithmetic, drawing, and painting; and in these, observes Las Casas, he likewise acquired sufficient skill to have gained a livelihood.<sup>1</sup> He was sent for a short time to Pavia, the great school of learning in Lombardy. Here he studied grammar, and became well acquainted with the Latin tongue. His education, however, was principally directed to those sciences necessary to fit him for maritime life. He was instructed in geometry, geography, astronomy, or, as it was at that time termed, astrology, and navigation.<sup>2</sup> He had, at a very early age, evinced a strong passion for geographical science, and an irresistible inclination for the sea, and he pursued with ardour every congenial study. In the latter part of his life, when, in consequence of the great events which were brought about by his agency, he looked back upon his career with a solemn and superstitious feeling, he mentions this early determination of his mind, as a secret impulse from the Deity, guiding him to the studies, and inspiring him with the inclinations, which should fit him for the high decrees he was chosen to accomplish.<sup>3</sup>

In tracing the early history of a man like Columbus, whose actions have had so vast an effect on human affairs, it is interesting to notice how much has been owing to the influence of events, and how much to an inborn propensity of the mind. The most original and inventive genius grows more or less out of the times; and that strong impulse, which Columbus considered as supernatural, is unconsciously produced by the operation of external circumstances. Every now and then, thought takes some sudden and general direction; either revisiting some long-neglected region of knowledge, and exploring and reopening its forgotten paths, or breaking with wonder and delight into some fresh and untrodden field of discovery. It is then that an ardent and imaginative genius, catching the impulse of the day, outstrips all less gifted contemporaries, takes the lead of the throng by which it was first put in motion; and presses forward to achievements, which feebler spirits would never have adventured to attempt. We find an il-

<sup>1</sup> Andres Bernaldez, commonly known as the Curate of Los Palacios. For remarks on the birth, birth-place, and parentage of Columbus, see the Illustrations at the end of this work.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap 2.

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. 1, c. 5. MS.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap 3.

<sup>3</sup> Letter to the Castilian Sovereigns, 1501.



illustration of this remark in Columbus. The strong passion for geographical knowledge which he so early felt, and which gave rise to his after actions, was incident to the age in which he lived. Geographical discovery was the brilliant path of light which was for ever to distinguish the fifteenth century,—the most splendid era of invention in the annals of the world. During the long night of monkish bigotry and false learning, geography, with the other sciences, had been lost to the European nations. Fortunately it had not been lost to mankind: it had taken refuge in the bosom of Africa. While the pedantic schoolmen of the cloisters were wasting time and talent, and confounding erudition by idle reveries, and sophistical dialectics, the Arabian sages, assembled at Senaar, were taking the measurement of a degree of latitude, and calculating the circumference of the earth, on the vast plains of Mesopotamia.

True knowledge, thus happily preserved, was now making its way back to Europe. The revival of science accompanied the revival of letters. Among the various authors which the awakening zeal for ancient literature had once more brought into notice, were Pliny, Pomponius Mela, and Strabo. From these was regained a fund of geographical knowledge, which had long faded from the public mind. Curiosity was aroused to pursue this forgotten path, thus suddenly reopened. A translation of the work of Ptolemy had been made into Latin, at the commencement of the century, by Emanuel Chrysoleras, a noble and learned Greek, and had thus been rendered more familiar to the Italian students. Another translation had followed, by James Angel de Scarpia, of which fair and beautiful copies became common in the Italian libraries.<sup>1</sup> The writings also began to be sought after of Averroes, Alfraganus, and other Arabian sages, who had kept the sacred fire of science alive, during the interval of European darkness.

The knowledge thus reviving was but limited and imperfect; yet, like the return of morning light, it was full of interest and beauty. It seemed to call a new creation into existence, and broke, with all the charm of wonder, upon imaginative minds. They were surprised at their own ignorance of the world around them. Every step seemed discovery, for every region beyond their native country was in a manner terra incognita.

Such was the state of information and feeling with respect to this interesting science, in the early part of the fifteenth century. An interest still more intense was awakening, from the discoveries that began to be made along the Atlantic coasts of Africa; and must have been particularly felt among a maritime and commercial people like the Genoese. To these circumstances may we ascribe the enthusiastic devotion which Columbus imbibed in his childhood for cosmographical studies, and which influenced all his after fortunes.

<sup>1</sup> Andres, Hist. B. Let., lib. iii, cap. 2.

In considering his scanty education, it is worthy of notice how little he owed, from the very first, to adventitious aid; how much to the native energy of his character, and the fertility of his mind. The short time that he remained at Pavia was barely sufficient to give him the rudiments of the necessary sciences; the familiar acquaintance with them, which he evinced in after life, must have been the result of diligent self-schooling, and casual hours of study, amidst the cares and vicissitudes of a rugged and wandering life. He was one of those men of strong natural genius, who appear to form themselves; who, from having to contend at their very outset with privations and impediments, acquire an intrepidity to encounter, and a facility to vanquish difficulties, throughout their career. Such men learn to effect great purposes with small means, supplying this deficiency by the resources of their own energy and invention. This from his earliest commencement, throughout the whole of his life, was one of the remarkable features in the history of Columbus. In every undertaking, the scantiness and apparent insufficiency of his means enhance the grandeur of his achievements.

## CHAPTER II.

### EARLY LIFE OF COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS left the university of Pavia while yet extremely young, and returned to his father's house in Genoa. It has been asserted by Giustiniani, a contemporary writer, in his annals of that republic, and repeated by other historians,<sup>1</sup> that he remained for some time in Genoa, following his father's trade of wool-combing. The assertion is indignantly contradicted by his son Fernando, who, however, gives us no information to supply its place.<sup>2</sup> The opinion generally received, is, that he immediately entered into nautical life, for which he had been educated, and to which he was prompted by his roving and enterprising disposition. He says himself, that he began to navigate at fourteen years of age.<sup>3</sup>

In a maritime city, the sea has irresistible attractions for a youth of ardent curiosity, and his imagination pictures forth every thing fair and desirable beyond its waters. Genoa, also, walled and strained on the land side by rugged mountains, yielded but little scope for enterprise on shore; while an opulent and widely extended commerce, visiting every country, and a roving marine, battling in every sea, naturally led forth her children upon the waves as their propitious element. Foglieta, in his history of Genoa, speaks of the proneness of its youth to wander about in quest of fortune, with the intention of returning to settle in their native place; but adds, that of twenty

<sup>1</sup> Anton. Gallo, de Navigatione Columbii, etc. Muratori, t. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Barta Senarega, de Rebus Genuensibus. Muratori, t. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 4.

who thus departed or marrying in the tempest of public.

The seafaring days, was made enterprises. Ever a warlike cruise, to fight his way most legitimatis Italian States; the armadas fitted of a kind of kept petty arm ships and squad naval Conductie governments, so of lawless booty nually waged ag dered the narra principally confi counters and try

Such was the was reared, and ing to have ma genius amidst it the hardships an venturer in a s have cherished a fed his imaginat prise. The sev gave him that p resource, that ur command, for w In this way, the to healthful alim piring mind.

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who thus departed scarce two returned; either dying or marrying in other countries, or being deterred by the tempest of civil discorda which distracted the republic.

The seafaring life of the Mediterranean, in those days, was made up of hazardous voyages, and daring enterprises. Even a commercial expedition resembled a warlike cruise, and the maritime merchant had often to fight his way from port to port. Piracy was almost legitimatised. The frequent feuds between the Italian States; the cruizings of the Catalonians; the armadas fitted out by private noblemen, who exercised a kind of sovereignty in their own domains, and kept petty armies and navies in their pay; the roving ships and squadrons of private adventurers, a kind of naval Condottieri, sometimes employed by hostile governments, sometimes scouring the seas in search of lawless booty; these, with the holy wars continually waged against the Mahometan powers, rendered the narrow seas, to which navigation was principally confined, scenes of the most hardy encounters and trying reverses.

Such was the rugged school in which Columbus was reared, and it would have been deeply interesting to have marked the early development of his genius amidst its stern adversities. Surrounded by the hardships and humiliaties which beset a poor adventurer in a seafaring life, he still seems ever to have cherished a lofty tone of thought, and to have fed his imagination with schemes of glorious enterprise. The severe and varied lessons of his youth gave him that practical knowledge, that fertility of resource, that undaunted resolution, and vigilant self-command, for which he was afterwards remarkable. In this way, the fruits of bitter experience are turned to healthful aliment, by a vigorous genius and an aspiring mind.

All this instructive era of his history, however, is covered with darkness. His son Fernando, who could have best elucidated it, has left it in obscurity, or has now and then perplexed us with cross lights; perhaps unwilling, from a principle of mistaken pride, to reveal the indigence and obscurity from which his father so gloriously emerged. A few vague and scattered anecdotes are all that exist; but they are interesting, as giving glimpses of the checkered and adventurous life he must have led. The first voyage in which we have any account of his being engaged, was a naval expedition, having for its object the recovery of a crown. An armament was fitted out at Genoa in 1450, by John of Anjou, Duke of Calabria, to make a descent upon Naples, in the hope of recovering that kingdom for his father, King Reinier, or Renato, otherwise called René, Count de Provence. In this expedition, the republic of Genoa took a part, furnishing ships and money. There were many private adventurers also, who fitted out ships or galleys, and engaged under the banner of Anjou. Among these, we are told, was a hardy sea-captain named

Colombo. There were two naval characters of this name, an uncle and nephew, who had celebrity about this time, and who are claimed by Fernando Columbus as family connexions. They are mentioned occasionally by historians as French commanders, because Genoa was at that time under the protection, or rather the sovereignty, of France, and her ships and captains, being engaged in the expeditions of that power, were identified with the French marine.<sup>1</sup> The names of these two sea-captains occurring vaguely in history, from time to time, during the obscure part of the career of Columbus, have caused much perplexity to some of his biographers, who have supposed that they designated the discoverer.<sup>2</sup>

With these commanders he sailed on several occasions; and for a considerable length of time,<sup>3</sup> and he is said to have embarked with the uncle in the expedition against Naples. There is no authority for this latter fact among the historians who were his contemporaries, none of whom indeed gave any particulars of his early biography; but it has been repeatedly affirmed by later writers, and circumstances concur to give weight to the assertion. It is established that he, at one time, held a separate command in the service of this king of Naples, and was employed in a hardy enterprise to cut out a galley from the port of Tunis. This is incidentally mentioned by himself in one of his letters to Ferdinand and Isabella, written many years afterwards. "It happened to me," he says, "that King Reinier (whom God has taken to himself) sent me to Tunis to capture the galley Ferdinandina, and when I arrived off the island of San Pedro, in Sardinia, I was informed that there were two ships and a carraçk with the galley; by which intelligence my crew were so troubled that they determined to proceed no farther, but to return to Marseilles for another vessel and more people. As I could by no means compel them, I assented apparently to their wishes, altering the point of the compass, and spreading all sail. It was then evening, and next morning we were within the Cape of Carthage, where all were firmly of opinion that they were sailing toward Marseilles."<sup>4</sup> We have no further record of this bold enterprise; but we behold in it strong indications of that determined and persevering spirit which ensured him success in his more important undertakings. His expedient to beguile a discontented crew, by deceiving them with respect to the ship's course, is in unison with the stratagem of altering the reckoning, to which he had recourse in his first voyage of discovery.

The struggle of John of Anjou, Duke of Calabria, for the crown of Naples, lasted about four years, with varied fortune, but was finally unsuccessful. The naval part of his expedition, in which Columbus was engaged, distinguished itself by acts of intrepidity;

<sup>1</sup> Chauffepié's Supp. to Bayle, v. ii. article COLUMBUS.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Illustrations, article THE COLOMBOS.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Foglietta, Istoria di Genoa, l. ii.



and at one time when the duke was reduced to take refuge in the island of Ischia, a handful of galleys scoured and controlled the bay of Naples.'

There is an interval of many years, during which we have but one or two shadowy traces of Columbus. He is supposed to have been principally engaged in the Mediterranean and up the Levant, sometimes in voyages of commerce, sometimes in warlike contests between the Italian states, sometimes in pious and predatory expeditions against the infidels. Incidental mention is made, on his own authority, of his having been at the island of Scio, where he saw the mode of procuring mastic.<sup>1</sup> Certain late authors imagine that they have discovered proofs of his having enjoyed an important command in the marine of his native country. Chaussepié, in his continuation of Bayle, cites a report, that Columbus was, in 1474, captain of several Genoese ships in the service of Louis XI of France, and that he attacked and took two Spanish galleys, as a reprisal for the Spaniards having made an irruption into Roussillon; on account of which King Ferdinand addressed a letter of remonstrance to the French monarch.<sup>2</sup> Bossi also, in his Memoir of Columbus, mentions a letter found in the archives of Milan, written in 1476, by two illustrious Milanese gentlemen, on their return from Jerusalem, stating that in the previous year, when the Venetian fleet was stationed off Cyprus to guard the island, a Genoese squadron, commanded by one Colombo, brushed by them, shouting "Viva San Giorgio!" the war-cry of Genoa, and were permitted to pass without molestation, the republics being then at peace.<sup>3</sup> The Colombo mentioned in these two occurrences was in all probability the old Genoese admiral of that name, who, according to Zurita, and other historians, commanded about that time a squadron, with which he conveyed the king of Portugal to the Mediterranean coast of France. As Columbus often sailed under his flag, he may have been with him on these occasions.

The last dubious trace of Columbus, during this obscure period of his life, is given by his son Fernando, who assigns him a distinguished share in a naval exploit of Colombo the younger, nephew to the old admiral just mentioned, who, he affirms, was a famous corsair, so terrible for his deeds against the infidels, that the Moorish mothers used to frighten their unruly children with his name.

This bold rover, having heard of four Venetian galleys richly laden, on their return voyage from Flanders, intercepted them with his squadron on the Portuguese coast, between Lisbon and Cape St Vincent. A desperate engagement took place; the vessels grappled each other, and the crews fought hand to hand, and from ship to ship. The battle lasted from morning until evening with great carnage on

both sides. The vessel commanded by Columbus was engaged with a huge Venetian galley. They threw hand-grenades and other fiery missiles, and the galley was wrapped in flames. The vessels were fastened together by chains and iron grappings, and could not be separated; both were involved in one conflagration, and soon became a mere blazing mass. The crews threw themselves into the sea; Columbus seized an oar, which was floating within reach, and, being an expert swimmer, attained the shore, though full two leagues distant. It pleased God, adds his son Fernando, to give him strength, that he might preserve him for greater things. After recovering from his exhaustion, he repaired to Lisbon, where he found many of his Genoese countrymen, and was induced to take up his residence.'

Such is the account given by Fernando of his father's first arrival in Portugal; and it has been currently adopted by modern historians. That Columbus may have been in this sea-flight is not impossible, but it took place many years after this period of his life. It is mentioned, by several historians, as having occurred in the summer of 1483, which was nearly a year after he had departed from Portugal. The only way of accounting for the error, without impeaching the veracity of the historian, is, to presume that Fernando may have confounded some other action, in which his father was concerned, with this which he found recorded, without date, by Sabellicus.

Waving, therefore, as somewhat apocryphal, this romantic and heroic arrival of Columbus on the shores of Portugal, we shall find in the great nautical enterprise in which that kingdom was engaged at the time, ample attractions for a person of his character and pursuits. For this purpose, however, it is necessary to cast a glance on certain historical events connected with maritime discovery, which rendered Lisbon, at that moment, the great resort of men skilled in geographical and nautical science, from all parts of the world.

### CHAPTER III.

#### PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY UNDER PRINCE HENRY OF PORTUGAL.

THE career of modern discovery had commenced shortly before the time of Columbus, and the Atlantic coasts of Africa were at that period the scenes of nautical enterprise. Some have attributed its origin to an incident said to have occurred in the fourteenth century. An Englishman of the name of Macham, flying to France with a lady of whom he was enamoured, was driven far out of sight of land by stress of weather, and after wandering about the high seas, arrived at an unknown and uninhabited island, covered with beautiful forests, which was afterwards called Madeira.<sup>4</sup> Others have treated this account

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 5. See Illustrations, article CAPTURE OF THE VENETIAN GALLEYS.

<sup>2</sup> See Illustrations, article DISCOVERY OF MADRINA.

<sup>1</sup> See Illustrations, article EXPEDITION OF JOHN OF ANJOU.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Chaussepié's Supp. to Bayle, vol. li, article COLUMBUS.

<sup>4</sup> Bossi, Hist. Colon. Illustr. No. 7.

as a fable, and by the first fruits of the group, the Fortune they placed there whence Ptolemy had been long known.

There are vague reports received cases the obscure ages. Arabian, Norman, this was involved a fatal result. It is that they were enemies to mankind. From visited by the hands. The greatest benefit that the frequent ed mariners to vulgarized them,

The grand impetus chance, but was master mind. The son of John the Philippa of Lancaster England. The enterprise whose enterprises ment, deserves praise.

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While at Ceuta from the Moors of the coast of Guinea. He conceived an idea to be made, by new Africa. On returning his ruling thought tumult of a court in a country retro in the neighbourhood view of the ocean eminent in scientific branches of knowledge. He was an self master of all of Spain.

On studying Henry had found that Africa was possible, by keeping He had been st voyage of Eudox sailed from the continued on to roborated by the ginian, who, said

as a fable, and have pronounced the Canaries to be the first fruits of modern discovery. This famous group, the Fortunate Islands of the ancients, in which they placed their garden of the Hesperides, and from whence Ptolemy commenced to count the longitude, had been long lost to the world.

There are vague accounts, it is true, of their having received casual visits, at wide intervals, during the obscure ages, from the wandering bark of some Arabian, Norman, or Genoese adventurer; but all this was involved in uncertainty, and led to no beneficial result. It was not until the fourteenth century that they were effectually rediscovered, and restored to mankind. From that time they were occasionally visited by the hardy navigators of various countries. The greatest benefit produced by their discovery was, that the frequent expeditions made to them emboldened mariners to venture far upon the Atlantic, and familiarized them, in some degree, to its dangers.

The grand impulse to discovery was not given by chance, but was the deeply meditated effort of one master mind. This was Prince Henry of Portugal, son of John the First, surnamed the Avenger, and Philippa of Lancaster, sister of Henry the Fourth of England. The character of this illustrious man, from whose enterprises the genius of Columbus took excitement, deserves particular mention.

At an early age, Prince Henry accompanied his father into Africa, in an expedition against the Moors, in which he planted his victorious banners on the walls of Ceuta. Henry signalized himself repeatedly in this campaign. His passion, however, was more for arts than arms, and he pursued, even amidst the din of war, those inquiries most worthy of a prince.

While at Ceuta he received much information from the Moors concerning the interior of Africa and the coast of Guinea—regions unknown to Europeans. He conceived an idea that important discoveries were to be made, by navigating along the western coast of Africa. On returning to Portugal, this idea became his ruling thought. Withdrawing himself from the tumult of a court, he buried himself in retirement, in a country retreat in the Algarves, near to Sagres, in the neighbourhood of Cape St Vincent, and in full view of the ocean. Here he drew around him men eminent in science, and prosecuted the study of those branches of knowledge connected with the maritime arts. He was an able mathematician, and made himself master of all the astronomy known to the Arabians of Spain.

On studying the works of the ancients, Prince Henry had found what he considered abundant proofs that Africa was circumnavigable; so that it was possible, by keeping along its shores, to arrive at India. He had been struck with the account given of the voyage of Eudoxus of Cyzicus, who was said to have sailed from the Red Sea into the ocean, and to have continued on to Gibraltar; which appeared to be corroborated by the expedition of Hanno the Carthaginian, who, sailing from Gibraltar with a fleet of

sixty ships, and following the African coast, was said to have reached the shores of Arabia.\* It is true these voyages had been discredited by several ancient writers; and the possibility of circumnavigating Africa, after being for a long time admitted by geographers, was denied by Hipparchus, and since his time had continued to be disbelieved. He considered each sea as shut up and land-bound in its peculiar basin; and that Africa was a continent continuing onward to the south pole, and surrounding the Indian sea, so as to join Asia beyond the Ganges. This opinion had been adopted and perpetuated by Ptolemy, whose works, in the time of Prince Henry, were the highest authority in geography. Still the Prince reverted to the ancient belief, that Africa was circumnavigable, and he found his opinion sanctioned by various learned men of more modern date. To settle this question, and to achieve the circumnavigation of Africa, was an object worthy the ambition of a prince, and his mind was fired with the idea of the vast benefits that would arise to his country should it be accomplished by Portuguese enterprise.

The Italians, or, as they were called in the north of Europe, the Lombards, had long monopolized the opulent trade of Asia. They had formed commercial establishments at Constantinople and in the Black Sea, where they received the rich produce of the Spice Islands, which lie near the equator; and the silks, the gums, the perfumes, the precious stones, and other luxurious commodities of Egypt and Southern Asia, and distributed them over the whole of Europe. The republics of Venice and Genoa rose to power and opulence in consequence of this trade. They had factories in the most remote parts, even in the frozen regions of Muscovy and Norway. Their merchants emulated the magnificence of princes. All Europe was tributary to their commerce. Yet this trade had to be carried on with distant countries of the East, by the most circuitous and expensive routes. It passed through various intermediate hands, and was subjected to the delays and charges of internal navigation, and the tedious and uncertain journeys of the caravan. For a long time, the merchandise of India had to be conveyed by the Gulf of Persia, the Euphrates, the Indus, and the Oxus, to the Caspian and the Mediterranean seas; thence to take a new destination for the various marts of Europe. After the Soldan of Egypt had conquered the Arabs, and restored trade to its ancient channel, it was still attended with great cost and delay. Its precious commodities had to be conveyed by the Red Sea, thence on camels' backs to the banks of the Nile, whence they were transported to Egypt to meet the Italian merchants. Thus, while the opulent traffic of the East was engrossed by these adventurous monopolists, the price of every article was enhanced by the great expense of transportation.

It was the grand idea of Prince Henry, by circum-

\* See Illustrations, article CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA BY THE ANCIENTS.

navigating Africa, to open a direct and easy route to the source of this commerce, to turn it suddenly into a new and simple channel, and to pour it out in a golden tide upon his country. Henry, however, was before the age in thought. He had to counteract the ignorance and prejudices of mankind, and to endure the delays to which vivid and penetrating minds are subjected, from the tardy co-operations of the dull and the doubtful. The navigation of the Atlantic was yet in its infancy, and however some may have ventured a little way upon it, still mariners looked with distrust upon a boisterous expanse, which appeared to have no opposite shore. In their voyages they still kept close to the coast, fearful of venturing out of sight of those land-marks which guided their timid navigation. Every bold head-land, and far-stretching promontory, was a wall to bar their progress. They crept timorously along the Barbary shores, and thought they had accomplished a wonderful expedition when they had ventured a few degrees beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. Cape Non, the termination of ancient enterprise, was long the limit of their daring; they hesitated to double its rocky point, beaten by winds and waves, and threatening to thrust them forth upon the raging deep.

Independent of these vague fears, they had others, sanctioned by philosophy itself. The ancient theory of the zones was currently believed. They still thought that the earth, at the equator, was girdled by a torrid zone, over which the sun held his vertical and fiery course, separating the hemispheres by a region of impassive heat. The credulous seamen fancied Cape Bojador the utmost boundary of secure enterprise. They had a superstitious belief, that whoever doubled it would never return. They looked with dismay upon the rapid currents of its neighbourhood, and the furious surf which beats upon its arid coast. They imagined beyond it the frightful region of the torrid zone, scorched by a blazing sun, a region of fire, where the very waves, which beat upon the shores, boiled under the intolerable fervour of the heavens.

To dispel these errors, and to give a scope to navigation, equal to the grandeur of his designs, Prince Henry called in the aid of science. He established a naval college, and erected an observatory at Sagres, and he invited thither the most eminent professors of the nautical faculties; appointing as president James of Mallorca, a man learned in navigation, and skilful in making charts and instruments.

The effects of this establishment were soon apparent. All that was known relative to geography and navigation was gathered together and reduced to system. A vast improvement took place in maps. The compass was also brought into more general use, especially among the Portuguese, rendering the mariner more bold and venturesome, by enabling him to navigate in the most gloomy day, and in the darkest night. Encouraged by these advantages, and stimu-

lated by the munificence of Prince Henry, the Portuguese marine became signalized for the hardihood of its enterprises, and the extent of its discoveries. Cape Bojador was doubled, the region of the tropics penetrated, and divested of its fancied terrors; the greater part of the African coast, from Cape Blanco to Cape de Verde, explored, and the Cape de Verde and Azore Islands, which lay three hundred leagues distant from the continent, were rescued from the obnoxious empire of the ocean.

To secure the quiet prosecution and full enjoyment of his discoveries, Henry obtained the protection of a papal bull, granting to the crown of Portugal sovereign authority over all the lands it might discover in the Atlantic, to India inclusive, with plenary indulgence to all who should die in these expeditions; at the same time menacing, with the terrors of the church, all who should interfere in these Christian conquests.

Henry died on the 13th of November, 1473, without accomplishing the great object of his ambition. It was not until many years afterwards, that Vasquez de Gama, pursuing with a Portuguese fleet the track he had pointed out, realized his anticipations by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, sailing along the southern coast of India, and thus opening a highway for commerce to the opulent regions of the East. Henry, however, lived long enough to reap some of the richest rewards of a great and good mind. He beheld, through his means, his native country in a grand and active career of prosperity. The discoveries of the Portuguese were the wonder and admiration of the fifteenth century; and Portugal, from being one of the least among nations, suddenly rose to be one of the most important.

All this was effected, not by arms, but by arts; not by the stratagems of a cabinet, but by the wisdom of a college. It was the great achievement of a prince, who has well been described "full of thoughts of lofty enterprise, and acts of generous spirit:" one, who bore for his device the magnanimous motto, "The talent to do good," the only talent worthy the ambition of princes.

Henry, at his death, left it in charge to his country to prosecute the route to India. He had formed companies and associations, by which commercial zeal was enlisted in the cause, and it was made a matter of interest and competition to enterprising individuals. From time to time Lisbon was thrown into a tumult of excitement by the launching forth of some new expedition, or the return of a squadron with accounts of new tracts explored, and new kingdoms visited. Every thing was confident promise, and sanguine anticipation. The miserable hordes of the African coast were magnified into powerful nations, and the voyagers continually heard of opulent countries farther on. It was as yet the twilight of geographic know-

<sup>1</sup> Vasconcelz, Hist de Juan II.

<sup>2</sup> Joan de Barros, Asia, decad. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Lafitau, Conquêtes des Portugais, t. 1, l. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Mariana, Hist. Esp., lib. ii. cap. 22.

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<sup>1</sup> Herrera, decad.

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ions continually setting out, drew the attention of the  
world. Strangers from all parts, the learned, the  
urious, and the adventurous, resorted to Lisbon to  
nquire into the particulars or to participate in the ad-  
vantages of these enterprises. Among these was  
Christopher Columbus,—whether thrown there, as  
has been asserted, by the fortuitous result of a despe-  
rate adventure, or drawn thither by liberal curiosity,  
and the pursuit of honourable fortune.'

## CHAPTER IV.

RESIDENCE OF COLUMBUS AT LISBON. IDEAS CONCERNING  
ISLANDS IN THE OCEAN.

COLUMBUS arrived at Lisbon about the year 1470.  
He was at that time in the full vigour of manhood,  
and of an engaging presence. Minute descriptions  
are given of his person by his son Fernando, by Las  
Casas, and others of his contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> According  
to these accounts, he was tall, well-formed, muscular,  
and of an elevated and dignified demeanour. His  
visage was long, and neither full nor meagre; his  
complexion fair and freckled, and inclined to ruddy;  
his nose aquiline; his cheek-bones were rather high,  
his eyes light grey, and apt to enkindle; his whole  
countenance had an air of authority. His hair, in his  
youthful days, was of a light colour; but care and  
trouble, according to Las Casas, soon turned it grey,  
and at thirty years of age it was quite white. He was  
moderate and simple in diet and apparel, eloquent in  
discourse, engaging and affable with strangers, and  
of an amiableness and suavity in domestic life that  
strongly attached his household to his person. His  
temper was naturally irritable;<sup>2</sup> but he subdued it by  
the magnanimity of his spirit, comporting himself  
with a courteous and gentle gravity, and never in-  
dulging in any intemperance of language. Through-  
out his life he was noted for a strict attention to the  
offices of religion, observing rigorously the fasts and  
ceremonies of the church; nor did his piety consist in  
mere forms, but partook of that lofty and solemn en-  
thusiasm with which his whole character was strongly  
tinctured.

While at Lisbon, he was accustomed to attend reli-  
gious service at the chapel of the convent of All  
Saints. In this convent there were certain ladies of  
rank, either resident as boarders, or in some religious  
capacity. With one of these, Doña Felipa Moñis de  
Palestrello, Columbus became acquainted. She was the  
daughter of Bartolomeo Moñis de Palestrello, an  
Italian cavalier who had been one of the most dis-

tinguished navigators under Prince Henry, and had  
colonized and governed the island of Porto Santo.  
The acquaintance soon ripened into attachment, and  
ended in marriage. It appears to have been a match  
of mere affection, as the lady was destitute of for-  
tune.

This union fixed Columbus at Lisbon. The father  
of his wife being dead, the newly married couple  
went to reside with the mother. The latter, per-  
ceiving the interest which her son-in-law took in all  
matters concerning the sea, related to him all she  
knew of the voyages and expeditions of her late hus-  
band, and brought him all his papers, charts, jour-  
nals, and memorandums.<sup>3</sup> These were treasures to  
Columbus. He acquainted himself with all the routes  
of the Portuguese, their plans and conceptions; and  
having, by his marriage and residence, become natu-  
ralized in Portugal, he sailed occasionally in the  
expeditions to the coast of Guinea. When on shore,  
his time was occupied in making maps and charts for  
the support of his family. His circumstances were  
limited, and he had to observe a strict economy. yet  
we are told that he appropriated a part of his scanty  
means to the succour of his aged father at Genoa and  
to the education of his younger brothers.<sup>4</sup>

The construction of a correct map or chart, in those  
days, required a degree of knowledge and experience  
sufficient to entitle the possessor to distinction. Geo-  
graphy was but just emerging from the darkness  
which had enveloped it for ages. Ptolemy was still  
a standard authority. The maps of the fifteenth  
century display a mixture of truth and error, in  
which facts handed down from antiquity, and others  
revealed by recent discoveries, are confused with po-  
pular fables, and extravagant conjectures. At such  
a period, when the passion for maritime discovery  
was seeking every aid to facilitate its enterprises, the  
knowledge and skill of an able cosmographer, like  
Columbus, would be properly appreciated, and the  
superior correctness of his maps and charts would  
give him notoriety among men of science.<sup>5</sup> We ac-  
cordingly find him, at an early period of his residence  
in Lisbon, in correspondence with Paolo Toscanelli,  
of Florence, one of the most scientific men of the day,

<sup>1</sup> Oviedo, *Cronica de las Indias*, l. ii. cap. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Muñoz, *Hist. del N. Mundo*, l. ii.

<sup>3</sup> The importance which began to be attached to cosmog-  
raphical knowledge is evident from the distinction which Mauro,  
an Italian friar, obtained from having projected an universal  
map, esteemed the most accurate of the time. A fac simile of  
this map, upon the same scale as the original, is now deposited in  
the British Museum, and it has been published, with a geogra-  
phical commentary, by the learned Zuria. The Venetians struck  
a medal in honour of him, on which they denominated him *Cos-  
mographus incomparabilis* (*Colline del Bussol. Naut.* p. 2, e. 5).  
Yet Ramusio, who had seen this map in the monastery of Santo  
Michele de Murano, considers it merely an improved copy of a  
map brought from Cathay by Marco Polo (*Ramusio*, t. ii, p. 47.  
*Ed. Venet.* 1606). We are told also that Americus Vesputius  
paid one hundred and thirty ducats (equivalent to five hundred  
and fifty-five dollars in our time) for a map of sea and land, made  
at Mallorca, in 1459, by Gabriel de Velasca (*Barros*, D. l. i. c. 15.  
*Teroto por Conno. Intend.* p. 23).

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, *decad.* 1, lib. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. del Almirante*, c. 3. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, l. i, c. 2. MS.

<sup>3</sup> *Ilescas*, *Hist. Pontifical*, l. vi.



whose communications had great influence in inspiring him to his subsequent undertakings.

While his geographical labours thus elevated him to a communion with the learned, they were peculiarly calculated to foster a train of thoughts favourable to nautical enterprise. From constantly comparing maps and charts, and noting the progress and direction of discovery, he was led to perceive how much of the world remained unknown, and to meditate on the means of exploring it. His domestic concerns, and the connexions he had formed by marriage, were calculated to foster this vein of speculation. He resided for some time at the recently-discovered island of Porto Santo, where his wife had inherited some property, and during his residence there she bore him a son, whom he named Diego. This residence brought him, as it were, on the very frontier of discovery. His wife's sister was married to Pedro Correa, a navigator of note, who had at one time been governor of Porto Santo. Being frequently together in the familiar intercourse of domestic life, their conversation naturally turned upon the discoveries prosecuting in their vicinity along the African coasts; upon the long sought for route to India; and upon the possibility of some unknown lands existing in the west.

In their island residence, too, they must have been frequently visited by the voyagers going to and from Guinea. Living thus, surrounded by the stir and bustle of discovery, communing with persons who had risen by it to fortune and honour, and voyaging in the very tracks of its recent triumphs, the ardent mind of Columbus kindled up to enthusiasm in the cause. It was a period of general excitement to all who were connected with maritime life, or who resided in the vicinity of the ocean. The recent discoveries had inflamed their imaginations, and had filled them with visions of other islands, of greater wealth and beauty, yet to be discovered in the boundless wastes of the Atlantic. The opinions and fancies of the ancients on the subject were again put into circulation. The story of Antilla, a great island in the ocean, discovered by the Carthaginians, was frequently cited, and Plato's imaginary Atalantis once more found firm believers. Many thought that the Canaries and Azores were but wrecks which had survived its submersion, and that other and larger fragments of that drowned land might yet exist, in remoter parts of the Atlantic.

One of the strongest symptoms of the excited state of the popular mind at this eventful era, was the prevalence of rumours respecting unknown islands casually seen in the ocean. Many of these were mere fables, fabricated to feed the predominant humour of the public; many had their origin in the self-deception of voyagers, whose heated imaginations beheld islands in those summer clouds which lie along the horizon, and often beguile the sailor with the idea of distant lands.

One Antonio Leone, an inhabitant of Madeira,

told Columbus that, sailing westward one hundred leagues, he had seen three islands at a distance. But the tales of the kind most positively advanced and zealously maintained, were those related by the people of the Canaries, who were long under a singular optical delusion. They imagined that, from time to time, they beheld a vast island to the westward with lofty mountains and deep valleys. Nor was it seen in cloudy and dubious weather, but in those clear days common to tropical climates, and with all the distinctness with which distant objects may be discerned in their pure, transparent atmosphere. The island, it is true, was only seen at intervals: while at other times, and in the clearest weather, not a vestige of it was to be descried. When it did appear, however, it was always in the same place, and under the same form. So persuaded were the inhabitants of the Canaries of its reality, that application was made to the king of Portugal for permission to discover and take possession of it; and it actually became the object of several expeditions. The island, however, was never to be found, though it still continued occasionally to cheat the eye.

There were all kinds of wild and fantastic notions concerning this imaginary land. Some supposed it to be the Antilla mentioned by Aristotle; others, the Island of Seven Cities, so called from an ancient legend of seven Bishops, who, with a multitude of followers, fled from Spain at the time of its conquest by the Moors, and, guided by heaven to some unknown island in the ocean, founded on it seven splendid cities; while some considered it another legendary island, on which, it was said, a Scottish priest of the name of St Brendan had landed, in the sixth century. This last legend passed into current belief. The fancied island was called by the name of St Brandan, or St Borondon, and long continued to be actually laid down in maps far to the west of the Canaries. The same was done with the fabulous island of Antilla; and these erroneous maps and phantom islands have given rise at various times to assertions, that the new world had been known prior to the period of its generally reputed discovery.

Columbus, however, considers all these appearances of land as mere illusions. He supposes that they may have been caused by rocks lying in the ocean, which, seen at a distance, under certain atmospherical influences, may have assumed the appearance of islands; or they may have been floating islands, such as are mentioned by Pliny and Seneca and others, formed of twisted roots, or of a light and porous stone, and covered with trees, and which may have been driven about the ocean by the winds.

The islands of St Brandan, of Antilla, and of the Seven Cities, have long since proved to be fabulous tales, or atmospherical delusions. Yet the rumours concerning them derive interest, from showing the state of public thought with respect to the Atlantic, while its western regions were yet unknown. They

See Illustrations, article ISLAND OF ST BRANDAN.

were all noted down and may have had an origin. Still, though his genius sought for his meditations. In events, he turned to study the geographical, and to correct which might correct in his mind. It that had been corrected by the modern voyages enabled him to understand and appreciate many having thus taken notice from what rational hypotheses, rumours, his grandeur by the strong

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It has been attempted to show how Columbus his grand design by in which he lived. undertakes to furnish her's plan of discovery, "he observes argument so great a as to light; and for to may desire to know motives which led to the discovery." "As this statement documents found are curious and interesting. In this mention of his father's. 1. The nature of the ed writers. 3. The Under the first principle, that the globe, which might west, and that in opposite points. That at the equator, Columbus, into twenty making three hundred he imagined, concerning the earlier map of had been known Straits of Gibraltar, lands, to the city

were all noted down with curious care by Columbus, and may have had some influence over his imagination. Still, though of a visionary spirit, his penetrating genius sought in deeper sources for the aliment of his meditations. Aroused by the impulse of passing events, he turned anew, says his son Fernando, to study the geographical authors which he had read before, and to consider the astronomical reasons which might corroborate the theory gradually forming in his mind. He made himself acquainted with all that had been written by the ancients, or discovered by the moderns, relative to geography. His own voyages enabled him to correct many of their errors, and appreciate many of their theories. His genius having thus taken its decided bent, it is interesting to notice from what a mass of acknowledged facts, rational hypotheses, fanciful narrations, and popular rumours, his grand project of discovery was wrought out by the strong workings of his vigorous mind.

## CHAPTER V.

## FOUNDATIONS ON WHICH COLUMBUS FOUNDED HIS BELIEF OF THE EXISTENCE OF UNDISCOVERED LANDS IN THE WEST.

It has been attempted, in the preceding chapter, to show how Columbus was gradually kindled up to his grand design by the spirit and events of the times in which he lived. His son Fernando, however, undertakes to furnish the precise data on which his father's plan of discovery was founded. "He does this," he observes, "to show from what slender argument so great a scheme was fabricated and brought to light; and for the purpose of satisfying those who may desire to know distinctly the circumstances and motives which led his father to undertake this enterprise."

As this statement was formed from notes and documents found among his father's papers, it is too curious and interesting not to deserve particular mention. In this memorandum he arranged the foundation of his father's theory into three distinct heads: 1. The nature of things. 2. The authority of learned writers. 3. The reports of navigators.

Under the first head, he set down as a fundamental principle, that the earth was a teraqueous sphere or globe, which might be travelled round from east to west, and that men stood foot to foot, when on opposite points. The circumference from east to west, at the equator, Columbus divided, according to Ptolemy, into twenty-four hours of fifteen degrees each, making three hundred and sixty degrees. Of these he imagined, comparing the globe of Ptolemy with the earlier map of Marinus of Tyre, that fifteen hours had been known to the ancients, extending from the Straits of Gibraltar, or rather from the Canary Islands, to the city of Thinaë in Asia, a place set down

as at the eastern limits of the known world. The Portuguese had advanced the western frontier by the discovery of the Azores and Cape de Verde Islands, equal to one hour more. There remained, according to the estimation of Columbus, eight hours, or one-third of the circumference of the earth, unknown and unexplored. This space might, in a great measure, be filled up by the eastern regions of Asia, which might extend so far as nearly to surround the globe, and to approach the western shores of Europe and Africa. The tract of ocean, intervening between these continents, he observes, would be less than might at first be supposed, if the opinion of Alfraganus, the Arabian, were admitted, who gave to the earth a smaller circumference, by diminishing the size of the degrees, than did other cosmographers; a theory to which Columbus seems at times to have given faith. Granting these premises, it was manifest, that, by pursuing a direct course from east to west, a navigator would arrive at the extremity of Asia, and discover any intervening land.

Under the second head, are named the authors whose writings had weight in convincing him that the intervening ocean could be but of moderate expanse, and easy to be traversed. Among these, he cites the opinion of Aristotle, Seneca, and Pliny, that one might pass from Cadiz to the Indies in a few days; of Strabo, also, who observes, that the ocean surrounds the earth, bathing on the east the shores of India; on the west, the coasts of Spain and Mauritania; so that it is easy to navigate from one to the other on the same parallel.\*

In corroboration of the idea that Asia, or, as he always terms it, India, stretched far to the east, so as to occupy the greater part of the unexplored space, the narratives are cited of Marco Polo and John Mandeville. These travellers had visited, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the remote parts of Asia, far beyond the regions laid down by Ptolemy; and their accounts of the extent of that continent to the eastward, had a great effect in convincing Columbus that a voyage to the west, of no long duration, would bring him to its shores, or to the extensive and wealthy islands which lie adjacent. The information concerning Marco Polo is probably derived from Paulo Toscanelli, a celebrated doctor of Florence, already mentioned, with whom Columbus corresponded in 1474, and who transmitted to him a copy of a letter which he had previously written to Fernando Martinez, a learned canon of Lisbon. This letter maintains the facility of arriving at India by a western course, asserting the distance to be but four thousand miles, in a direct line from Lisbon to the province of Mangi, near Cathay, since determined to be the northern coast of China. Of this country he gives a magnificent description, drawn from the work of Marco Polo. He adds, that in the route lay the islands of Antilla and Cipango, distant from each other only two hundred and twenty-five leagues, abounding in riches,

\* Hist. del Almirante. c. 6, 7, 8.

\* Strab. Cos. l. i. ll.

and offering convenient places for ships to touch at, and obtain supplies on the voyage.

Under the third head, are enumerated various indications of land in the west, which had floated to the shores of the known world. It is curious to observe, however, that when once the mind of Columbus had become heated in the inquiry, it attracted to it every corroborating circumstance, however vague and trivial. He appears to have been particularly attentive to the gleams of information derived from veteran mariners, who had been employed in the recent voyages to the African coasts; and also from the inhabitants of lately discovered islands, placed, in a manner, on the frontier posts of geographical knowledge. All these are carefully noted down among his memorandums, to be collocated with the facts and opinions already stored up in his mind.

Such, for instance, is the circumstance related to him by Martin Vicenti, a pilot in the service of the King of Portugal; that, after sailing four hundred and fifty leagues to the west of Cape St Vincent, he had taken from the water a piece of carved wood, which evidently had not been laboured with an iron instrument. As the winds had drifted it from the west, it might have come from some unknown land in that direction.

Pedro Correa, brother-in-law of Columbus, is likewise cited, as having seen, on the island of Porto Santo, a similar piece of wood, which had drifted from the same quarter. He had heard also from the King of Portugal, that reeds of an immense size had floated to some of those islands from the west, in the description of which Columbus thought he recognized the immense reeds said by Ptolemy to grow in India.

Information is likewise noted, given him by the inhabitants of the Azores, of trunks of huge pine-trees, of a kind that did not grow upon any of the islands, wafted to their shores by the westerly winds; but especially of the bodies of two dead men, cast upon the island of Flores, whose features differed from those of any known race of people.

To these is added the report of a mariner of the port of St Mary, who asserted that, in the course of a voyage to Ireland, he had seen land to the west, which the ship's company took for some extreme part of Tartary. Other stories, of a similar kind, are noted, as well as rumours concerning the fancied islands of St Brandan, and of the Seven Cities, to which, as has already been observed, Columbus gave but little faith.

Such is an abstract of the grounds on which, according to Fernando, his father proceeded from one position to another, until he came to the conclusion, that there was undiscovered land in the western part of the ocean; that it was attainable; that it was fertile; and finally, that it was inhabited.

It is evident, that several of the facts herein enumerated, must have become known to Columbus after he had formed his opinion, and merely served to strengthen it; still, every thing that throws any light

upon the process of thought, which led to so great an event, is of the highest interest; and the chain of deductions here furnished, though not perhaps the most logical in its concatenation, yet, being extracted from the papers of Columbus himself, remains one of the most interesting documents in the history of the human mind.

On considering this statement attentively, it is apparent that the grand argument which induced Columbus to his enterprise, was that placed under the first head, namely, that the most eastern part of Asia known to the ancients, could not be separated from the Azores by more than a third of the circumference of the globe; that the intervening space must, in a great measure, be filled up by the unknown residue of Asia; and that, as the circumference of the world was less than was generally supposed, the Asiatic shores could easily be attained by a moderate voyage to the west.

It is singular how much the success of this great undertaking depended upon two happy errors, the imaginary extent of Asia to the east, and the supposed smallness of the earth; both errors of the most learned and profound philosophers, but without which Columbus would hardly have ventured upon his enterprise. As to the idea of finding land by sailing directly to the west, it is at present so familiar to our minds, as in some measure to diminish the merits of the first conception, and the hardihood of the first attempt: but in those days, as has well been observed the circumference of the earth was yet unknown; no one could tell whether the ocean were not of immense extent, impossible to be traversed; nor were the laws of specific gravity and of central gravitation ascertained, by which, granting the rotundity of the earth, the possibility of making the tour of it would be manifest. The practicability, therefore, of finding land by sailing to the west, was one of those mysteries of nature which are considered incredible whilst matters of mere speculation, but the simplest things imaginable when they have once been ascertained.

When Columbus had formed his theory, it became fixed in his mind with singular firmness, and influenced his entire character and conduct. He never spoke in doubt or hesitation, but with as much certainty as if his eyes had beheld the promised land. No trial nor disappointment could afterwards divert him from the steady pursuit of his object. A deep religious sentiment mingled with his meditations, and gave them at times a tinge of superstition, but it was of a sublime and lofty kind: he looked upon himself as standing in the hand of heaven, chosen from among men for the accomplishment of its high purpose; he read, as he supposed, his contemplated discovery foretold in Holy Writ, and shadowed forth darkly in the mystic revelations of the prophets. The ends of the earth were to be brought together, and all nations, and tongues, and languages united under

• Malte-Brun, Géographie Universelle, t. xiv. Note sur la découverte de l'Amérique.

the banners of the triumphant conqueror, to be remote and in communion with the light of the true faith, and gathering their dominion of the earth.

The enthusiastic elevation to his spirit, his whole demeanour, almost with a feeling of empires; his confidence: nor would repeated disappointments, actual penury, abundant demands for a

Those who could comprehend the general evidence, at so first modes of accounting, Columbus, attempted to obtain previous

pretended to discover a tempest-torn house, bequeathing a new land in the given by adverse

to Fernando Columbus, one of the population of St Brandan, returning from Guineadeira. It circulated and shaped to tarnish the glory's way into print, arians, varying with contradictions and imp

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• See Illustrations, and

AND IN THE HOUSE OF

led to so great a triumph, and the chain of discovery not perhaps the most important, being extracted from the history of the world, remains one of the most interesting and valuable monuments of the history of the human mind. It is a monument which has been erected by the genius of Columbus, and which will remain a monument of his glory as long as the world shall exist.

entively, it is a monument which induced Columbus to place himself under the patronage of the King and Queen of Spain, and to separate from the rest of the world, and to cross the circumference of the globe, in order to reach the unknown residence of the world's end. It is a monument which, under the pressure of actual penury, abate what appeared to be extravagant demands for a mere possible discovery.

Those who could not conceive how an ardent and comprehensive genius could arrive, by presumptive evidence, at so firm a conviction, sought for other modes of accounting for it. When the glorious result had established the correctness of the opinion of Columbus, attempts were made to prove that he had obtained previous information of the lands which he pretended to discover. Among these, was an idle tale of a tempest-tossed pilot, said to have died in his house, bequeathing him written accounts of an unknown land in the west, upon which he had been driven by adverse winds. This story, according to Fernando Columbus, had no other foundation than one of the popular tales about the shadowy island of St Brandan, which a Portuguese captain, returning from Guinea, fancied he had beheld beyond Madeira. It circulated for a time in idle rumour, altered and shaped to suit their purposes by such as sought to tarnish the glory of Columbus. At length, it found its way into print, and has been echoed by various historians, varying with every narration, and full of contradictions and improbabilities.

An assertion has also been made, that Columbus was preceded in his discoveries by Martin Behem, a contemporary cosmographer, who, it was said, had landed accidentally on the coast of South America, in the course of an African expedition; and that it was with the assistance of a map, or globe, projected by Behem, on which was laid down the newly-discovered country, that Columbus made his voyage. This rumour originated in an absurd misconstruction of a Latin manuscript, and was unsupported by any documents: yet it has had its circulation, and has even been revived not many years since, with more zeal than discretion; but is now completely refuted and put to rest. The land visited by Behem, was the coast of Africa beyond the equator; the globe he projected was finished in 1492; while Columbus was absent on his first voyage: it contains no trace of the New World, and thus furnishes conclusive

proof, that its existence was yet unknown to Behem.

There is a certain meddling spirit, which, in the garb of learned research, goes prying about the traces of history, casting down its monuments, and marring and mutilating its fairest trophies. Care should be taken to vindicate great names from such pernicious erudition. It defeats one of the most salutary purposes of history, that of furnishing examples of what human genius and laudable enterprise may accomplish. For this purpose, some pains have been taken in the preceding chapters, to trace the rise and progress of this grand idea in the mind of Columbus; to show that it was the conception of his genius, quickened by the impulse of the age, and aided by those scattered gleams of knowledge, which fell ineffectually upon ordinary minds.

## CHAPTER VI.

CORRESPONDENCE OF COLUMBUS WITH PAULO TOSCANELLI.  
EVENTS IN PORTUGAL RELATIVE TO DISCOVERIES.

As early as 1474, Columbus had conceived the design of seeking a western route to India, though as yet it lay crude and unmaturing in his mind. This appears from the correspondence already mentioned with the learned Paulo Toscanelli of Florence, which took place in the summer of that year. The letter of Toscanelli is in reply to one from Columbus, and applauds the design which he had expressed of making a voyage to the west. To demonstrate more clearly the facility of arriving at India in that direction, he sent him a map, projected partly according to Ptolemy, and partly according to the descriptions of Marco Polo, the Venetian. The eastern coast of Asia was depicted in front of the western coasts of Africa and Europe, with a moderate space of ocean between them, in which were placed at convenient distances Cipango, Antilla, and the other islands. Columbus was greatly animated by the letter and chart of Toscanelli, who was considered one of the ablest cosmographers of the day. He appears to have procured the work of Marco Polo, which had been translated into various languages, and existed in manuscript in most libraries. This author gives marvellous accounts of the riches of the realms of Cathay and Mangi, or Mangu, since ascertained to be Northern and Southern China, on the coast of which, according to the map of Toscanelli, a voyager sailing directly west would be sure to arrive. He describes in unmeasured terms the power and grandeur of the sovereign of these countries, the great

\* See Illustrations, article BEHEM.

\* This map, by which Columbus sailed on his first voyage of discovery, Las Casas (l. 1, cap 12.) says he had in his possession at the time of writing his history. It is greatly to be regretted that so interesting a document should be lost. It may yet exist amidst the charted lumber of the Spanish Archives. Few documents of mere curiosity would be more precious.

\* See Illustrations, article RUMOUR CONCERNING THE PILOT WHO LIVED IN THE HOUSE OF COLUMBUS.



Khan of Tartary, and the splendour and magnitude of his capitals of Cambaln and Quinsai, and the wonders of the island of Cipango or Zipangl, supposed to be Japan. This island he places opposite Cathay, five hundred leagues in the ocean. He represents it as abounding in gold, precious stones, and other choice objects of commerce, with a monarch whose palace was covered with plates of gold, as in other countries palaces are covered with lead. The narrations of this traveller were by many considered fabulous; but though they are full of splendid exaggerations, they have since been found to be substantially correct. They are thus particularly noted, from the influence they had over the imagination of Columbus.

The work of Marco Polo is a key to many parts of his history. In his application to the various courts, he represented the countries he expected to discover as those regions of inexhaustible wealth which the Venetian had described. The territories of the grand Khan were the objects of research in all his voyages; and in his cruising among the Antilles, he was continually flattering himself with the hopes of arriving at the opulent island of Cipango, and the coasts of Mangi and Cathay.\*

While the design of attempting the discovery in the west was maturing in the mind of Columbus, he made a voyage to the north of Europe. Of this we have no other memorial than the following passage, extracted by his son from one of his letters: "In the year 1477, in February, I navigated one hundred leagues beyond Thule, the southern part of which is seventy-three degrees distant from the equator, and not sixty-three, as some pretend; neither is it situated within the line which includes the west of Ptolemy, but is much more westerly. The English, principally those of Bristol, go with their merchandise to this island, which is as large as England. When I was there, the sea was not frozen, and the tides were so great as to rise and fall twenty-six fathom."

The island thus mentioned as Thule is generally supposed to have been Iceland, which is far to the west of the Ultima Thule of the ancients, as laid down in the map of Ptolemy. Nothing more is known of this voyage, in which we discern indications of that ardent and impatient desire to break away from the limits of the old world, and launch into the unknown regions of the ocean.

Several more years elapsed, without any decided efforts on the part of Columbus to carry his design into execution. He was too poor to fit out the armament necessary for so important an expedition. Indeed, as he expected to find vast and heathen countries, unsubjected to any lawful power, he considered it to be an enterprise only to be undertaken in the employ of some sovereign state, which could assume dominion over the territories he might discover, and

reward him with dignities and privileges commensurate to his services.

During the latter part of the reign of Alphonso of Portugal, there was too little ardour in the cause of discovery, to make it probable that a proposition of the kind would be accepted. The monarch was too much engrossed with the wars with Spain, for the success of the princess Juana to the crown of Castile to engage in peaceful enterprises of an expensive nature. The public mind, also, was not prepared for so perilous an undertaking. Notwithstanding the many voyages which had been made to the coast of Africa and the adjacent islands, and that the compass had been introduced into more general use, navigation was still shackled with impediments, and the mariner rarely ventured far out of sight of land.

Discovery advanced slowly along the coasts of Africa, and the mariners feared to cruise far into the southern hemisphere, with the stars of which they were totally unacquainted. To such men, the prospect of a voyage directly westward, into the midst of that boundless waste, to seek some visionary land, appeared as extravagant as it would at the present day to launch forth in a balloon into the regions of space, in quest of some distant star.

The time, however, was at hand, that was to extend the power of navigation. The era was propitious to the quick advancement of knowledge. The recent invention of the art of printing enabled men to communicate rapidly and extensively their ideas and discoveries. It drew forth learning from libraries and convents, and brought it familiarly to the reading desk of the student. Volumes of information, which before had existed only in costly manuscripts, carefully treasured up, and kept out of the reach of the indigent scholar and obscure artist, were now in every hand. There was, henceforth, to be no retrogression in knowledge, nor any pause in its career. Every step in advance was immediately, and simultaneously, and widely promulgated, recorded in a thousand forms, and fixed for ever. There could never again be a dark age; nations might shut their eyes to the light, and sit in wilful darkness, but they could not trample it out; it would still shine on, dispensed to happier parts of the world, by the diffusive powers of the press.

At this juncture, a monarch ascended the throne of Portugal, of different ambition from Alphonso. John II had imbibed the passion for discovery from his grand-uncle Prince Henry, and with his reign all its activity revived. His first care was to build a fort at St George de la Mina, on the coast of Guinea, to protect the trade carried on in that neighbourhood for gold dust, ivory, and slaves.

The African discoveries had conferred great glory upon Portugal, but as yet they had produced more expense than profit. The accomplishment of the route to India, however, it was expected, would repay all their cost and toil, and open a source of incalculable wealth to the nation. The project of Prince

\* A more particular account of Marco Polo and his writings is given among the Illustrations.

† Hist. del Almirante, c. 4.

† Bergeron, Voyage de l'Inde, p. 127. The translation went to Let. ii. c. 6.

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Henry, which had now been tardily prosecuted for half a century, had excited an eager curiosity about the remote parts of Asia, and had revived all the accounts, true and fabulous, of travellers.

Beside the marvellous work of Marco Polo, already mentioned, there was the narrative of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, a celebrated Spanish Jew, who had set out from Saragoza in 1173, to visit the scattered remnants of the Hebrew tribes, wherever dispersed over the face of the earth. Wandering with unwearied zeal on this pious errand, over most parts of the known world, he penetrated into China, and passed from thence into the southern islands of Asia. There were also the narratives of Carpini and Ascellin, two friars, despatched, the one in 1246, the other in 1247, by Pope Innocent IV, as apostolic ambassadors, for the purpose of converting the Grand Khan of Tartary; and the journal of William Rubricus (or Ruysbrook), a celebrated cordelier, sent on a similar errand in 1253, by Louis IX of France, then on his unfortunate crusade into Palestine. These pious but chimerical missions had proved abortive; but the curious narrations of them which remained, when thus revived in the fifteenth century, served to increase the public curiosity respecting the remote parts of Asia.

In these narrations we first find mention made of the renowned Prester John, an imaginary christian king, said to hold sway in a remote part of the East, whose kingdom seemed to shift its situation in the tale of every traveller, and to vanish from the search as effectually as the unsubstantial island of St Brandan. All the fables and dreamy speculations, concerning his shadowy potentate and his oriental realm, were again put in circulation. It was fancied that traces of his empire were discovered in the interior of Africa, to the east of Benin, where there was a powerful prince, who used a cross among the insignia of royalty. John II partook largely of the popular excitement produced by these narrations. In the early part of his reign he actually sent missions in quest of the visionary Prester John, to visit whose dominions became the romantic desire of many a religious enthusiast. The magnificent idea he had formed of the remote parts of the East, made him extremely anxious that the splendid project of Prince Henry should be realized, and that the Portuguese flag should penetrate to the Indian seas. Impatient of the slowness with which his discoveries advanced along the coast of Africa, and of the impediments which every cape and promontory presented to nautical enterprise, he called in the aid of science to devise some means by which greater scope and certainty might be given to navigation. His two physicians, Roderigo and Joseph, the latter a Jew, the most able astronomers and cosmo-

graphers of his kingdom, together with the celebrated Martin Behem, entered into a learned consultation on the subject. The result of their conferences and labours was the application of the astrolabe to navigation, enabling the seaman, by the altitude of the sun, to ascertain his distance from the equator. This instrument has since been improved and modified into the modern quadrant, of which, even at its first introduction, it possessed all the essential advantages.

It is impossible to describe the effect produced upon navigation by this invention. It cast it loose at once from its long bondage to the land, and set it free to rove the deep. Science had thus prepared guides for discovery across the trackless ocean. Instead of coasting the shores like the ancient navigators, and, when driven from the land, groping his way back in doubt and apprehensions by the uncertain guidance of the stars, the modern mariner might adventure boldly into unknown seas, confident of being able to retrace his course, by means of the compass and the astrolabe, should he find no distant port.

## CHAPTER VII.

## PROPOSITIONS OF COLUMBUS TO THE COURT OF PORTUGAL.

THE application of the astrolabe to navigation, was one of those timely events which seem to have something providential in them. It was the one thing wanting to facilitate an intercourse across the deep, and it divested the enterprise of Columbus of that hazardous character which was so great an obstacle to its accomplishment. It was immediately after this event, that he proposed his voyage of discovery to the crown of Portugal.

This is the first proposition of which we have any clear and indisputable record, although it has been strongly asserted that he made one at an earlier period to his native country, Genoa. The court of Portugal had shown extraordinary liberality in rewarding nautical enterprise. Most of those who had made discoveries in her service, had been appointed to the government of the islands and countries which they had discovered, although many of them were foreigners by birth. Encouraged by this liberality, and by the anxiety evinced by King John II to accomplish a passage by sea to India, Columbus obtained an audience of that monarch. He proposed, in case the king would furnish him with ships and men, to undertake a shorter and more direct route to India, than that which they were seeking. His plan was to strike directly to the west, across the Atlantic. He then unfolded his hypothesis with respect to the extent of Asia, describing also the immense riches of the island of Cipango, the first land at which he expected to arrive. Of this audience we have two accounts, written in somewhat of an opposite spirit; one by his son Fernando,

\* Bergeron, Voyages en Asie, t. i. The work of Benjamin of Tudela, originally written in Hebrew, was so much in repute, that the translation went through sixteen editions. Andrus, Hist. B. Let. ii. c. 6.

† Barros, decad. i, lib. iv. c. 2. Maffei, l. vi, pp. 6 and 7.

the other by Joam de Barros, the Portuguese historiographer. It is curious to notice the different views taken of the same transaction by the enthusiastic son, and by the cool, perhaps prejudiced, historian.

The king, according to Fernando, listened to his father with great attention, but was discouraged from engaging in any new scheme of the kind, by the cost and trouble already sustained in exploring the route by the African coast, which as yet remained unaccomplished. His father, however, supported his proposition by such excellent reasons, that the king was induced to give his consent. The only difficulty that remained was the terms; for Columbus, being a man of lofty and noble sentiments, demanded high and honourable titles and rewards, to the end, says Fernando, that he might leave behind him a name and family worthy of his deeds and merits.<sup>1</sup>

Barros, on the other hand, attributes the seeming acquiescence of the king, merely to the importunities of Columbus; he considered him, says the historian, a vain-glorious man, fond of displaying his abilities, and given to fantastic fancies, such as that respecting the island of Cipango.<sup>2</sup> But in fact, this idea of Columbus being vain, was taken up by the Portuguese writers in after years, and as to the island of Cipango, it was far from being considered chimerical by the king; who, as has been shown by his mission in search of Prester John, was a ready believer in these travellers' tales concerning the East. The reasoning of Columbus must have had its weight on the mind of the monarch, since it is certain that he referred the proposition to a learned junto, charged with all matters relating to maritime discovery.

This junto was composed of two able cosmographers, masters Roderigo and Joseph, and the king's confessor, Diego Ortiz de Cazadilla, Bishop of Ceuta, a man greatly reputed for his learning, a Castilian by birth, and generally called Cazadilla, from the name of his native place. This scientific body treated the project as extravagant and visionary.

Still the king does not appear to have been satisfied. According to his historian Vasconcelez,<sup>3</sup> he convoked his council, composed of the prelates and persons of the greatest learning in the kingdom, and asked their advice, whether to adopt this new route of discovery, or to pursue that which they had already opened? The proposition of Columbus was generally condemned by the council, and, in fact, a spirit seemed to be awakening among them hostile to all discovery.

It may not be deemed superfluous to notice briefly the discussion of the council on this great question. Vasconcelez reports a speech of the Bishop of Ceuta, in which he not only objected to the proposed enterprise, as destitute of reason, but even discountenanced any further prosecution of the African discoveries. —They tended,—he said,—to distract the attention,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Barros, Asia, decad. 1. l. iii, c. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Vasconcelez, Vida del Rey Don Juan II, l. iv.

drain the resources, and divide the power of the nation, and yielding pestilence. While their forces were thus scattered abroad on remote and unprofitable expeditions, they exposed themselves to attack from their active enemy the king of Castile. The greatness of monarchs, observed, did not arise so much from the extent of their dominions, as from the wisdom and ability with which they governed.—He continued—In the Portuguese nation it would be madness to launch into enterprises, without first considering them in connection with its means. The king had already sufficient undertakings in hand of certain advantage without engaging in others of a wild chimerical nature. If he wished employment for the active valour of the nation, the war in which he was engaged against the Moors of Barbary was sufficient, where his triumphs were of solid advantage, tending to cripple and enfeeble those neighbouring foes, who had proved themselves so dangerous when possessed of power.

This cool and cautious speech of the Bishop of Ceuta, directed against those enterprises which were the glory of the Portuguese, touched the national pride of Don Pedro de Meneses, Count of Villa Real, and drew from him a lofty and patriotic reply. It has been said by an historian that this reply was in support of the proposition of Columbus; but that does not clearly appear. He may have treated the proposal with respect, but his eloquence was employed for those enterprises in which the Portuguese were already engaged.

"Portugal," he observed, "was not in its infancy nor were its princes so poor as to lack means to engage in discoveries. Even granting that those proposed by Columbus were conjectural, why should they abandon those commenced by their late Prince Henry on such solid foundations, and prosecuted with such happy prospects? Crowns," he observed, "enriched themselves by commerce, fortified themselves by alliance, and acquired empires by conquest. The views of a nation could not always be the same; they extended with its opulence and prosperity. Portugal was at peace with all the princes of Europe. It had nothing to fear from engaging in an extensive enterprise. It would be the greatest glory for Portuguese valour to penetrate into the secrets and horrors of the ocean sea, so formidable to the other nations of the world. Thus occupied, it would escape the idleness engendered in a long interval of peace, idleness—that source of vice, that silent file, which, little by little, wore away the strength and valour of a nation. It was an affront," he added, "to the Portuguese name to menace it with imaginary perils, when it had proved itself so intrepid in encountering the most certain and tremendous. Great souls were formed for great enterprises. He wondered much, that a prelate, so religious as the Bishop of Ceuta, should oppose this undertaking; the ultimate object of which was to augment the Catholic faith, and spread it from

pole to pole; reflection, and yielding to princes." He continued, "He con- sidered the soldier, he dare not spirit as if from his enter- prise renown, that reign the most val- able warm and ge- neral, in favour of enterprises, without first considering them in con- nection with its means. The king had already sufficient undertakings in hand of certain advantage without engaging in others of a wild chimerical nature. If he wished employment for the active valour of the nation, the war in which he was engaged against the Moors of Barbary was sufficient, where his triumphs were of solid advantage, tending to cripple and enfeeble those neighbouring foes, who had proved themselves so dangerous when possessed of power.

#### DEPARTURE OF APPLA

JOHN II of Portu- gal, wise and magnanimous, to be ruled by his negotiation with the have been wanting have listened to a true policy, and mortification and pillars, seeing that their decision, and for the enterprise all its advantages, admitting the digni- ty of negotiations a mere chimerical should be kept in secretly despatched out, to ascertain for this theory.

This perfidious bishop of Ceuta, which would have the splendid tra- dition, in evil ho- and generosity, stratagem. Col- detailed plan of or other docu- to shape his coun- the council. He then dispatched rying provisions with private inst-

<sup>1</sup> Vasconcelez, l.

power of the nation, and yielding empire and lasting fame to its princes." He concluded by declaring that, "although soldier, he dared to prognosticate, with a voice and spirit as if from heaven, to whatever prince should achieve this enterprise, more happy success and durable renown, than had ever been obtained by sovereign the most valorous and fortunate." Such was the warm and generous speech of the Count of Villa Real, in favour of the African discoveries. It would have been fortunate for Portugal had his eloquence been exerted in favour of Columbus; for it is said to have been received with acclamations, to have overpowered the reasonings of the cold-spirited Cazadilla, and to have inspired the king and council with renewed ardour for the attempt to circumnavigate the extremity of Africa, which they afterwards completed with such brilliant success.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## DEPARTURE OF COLUMBUS FROM PORTUGAL, AND HIS APPLICATION TO OTHER COURTS.

JOHN II of Portugal is generally represented as a wise and magnanimous prince, and as one little apt to be ruled by his councillors. In this memorable negotiation with Columbus, however, he appears to have been wanting in his usual magnanimity, and to have listened to crafty counsel; opposite at all times to true policy, and in this instance productive of much mortification and regret. Certain amongst his councillors, seeing that the monarch was dissatisfied with their decision, and still retained a lurking inclination for the enterprise, suggested a stratagem by which all its advantages might be secured, without committing the dignity of the crown by entering into formal negotiations about a scheme which might prove a mere chimera. It was proposed that Columbus should be kept in suspense, while a vessel should be secretly despatched in the direction he had pointed out, to ascertain whether there were any foundation for this theory.

This perfidious advice is attributed to Cazadilla, bishop of Ceuta, and agrees with the narrow policy which would have persuaded King John to abandon the splendid track of his African discoveries. The king, in evil hour, departed from his usual justice and generosity, and had the weakness to permit the stratagem. Columbus was required to furnish a detailed plan of his proposed voyage, with the charts or other documents, according to which he intended to shape his course, that they might be examined by the council. He readily complied. A caravel was then dispatched, with the ostensible pretext of carrying provisions to the Cape de Verde Islands, but with private instructions to pursue the route designated

in the papers of Columbus. Departing from those islands, the caravel stood westward for several days. The weather grew stormy, and the pilots, having no zeal to stimulate them, and seeing nothing but an immeasurable waste of wild trembling waves, still extending before them, lost all courage to proceed. They put back to the Cape de Verde Islands, and thence to Lisbon, excusing their own want of resolution by ridiculing the project of Columbus as extravagant and irrational.

This unworthy attempt to defraud him of his enterprise aroused the indignation of Columbus. King John, it is said, would have renewed the negotiation, but he resolutely declined. His wife had been for some time dead; the domestic tie which had bound him to Portugal was broken; he determined, therefore, to abandon a country where he had been treated with so little faith, and to seek patronage elsewhere.

Towards the end of 1484, he departed secretly from Lisbon, taking with him his son Diego. The reason he assigned for leaving the kingdom thus privately, is, that he feared being prevented by the king; another reason appears to have arisen from his poverty. While engrossed by those speculations which were to produce such benefit to mankind, his affairs had run to ruin. It would seem that he was even in danger of being arrested for debt. A letter lately discovered, which was written to Columbus, some years afterwards, by the King of Portugal, inviting his return, ensures him against an arrest on account of any process, civil or criminal, which might be pending against him.<sup>2</sup>

An interval now occurs of about a year, during which the movements of Columbus are involved in uncertainty. A modern Spanish historian, of great investigation and accuracy, is of opinion that he departed immediately for Genoa, where he affirms that he certainly was in 1485, when he repeated, in person, a proposition of his enterprise which he had formerly made to the government by letter, but that he met with a contemptuous refusal.<sup>3</sup>

The republic of Genoa, in fact, was not in a situation favourable to such an undertaking. She was languishing under a long decline, and embarrassed by a foreign war. Caffa, her great deposit in the Crimea, had recently fallen into the hands of the Turks, and her flag was on the point of being driven from the Archipelago. Her spirit was broken with her fortunes; for with nations as with individuals, enterprise is the child of prosperity, and is apt to languish in evil days, when there is most need of its exertion. Thus Genoa, it would appear, disheartened by her reverses, shut her ears to a proposition which would have elevated her to tenfold splendour, and might have perpetuated the golden wand of commerce in the grasp of Italy.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 8. Herrera, decad. I, l. i, c. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Navarrete, Collec., t. ii, dec. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Muñoz, Hist. del N. Mundo, l. ii.

<sup>4</sup> Vasconcelos, l. iv. La Clode, Hist. Portugal, l. xiii, t. 3.



From Genoa, it is suggested that Columbus carried his proposal to Venice. No documents exist to support this opinion. An Italian writer, of merit and research, says there is an old tradition floating in Venice to that effect. A distinguished magistrate of that city, he adds, assured him that he had formerly seen mention in the public archives of this offer of Columbus, and of its being declined in consequence of the critical state of national affairs.<sup>1</sup> The long and inveterate wars, however, which had prevailed between Venice and his native state, render this application rather improbable. Different authors agree, that, about this time, he visited his aged father, made some arrangements for his comfort, and having performed the duties of a pious son, departed once more to try his fortunes in foreign courts.<sup>2</sup>

It will be observed, that several of the foregoing circumstances, by which an attempt has been made to account for the interval between the departure of Columbus from Portugal, and the first notice we have of him in Spain, are conjectural. Such, however, is the embarrassment in developing this obscure part of his history, before the splendour of his discovery had shed a light about his path. All that can be done is to grope along, from one isolated fact to another. That during this interval he struggled hard with poverty, would appear from the destitute situation in which we first meet with him in Spain; nor is it one of the least extraordinary circumstances in his eventful life, that he had, in a manner, to beg his way from court to court, to offer to princes the discovery of a world.

## BOOK II.

### CHAPTER I.

#### FIRST ARRIVAL OF COLUMBUS IN SPAIN.

It is interesting to notice the first arrival of Columbus in that country which was to become the scene of his glory, and which he was to render so powerful and illustrious by his discoveries. In this we meet with one of those striking and instructive contrasts which occur in his eventful history.

The first trace we have of him in Spain, is in the testimony furnished a few years after his death, in

<sup>1</sup> Bossi, Document, No XIV.

<sup>2</sup> It has generally been asserted that about this time Columbus sent his brother Bartholomew to England, with proposals to King Henry VII, where he remained several years. Las Casas, however, intimates from letters and writings of Bartholomew, in his possession, that the latter accompanied Bartholomew Diaz in his voyage from Lisbon, in 1486, along the coast of Africa, in the course of which he discovered the Cape of Good Hope, from whence he returned in December, 1487. The application to King Henry was not made until 1488, as would appear by the inscription on a map which Bartholomew presented to that king. Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i, cap. 7.

the celebrated lawsuit between his son Don Diego and the crown, by Garcia Fernandez, a physician resident in the little sea-port of Palos de Moguer, in Andalusia. About half a league from that town, stood, and stands at the present day, an ancient convent of Franciscan friars, dedicated to Santa Maria de Rabida. According to the testimony of the physician, a stranger on foot, accompanied by a young boy, stopped one day at the gate of the convent, and asked of the porter a little bread and water for his child. While receiving this humble refreshment, the prior of the convent, Friar Juan Perez de Marchena, happening to pass by, was struck with the appearance of the stranger, and, observing from his air and accent that he was a foreigner, entered into conversation with him, and soon learnt the particulars of his story. That stranger was Columbus, accompanied by his young son Diego. Whence he had come from does not clearly appear; that he was in destitute circumstances is evident from the mode of his way-faring; he was on his way to the neighbouring town of Huelva, to seek his brother-in-law, who had married a sister of his deceased wife.

The prior was a man of extensive information. His attention had been turned, in some measure, to geographical and nautical science, probably from his vicinity to Palos, the inhabitants of which were among the most enterprising navigators of Spain, and made frequent voyages to the recently discovered islands and countries on the African coast. He was greatly interested by the conversation of Columbus, and struck with the grandeur of his views. It was a remarkable occurrence in the monotonous life of the cloistered monk, that a man of such singular character, intent on so extraordinary an enterprise, should apply for bread and water at the gate of his convent. He detained him as his guest, and, diffident of his own judgment, sent for a scientific friend to converse with him: that friend was Garcia Fernandez, the physician of Palos, the same who furnishes this interesting testimony. Fernandez was equally struck with the appearance and conversation of the stranger. Several conferences took place at the old convent, and the project of Columbus was treated with a deference in the quiet cloisters of La Rabida, which it had in vain sought amidst the bustle and pretensions of court-sages and philosophers. Hints, too, were ga-

<sup>1</sup> "Lo dicho Almirante Colon viniendo a La Rabida, que es un monasterio de frailes en esta villa, el qual demandó a la porteria que le diesen para aquel niño, que era niño, pan y agua que bebiese." The testimony of Garcia Fernandez exists in manuscript among the multifarious writings of the Pielto, or lawsuit, which are preserved at Seville. I have made use of an authenticated extract copied for the late historian Juan Baut. Muñoz. There is a little obscurity in some part of the evidence of Garcia Fernandez. It was given many years after the event. He states Columbus as coming with his infant son from the Castilian court; but he evidently confounds two visits which Columbus made to the convent of La Rabida into one. In making use of his testimony that confusion has been corrected by comparing it with other well-ascertained facts.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Pedro Correa, already mentioned, from whom he had received information of signs of land in the west, observed near Puerto Santo.

tered among the v... seemed to corrobor... elasco, an old ex... rmed that, nearly... of a voyage, he was... ar to the north-we... to the east of him... wind blowing from... smooth, a remarka... posed to be produc... t being late in Aug... the approach of wi... speed on the discover... Fray Juan Perez... friendship, which... bleeds. Being fully... erprise would be... country, he offered... introduction at cou... means to repair thi... the Spanish soverei... terms with Fernan... nastery of Prado, a... high in royal confid... in public affairs... ter, strongly recom... enterprise to the pa... ing his friendly inte... As the influence of... court of Castile, an... as confessor, had... communication wit... pected from his me... Juan Perez took ch... bus, to maintain a... The zeal of this wo... never cooled; and... of his success, Colu... liant crowd of cou... who claimed the h... terprise, and point... had been most effe... at the convent un... court arrived in... the Sovereigns inte... make preparations... Moorish kingdom... fresh hopes, and... the strength of the... Columbus bade fa... Rabida, leaving w... spirits for the cour...

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante...  
<sup>2</sup> Salinas, Cron. Fra...  
Tesoros verdaderos de...

## CHAPTER II.

## CHARACTERS OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

[ 1486. ]

THE time when Columbus first sought his fortunes in Spain coincided with one of the most brilliant periods of the Spanish monarchy. The union of the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, had consolidated the Christian power in the Peninsula, and put an end to those internal feuds, which had so long distracted the country, and ensured the domination of the Moslems. The whole force of united Spain was now exerted in the chivalrous enterprise of the Moorish conquest. The Moors, who had once spread over the whole country like an inundation, were now pent up within the mountain boundaries of the kingdom of Granada. The victorious armies of Ferdinand and Isabella were continually advancing and pressing this fierce people within narrower limits. Under these sovereigns, the various petty kingdoms of Spain began to feel and act as one nation, and to rise to eminence in arts as well as arms. Ferdinand and Isabella, it has been remarked, lived together not like man and wife, whose estates are common, under the orders of the husband, but like two monarchs strictly allied. They had separate claims to sovereignty, in virtue of their respective kingdoms; they had separate councils, and were often distant from each other in different parts of their empire, each exercising the royal authority. Yet they were so happily united by common views, common interests, and a great deference for each other, that this double administration never prevented a unity of purpose and of action. All acts of sovereignty were executed in both their names; all public writings were subscribed with both their signatures; their likenesses were stamped together on the public coin; and the royal seal displayed the united arms of Castile and Aragon.

Ferdinand was of the middle stature, well proportioned, and hardy and active from athletic exercise. His carriage was free, erect, and majestic. He had a clear serene forehead, which appeared more lofty from his head being partly bald. His eyebrows were large and parted, and, like his hair, of a bright chestnut; his eyes were clear and animated; his complexion was somewhat ruddy, and scorched by the toils of war; his mouth moderate, well-formed, and gracious in its expression; his teeth white, though small and irregular; his voice sharp; his speech quick and fluent. His genius was clear and comprehensive; his judgment grave and certain. He was simple in dress and diet, equable in his temper, devout in his religion, and so indefatigable in business, that it was said he seemed to repose himself by working. He was a great observer and judge of men, and unparalleled in the science of the cabinet. Such is the picture given of him by the Spanish historians of his

\* Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs*, &c.

Don Diego and seemed among the veteran mariners of Palos, which physician resident seemed to corroborate his theory. One Pedro de r, in Andalusia, Velasco, an old experienced pilot of the place, affirmed that, nearly thirty years before, in the course of a voyage, he was carried by stress of weather so far to the north-west, that Cape Clear, in Ireland, lay to the east of him. Here, though there was a strong wind blowing from the west, the sea was perfectly smooth, a remarkable circumstance, which he supposed to be produced by land lying in that direction. It being late in August, however, he was fearful of the approach of winter, and did not venture to proceed on the discovery.\*

Fray Juan Perez possessed that hearty zeal in friendship, which carries good wishes into good deeds. Being fully persuaded that the proposed enterprise would be of the utmost importance to the country, he offered to give Columbus a favourable introduction at court; and he advised him by all means to repair thither, and make his propositions to the Spanish sovereigns. Juan Perez was on intimate terms with Fernando de Talavera, prior of the monastery of Prado, and confessor to the Queen, a man high in royal confidence, and possessing great weight in public affairs.† To him, he gave Columbus a letter, strongly recommending the adventurer and his enterprise to the patronage of Talavera, and requesting his friendly intercession with the King and Queen. As the influence of the church was paramount in the court of Castile, and as Talavera, from his situation as confessor, had the most direct and confidential communication with the Queen, every thing was expected from his mediation. In the meantime, Fray Juan Perez took charge of the youthful son of Columbus, to maintain and educate him at his convent. The zeal of this worthy man, thus early enkindled, never cooled; and many years afterwards, in the day of his success, Columbus looks back through the brilliant crowd of courtiers, prelates and philosophers, who claimed the honour of having patronized his enterprise, and points to this modest friar, as one who had been most effectually its friend. He remained at the convent until the spring of 1476, when the court arrived in the ancient city of Cordova, where the Sovereigns intended to assemble their troops, and make preparations for a spring campaign against the Moorish kingdom of Granada. Elated, then, with fresh hopes, and confident of a speedy audience, on the strength of the letter to Fernando de Talavera, Columbus bade farewell to the worthy prior of La Rabida, leaving with him his child, and set out full of spirits for the court of Castile.

\* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 8.

† Salinas, *Cron. Franciscana de Peru*, l. i. c. 14. Melendez, *Tesoros verdaderos de las Indias*, l. i. c. 1.

bered among the veteran mariners of Palos, which physician resident seemed to corroborate his theory. One Pedro de r, in Andalusia, Velasco, an old experienced pilot of the place, affirmed that, nearly thirty years before, in the course of a voyage, he was carried by stress of weather so far to the north-west, that Cape Clear, in Ireland, lay to the east of him. Here, though there was a strong wind blowing from the west, the sea was perfectly smooth, a remarkable circumstance, which he supposed to be produced by land lying in that direction. It being late in August, however, he was fearful of the approach of winter, and did not venture to proceed on the discovery.\*

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from whom he west, observed

time. It has been added, however, that he had more of bigotry than religion; that his ambition was craving rather than magnanimous; that he made war less like a paladin than a prince, less for glory than for mere dominion; and that his policy was cold, selfish, and artful. He was called the wise and prudent in Spain; in Italy, the pious; in France and England the ambitious and perfidious.<sup>1</sup>

While giving his picture, it may not be deemed impertinent to sketch the fortunes of a monarch whose policy had such an effect upon the history of Columbus and the destinies of the New World. Success attended all his measures. Though a younger son, he had ascended the throne of Aragon by inheritance; Castile he obtained by marriage, Granada and Naples by conquest, and he seized upon Navarre as appertaining to any one who could take possession of it, when Pope Julius II excommunicated its sovereigns, Juan and Catalina, and gave their throne to the first occupant.<sup>2</sup> He sent his forces into Africa, and subjugated, or reduced to vassalage, Tunis, and Tripoli, and Algiers, and most of the Barbary powers. A new world was also given to him, without cost, by the discoveries of Columbus, for the expense of the enterprise was borne exclusively by his consort Isabella. He had three objects at heart from the commencement of his reign, which he pursued with bigoted and persecuting zeal, the conquest of the Moors, the expulsion of the Jews, and the establishment of the Inquisition in his dominions. He accomplished them all, and was rewarded by Pope Innocent VII with the appellation of Most Catholic Majesty—a title which his successors have tenaciously retained.

Contemporary writers have been enthusiastic in their descriptions of Isabella, but time has sanctioned their eulogies. She is one of the purest and most beautiful characters in the pages of history. She was well formed, of the middle size, with great dignity and gracefulness of deportment, and a mingled gravity and sweetness of demeanour. Her complexion was fair; her hair auburn, inclining to red; her eyes were of a clear blue, with a benign expression, and there was a singular modesty in her countenance, gracing, as it did, a wonderful firmness of purpose, and earnestness of spirit. Though strongly attached to her husband, and studious of his fame, yet she always maintained her distinct rights as an allied prince. She exceeded him in beauty, in personal dignity, in acuteness of genius, and in grandeur of soul.<sup>3</sup> Combining the active and resolute qualities of man with the softer charities of woman, she mingled in the warlike councils of her husband, engaged personally in his enterprises,<sup>4</sup> and in some instances surpassed him in the firmness and intrepidity of her measures;

<sup>1</sup> Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs*, cli. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Pedro Salazar de Mendoza, *Monarqu. de Esp.*, lib. iii, cap. 5. (Madrid, 1770, tom. i, p. 402.)—Gonzalo de Illescas, *Hist. Pontif.*, t. vi. c. 25, sect. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Garibay, *Hist. de España*, t. ii, l. xviii, c. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Several suits of armour *cap-à-pié*, worn by Isabella, and still

while, being inspired with a truer idea of glory, she infused a more lofty and generous temper into her subtle and calculating policy. It is in the civil history of their reign, however, that the character of Isabella shines most illustrious. Her fostering and maternal care was continually directed to reform the laws, and heal the ills engendered by a long course of internal wars. She loved her people, and, while diligently seeking their good, she mitigated, as much as possible, the harsh measures of her husband, directed to the same end, but inflamed by a mistaken zeal. Thus, though almost bigoted in her piety, and perhaps too much under the influence of ghostly advisers, still she was hostile to every measure calculated to advance religion at the expense of humanity. She strenuously opposed the expulsion of the Jews, and the establishment of the Inquisition, though, unfortunately for Spain, her repugnance was slowly vanquished by her confessors. She was always an advocate for clemency to the Moors, although she was the soul of the war against Granada. She considered that war essential to protect the Christian faith, and to relieve her subjects from fierce and formidable enemies. While all her public thoughts and acts were princely and august, her private habits were simple, frugal, and unostentatious. In the intervals of state-business, she assembled round her the ablest men in literature and science, and directed herself by their counsels, in promoting letters and arts. Through her patronage, Salamanca rose to that height which it assumed among the learned institutions of the age. She promoted the distribution of honours and rewards for the promulgation of knowledge; she fostered the art of printing recently invented, and encouraged the establishment of presses in every part of the kingdom; books were admitted free of all duty, and more, we are told, were printed in Spain, at that early period of the art, than in the present literary age.<sup>1</sup>

It is wonderful how much the destinies of countries depend at times upon the virtues of individuals, and how it is given to great spirits, by combining, exciting and directing the latent powers of a nation, to stamp it, as it were, with their own greatness. Such beings realise the idea of guardian angels, appointed by Heaven to watch over the destinies of empires. Such had been Prince Henry for the kingdom of Portugal; and such was now for Spain the illustrious Isabella.

preserved in the royal arsenal at Madrid, show that she was exposed to personal danger in her campaigns.

<sup>1</sup> *Elogio de la Reina Catholica*, por Diego Clemencin. Madrid, 1821.

## PROPOSITIONS OF

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<sup>1</sup> Salaz

<sup>2</sup> Ovler

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## CHAPTER III.

## PROPOSITIONS OF COLUMBUS TO THE COURT OF CASTILE.

COLUMBUS arrived at Cordova early in 1486. He was disappointed, however, in his hopes of immediate patronage; he found it impossible to obtain even a hearing. Fernando de Talavera, prior of Prado, instead of being secured to his interests by the recommendation of Juan Perez de Marchena, looked upon his plan as extravagant and impossible. Indeed, the slender interest on which he founded his hopes of success at court, and the humble garb in which his poverty obliged him to appear, formed a preposterous contrast in the eyes of the courtiers with the magnificence of his speculations. "Because he was a stranger," says Oviedo, "and went but in simple apparel, nor otherwise credited than by the letter of a grey friar, they believed him not, neither gave ear to his words, whereby he was greatly tormented in his imagination." The time consumed by Columbus in lingering attendance on the Spanish court has occasioned much animadversion. It is but candid, however, to take into consideration the situation of the sovereigns at the time, which was certainly most unpropitious to his suit. The war with Granada was then in full activity, and the king and queen engaged in most of the campaigns, in person. When Columbus arrived at Cordova, the court was like a military camp. The rival Moorish kings of Granada, Muley Boabdil, the uncle, called also El Zagal, and Mahomet Boabdil the nephew, generally termed El Chiquito, had just formed a coalition, and their league called for prompt and vigorous measures.

Early in the spring, the King marched off to lay siege to the Moorish city of Loxa; and though the Queen remained at Cordova, she was continually employed in forwarding troops and supplies to the army, and, at the same time, attending to the multiplied exigencies of civil government. On the 12th of June, she repaired to the camp, then engaged in the siege of Moclin, and both Sovereigns remained for some time in the Vega of Granada, prosecuting the war with unremitting vigour. They had barely returned to Cordova to celebrate their victories by public rejoicings, when they were obliged to set out for Galicia, to suppress a rebellion of the Count of Lemos. From thence they repaired to Salamanca for the winter.<sup>1</sup>

This brief picture of the occupation and the bustling life of the Spanish sovereigns during the first year after the arrival of Columbus, may give an idea of their reign throughout the term of his negotiation, which precisely coincided with their war with the Moors. The court was continually shifting from place to place, according to the exigency of the moment. The Sovereigns were either on journeys or in the field, and, when they had an interval of re-

pose from the rugged toils of war, they had a thousand claims on their time and attention, from the modifications and reforms which they were enforcing throughout their dominions.

Amidst such pressing concerns of domestic and immediate importance, and so exhausting to the treasury, it is not to be wondered at, that the monarchs should find little time to attend to a scheme of foreign discovery, which required much consideration, called for great expense, and was generally esteemed the wild dream of an enthusiast. It is a question even, whether, for some time, his application reached their ears. Fernando de Talavera, who was to have been his organ of communication, was unfriendly to his cause, and was himself taken up with military concerns, and absent with the court in its campaigns, being one of the clerical advisers who surrounded the Queen in this, as it was termed, holy war.

During the summer and autumn of 1486, the period of the campaign and transactions just alluded to, Columbus remained at Cordova. He continued to support himself, it is believed, by designing maps and charts,<sup>2</sup> and trusted to time and exertion to make him converts and friends of influence. He had to contend against the ridicule of the light and the supercilious,—one of the greatest obstacles which modest merit can encounter in a court. He had a sanguine temperament, however, and a fund of enthusiasm, which bore him up against every trial. There was a dignity, likewise, in his manners, and an earnest sincerity in his conversation, which gradually gained him friends. One of the most effectual was Alonzo de Quintanilla, comptroller of the finances of Castile, who, it is said, received him into his house, and became a warm advocate of his theory.<sup>3</sup> He became acquainted with Antonio Geraldini, the Pope's nuncio, and with his brother, Alexander Geraldini, preceptor to the younger children of Ferdinand and Isabella, both of whom entered warmly into his views.<sup>4</sup> By the aid of these friends, he was introduced to the celebrated Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, archbishop of Toledo, and grand cardinal of Spain.<sup>4</sup>

This was the most important personage about court. The king and queen had him always at their side, in peace and war. He accompanied them in their campaigns, and they never took any measure of consequence without consulting him. He was facetiously called by Peter Martyr "the third king of Spain." He was a man of a clear understanding, eloquent, judicious, and of a great quickness and capacity in business; simple, yet curiously nice in his apparel, lofty and venerable, yet gracious and gentle in his deportment. Though an elegant scholar, the grand cardinal, like many learned men of his day, was but little skilled in cosmography, and was tenacious in his religious scruples. When the theory of Colum-

<sup>1</sup> Cura de los Palacios, c. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Salazar, Chron. G. Cardenal, l. i, c. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Spotorno, page xlv. Eng. translation.

<sup>4</sup> Oviedo, l. ii, c. 4. Salazar, l. i, c. 62.



bus was first mentioned to him, it struck him as involving heterodox opinions, incompatible with the form of the earth as described in the sacred Scriptures. Further explanations had their force with a man of his quick apprehension and sound sense. He perceived, that, at any rate, there could be nothing irreligious in attempting to extend the bounds of human knowledge, and to ascertain the works of creation: his scruples once removed, he gave Columbus a courteous and attentive hearing.

The latter, knowing the importance of his auditor, exerted himself to produce conviction. The clear-headed cardinal listened with profound attention. He saw the grandeur of the conception, and felt the force of the arguments. He was pleased likewise with the noble and earnest manner of Columbus, and became at once a firm and serviceable friend. The representations of the grand cardinal procured Columbus an audience from the Sovereigns. He appeared before them with modesty, yet self-possession: for he felt himself, as he afterwards declared in his letters, an instrument in the hand of Heaven to accomplish its grand designs.<sup>1</sup>

Ferdinand was too keen a judge of men not to appreciate the character of Columbus. He perceived that, however soaring might be his imagination, and magnificent his speculations, the scheme had scientific and practical foundation. His ambition was excited by the possibility of discoveries far more important than those which had shed such glory upon Portugal. Still, as usual, he was cool and wary, and determined to take the opinion of the most learned men in the kingdom, and to be guided by their decision. He referred the matter, therefore, to Fernando de Talavera, the prior of Prado, authorizing him to assemble the most learned astronomers and cosmographers, to hold a conference with Columbus, informing themselves of the grounds on which he founded his proposition; after which they were to consult together, and make their report.<sup>2</sup>

#### CHAPTER V.

##### COLUMBUS BEFORE THE COUNCIL AT SALAMANCA.

THE interesting conference relative to the proposition of Columbus took place in Salamanca, the great seat of learning in Spain. It was held in the Dominican convent of St Stephen, in which Columbus was lodged and entertained with great hospitality, during the course of the examination.<sup>3</sup>

Religion and science were at that time, and more especially in that country, closely associated. The treasures of learning were immured in monasteries, and the professors' chairs were exclusively filled from

<sup>1</sup> Oviedo, l. ii, c. 4. Salazar, l. i, c. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to the Sovereigns in 1501.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. xi.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. de Chiapa, por Remesal, l. ii, c. 27.

the cloister. The domination of the clergy extended over the state as well as the church, and posts of honour and influence at court, with the exception of hereditary nobles, were almost entirely confided to ecclesiastics. It was even common to find cardinals and bishops in helm and corslet at the head of armies; for the crozier had been occasionally thrown by for the lance, during the holy war against the Moors. The era was distinguished for the revival of learning, but still more for the prevalence of religious zeal, and Spain surpassed all other countries of Christendom in the fervor of her devotion. The Inquisition had just been established in that kingdom, and every opinion that savoured of heresy made its owner obnoxious to odium and persecution.

Such was the period, when a council of clerical sages was convened in the collegiate convent of St Stephen, to investigate the new theory of Columbus. It was composed of professors of astronomy, geography, mathematics, and other branches of science, together with various dignitaries of the church, and learned friars. Before this erudite assembly, Columbus presented himself, to propound and defend his conclusions. He had been scoffed at as a visionary, by the vulgar and ignorant, but he was convinced that he only required a body of enlightened men to listen dispassionately to his reasonings, to ensure triumphant conviction.

The greater part of this learned junto, it is very probable, came prepossessed against him, as men in place and dignity are apt to be against poor applicants. There is always a proneness to consider a man under examination as a kind of delinquent, or impostor, whose faults and errors are to be detected and exposed. Columbus, too, appeared in a most unfavourable light before a scholastic body; an obscure navigator, member of no learned institution, destitute of all the trappings and circumstances which sometimes give oracular authority to dulness, and depending upon the mere force of natural genius. Some of the junto entertained the popular notion that he was an adventurer, or at best a visionary; and others had that morbid impatience of any innovation upon established doctrine, which is apt to grow upon dull and pedantic men in cloistered life. What a striking spectacle must the hall of the old convent have presented at this memorable conference! A simple mariner, standing forth in the midst of an imposing array of professors, friars, and dignitaries of the church; maintaining his theory with natural eloquence, and, as it were, pleading the cause of the New World. We are told, that when he began to state the grounds of his belief, the friars of St Stephen alone paid attention to him; that convent being more learned in the sciences than the rest of the university. The others appeared to have entrenched themselves behind one dogged position; that, after so many profound philosophers and cosmographers had been studying the form of the world, and so many able navigators had been sailing about it for several thou-

<sup>1</sup> Remesal, Hist. de Chiapa, l. ii, c. 7.

sand years, it was man, to suppose discovery for him opposed by this to us, and have sense of the univ proofs, not so m institution, as of time, and of the rapidly extending by monastic big templated through when the lights faith was left to in a maze of rel traced their steps of ancient know of the discussion Columbus was a and the Testam of David, the Pr To these were saints and reve and St August Basil and St Am redoubted cham were mixed up mathematical de it appeared to cl elementary of one antipodes in the generally maint as to be pronou tween the learn bling-block with Several of them theory of Colum tations from La considered in th ity. But, thou summate erudi of what has be cal learning, y perpetuate dar

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sand years, it was a great presumption in an ordinary man, to suppose that there remained such a vast discovery for him to make. Several of the objections opposed by this learned body have been handed down to us, and have provoked many a sneer at the expense of the university of Salamanca. But these are proofs, not so much of the peculiar deficiency of that institution, as of the imperfect state of science at the time, and of the manner in which knowledge, though rapidly extending, was still impeded in its progress by monastic bigotry. All subjects were still contemplated through the obscure medium of those ages when the lights of antiquity were trampled out, and faith was left to fill the place of inquiry. Bewildered in a maze of religious controversy, mankind had retraced their steps and receded from the boundary line of ancient knowledge. Thus, at the very threshold of the discussion, instead of geographical objections, Columbus was assailed with citations from the Bible and the Testament, the book of Genesis, the psalms of David, the Prophets, the epistles, and the gospels. To these were added, the expositions of various saints and reverend commentators, St Chrysostome and St Augustine, St Jerome and St Gregory, St Basil and St Ambrose, and Lactantius Firmianus, a redoubted champion of the faith. Doctrinal points were mixed up with philosophical discussions, and a mathematical demonstration was allowed no truth, if it appeared to clash with a text of Scripture, or a commentary of one of the fathers. Thus the possibility of antipodes in the southern hemisphere, an opinion so generally maintained by the wisest of the ancients, as to be pronounced by Pliny the great contest between the learned and the ignorant, became a stumbling-block with some of the sages of Salamanca. Several of them stoutly contradicted this basis of the theory of Columbus, supporting themselves by quotations from Lactantius and St Augustine, who were considered in those days as almost evangelical authority. But, though these writers were men of consummate erudition, and two of the greatest luminaries of what has been called the golden age of ecclesiastical learning, yet their writings were calculated to perpetuate darkness in respect to the sciences.

The passage cited from Lactantius to confute Columbus is in a strain of gross ridicule, unworthy of so grave a theologian. "Is there any one so foolish," he asks, "as to believe that there are antipodes with their feet opposite to ours; people who walk with their heels upward and their heads hanging down? that there is a part of the world in which all things are topsy-turvy; where the trees grow with their branches downward, and where it rains, hails, and snows upward? The idea of the roundness of the earth," he adds, "was the cause of inventing this fable of the antipodes with their heels in the air: for these philosophers having once erred, go on in their absurdities, defending one with another." More grave objections were advanced, on the authority of St Augustine. He pronounces the doctrine of anti-

podes incompatible with the historical foundations of our faith; since, to assert that there were inhabited lands on the opposite side of the globe, would be to maintain that there were nations not descended from Adam, it being impossible for them to have passed the intervening ocean. This would be, therefore, to discredit the Bible, which expressly declares, that all men are descended from one common parent.

Such were the unlooked-for prejudices which Columbus had to encounter at the very outset of his conference, and which certainly relish more of the convent than the university. To his simplest proposition, the spherical form of the earth, were opposed figurative texts of Scripture. They observed, that in the Psalms, the heavens are said to be extended like a hide; that is, according to commentators, the curtain, or covering of a tent, which, among the ancient pastoral nations, was formed of the hides of animals; and that St Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, compares the heavens to a tabernacle, or tent, extended over the earth, which they thence inferred must be flat. Columbus, who was a devoutly religious man, found that he was in danger of being convicted, not merely of error, but of heterodoxy. Others, more versed in science, admitted the globular form of the earth, and the possibility of an opposite and inhabitable hemisphere; but they brought up the chimera of the ancients, and maintained that it would be impossible to arrive there, in consequence of the insupportable heat of the torrid zone. Even granting this could be passed, they observed, that the circumference of the earth must be so great as to require at least three years to the voyage, and those who should undertake it must perish of hunger and thirst, from the impossibility of carrying provisions for so long a period. He was told, on the authority of Epicurus,<sup>1</sup> that, admitting the earth to be spherical, it was only inhabitable in the northern hemisphere, and in that section only was canopied by the heavens; that the opposite half was a chaos, a gulph, or a mere waste of water. Not the least absurd objection advanced was, that should a ship even succeed in reaching, in this way, the extremity of India, she could never get back again; for the rotundity of the globe would present a kind of mountain, up which it would be impossible for her to sail with the most favourable wind.<sup>3</sup>

Such are specimens of the errors and prejudices, the mingled ignorance and erudition, and the pedantic bigotry, with which Columbus had to contend throughout the examination of his theory. Can we wonder at the difficulties and delays which he experienced at courts, when such vague and crude notions were entertained by the learned men of a university? We must not suppose, however, because the objections here cited are all which remain on record, that they

<sup>1</sup> *Extendens cælum sicut pellem.* Psal. ciii. In the English translation it is Psalm civ. v. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Acosta, l. i, cap. 1.*

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. del Almirante, cap. 2.*

are all which were advanced; these only have been perpetuated on account of their superior absurdity. They were probably advanced by but few, and those persons immersed in theological studies, in cloistered retirement, where the erroneous opinions derived from books had little opportunity of being corrected by the experience of the day. There were no doubt objections advanced more cogent in their nature, and more worthy of that distinguished university. It is but justice to add, also, that the replies of Columbus had great weight with many of his learned examiners. In answer to the scriptural objections, he submitted, that the inspired writers were not speaking technically as cosmographers, but figuratively, in language addressed to all comprehensions. The commentaries of the fathers he treated with deference as pious homilies, but not as philosophical propositions, which it was necessary either to admit or refute. The objections drawn from ancient philosophers, he met boldly and ably upon equal terms; for he was deeply studied on all points of cosmography. He showed that the most illustrious of these sages believed both hemispheres to be inhabitable, though they imagined that the torrid zone precluded communication; and he obviated conclusively that difficulty, for he had voyaged to St George la Mina, in Guinea, almost under the equinoctial line, and had found that region not merely traversable, but abounding in population, in fruits, and pasturage. When Columbus took his stand before this learned body, he had appeared the plain and simple navigator; somewhat daunted, perhaps, by the greatness of his task, and the august nature of his auditory. But he had a degree of religious feeling which gave him a confidence in the execution of what he conceived his great errand, and he was of an ardent temperament that became heated in action by its own generous fires. Las Casas, and others of his contemporaries, have spoken of his commanding person, his elevated demeanour, his air of authority, his kindling eye, and the persuasive intonations of his voice. How must they have given majesty and force to his words, as, casting aside his maps and charts, and discarding, for a time, his practical and scientific lore, his visionary spirit took fire at the doctrinal objections of his opponents, and he met them upon their own ground, pouring forth those magnificent texts of Scripture, and those mysterious predictions of the prophets, which, in his enthusiastic moments, he considered as types and annunciations of the sublime discovery which he proposed!

Among the number who were convinced by the reasoning, and warmed by the eloquence, of Columbus, was Diego de Deza, a worthy and learned friar of the order of St Dominic, at that time professor of theology in the convent of St Stephen, but who became afterwards archbishop of Seville, the second ecclesiastical dignity of Spain. This able and erudite divine was a man whose mind was above the narrow bigotry of bookish lore; one who could appreciate the value of wisdom, even when uttered by unlearned

lips. He was not a mere passive auditor, he took a generous interest in the cause, and by seconding Columbus with all his powers, calmed the blind zeal of his more bigoted brethren, so as to obtain for him a dispassionate, if not an unprejudiced, hearing. By their united efforts, it is said, they brought over the most learned men of the schools. One great difficulty was to reconcile the plan of Columbus with the cosmography of Ptolemy, to which all scholars yielded implicit faith. How would the most enlightened of those sages have been astonished, had any one apprized them that the man, Copernicus, was then in existence, whose solar system should reverse the grand theory of Ptolemy, which stationed the earth in the centre of the universe!

Notwithstanding every exertion, however, there was a preponderating mass of inert bigotry and of learned pride in the erudite body, which refused to yield to the demonstrations of an obscure foreigner, without fortune, or connexions, or any academic honours. "It was requisite," says Las Casas, "before Columbus could make his solutions and reasonings understood, that he should remove from his auditors those erroneous principles on which their objections were founded; a task always more difficult than that of teaching the doctrine." Occasional conferences took place, but without producing any decision. The ignorant, or what is worse, the prejudiced, remained obstinate in their opposition, with the dogged perseverance of dull men; the more liberal and intelligent felt little interest in discussions, wearisome in themselves, and foreign to their ordinary pursuits; even those who listened with approbation to the plan, regarded it only as a delightful vision, full of probability and promise, but one which never could be realized. Fernando de Talavera, to whom the matter was especially intrusted, had too little esteem for it, and was too much occupied with the stir and bustle of public concerns, to press it to a conclusion; and thus the inquiry experienced continual procrastination and neglect.

#### CHAPTER V.

FURTHER APPLICATIONS AT THE COURT OF CASTILE. COLUMBUS FOLLOWS THE COURT IN ITS CAMPAIGNS.

[ 1487. ]

THE consultations of the board at Salamanca were interrupted by the departure of the court to Cordova early in the spring of 1487; called away by the concerns of the war, and the memorable campaign against Malaga. Fernando de Talavera, now bishop of Avila, accompanied the Queen as her confessor. For a long time Columbus was kept in suspense, following the movements of the court. He was encouraged at times by the prospect of his proposition being taken

Remesol, Hist. de Chiapa, l. ii, c. 7.

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auditor, he took an immediate consideration, conferences being appointed for the purpose; but the tempest of warlike affairs which hurried the court from place to place, gave it all the bustle and confusion of a camp, continually swept away all questions of less immediate importance. It has generally been supposed, that the several years which Columbus wasted in some solicitation, were spent in the drowsy and monotonous attendance of antechambers; but on the contrary, they were often passed amidst scenes of peril and adventure; and in following up his suit, he was led into some of the most striking situations of his wild, rugged, and mountainous war. Whenever the court had an interval of leisure, there seems to have been a disposition to take up his affair; but the hurry and tempest returned, and the question was again swept away.

During this time he experienced the scoffs and indignities of which he afterwards complained; being ridiculed by the light and ignorant as a mere dreamer, and stigmatized by the illiberal as an adventurer. The very children, it is said, pointed to their foreheads as he passed, being taught to regard him as a kind of madman. During this long application, he defrayed his expenses, in part, by the exertion of his talents in making maps. The worthy friar, Diego de Deza, occasionally assisted him with his purse, as well as his good offices with the Sovereigns. He was at part of the time a guest of Alonzo de Quintanilla, and for a considerable period entertained at the expense of the Duke of Medina Celi, a nobleman of great possessions, who was much engaged in maritime enterprises.

It is due to the Sovereigns to say, that while Columbus was thus kept in suspense, he was attached to the royal suite, and sums were issued to defray his expenses, and lodgings provided for him, whenever summoned to follow the movements of the court, and attend the consultations that were at various times appointed. Memorandums of several of these sums still exist in the book of accounts of Francisco Ponce de Leon, of Seville, one of the royal treasurers, which has lately been found in the archives of Simancas. From these minutes we are enabled, in some degree, to follow the movements of Columbus during his attendance upon this rambling and warlike court.

One of these memorandums was for money to enable him to come to the court then held in the camp before Malaga, during the memorable siege of 1487, when that city was so obstinately and fiercely defended by the Moors. In the course of this siege, his application to the Sovereigns was nearly brought to a violent close; a fanatic Moor having attempted to assassinate Ferdinand and Isabella. Mistaking the royal tent, he attacked Don Alvaro de Portugal, and Doña Beatrix de Bobadilla, Marchioness of Moya, instead of the King and Queen. After wounding Don Alvaro dangerously, he was foiled in a blow aimed at the Marchioness, and immediately

cut to pieces by the attendants. The lady here mentioned, was a person of extraordinary merit and force of character. She eventually took a great interest in the suit of Columbus, and had much influence in recommending it to the Queen, with whom she was a particular favourite.<sup>2</sup>

The campaign ended with the capture of Malaga. There appears to have been no time, during its stormy siege, to attend to the question of Columbus, though Fernando de Talavera, the bishop of Avila, was present, as appears by his entering the captured city in solemn and religious triumph.<sup>3</sup> Malaga surrendered on the 18th of August, 1487, and the court had scarcely time to return to Cordova, when it was driven away by pestilence.

The Sovereigns passed the winter in Saragoza, occupied in various public affairs of moment; they entered the Moorish territories by way of Murcia, in the ensuing spring, and after a short campaign retired to Valladolid for the following winter. Whether Columbus accompanied the court during these migrations, does not appear, although an order for three thousand maravedis, dated June, 1488, makes it probable. But what quiet hearing could be expected from a court surrounded by the din of arms and continually on the march?

That, notwithstanding these delays, he was still encouraged in his expectations, during this interval, is highly probable. In the course of the spring he received a letter from John II, King of Portugal, dated 20th March, 1488, inviting him to return to his court, and assuring him of protection from any suits of either a civil or criminal nature that might be pending against him. This letter, from its tenor, appears to be a reply to one in which Columbus had commenced negotiations to return. He did not think proper, however, to comply with the invitation of the monarch.

In February, 1489, Ferdinand and Isabella repaired from Valladolid to Medina del Campo, where they received an embassy from Henry VII of England, with whom they formed an alliance. Whether at this time Columbus had any reply to his application to the English court, does not appear. That he did, at some time during his negotiation in Spain, receive a favourable letter from Henry VII, is expressly stated by himself, in one subsequently written by him to Ferdinand and Isabella.<sup>4</sup>

The Spanish sovereigns returned to Cordova in May, and Columbus appears then to have been brought to mind, and steps taken to have the long-adjourned investigation resumed. Diego Ortiz de Zuñiga, in his Annals of Seville, says that the Sovereigns wrote to that city, directing lodgings and accommodations to be furnished to Christopher Columbus, who was coming there to the court on a conference of import-

<sup>1</sup> Pulgar, Cronica, c. 87. P. Martyr.

<sup>2</sup> Retrato del Buen Vasallo, l. ii, c. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Pulgar, Cronica.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. del Almirante, l. cap. 42.



ance. The city fulfilled the command, but the conference was postponed, being interrupted by the campaign, "in which," adds the author, "the same Columbus was found fighting, giving proofs of the distinguished valour which accompanied his wisdom, and his lofty desires."<sup>1</sup>

A royal order is also extant, perhaps the letter here alluded to, dated Cordova, May 12, in the same year. It is addressed to the magistrates of all cities and towns, ordering that lodgings should be furnished gratis to Christopher Columbus and his attendants, being employed in matters connected with the royal service.<sup>2</sup>

The campaign, in which the historian of Seville ascribes to Columbus so honourable a part, was one of the most glorious of that war. Queen Isabella attended with her court, including, as usual, a stately train of prelates and friars, among whom is particularly mentioned the procrastinating arbiter of the pretensions of Columbus, Fernando de Talavera. Much of the success of the campaign is ascribed to the presence and counsel of Isabella. The city of Baza, which had resisted valiantly for upwards of six months, surrendered soon after her arrival; and on the 22d of December, Columbus beheld Muley Boabdil, the elder of the two rival Kings of Granada, surrender in person all his remaining possessions, and his right to the crown, to the Spanish sovereigns.

During this siege, a circumstance took place, which appears to have made a deep impression on the devout and enthusiastic spirit of Columbus. Two reverend friars arrived at the Spanish camp, employed in the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem. They brought a message from the Grand Soldan of Egypt, threatening to put to death all the Christians in his dominions, and to destroy the sepulchre, if the Sovereigns did not desist from the war against Granada. The menace had no effect in altering the purpose of the Sovereigns; but Isabella granted a yearly and perpetual sum of one thousand ducats<sup>3</sup> in gold for the support of the monks who had charge of the sepulchre, and sent a veil, embroidered with her own hands, to be hung up at its shrine.<sup>4</sup>

It was probably from conversation with these friars, and from the pious indignation excited by the threat of the Soldan, that Columbus conceived an enthusiastic idea, which he more or less entertained until the day of his death. He determined to devote the profits arising from his contemplated discovery, to a holy enterprise to rescue the holy sepulchre from the power of the infidels.

The bustle and turmoil of this campaign prevented the conference at Seville; nor did the concerns of Columbus fare better during the subsequent rejoicings. Ferdinand and Isabella entered Seville in February, 1490, with great pomp and triumph. There

were then preparations made for the marriage of their eldest daughter, the Princess Isabella, with Prince Don Alonzo, heir-apparent of Portugal. The nuptials were celebrated in the month of April, with extraordinary splendour. Throughout the winter and spring, the court was in a continual tumult of parade and pleasure; feasts, tournaments, torch-light processions. What chance had Columbus of being heard in these alternate uproars of war and festivity?

It was not until the winter of 1491, that Columbus could obtain the long-delayed hearing of his application. The Sovereigns were preparing to depart for their final campaign in the Vega of Granada, with determination never to raise their camp from beneath that city, until their victorious banners should flourish upon its towers.

Columbus saw that if once the court got into motion, there would be an end to all hopes of an attention to his affairs. He pressed, therefore, for a decisive reply. It is probable that the conference never took place, which the historian of Seville mentions having been postponed; and that the council of scientific men, to whom the project had been referred, was again convened.

It is certain that at this time Fernando de Talavera, being called upon by the Sovereigns, gave the report of this learned body. He informed their majesties that it was the general opinion of the Junta, that the scheme proposed was vain and impossible; and that it did not become such great princes to engage in an enterprise of the kind on such weak grounds as had been advanced.<sup>5</sup>

Although such was the general report of the committee, Columbus had made an impression upon several of those learned men, which operated strongly in his favour. He had an active friend in Fray Diego de Deza, tutor to Prince Juan, who, from his situation and clerical character, had access to the royal ear. The names of several men of rank and merit are also mentioned, who were friendly to his suit. In fact, the grave and honourable demeanour of Columbus, his clear knowledge of every thing relative to his profession, the loftiness and generosity of his views, and his energetic manner of enforcing them, commanded respect wherever he could succeed in fixing attention. A degree of consideration had, therefore, gradually grown up at court for his enterprise; and, notwithstanding the unfavourable report of the learned Junta of Salamanca, the Sovereigns seemed unwilling to close the door upon a project which might be so important in its advantages. Fernando de Talavera was commanded to inform Columbus, who was then at Cordova, that the great cares and expenses of the war rendered it impossible for them to engage in any new enterprises; but that, when the war was concluded, they would have time and inclination to treat with him about what he offered.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diego Ortiz de Zuñiga, Ann. de Sevilla, l. xii, anno 1489, p. 404.

<sup>2</sup> Navarrete, l. ii, doc. No. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Or 1425 dollars, equivalent to 4269 dollars in our time.

<sup>4</sup> Garibay, Compend. Hist. l. xviii, c. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Hist. del Almirante, ubi sup.

his was but a starved reply to receive after so many years of weary attendance, of anxious expectations, and deferred hopes. Whatever graciousness, there might have been in the message as dictated by the monarchs, was probably lost in the chilling medium through which it passed. At any rate, Columbus was unwilling to receive the reply at the hands of a person who had always shown himself unkindly; he repaired, therefore, to the court at Seville, to learn his fate from the lips of the monarchs. His reply was virtually the same, declining to enter in the enterprise for the present, but holding out hopes of patronage when released from the cares and anxieties of the war. Columbus looked upon this as an evasive mode of getting rid of his importunity; he believed the Sovereigns prepossessed by the notions of the ignorant and the bigoted, and, giving up all hopes of countenance from the throne, turned his back upon Seville, filled with disappointment and indignation.

## CHAPTER VI.

DECLARATION TO THE DUKE OF MEDINA CELI. RETURN TO THE CONVENT OF LA RABIDA.

THOUGH Columbus had now relinquished all expectations of patronage from the Castilian sovereigns, he was unwilling to break off all connexion with Spain. A tie of a tender nature still bound him to the court. During his first visit to Cordova, he had conceived a passion for a lady of that city, named Beatrix Enriquez. This attachment has been given as an accidental cause of his lingering so long in Spain, and suffering with the delays he experienced. Like most of the particulars of this part of his life, his connexion with this lady is wrapped in obscurity. It does not appear to have been sanctioned by marriage. The lady is said to have been of noble family. She was the mother of his second son, Fernando, who became a historian, and whom he always treated on terms of perfect equality with his legitimate son, Diego. Unwilling to abandon Spain, though despairing of success at court, Columbus now endeavoured to engage some rich and powerful individual in his enterprise. There were several of the Spanish nobles who had vast possessions, and resembled petty sovereigns in their domains. Among these were the Dukes of Medina Sidonia and Medina Celi. Both had estates in the principalities, lying along the sea-shore, with ports and shipping at their command. These noblemen served the crown more as allied princes than as vassals, bringing armies of their retainers into the field, led by their own captains, or by themselves in person. They assisted with their armadas, and they contributed with their treasures to the successes of the crown, but maintained a jealous right over the disposition of their forces. During the siege of Malaga, the

Duke of Medina Sidonia volunteered, at one time, a large force of the cavaliers of his household, sending twenty thousand doblas of gold, and one hundred vessels, some armed, and others laden with provisions, from his rich domains. The domestic establishments of these nobles were like the establishments of petty sovereigns; whole armies of retainers thronged their various estates, and their houses were filled with persons of merit, and with young cavaliers of family, reared under their auspices in the exercise of arts and arms.

To the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Columbus first applied. They had many interviews and conversations, but could never come to a conclusion. The duke was tempted, for a time, by the magnificent anticipations held out; but the very splendour of these anticipations threw a colouring of exaggeration over the enterprise, and Gomera assures us that he finally rejected it as the dream of an Italian visionary.<sup>3</sup>

Columbus next turned to the Duke of Medina Celi, and, for a time, with great prospect of success; they had various negotiations, and, at one time, the duke was actually on the point of despatching him on the contemplated voyage, with three or four caravels, which he had ready in his port. Fearing, however, that such an expedition would be strongly discountenanced by the crown, he suddenly abandoned it, observing that the object was too great to be grasped by a subject, and was fit only for a sovereign power.<sup>4</sup> He advised Columbus to apply once more to the Spanish monarchs, and offered to use his influence with the queen.

Columbus saw time and life thus wasting away in tantalizing hopes and bitter disappointments. He felt averse to the idea of again returning to follow the court in all its baffling movements. He had received a letter of encouragement from the King of France,<sup>5</sup> and determined to lose no time in repairing to Paris. With this intention he repaired to the convent of La Rabida, to seek his eldest son, Diego, who still remained under the care of his zealous friend Friar Juan Perez, proposing to leave him, with his other son, at Cordova.

When the worthy friar beheld Columbus once more arrive at the gate of his convent, after nearly seven years' solicitation at the court, and saw, by the humility of his garb, the poverty and disappointment he had experienced, he was greatly moved; but when he found that the voyager was on the point of abandoning Spain, and that so important an enterprise was about to be lost for ever to the country, his ardent spirit was powerfully excited. He summoned his friend, the learned physician, Garcia Fernandez,

<sup>1</sup> Or 33,514 dollars, and equivalent to the present value of 100,542 dollars.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. del Almirante*, c. 42. *Herrera*, *Hist. Ind.*, decad. 1. l. i. c. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Gomera*, *Hist. Ind.* c. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of the Duke of Medina Celi to the Grand Cardinal. See *NAYARRETE*, t. ii, doc. 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. del Almirante*, cap 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Zuñiga*, *Anales Eccles. de Sevilla*, lib. xiv. p. 406.

and they had further consultations on the scheme of Columbus. He called in, also, the counsel of Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the head of a family of wealthy and distinguished navigators of Palos, who were celebrated for their practical experience, and their adventurous expeditions. Pinzon gave the plan of Columbus his decided approbation, offering to engage in it with purse and person, and to bear the expenses of Columbus in a renewed application to the court.

Friar Juan Perez was confirmed in his faith, by the concurrence of his learned and his practical counsellors. He had once been confessor to the Queen, and knew that she was always accessible to persons of his sacred calling. He proposed to write to her immediately on the subject, and entreated Columbus to delay his journey until an answer could be received. Columbus was easily persuaded, for he had become attached to Spain by the ties he had formed at Cordova. He felt as if, in leaving it, he was again abandoning his home. He was also reluctant to renew, in another court, the vexations and disappointments he had experienced in Spain and Portugal.

Having agreed to remain, the little council at the convent cast round their eyes for an ambassador to depart upon this momentous mission. They chose one Sebastian Rodriguez, a pilot of Lepi, one of the most shrewd and important personages in this maritime neighbourhood. The Queen was, at this time, at Santa Fé, the military city which had been built in the Vega before Granada, after the conflagration of the royal camp. The honest pilot acquitted himself faithfully, expeditiously, and successfully, in his embassy. He found access to the benignant princess, and delivered the epistle of the friar. Isabella had already been favourably disposed to the proposition of Columbus; she had received a letter in recommendation of it, likewise, from the Duke of Medina Celi, at the close of his late negotiation with the voyager. She wrote in reply to Juan Perez, thanking him for his timely services, and requesting that he would repair immediately to the court, leaving Christopher Columbus in confident hope, until he should hear further from her. This royal letter was brought back by the pilot at the end of fourteen days, and spread great joy in the little junta at the convent. No sooner did the warm-hearted friar receive it, than he saddled his mule, and departed privately, before midnight, for the court. He journeyed through the conquered countries of the Moors, and rode into the newly-erected city of Santa Fé, where the Sovereigns were superintending the close investment of the capital of Granada.

The sacred office of Juan Perez gained him a ready entrance in a court distinguished for religious zeal; and, once admitted to the presence of the Queen, his former relation, as father confessor, gave him great freedom of counsel. He pleaded the cause of Columbus with characteristic enthusiasm, speaking, from actual knowledge, of his honourable motives, his professional knowledge and experience, and his

perfect capacity to fulfil the undertaking; he represented the solid principles upon which the enterprise was founded, the advantage that must attend its success, and the glory it must shed upon the Spanish crown. It is probable that Isabella had never heard the proposition urged with such honest zeal and impressive eloquence. Being naturally more sanguine and susceptible than the King, and more open to warm and generous impulses, she was moved by the representations of Juan Perez, which were warmly seconded by her favourite, the Marchioness of Moya, who entered into the affair with a woman's disinterested enthusiasm.<sup>1</sup> The Queen requested that Columbus might be again sent to her, and, with the kind consideration which characterised her, thinking herself of his poverty, and his humble plight, ordered that twenty thousand maravedis<sup>2</sup> in florins should be forwarded to him, to bear his travelling expenses, to provide him with a mule for his journey, and to furnish him with decent raiment, that he might make a respectable appearance at the court.

The worthy friar lost no time in communicating the result of his mission; he transmitted the money and a letter, by the hands of an inhabitant of Palos to the physician Garcia Fernandez, who delivered them to Columbus. The latter complied with the instructions conveyed in the epistle. He exchanged his threadbare garb for one more suited to the sphere of a court, and, purchasing a mule, set out once more, reanimated by hopes, for the camp before Granada.<sup>3</sup>

## CHAPTER VII.

### APPLICATION TO THE COURT AT THE TIME OF THE SURRENDER OF GRANADA.

[ 1492. ]

WHEN Columbus arrived at the court, he experienced a favourable reception, and was given in his pitiable charge to his steady friend, Alonzo de Quiñanilla, the accountant-general. The moment, however, was too eventful for his business to receive immediate attention: he arrived in time to witness the memorable surrender of Granada to the Spanish arms. He beheld Boabdil, the last of the Moorish kings, sally forth from the Alhambra, and yield up the key of that favourite seat of Moorish power; while the King and Queen, with all the chivalry, and rank, and magnificence of Spain, moved forward in proud and solemn procession, to receive this token of submission. It was one of the most brilliant triumphs

<sup>1</sup> Retrato del Buen Vasallo, l. II, cap. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Or 72 dollars, and equivalent to 216 dollars of the present day.

<sup>3</sup> Most of the particulars of this second visit of Columbus to the convent of La Rabida are from the testimony rendered by Garcia Fernandez, in the law-suit between Diego, the son of Columbus, and the crown.

Spanish history. of painful struggle down, the cross of Spain tower of the All was abandoned shouts of joy, with thanksgiving. tary rejoicings considered a triumph of Christianity. the midst, in while every eye mortal; as if seen building up of Spain the most illustrious era; by the dignified of its people all the retinue of There was nothing rustling of robes,

Do we want this brilliant and by a Spanish will be known, written founded in the feeding his imaginations, with the world; melancholy general rejoicing almost with content quest which seemed to have reached that man was Christ.

The moment the monarch stood upon the war with the delivered from its securely turn their kept their word were appointed to was Fernando de quest, had risen to very outset of their difficulties arose. the grandeur of to none but princelation was, that h and privileges of tries he should d either by trade or ed with him we Their pride was considered as a and dignities sup with a sneer, th which he proposed events, of the hor

<sup>4</sup> Mariana, l.

<sup>5</sup> Clemencia.

Spanish history. After near eight hundred years of painful struggle, the crescent was completely cast down, the cross exalted in its place, and the standard of Spain was seen floating on the highest tower of the Alhambra. The whole court and army was abandoned to jubilee. The air resounded with shouts of joy, with songs of triumph, and hymns of thanksgiving. On every side were beheld military rejoicings and religious oblations; for it was considered a triumph, not merely of arms, but of Christianity. The King and Queen moved in the midst, in more than common magnificence, while every eye regarded them as more than mortal; as if sent by heaven for the salvation and building up of Spain. The court was thronged by the most illustrious of that warlike country, and stirring era; by the flower of its nobility, by the most dignified of its prelacy, by bards and minstrels, and all the retinue of a romantic and picturesque age. There was nothing but the glittering of arms, the rustling of robes, the sound of music and festivity.

Do we want a picture of our navigator during this brilliant and triumphant scene? It is furnished by a Spanish writer. "A man obscure and but little known, followed at this time the court. Confounded in the crowd of importunate applicants, feeding his imagination in the corners of antechambers, with the pompous project of discovering a world; melancholy and dejected in the midst of the general rejoicing, he beheld with indifference, and almost with contempt, the conclusion of a conquest which swelled all bosoms with jubilee, and seemed to have reached the utmost bounds of desire. That man was Christopher Columbus."

The moment had now arrived, however, when the monarch stood pledged to attend to his proposals. The war with the Moors was at an end, Spain was delivered from its intruders, and its sovereigns might securely turn their views to foreign enterprise. They kept their word with Columbus. Persons of confidence were appointed to negotiate with him, among whom was Fernando de Talavera, who, by the recent conquest, had risen to be Archbishop of Granada. At the very outset of their negotiation, however, unexpected difficulties arose. So fully imbued was Columbus with the grandeur of his enterprise, that he would listen to none but princely conditions. His principal stipulation was, that he should be invested with the titles and privileges of Admiral and Viceroy over the countries he should discover, with one-tenth of all gains, either by trade or conquest. The courtiers who treated with him were indignant at such a demand. Their pride was shocked to see one, whom they had considered as a needy adventurer, aspiring to rank and dignities superior to their own. One observed with a sneer, that it was a shrewd arrangement which he proposed, whereby he was secure, at all events, of the honour of a command, and had nothing

to lose in case of failure. To this Columbus promptly replied, by offering to furnish one-eighth of the cost, on condition of enjoying one-eighth of the profits.

His terms, however, were pronounced inadmissible. Fernando de Talavera had always considered Columbus as a dreaming speculator, or a needy applicant for bread; but to see this man, who had for years been an indigent and threadbare solicitor in his antechamber, assuming so lofty a tone, and claiming an office that approached to the awful dignity of the throne, excited the astonishment as well as the indignation of the prelate. He represented to Isabella, that it would be degrading to the dignity of so illustrious a crown to lavish such distinguished honours upon a nameless stranger. Such terms, he observed, even in case of success would be exorbitant; but in case of failure, would be cited with ridicule, as evidence of the gross credulity of the Spanish monarchs.

Isabella was always attentive to the opinions of her ghostly advisers, and the archbishop, being her confessor, had peculiar influence. His suggestions checked her dawning favour. She thought the proposed advantages might be purchased at too great a price. More moderate conditions were offered to Columbus, and such as appeared highly honourable and advantageous. It was all in vain; he would not cede one point of his demands, and the negotiation was broken off.

It is impossible not to admire the great constancy of purpose, and loftiness of spirit displayed by Columbus, ever since he had conceived the sublime idea of his discovery. More than eighteen years had elapsed since his correspondence with Paolo Toscanelli of Florence, wherein he had announced his design. The greatest part of that time had been consumed in applications at various courts. During that period, what poverty, neglect, ridicule, contumely, and disappointment had he not suffered! Nothing, however, could shake his perseverance, nor make him descend to terms which he considered beneath the dignity of his enterprise. In all his negotiations he forgot his present obscurity, he forgot his present indigence; his ardent imagination realized the magnitude of his contemplated discoveries, and he felt himself negotiating about empire.

Though so large a portion of life had worn away in fruitless solicitings,—though there was no certainty that the same weary career was not to be entered upon at any other court,—yet so indignant was he at the repeated disappointments he had experienced in Spain, that he determined to abandon it for ever, rather than compromise his demands. Taking leave of his friends, therefore, he mounted his mule, and sallied forth from Santa Fé in the beginning of February, 1492, on his way to Cordova, from whence he intended to depart immediately for France.

When the few friends who were zealous believers in the theory of Columbus, saw him really on the point of abandoning the country, they were filled with

• Mariana, *Hist. de España*, lib. xxv, c. 13.

• Clemencin, *Elogio de la Reina Católica*, p. 20.



distress, considering his departure an irreparable loss to the nation. Among the number was Luis de St Angel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Aragon. He determined to make one bold effort to avert the evil. He obtained an immediate audience of the Queen, accompanied by Alonzo de Quintanilla, who supported him warmly in all his solicitations. The exigency of the moment gave him courage and eloquence. He did not confine himself to intreaties, he almost mingled reproaches. He expressed his astonishment, that a queen who had evinced the spirit to undertake so many great and perilous enterprises, should hesitate at one where the loss could be so trifling, while the gain might be incalculable. He reminded her how much might be done for the glory of God, the exaltation of the church, and the extension of her own power and dominion. What cause of regret to herself, of triumph to her enemies, of sorrow to her friends, should this enterprise, thus rejected by her, be accomplished by some other power! He reminded her what fame and dominion other princes had acquired by their discoveries; here was an opportunity to surpass them all. He intreated her majesty not to be misled by the assertions of learned men, that the project was the dream of a visionary. He vindicated the judgment of Columbus, and the soundness and practicability of his plans. Neither would even his failure reflect disgrace upon the crown. It was worth the trouble and expense to clear up even a doubt upon a matter of such importance, for it belonged to enlightened and magnanimous princes to investigate questions of the kind, and to explore the wonders and secrets of the universe. He stated the liberal offer of Columbus to bear an eighth of the expense, and informed her that all the requisites for this great enterprise consisted but of two vessels, and about three hundred thousand crowns.

These and many more arguments were urged, with that persuasive power which honest zeal imparts. The Marchioness of Moya, it is said, exerted her eloquence, also, to persuade the Queen. The generous spirit of Isabella was enkindled. It seemed as if, for the first time, the subject broke upon her mind in its real grandeur, and she declared her resolution to undertake the enterprise.

There was still a moment's hesitation. The King looked coldly on the affair, and the royal finances were absolutely drained by the war. Some time must be given to replenish them. How could she draw on an exhausted treasury for a measure to which the King was adverse? St Angel watched this suspense with trembling anxiety. The next moment reassured him. With an enthusiasm worthy of herself, and of the cause, Isabella exclaimed, "I undertake the enterprise for my own crown of Castile, and will pledge my jewels to raise the necessary funds." This was the proudest moment in the life of Isabella; it stamped her renown for ever as the patroness of the discovery of the New World.

St Angel, eager to secure this noble impulse, as-

sured her Majesty that there would be no need of pledging her jewels, as he was ready to advance the necessary funds. His offer was gladly accepted; the funds really came from the coffers of Aragon; seventeen thousand florins were advanced by the accountant of St Angel out of the treasury of King Ferdinand. That prudent monarch, however, took care to have his kingdom indemnified some few years afterwards; for, in remuneration of this loan, a part of the first gold brought by Columbus from the New World was employed in gilding the vaults and ceilings of the royal saloon in the grand palace of Saragoza, in Aragon, anciently the Aljaferia, or abode of the Moorish kings.\*

The Queen despatched a messenger on horseback with all speed, to call back Columbus. He was overtaken two leagues from Granada, at the bridge of Pinos, a pass of the mountains famous for bloody encounters between the Christians and infidels, during the Moorish wars. When the courier delivered his message, Columbus hesitated to subject himself again to the delays and equivocations of the court. When he was informed, however, of the ardour expressed by the Queen, and the positive promise she had given, he returned immediately to Santa Fé, confiding in the noble probity of that princess.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### ARRANGEMENT WITH THE SPANISH SOVEREIGNS.

[ 1492. ]

ON arriving at Santa Fé, Columbus had an immediate audience of the Queen, and the benignity with which she received him atoned for all past neglect. Her favourable countenance dispelled every cloud of doubt and difficulty. The concurrence of the King was readily obtained. His objections had been removed by the mediation of various persons, among whom is particularly mentioned his grand-chamberlain and favourite, Juan Cabrero; but it was principally through deference to the zeal displayed by the Queen, that he yielded his tardy concurrence. Isabella was thenceforward the soul of this grand enterprise. She was prompted by lofty and generous enthusiasm; while the King remained cold and calculating, in this as in all his other undertakings.

One of the great objects held out by Columbus in his undertaking, was the propagation of the Christian faith. He expected to arrive at the extremity of Asia, at the vast and magnificent empire of the grand khan, and to visit the dependent islands, of which he had read such extravagant accounts in the writings of Marco Polo. In describing these opulent and semi-barbarous regions, he had reminded their Majesties of the inclination manifested in former times by the grand khan, to embrace the Christian faith; and of

the missions which the sovereigns, to inculcate the Catholic doctrines.

to effect this great means of his dominion might be opened to the whole might speak the church; and to writ, the light of the remotest ends of this suggestion was religion subservient to the recent conquest of the church of extending his doctrines of the day knowledge the truth for a Christian in and was more so Columbus of the provinces belonging to anxiety for the barbarous subjects.

Isabella had not with a pious zeal work of salvation. both of the Sovereign Columbus in this departed on his way him for the Grand

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\* Argensola, Annales de Aragon, t. I. c. 10.

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the missions which had been sent by Popes and pious sovereigns, to instruct him and his subjects in Catholic doctrines. He now considered himself about to effect this great work. He contemplated that, by means of his discovery, an immediate intercourse might be opened with this immense empire; that the whole might speedily be brought into subjection to the church; and thus, as had been foretold in holy writ, the light of revelation might be extended to the remotest ends of the earth. Ferdinand listened to this suggestion with complacency. He made his religion subservient to his interests; and had found in the recent conquest of Granada, that extending the sway of the church might be made a laudable means of extending his own dominions. According to the doctrines of the day, every nation that refused to acknowledge the truths of Christianity, was fair spoil for a Christian invader; and it is probable that Ferdinand was more stimulated by the accounts given by Columbus of the wealth of Mangi, Cathay, and other provinces belonging to the grand khan, than by any anxiety for the conversion of him and his semi-barbarous subjects.

Isabella had nobler inducements; she was filled with a pious zeal at the idea of effecting such a great work of salvation. From different motives, therefore, both of the Sovereigns accorded with the views of Columbus in this particular, and when he afterwards departed on his voyage, letters were actually given him for the Grand Khan of Tartary.

The ardent enthusiasm of Columbus did not stop here. In the free and unrestrained communications which were now permitted him with the Sovereigns, his visionary spirit kindled with his anticipations of the boundless wealth that was to be realized by his discoveries; and he suggested that the treasures thus acquired, should be consecrated to the pious purpose of rescuing the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem from the power of the infidels. The Sovereigns smiled at this sally of his imagination, but expressed themselves well pleased with it, and assured him that, without the funds he anticipated, they should be well disposed to that holy undertaking. What the King and Queen, however, may have considered a mere sally of momentary excitement, was a deep and cherished design of Columbus. It is a curious and characteristic fact, which has never been particularly noticed, that the recovery of the holy sepulchre was one of the great objects of his ambition, meditated throughout the remainder of his life, and solemnly provided for in his will. In fact, he considered it as one of the great works for which he was chosen by Heaven as an agent, and he afterwards looked upon his great discovery as but a preparatory dispensation of Providence to promote its accomplishment.

A perfect understanding being thus effected with

<sup>1</sup> Protosé á vuestras Altezas que toda la ganancia desta mi empresa se gastase en la conquista de Jerusalem, y vuestras Altezas se rieron, y dijeron que les placia, y que sin este tenían aquella ana. Journal of Columb. Navarrete, t. i. p. 117.

the Sovereigns, articles of agreement were ordered to be drawn out by Juan de Coloma, the royal secretary. They were to the following effect:

1. That Columbus should have, for himself during his life, and his heirs and successors for ever, the office of Admiral in all the lands and continents which he might discover or acquire in the ocean, with similar honours and prerogatives to those enjoyed by the high admiral of Castile in his district.

2. That he should be viceroy and governor-general over all the said lands and continents; with the privilege of nominating three candidates for the government of each island or province, one of whom should be selected by the Sovereigns.

3. That he should be entitled to reserve for himself one-tenth of all pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices, and all other articles and merchandises, in whatever manner found, bought, bartered, or gained within his admiralty, the costs being first deducted.

4. That he, or his lieutenant, should be the sole judge in all causes and disputes arising out of traffic between those countries and Spain, provided the high admiral of Castile had similar jurisdiction in his district.

5. That he might then, and at all after times, contribute an eighth part of the expense in fitting out vessels to sail on this enterprise, and receive an eighth part of the profits.

The last stipulation, which admits Columbus to bear an eighth of the enterprise, was made in consequence of his indignant proffer, on being reproached with demanding ample emoluments while incurring no portion of the charge. He fulfilled this engagement, through the assistance of the Pinzons of Palos, and added a third vessel to the armament. Thus one-eighth of the expense attendant on this grand expedition, undertaken by a powerful nation, was actually borne by the individual who conceived it, and who likewise risked his life on its success.

The capitulations were signed by Ferdinand and Isabella, at the city of Santa Fé, in the Vega or plain of Granada, on the 17th of April, 1492. A letter of privilege, or commission to Columbus, of similar purport, was drawn out in form, and issued by the Sovereigns in the city of Granada, on the thirtieth of the same month. In this, the dignities and prerogatives of Viceroy and governor were likewise made hereditary in his family; and he and his heirs were authorized to prefix the title of Don to their names: a distinction accorded in those days only to persons of rank and estate, though it has since lost all value, from being universally used in Spain.

All the royal documents issued on this occasion bore equally the signatures of Ferdinand and Isabella, but her separate crown of Castile defrayed all the expense; and, during her life, few persons, except Castilians, were permitted to establish themselves in the new territories.

<sup>2</sup> Charlevoix, Hist. of St Domingo, l. i. p. 70.

The port of Palos de Moguer in Andalusia was fixed on as the place where the necessary armament was to be fitted out. The inhabitants of this port, in consequence of some misconduct, had been condemned by the royal council to serve the crown, for one year, with two armed caravels. A royal order was signed on the 20th of April, commanding the authorities of Palos to have the two caravels ready for sea within ten days after receiving this notice, and to place them and their crews at the disposal of Columbus. The latter was likewise empowered to procure and fit out a third vessel. The crews of all three were to receive the ordinary wages of seamen employed in armed vessels, and to be paid four months in advance. They were to sail in such directions as Columbus, under the royal authority, should command, and were to obey him in all things, with merely one stipulation, that neither he nor they were to go to St George la Mina, on the coast of Guinea, nor any other of the lately discovered possessions of Portugal. A certificate of their good conduct, signed by Columbus, was to be the discharge of their obligation to the crown.<sup>1</sup>

Orders were likewise issued by the Sovereigns, addressed to the public authorities and people of all ranks and conditions in the maritime boards of Andalusia, commanding them to furnish supplies and assistance of all kinds, at reasonable prices, for the fitting out of the vessels; and penalties were denounced on such as should cause any impediment. No duties were to be exacted for any articles furnished to the vessels; and all criminal processes against the persons or property of any individual engaged in the expedition, were to be suspended during his absence, and for two months after his return.<sup>2</sup>

A home-felt mark of favour, characteristic of the kind and considerate heart of Isabella, was accorded to Columbus before his departure from the court. An alba, or letter-patent, was issued by the Queen on the 8th of May, appointing his son Diego page to Prince Juan, the heir-apparent, with an allowance for his support; an honour granted only to the sons of persons of distinguished rank.<sup>3</sup>

Thus gratified in his dearest wishes, after a course of delays and disappointments sufficient to have reduced any ordinary man to despair, Columbus took leave of the court on the 12th of May, and set out joyfully for Palos. Let those who are disposed to faint under difficulties, in the prosecution of any great and worthy undertaking, remember that eighteen years elapsed after the time that Columbus conceived his enterprise, before he was enabled to carry it into effect; that most of that time was passed in almost hopeless solicitation, amidst poverty, neglect, and taunting ridicule; that the prime of his life had wasted away in the struggle, and that when his perseverance was finally crowned with success, he was about

his fifty-sixth year. His example should encourage the enterprising never to despair.

## CHAPTER IX.

### PREPARATIONS FOR THE EXPEDITION AT THE PORT OF PALOS.

COLUMBUS once more presented himself at the gates of the convent of La Rabida, but he now appeared in triumph. He was received with open arms by the worthy prior, and again became his guest during his sojourn at Palos.<sup>4</sup> The character and station of Juan Perez gave him great importance in the neighbourhood, and he exerted it to the utmost in support of the desired enterprise. Attended by this zealous friend, Columbus repaired on the 23rd of May to the church of St George in Palos. There the royal order for two caravels to be furnished by the town, and put at his disposition, was formally read by the notary public of the place, in presence of the alcaides, and regidores, and many of the inhabitants, and full compliance was promised.<sup>5</sup>

When the nature of the intended expedition came to be known, however, astonishment, and a degree of horror prevailed throughout the place. The inhabitants considered the ships and crews demanded of them in the light of sacrifices devoted to destruction. The owners of vessels refused to furnish them for so desperate a service, and the boldest seamen shrunk from such a wild and chimerical cruise into the wilderness of the ocean. All the frightful tales and fables with which ignorance and superstition are prone to people obscure and mysterious regions, were conjured up concerning the unknown parts of the deep, and circulated by the gossips of Palos, to deter any one from embarking in the enterprise.

Nothing can be a stronger evidence of the bold nature of this undertaking, than the extreme dread with which it was regarded by a maritime community, composed of some of the most adventurous navigators of the age. Notwithstanding the peremptory tenor of the royal order, and the promise of compliance on the part of the magistrates, weeks elapsed without any thing being done in the fulfilment of its demands. The worthy prior of La Rabida backed the applications of Columbus with all his influence and eloquence,—but in vain, not a vessel was to be procured.

Upon this, more absolute mandates were issued by the Sovereigns, dated the 20th of June, ordering the magistrates of the coast of Andalusia to press into the service any vessels they might think proper, belonging to Spanish subjects, and to oblige the masters and crews to sail with Columbus in whatever direction he should be sent by royal command. Juan de Penalosa, an officer of the royal household, was sent to

<sup>1</sup> Navarrete, *Collec. de Viages*, t. ii, doc. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, doc. 8, 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, t. ii, document 11.

<sup>4</sup> Oviedo, *Cronica de las Indias*, l. ii, c. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Navarrete, *Collec. de Viages*, t. ii, doc. 7.

<sup>1</sup> Evidence

<sup>2</sup> See Illustrations

ould encourage that this order was properly complied with, receiving two hundred maravedis a day, as long as he occupied in the business, which sum was to be exacted from such as should be disobedient and delinquent; together with other penalties expressed in the mandate. This letter was acted upon by Columbus in Palos and the neighbouring town of Moguer, but apparently with as little success as the preceding. The communities of those places were thrown into complete confusion: altercations and disturbances took place, but nothing of consequence was effected.

At length Martin Alonso Pinzon, a rich and enterprising navigator, who has already been mentioned, came forward and took a decided and personal interest in the expedition. What understanding he had with Columbus, as to his remuneration, does not appear. In the testimony given many years afterwards, in the suit between Don Diego, the son of Columbus, and the crown, it was affirmed by several witnesses, that Pinzon was to divide with him his share of the profits; but the evidence in that lawsuit was so full of contradictions and palpable falsehoods, that it is difficult to discover the proportion of truth which it may have contained. As no immediate profits resulted from the expedition, no claim of the kind was brought forward. Certain it is that the assistance of Pinzon was most timely and efficacious; and many of the witnesses in that suit concurred in declaring, that, but for him, it would have been impossible to fit out the necessary armament. He, and his brother Vicente Yañes Pinzon, likewise a navigator of great courage and ability, who afterwards rose to distinction, possessed vessels and had seamen in their employ. They were related also to many of the seafaring inhabitants of Palos and Moguer, and had great influence throughout the neighbourhood. It is supposed that they supplied Columbus with funds to pay the eighth share of the expense which he was bound to advance. They furnished, also, one, at least, of the ships, and they resolved to take commands, and sail in the expedition. Their example had a wonderful effect, and, aided by their persuasions, induced a great number of their relatives and friends to embark; so that, through their strenuous exertions, the vessels were ready for sea within a month after they had thus engaged in their equipment.

After the great difficulties made by various courts in furnishing this expedition, it is surprising how inconsiderable an armament was required. It is evident that Columbus had reduced his requisitions to the narrowest limits, lest any great expense should cause impediment. Three small vessels were apparently all that he had requested. Two of them were light barques, called caravels, not superior to river and coasting craft of more modern days. Representations of this class of vessels exist in old prints and paintings.<sup>1</sup> They are delineated as open, and with-

out deck in the centre, but built up high at the prow and stern, with forecastles and cabins for the accommodation of the crew. Peter Martyr, the learned contemporary of Columbus, says that only one of the three vessels was decked.<sup>2</sup> The smallness of the vessels was considered an advantage by Columbus, in a voyage of discovery, enabling him to run close to the shores, and to enter shallow rivers and harbours. In his third voyage, when coasting the gulph of Paria, he complained of the size of his ship, being nearly a hundred tons burthen. But that such long and perilous expeditions into unknown seas, should be undertaken in vessels without decks, and that they should live through the violent tempests by which they were frequently assailed, remain among the singular circumstances of these daring voyages.

During the equipment of the vessels, troubles and difficulties continued to arise. One, at least, of the vessels, named the Pinta, together with its owner and people, had been pressed into the service by the magistrates, under the arbitrary mandate of the Sovereigns; and it is a striking instance of the despotic authority exercised over commerce in those times, that respectable individuals should thus be compelled to engage, with persons and ships, in what appeared to them a mad and desperate enterprise. The owners of this vessel, Gomez Rascon and Christoval Quintero, showed the greatest repugnance to the voyage, and took an active part in certain quarrels and contentions which occurred.<sup>3</sup> Various mariners had, likewise, been compelled to embark in the other ships;—all kinds of obstacles were thrown in the way, to retard or defeat the voyage, by these people and their friends. The caulkers employed upon the vessels did their work in a careless and imperfect manner, and, on being commanded to do it over again, they absconded;<sup>4</sup> some of the seamen, who had enlisted willingly, repented of their hardihood, or were dissuaded by their relatives, and sought to retract; others deserted and concealed themselves. Everything had to be effected by the most harsh and arbitrary measures, and in defiance of popular prejudice and opposition.

At length, by the beginning of August, every difficulty was vanquished, and the vessels were ready for sea. The largest, which had been prepared expressly for the voyage, and was decked, was called the Santa Maria; on board of this ship Columbus hoisted his flag. The second, called the Pinta, was commanded by Martin Alonso Pinzon, accompanied by his brother, Francisco Martin, as pilot. The third, called the Niña, had latine sails, and was commanded by the third of the brothers, Vicente Yañes Pinzon. There were three other pilots, Sancho Ruiz, Pedro Alonso Niño, and Bartholomeo Roldan. Rodrigo Sanchez, of Segovia, was inspector-general of

<sup>1</sup> P. Martyr, Decad. 4, l. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of Columbus, Navarrete, t. i, p. 4. Hist. del Almirante, c. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind. l. i, c. 77. MS.

<sup>1</sup> Evidence of Arlaz Perez in the lawsuit.

<sup>2</sup> See Illustrations, article SHIPS OF COLUMBUS.

the armament, and Diego de Arana, a native of Cordova, chief alguazil. Roderigo de Escobar went as royal notary, an officer always sent in the armaments of the crown, to take official notes of all transactions. There were, also, a physician and a surgeon, together with various private adventurers, several servants, and ninety mariners—making, in all, one hundred and twenty persons.<sup>1</sup>

Previous to departing on his voyage, Columbus took his son Diego from the convent of La Rabida, and placed him under the guardianship of Juan Rodriguez Cabezudo, an inhabitant of the town of Moguer, and Martin Sanchez, an ecclesiastic of the same place; probably to give him some knowledge of the world, previous to his being sent to court.

The squadron being ready to put to sea, Columbus, impressed with the solemnity of his undertaking, confessed himself to the friar Juan Perez, and partook of the communion. His example was followed by his officers and crew, and they entered upon their enterprise full of awe, and with the most devout and affecting ceremonials, committing themselves to the especial guidance and protection of Heaven. A deep gloom was spread over the whole community of Palos at their departure, for almost every one had some relative or friend on board of the squadron. The spirits of the seamen, already depressed by their own fears, were still more cast down at the affliction of those they left behind, who took leave of them with tears and lamentations, and dismal forebodings, as of men they were never to behold again.

### BOOK III.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### DEPARTURE OF COLUMBUS ON HIS FIRST VOYAGE.

[ 1492. ]

It was on Friday, the 3rd of August, 1492, early in the morning, that Columbus set sail on his first voyage of discovery. He departed from the bar of Saltes, a small island formed by the arms of the river Odiel, in front of the town of Huelva, steering, in a south-westerly direction, for the Canary Islands, from whence it was his intention to strike due west. Of this voyage he commenced a regular journal, intended for the inspection of the Spanish Sovereigns. It opened with a stately prologue, wherein, in the following words, were set forth the motives and views which led to his expedition :

“ In nomine D. N. Jesu Christi : Whereas, most Christian, most high, most excellent, and most

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix, Hist. St Doming. l. i. Muñoz, Hist. Nuevo Mundo, l. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Testimony of Juan Rodriguez Cabezudo, in the lawsuit between Don Diego Columbus and the fiscal.

“ powerful princes, King and Queen of the Spain  
 “ and of the islands of the sea, our Sovereigns, in  
 “ the present year of 1492, after your Highnesses  
 “ had put an end to the war with the Moors who  
 “ ruled in Europe, and had concluded that warfare  
 “ in the great city of Granada, where, on the second  
 “ of January of this present year, I saw the royal  
 “ banners of your Highnesses placed by force of arms  
 “ on the towers of the Alhambra, which is the fort-  
 “ ress of that city, and beheld the Moorish king sail  
 “ forth from the gates of the city, and kiss the royal  
 “ hands of your Highnesses and of my lord the Prince  
 “ and immediately in that same month, in conse-  
 “ quence of the information which I had given to  
 “ your Highnesses of the lands of India, and of a  
 “ prince who is called the Grand Khan, which is to  
 “ say, in our language, king of kings, how that many  
 “ times he and his predecessors had sent to Rome, to  
 “ entreat for doctors of our holy faith to instruct him  
 “ in the same, and that the holy Father never had  
 “ provided him with them, and that so many people  
 “ were lost, believing in idolatries, and imbibing  
 “ doctrines of perdition; therefore, your Highnesses  
 “ as Catholic Christians and princes, lovers and pro-  
 “ moters of the holy Christian faith, and enemies of  
 “ the sect of Mahomet, and of all idolatries and he-  
 “ resies, determined to send me, Christopher Colum-  
 “ bus, to the said parts of India, to see the said prin-  
 “ ces, and the people, and lands, and discover the  
 “ nature and disposition of them all, and the means  
 “ to be taken for the conversion of them to our  
 “ holy faith; and ordered that I should not go by  
 “ land to the East, by which it is the custom to go  
 “ but by a voyage to the West, by which course  
 “ unto the present time we do not know for certain  
 “ that any one hath passed. Your Highnesses, there-  
 “ fore, after having expelled all the Jews from your  
 “ kingdoms and territories, commanded me, in the  
 “ same month of January, to proceed with sufficient  
 “ armament to the said parts of India; and for this  
 “ purpose bestowed great favours upon me, enno-  
 “ bling me, that thenceforward I might style myself  
 “ Don, appointing me High Admiral of the Ocean  
 “ Sea, and perpetual viceroy and governor of all the  
 “ islands and continents I should discover and gain,  
 “ and which henceforward may be discovered and  
 “ gained in the Ocean Sea; and that my eldest son  
 “ should succeed me, and so on, from generation to  
 “ generation, for ever. I departed, therefore, from  
 “ the city of Granada, on Saturday the 12th of May,  
 “ of the same year 1492, to Palos, a sea-port, where  
 “ I armed three ships well calculated for such service,  
 “ and sailed from that port well furnished with pro-  
 “ visions, and with many seamen, on Friday the 3rd  
 “ of August of the same year, half an hour before  
 “ sunrise, and took the route for the Canary Islands  
 “ of your Highnesses, to steer my course thence, and  
 “ navigate until I should arrive at the Indies, and  
 “ deliver the embassy of your Highnesses to those  
 “ princes, and accomplish that which you had com-

manded. For this  
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• Malt-Brun, Géog. I.



manded. For this purpose, I intend to write during this voyage very punctually, from day to day, all that I may do, and see, and experience, as will hereafter be seen. Also, my Sovereign Princes, beside describing each night all that has occurred in the day, and in the day the navigation of the night, I propose to make a chart, in which I will set down the waters and lands of the Ocean Sea, in their proper situations, under their bearings; and, further, to compose a book, and illustrate the whole in picture by latitude from the equinoctial, and longitude from the West; and upon the whole it will be essential that I should forget sleep, and attend closely to the navigation, to accomplish these things, which will be a great labour."

Thus are formally and expressly stated by Columbus the objects of this extraordinary voyage. The material facts still extant of his journal will be found incorporated in the present work.\* As a guide by which to sail, he had prepared a map, or chart, improved upon that sent him by Paolo Toscanelli. Neither of these now exist, but the globe, or planisphere, finished by Martin Behem in this year of the Admiral's first voyage, is still extant, and furnishes an idea of what the chart of Columbus must have been. It exhibits the coasts of Europe and Africa, from the south of Ireland to the end of Guinea, and opposite to them, on the other side of the Atlantic, the extremity of Asia, or, as it was termed, India. Between them is placed the island of Cipango (or Japan), which, according to Marco Polo, lay fifteen hundred miles distant from the Asiatic coast. In his computations Columbus advanced this island about a thousand leagues too much to the east; supposing it to lie in the situation of Florida,<sup>3</sup> and at this island he hoped first to arrive. The exultation of Columbus at finding himself, after so many years of baffled hope, at length fairly launched on his grand enterprise, was checked by his want of confidence in the resolution and perseverance of his crews. As long as he remained within reach of Europe there was no security that, in a moment of repentance and alarm, they might not unanimously renounce the prosecution of the voyage, and insist on a return. Symptoms soon

appeared to warrant his apprehensions. On the third day the *Pinta* made signals of distress: her rudder was discovered to be broken and unhung. This Columbus surmised to be done through the contrivance of the owners of the caravel, Gomez Rascon and Christoval Quintero, to disable their vessel, and cause her to be left behind. As has already been observed, they had been pressed into the service greatly against their will, and their caravel seized upon for the expedition, in conformity to the royal orders.

Columbus was much disturbed at this occurrence. It gave him a foretaste of further difficulties to be apprehended from crews partly enlisted on compulsion, and all full of doubt and foreboding. Trivial obstacles might, in the present critical state of his voyage, spread panic and mutiny through his ships, and entirely defeat the purpose of the expedition.

The wind was blowing strongly at the time, so that he could not render assistance without endangering his own vessel. Fortunately, Martin Alonso Pinzon commanded the ship, and being an adroit and able seaman, he succeeded in securing the rudder with cords, so as to bring the vessel into management. This, however, was but a temporary and inadequate expedient; the fastenings gave way again on the following day, and the other ships were obliged to shorten sail until the rudder could be secured.

This damaged state of the *Pinta*, as well as her being in a leaky condition, determined the Admiral to touch at the Canary Islands, and seek a vessel to replace her. He considered himself not far from those islands, though a different opinion was entertained by the pilots of the squadron. The event proved his superiority in taking observations and keeping reckonings, for they came in sight of the Canaries on the morning of the 6th.

They were detained upwards of three weeks among these islands, seeking in vain to find another vessel. They were obliged, therefore, to make a new rudder for the *Pinta*, and repair her, as well as they were able, for the voyage. The latine sails of the *Niña* were also altered into square sails, that she might work more steadily and securely, and be able to keep company with the other vessels.

While sailing among these islands, they passed in sight of Teneriffe, whose lofty peak was sending out volumes of flames and smoke. The crew were terrified at sight of this eruption, being ready to take alarm at any extraordinary phenomenon, and to construe it into a disastrous portent. Columbus took great pains to dispel their apprehensions, explaining the natural causes of those volcanic fires, and verifying his explanations by citing Mount Etna, and other well-known volcanoes.

While taking in wood and water and provisions, in the island of Gomera, a vessel arrived from Ferro, which reported that three Portuguese caravels had been seen hovering off that island, with the intention, it is said, of capturing Columbus. The Admiral suspected some hostile stratagem on the part of the King

\* Navarrete, Collec. Viag. l. i. p. 4.

† An abstract of this journal, made by Las Casas, has recently been discovered, and is published in the first volume of the collection of Señor Navarrete. Many passages of this abstract had been previously inserted by Las Casas in his History of the Indies, and the same Journal had been copiously used by Fernando Columbus in the history of his father. In the present account of this voyage, the author has made use of the journal contained in the work of Señor Navarrete, the manuscript History of Las Casas, the History of the Indies by Herrera, the Life of the Admiral by his Son, the Chronicle of the Indies by Oviedo, the manuscript History of Ferdinand and Isabella by Andres Bernaldez, the *Carte de Los Palacios*, and the Letters and Decades of the Ocean by Peter Martyr; all of whom, with the exception of Herrera, were contemporaries and acquaintances of Columbus. These are the principal authorities which have been consulted, though scattered lights have occasionally been obtained from other sources.

‡ Malte-Brun, Géog. Universelle, t. ii. p. 283.

of Portugal, in revenge for his having embarked in the service of Spain; he, therefore, lost no time in putting to sea, anxious to get far from those islands, and out of the track of navigation, trembling lest something might occur to defeat his expedition, commenced under such inauspicious circumstances.

## CHAPTER II.

CONTINUATION OF THE VOYAGE. VARIATION OF THE NEEDLE.

[ 1492. ]

EARLY in the morning of the 6th of September, Columbus set sail from the island of Gomera, and now might be said first to strike into the region of discovery, taking leave of these frontier islands of the old world, and steering westward for the unknown parts of the Atlantic. For three days, however, a profound calm kept the vessels loitering with flapping sails within a short distance of the land. This was a tantalizing delay to Columbus, who was impatient to find himself launched far upon the ocean, out of sight of either land or sail; which, in the pure atmospheres of these latitudes, may be described at an immense distance. On the following Sunday, the 9th of September, at daybreak, he beheld Ferro, the last of the Canary islands, about nine leagues distant. This was the island from whence the Portuguese caravels had been seen; he was, therefore, in the very neighbourhood of danger. Fortunately a breeze sprang up with the sun, their sails were once more filled, and in the course of the day the heights of Ferro gradually faded from the horizon.

On losing sight of this last trace of land, the hearts of the crews failed them. They seemed literally to have taken leave of the world. Behind them was every thing dear to the heart of man: country, family, friends, life itself; before them every thing was chaos, mystery, and peril. In the perturbation of the moment, they despaired of ever more seeing their homes. Many of the rugged seamen shed tears, and some broke into loud lamentations. The Admiral tried in every way to soothe their distress, and to inspire them with his own glorious anticipations. He described to them the magnificent countries to which he was about to conduct them: the islands of the Indian seas teeming with gold and precious stones; the region of Mangi and Cathay, with their cities of unrivalled wealth and splendour. He promised them land and riches, and every thing that could arouse their cupidity, or inflame their imaginations; nor were these promises made for purposes of deception, Columbus certainly believed that he should realize them all.

He now gave orders to the commanders of the other vessels, that, in the event of separation by any accident, they should continue directly westward; but that after sailing seven hundred leagues, they

should lay by from midnight until day-light, as about that distance he confidently expected to find land. In the mean time as he thought it possible he might not discover land within the distance thus assigned, and as he foresaw that the vague terrors already awakened among the seamen would increase with the space which intervened between them and their homes, he commenced a stratagem which he continued throughout the voyage. He kept two reckonings, one correct, in which the true way the ship was noted, and which was retained in secret for his own government. In the other, which was open to general inspection, a number of leagues was daily subtracted from the sailing of the ship, so that the crews were kept in ignorance of the real distance they had advanced.

On the 11th of September, when about one hundred and fifty leagues west of Ferro, they fell in with a part of a mast, which, from its size, appeared to have belonged to a vessel of about a hundred and twenty tons burden, and which had evidently been a long time in the water. The crews, tremblingly alive to every thing that could excite their hopes or fears, looked with rueful eye upon this wreck of some unfortunate voyager drifting ominously at the entrance of those unknown seas.

On the 15th of September, in the evening, being about two hundred leagues from the island of Ferro, Columbus, for the first time, noticed the variation of the needle, a phenomenon which had never before been remarked. He perceived, about night-fall, that the needle, instead of pointing to the north star, varied about half a point, or between five and six degrees to the north-west, and still more on the following morning. Struck with this circumstance, he observed it attentively for three days, and found that the variations increased as he advanced. He, at first, made no mention of this phenomenon, knowing how ready his people were to take alarm; but it soon attracted the attention of the pilots, and filled them with consternation. It seemed as if the very laws of nature were changing as they advanced, and that they were entering another world, subject to unknown influences. They apprehended that the compass was about to lose its mysterious virtues, and without this guide, what was to become of them in a vast and trackless ocean? Columbus tasked his science and ingenuity for reasons with which to allay their terrors. He told them that the direction of the needle was not to the polar star, but to some fixed and invisible point. The variation, therefore, was not caused by any fallacy in the compass, but by the movement of the north star itself, which, like the other

\* It has been erroneously stated that Columbus kept two journals; it was merely in the reckoning or log-book that he deceived the crews. His journal was entirely private, and intended for his own use and the perusal of the Sovereigns. In a letter written from Granada in 1503, to Pope Alexander VII, he says, that he had kept an account of his voyages in the style of the Commentaries of Cæsar, which he intended to submit to his Holiness.

• Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i, c. 6.

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Columbus kept two journals that he deceived and intended for his In a letter written II, he says, that he of the Commission to his Holiness.

heavenly bodies, had its changes and revolutions, and every day described a circle round the pole. The high opinion that the pilots entertained of Columbus as a profound astronomer, gave weight to his theory, and their alarm subsided. As yet the solar system of Copernicus was unknown; the explanation of Columbus, therefore, was highly plausible and ingenious, and it shows the vivacity of his mind, ever ready to meet the emergency of the moment. The theory may at first have been advanced merely to satisfy the minds of others, but Columbus appears subsequently, to have remained satisfied with it himself. The phenomenon has now become familiar to us, but we still continue ignorant of its cause. It is one of those mysteries of nature open to daily observation and experiment, and apparently simple from their familiarity, but which on investigation make the human mind conscious of its limits; baffling the experience of the practical, and humbling the pride of science.

## CHAPTER III.

## CONTINUATION OF THE VOYAGE. VARIOUS TERRORS OF THE SEAMEN.

[ 1492. ]

On the 14th of September, the voyagers were rejoiced by the sight of what they considered harbingers of land. A heron, and a tropical bird called the rabo de junco, hovered about the ships, neither of which are supposed to venture far to sea. On the following night, they were struck with awe at beholding a meteor, or, as Columbus calls it in his journal, a great flame of fire, which seemed to fall from the sky into the sea, about four or five leagues distant. These meteors, common in warm climates, and especially under the tropics, are always seen in the serene azure sky of those latitudes, falling, as it were, from the heavens; but never beneath a cloud. In the transparent atmosphere of one of those beautiful nights, where every star shines with the purest lustre, they often leave a luminous train behind them, which lasts for twelve or fifteen seconds, and may well be compared to a flame.

The wind had hitherto been favourable, with occasional, though transient, clouds and showers. They had made great progress each day, though Columbus, according to his secret plan, contrived to suppress several leagues in the daily reckoning left open to the crew.

They had now arrived within the influence of the trade wind, which, following the sun, blows steadily from east to west between the tropics, and sweeps over a few adjoining degrees of the ocean.<sup>1</sup> With this propitious breeze directly aft, they were wafted gently but speedily over a tranquil sea, so that for

many days they did not shift a sail. Columbus perpetually recurs to the bland and temperate serenity of the weather, which in this tract of the ocean is soft and refreshing, without being cool. In his artful and expressive language, he compares the pure and balmy mornings to those of April in Andalusia, and observes that they wanted but the song of the night-ingale to complete the illusion. "He had reason to say so," observes the venerable Las Casas; "for it is marvellous the suavity which we experience when half way towards these Indies; and the more the ships approach the lands, so much more do they perceive the temperance and softness of the air, the clearness of the sky, and the amenity and fragrance sent forth from the groves and forests; much more certainly than in April in Andalusia."<sup>2</sup>

They now began to see large patches of herbs and weeds floating on the surface of the water, all drifting from the west, and increasing in quantity as they advanced. Some of these weeds were such as grow about rocks, others such as are produced in rivers; some were yellow and withered, others so green as to have apparently been recently washed from land. On one of these patches was a live crab, which Columbus carefully preserved. They saw also a white tropical bird, of a kind which never sleeps upon the sea. Tunny-fish also played about the ships, one of which was killed by the crew of the Niña. Columbus now called to mind the account given by Aristotle of certain ships of Cadiz, which, coasting the shores outside of the Straits of Gibraltar, were driven westward by an impetuous east wind, until they reached a certain part of the ocean, where it was covered with vast fields of weeds, resembling sunken islands, and among which they beheld many tunny-fish. He supposed himself arrived in this weedy sea, as it had been called, from which the ancient mariners had turned back in dismay, but which he regarded with animated hope, as indicating the vicinity of land. Not that he had any idea of yet reaching the object of his search, the eastern end of Asia; for according to his computation, he had come but three hundred and sixty leagues<sup>3</sup> since leaving the Canary Islands, and he placed the mainland of India much farther on.

On the 18th of September the same weather continued: a soft steady breeze from the east filled every sail, while, to use the words of Columbus, the sea was as calm as the Guadalquivir at Seville. He had fancied that he perceived the water of the sea to grow fresher as he advanced, and he noticed this as a proof of the superior sweetness and purity of the air.<sup>3</sup>

The crews were all in high spirits, each ship striving to get in the advance, to catch the first sight of land. Alonso Pinzon hailing the Admiral from the Pinta, informed him that from the flight of a great number of birds which he had seen, and from certain indications

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. c. 36. MS.<sup>2</sup> Of twenty to the degree of latitude, the unity of distance used throughout this work.<sup>3</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. cap. 36.<sup>1</sup> The water-wagtail.<sup>2</sup> See illustrations, article WINDS.

in the northern horizon, he thought there was land in that direction. As his vessel was a fast sailer, therefore, he crowded canvas and kept in the advance.

There was, in fact, a cloudiness in the north, such as often hangs over land, and at sunset it assumed such shapes and masses that many fancied they beheld islands; there was a universal wish, therefore, to steer for that quarter: Columbus, however, was persuaded that they were mere illusions. Every one who has made a sea-voyage must have witnessed the deceptions caused by clouds resting upon the horizon, especially about sunset and sunrise; which the eye, assisted by the imagination and desire, easily converts into the wished-for land. This is particularly the case within the tropics, where the clouds at sunset assume the most singular appearances.

On the following day there were drizzling showers, unaccompanied by wind, which Columbus considered favourable signs; two pelicans also flew on board the ships, birds which he observed seldom fly twenty leagues from land. He sounded, therefore, with a line of two hundred fathoms, but found no bottom. He supposed he might be passing between islands, which lay both to the north and south; but he was unwilling to waste the present favourable breeze by going in search of them. Beside, he had confidently affirmed that land was to be found by keeping stedfastly to the west; his whole expedition had been founded on such a presumption: he should, therefore, risk all credit and authority with his people, were he to appear to doubt and waver, and to go groping blindly from point to point of the compass. He resolved, therefore, to keep one bold course, always westward, until he should reach the coast of India; and afterwards, if advisable, to seek these islands on his return.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the precaution which had been taken to keep the people ignorant of the distance they had sailed, they were now growing extremely uneasy at the length of the voyage. They had advanced much farther west than ever man had sailed before, and though already beyond the reach of succour, still they continued daily leaving vast tracts of ocean behind them, and pressing onward and onward into that apparently boundless abyss. It is true they had been flattered by various indications of land, and still others were occurring; but all mocked them with vain hopes; after being hailed with a transient joy, they passed away, one after another, and the same interminable expanse of sea and sky continued to extend before them. Even the favourable wind, which seemed as if providentially sent to waft them to the new world, with such bland and gentle breezes, was now conjured by their ingenious fears into a singular cause of alarm; for they began to imagine that the wind, in these seas, always prevailed from the east, and if so, would never permit their return to Spain.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 50. Extracts from Journal of Columbus, Navarrete, vii, 4.

Columbus endeavoured in every way to soothe these rising fears, sometimes by argument and exhortation, sometimes by awakening fresh hopes, and pointing out new signs of land. On the 20th of September, the wind veered with light breezes from the south-west. These, though adverse to their progress, had a cheering effect upon the people, as they proved that the wind did not always prevail from the east.<sup>2</sup> Several birds also visited the ships, three of which were of a small kind, which kept about groves and orchards, and which came singing in the morning, and flew away again in the evening. Their song was wonderfully cheering to the hearts of the dismayed mariners, who hailed it as the voice of land. The larger fowl, they observed, were strong of wing, and might venture far to sea, but such small birds were too feeble to fly far, and their singing showed that they were not exhausted by their flight.

On the following day there was either a profound calm, or light winds from the south-west; the sea, as far as the eye could reach, was covered with weeds, a phenomenon often observed in this part of the ocean, which has sometimes the appearance of a vast inundated meadow. This has been attributed to immense quantities of submarine plants, which grow at the bottom of the sea until ripe, when they are detached by the motion of the waves and currents, and rise to the surface.<sup>3</sup> These fields of weeds were at first regarded with great satisfaction, but at length they became, in many places, so dense and matted, as in some degree to impede the sailing of the ships, which must have been under very little head-way. The crews, ever ready to conceive the most absurd alarm, now called to mind some tale about the frozen ocean, where ships were said to be sometimes fixed immoveably. They endeavoured, therefore, to avoid, as much as possible, these floating masses, lest some disaster of the kind might happen to themselves.<sup>3</sup> Others considered these weeds as proof that the sea was growing shallower, and began to talk of lurking rocks and shoals, and treacherous quicksands, and of the danger of running aground, as it were, in the midst of the ocean, where their vessel might rot and fall to pieces, far out of the track of human aid, and without any shore where the crews might take refuge. They had evidently some confused notion of the ancient story of the sunken island of Atlantis, and feared that they were arriving at that part of the ocean where navigation was said to be obstructed by drowned lands, and the ruins of an ingulphed country.

To dispel these fears, the admiral had frequent recourse to the lead, but though he sounded with a deep sea-line, he still found no bottom. The minds

<sup>2</sup> Mucho me fué necesario este viento contrario, porque mi gente andaban muy estimulados que pensaban que no ventaban estos mares vicutos para volver á España. Journal of Columbus, Navarrete, t. i, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Humboldt, Personal Narrative, b. i, c. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 48.

of the crews, however, were soothed. They were calmed by the cause of alarm, and the incessant murmurs.

For three days summer airs from the sea was as seen heaving upon the Columbus immediately, affirming the neighbourhood became uneasy. They observed the experienced were light as not to be maintained a slugger. Every thing the regions, from the accustomed. The any constancy and had not power to ocean; there was amidst stagnant prevented, by con to their native con

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<sup>1</sup> Como la mar estaba dieldo, que, pues po taria para volver á Esp sin viento, que los aso así que muy necesari talvo el tiempo de los Moyses que los seabo varrete, t. i.



## CHAPTER IV.

CONTINUATION OF THE VOYAGE. DISCOVERY OF LAND.

[ 1492. ]

THE situation of Columbus was daily becoming more and more critical. In proportion as he approached the regions where he expected to find land, the impatience of his crews augmented. The favourable signs which had increased his confidence, were now derided by them as delusive; and there was danger of their rebelling, and obliging him to turn back, when on the point of realizing the object of all his labours. They beheld themselves with dismay still wafted onward, over the boundless wastes of what appeared to them a mere watery desert, surrounding the habitable world. What was to become of them should their provision fail? Their ships were too weak and defective even for the great voyage they had already made; but if they were still to press forward, adding at every moment to the immense expanse which already divided them from land, how should they ever be able to return, having no port where they might victual and refit?

In this way they fed each other's discontents, gathering together in the retired parts of the ship, at first in little knots of two and three, which gradually increased and became formidable, joining together and strengthening each other in mutinous opposition to the Admiral. They exclaimed against him as an ambitious desperado, who in a mad fantasy had determined to do something extravagant to render himself notorious. What to him were their sufferings and dangers, when he was evidently content to sacrifice his own life for the chance of distinction? To continue on, in such a mad expedition, was to become the authors of their own destruction. What obligation bound them to persist, or when were the terms of their agreement to be considered as fulfilled? They had already sailed far beyond the limits that man had ventured before; they had penetrated into remote seas untraversed by a sail. How much further were they to go in quest of a mere imaginary land? Were they to sail on until they perished, or until all return became impossible? Who, on the other hand, would blame them, were they to consult their safety, and turn their course homeward before it was yet too late? Would they not rather be extolled for their courage in having undertaken a similar enterprise, and their hardihood in persisting in it so far? As to any complaints which the Admiral might make of their returning against his will, they would be without weight; for he was a foreigner, a man without friends or influence. His schemes had been condemned by the learned, as idle and visionary, and had been discountenanced by people of all ranks. He had, therefore, no party on his side; but rather a large number whose pride of opinion would be gratified by his failure.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 19. Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. I. l. i. c. 10.

of the crews, however, had gradually become diseased. They were full of vague terrors and superstitious fancies; they construed every thing into a cause of alarm, and harassed their commander by incessant murmurs.

For three days there was a continuance of light summer airs from the southward and westward, and the sea was as smooth as a mirror. A whale was seen heaving up its huge form at a distance, which Columbus immediately pointed out as a favourable indication, affirming that those fish were generally in the neighbourhood of land. The crews, however, became uneasy at the calmness of the weather. They observed that the contrary winds which they experienced were transient and unsteady, and so light as not to ruffle the surface of the sea, which maintained a sluggish calm, like a lake of dead water. Every thing differed, they said, in these strange regions, from the world to which they had been accustomed. The only winds which prevailed with any constancy and force, were from the east, and they had not power to disturb the torpid stillness of the ocean; there was a risk, therefore, either of perishing amidst stagnant and shoreless waters, or of being prevented, by contrary winds, from ever returning to their native country.

Columbus continued, with admirable patience, to reason with these absurd fancies; observing that the calmness of the sea must undoubtedly be caused by the vicinity of land, in the quarter from whence the wind blew, which, therefore, had not space sufficient to act upon the surface, and to heave up large waves. There is nothing, however, that renders men so deaf to reason as the influence of terror, which multiplies and varies the forms of ideal danger a thousand times faster than the most active wisdom can dispel them. The more Columbus argued, the more boisterous became the murmurs of the crew, until, on Sunday, the 25th of September, there came on a heavy swell of the sea, unaccompanied by wind. This is a phenomenon that often occurs in the broad ocean, being either the expiring undulations of some past gale, or the movement given to the sea by some distant current of wind; it was, nevertheless, regarded with astonishment by the mariners, and dispelled the imaginary terrors occasioned by the calm.

Columbus, who considered himself under the immediate eye and guardianship of Heaven in the solemn enterprise, intimates in his journal, that this swelling of the sea seemed providentially ordered to allay the rising clamours of his crew; comparing it to that which so miraculously aided Moses when conducting the children of Israel out of the captivity of Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> Como la mar estuviese mansa y llana murmuraba la gente diciendo, que, pues por allí no habla mar grande que nunca ventaría para volver á España; pero despues alzose mucho la mar y sin viento, que los asombraba; por lo cual dice aqui el Almirante; *ai que muy necesario me fue la mar alta, que no parecia, salvo el tiempo de los Indios cuando saltaron de Egipto contra Moyses que los sacaba de captiverio.*—Journ. of Columb., Navarrete, t. 1.



Such are some of the reasonings by which these men prepared themselves for an open opposition to the prosecution of the voyage; and when we consider the natural fire of the Spanish character, impatient of control, and the peculiar nature of these crews, composed in a great part of men sailing on compulsion, we may easily imagine the constant danger there was of open and desperate rebellion. Some there were who did not scruple at the most atrocious instigations. They proposed, as a mode of silencing all after complaints of the Admiral, that, should he refuse to turn back, they should throw him into the sea, and give out, on their arrival in Spain, that he had fallen overboard while contemplating the stars and the signs of the heavens with his astronomical instruments,—a report which no one would have either the inclination or the means to controvert.<sup>1</sup>

Columbus was not ignorant of these mutinous intentions, but he kept a serene and steady countenance, soothing some with gentle words, stimulating the pride or the avarice of the others, and openly menacing the most refractory with signal punishment, should they do any thing to impede the voyage.

On the 25th of September, the wind again became favourable, and they were able to resume their course directly to the west. The airs being light, and the sea calm, the vessels sailed near to each other, and Columbus had much conversation with Martin Alonso Pinzon on the subject of the chart, which the former had sent three days before on board of the Pinta. Pinzon thought that, according to the indications of the map, they ought to be in the neighbourhood of Cipango, and the other islands which the Admiral had therein delineated. Columbus partly entertained the same idea, but thought it possible that the ships might have been borne out of their track by the prevalent currents, or that they had not come so far as the pilots had reckoned. He desired that the chart might be returned, and Pinzon, tying it to the end of the cord, flung it on board to him. While Columbus, his pilot, and several of his experienced mariners were studying the map, and endeavouring to make out from it their actual position, they were aroused by a shout from the Pinta, and looking up, beheld Martin Alonso Pinzon mounted on the stern of his vessel; who cried with a loud voice, "Land! land! Señor, I claim my reward!" pointing at the same time to the south-west, where there was indeed an appearance of land at about twenty-five leagues' distance. Upon this Columbus threw himself upon his knees and returned thanks to God, and Martin Alonso repeated the *Gloria in excelsis*, in which he was loudly joined by his own crew and that of the Admiral.<sup>2</sup>

The seamen now mounted to the mast-head or climbed about the rigging, and strained their eyes towards the south-west: all confirmed the assurance of land. The conviction became so strong, and the

joy of the people so ungovernable, that Columbus found it necessary to vary from his usual course, and stand all night to the south-west. The morning light, however, put an end to all their hopes, as to a dream. The fancied land proved to be nothing but an evening cloud, and had vanished in the night. With dejected hearts, they once more resumed their western course, from which Columbus would never have varied, but in compliance with their clamorous wishes.

For several days more they continued on with the same propitious breeze, tranquil sea, and mild, delightful weather. The water was so calm that the sailors amused themselves with swimming about the vessel. Dolphins began to abound, and flying-fish, darting into the air, fell upon the decks. The continued signs of land diverted the attention of the crews, and insensibly beguiled them onward.

On the 1st of October, according to the reckoning of the pilot of the Admiral's ship, they had come five hundred and eighty leagues west, since leaving the Canary Islands. The reckoning which Columbus showed the crew was five hundred and eighty-four, but the reckoning which he kept privately, was seven hundred and seven.<sup>3</sup> On the following day, the weeds floated from east to west; and on the third day no birds were to be seen.

The crews now began to fear that they had passed between islands, from one to the other of which the birds had been flying. Columbus had also some doubts of the kind, but refused to alter his westward course. The people began again to utter murmurs and menaces; but on the following day they were visited by such flights of birds, and the various indications of land became so numerous, that from a state of despondency they passed into one of eager expectation.

A pension of thirty crowns<sup>4</sup> had been promised by the Spanish government to him who should first discover land. Eager to obtain this reward, the seamen were continually giving the cry of land, on the least appearance of the kind. To put a stop to these false alarms, which produced continual disappointments, Columbus declared that should any one give such notice, and land not be discovered within three days afterwards, he should thenceforth forfeit all claim to the reward.

On the evening of the 6th of October, Martin Alonso Pinzon began to lose confidence in their present course, and proposed that they should stand more to the southward. Columbus still, however, refused, and continued towards the west.<sup>5</sup> Observing this difference of opinion in a person so important in his squadron as Alonso Pinzon, and fearing that chance or design might scatter the ships, he ordered that, should either of the caravels be separated from him, it should stand to the west, and endeavour, as soon

as possible, to join that the vessels should stand to the south-west, and sunset, as to the sphere is most favourable.

On the morning several of the Admiral's ships landed in the west, and ventured to proceed and forfeit all claim, ever, being a good fact. In a mast-head, and a certain signals throughout the day, turned to the west, their cloud-built, ing the promised

The crews now proportioned to the circumstances occurring, having observed a towards the south, secure of some new food and a reward which the flight of birds, by ed most of their hundred and fifty, had computed to was no appearance through some mistake, therefore, on to alter his course, tion in which the that direction for no great deviation meet the wishes of ing to his followers.

For three days further they went, were the signs of rious colours, some came flying about towards the south, flying by in the smooth sea; and seen, all bound in which floated by recently from land, was sweet and fra

All these, however, so many delusions, and when on the the sun go down forth into clamour against this obstin into a boundless

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of Columb., Primer Viage, Navarrete, t. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Navarrete, t. 1, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Equivalent to 117 dollars of the present day.

<sup>5</sup> Journal of Columb., Navarrete, t. 1, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Hist. del Almirante, t. 1.

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as possible, to join company again : directing also, that the vessels should keep near to him at sunrise and sunset, as at these times the state of the atmosphere is most favourable to the discovery of distant land.

On the morning of the 7th of October, at sunrise, several of the Admiral's crew thought they beheld land in the west, but so indistinctly that not one ventured to proclaim it, lest he should be mistaken, and forfeit all chance of the reward : the Niña, however, being a good sailer, pressed forward to ascertain the fact. In a little while a flag was hoisted at her mast-head, and a gun discharged, being the preconcerted signals for land. New joy was awakened throughout the little squadron, and every eye was turned to the west. As they advanced, however, their cloud-built hopes faded away, and before evening the promised land had again melted into air.

The crews now sank into a degree of dejection proportioned to their recent excitement, when new circumstances occurred to arouse them. Columbus having observed great flights of small field-birds going towards the south-west, concluded they must be secure of some neighbouring land, where they would find food and a resting-place. He knew the importance which the Portuguese voyagers attached to the sight of birds, by following which they had discovered most of their islands. He had now come seven hundred and fifty leagues, the distance at which he had computed to find the island of Cipango; as there was no appearance of it, he might have missed it through some mistake in the latitude. He determined, therefore, on the evening of the 7th of October, to alter his course to the west-south-west, the direction in which the birds generally flew, and continue that direction for at least two days. After all, it was no great deviation from his main course, and would meet the wishes of the Pinzons, as well as be inspiring to his followers generally.

For three days they stood in this direction, and the further they went the more frequent and encouraging were the signs of land. Flights of small birds of various colours, some of them such as sing in the fields, came flying about the ships, and then continued towards the south-west, and others were heard also flying by in the night. Tunny-fish played about the smooth sea; and a heron, a pelican, and a duck were seen, all bound in the same direction. The herbage which floated by the ships was fresh and green, as if recently from land, and the air, Columbus observes, was sweet and fragrant as April breezes in Seville.

All these, however, were regarded by the crews as so many delusions beguiling them on to destruction; and when on the evening of the third day they beheld the sun go down upon a shoreless horizon, they broke forth into clamorous turbulence. They exclaimed against this obstinacy in tempting fate by continuing on into a boundless sea. They insisted upon turning

\* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 20. Journal of Columbus, Navarrete, t. 1.

homeward, and abandoning the voyage as hopeless. Columbus endeavoured to pacify them by gentle words and promises of large rewards; but finding that they only increased in clamour, he assumed a decided tone. He told them it was useless to murmur, the expedition had been sent by the Sovereigns to seek the Indies, and happen what might, he was determined to persevere, until, by the blessing of God, he should accomplish the enterprise.

Columbus was now at open defiance with his crew, and his situation became desperate. Fortunately, however, the manifestations of neighbouring land were such on the following day as no longer to admit a doubt. Beside a quantity of fresh weeds, such as grow in rivers, they saw a green fish of a kind which keeps about rocks; then a branch of thorn with ber-

\* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 20. Las Casas, l. 1. Journal of Columbus, Navarrete Collec. t. 1, p. 19.

It has been asserted by various historians, that Columbus, a day or two previous to coming in sight of the New World, capitulated with his mutinous crew, promising, if he did not discover land within three days, to abandon the voyage. There is no authority for such an assertion, either in the history of his son Fernando or that of the Bishop Las Casas, each of whom had the Admiral's papers before him. There is no mention of such a circumstance in the extracts made from the journal by Las Casas, which have recently been brought to light; nor is it asserted by either Peter Martyr or the Curate of Los Palacios, both contemporaries and acquaintances of Columbus, and who could scarcely have failed to mention so striking a fact, if true. It rests merely upon the authority of Oviedo, who is of inferior credit to either of the authors above cited, and was grossly misled as to many of the particulars of this voyage by a pilot of the name of Hernea Perez Matheos, who was hostile to Columbus. In the manuscript process of the memorable law-suit between Don Diego, son of the Admiral, and the fiscal of the crown, is the evidence of one Pedro de Bilbao, who testifies that he heard many times that some of the pilots and mariners wished to turn back, but that the Admiral promised them presents, and entreated them to wait two or three days, before which time he should discover land. "Pedro de Bilbao oyó muchas veces que algunos pilotos y marineros querían volverse sino fuera por el Almirante que les prometió dones, les rogó esperasen dos ó tres días, y que antes del término descubriera tierra." This, if true, implies no capitulation to relinquish the enterprise.

On the other hand it was asserted by some of the witnesses in the above-mentioned suit, that Columbus, after having proceeded some few hundred leagues without finding land, lost confidence and wished to turn back; but was persuaded, and even piqued to continue, by the Pinzons. This assertion carries falsehood on its very face. It is in total contradiction to that persevering constancy and undaunted resolution displayed by Columbus, not merely in the present voyage, but from first to last of his difficult and dangerous career. This testimony was given by some of the mutinous men, anxious to exaggerate the merits of the Pinzons, and to depreciate that of Columbus. Fortunately, the extracts from the journal of the latter, written from day to day with guileless simplicity, and all the air of truth, disprove these fables, and show, that on the very day previous to his discovery, he expressed a peremptory determination to persevere, in defiance of all dangers and difficulties.

It is worthy of remark, that on the evening of the 7th of October, before Columbus changed his course to the west-south-west, he was, according to modern calculations, sailing along the twenty-sixth degree of north latitude, nearly due west. This would have taken him among the northern Duynos, or Bahama Islands, or rather, with the influence of the gulf-stream, would have carried him at once to the eastern coast of Florida. Thus the whole course of Spanish discovery might have taken a direction along the Atlantic shores of North America, and a Spanish population might have been given to the present territories of the United States.

ries on it, and recently separated from the tree, floated by them; then they picked up a reed, a small board, and, above all, a staff artificially carved. All gloom and mutiny now gave way to sanguine expectation; and throughout the day each one was eagerly on the watch, in the hopes of being the first to discover the long-sought-for land.

In the evening, when, according to invariable custom on board of the Admiral's ship, the mariners had sung the *salve regina*, or vesper hymn to the Virgin, he made an impressive address to his crew. He pointed out the goodness of God in thus conducting them by such soft and favouring breezes across a tranquil ocean, cheering their hopes continually with fresh signs, increasing as their fears augmented, and thus leading and guiding them to a promised land. He now reminded them of the orders he had given on leaving the Canaries, that, after sailing westward seven hundred leagues, they should not make sail after midnight. Present appearances authorized such a precaution. He thought it probable they would make land that very night; he ordered, therefore, a vigilant look-out to be kept from the fore-castle, promising to whomsoever should make the discovery, a doublet of velvet, in addition to the pension to be given by the Sovereigns.<sup>1</sup>

The breeze had been fresh all day, with more sea than usual, and they had made great progress. At sunset they had stood again to the west, and were ploughing the waves at a rapid rate, the Pinta keeping the lead, from her superior sailing. The greatest animation prevailed throughout the ships; not an eye was closed that night. As the evening darkened, Columbus took his station on the top of the castle or cabin on the high poop of his vessel. However he might carry a cheerful and confident countenance during the day, it was to him a time of the most painful anxiety; and now, when he was wrapped from observation by the shades of night, he maintained an intense and unremitting watch, ranging his eye along the dusky horizon, in search of the most vague indications of land. Suddenly, about ten o'clock, he thought he beheld a light glimmering at a distance. Fearing that his eager hopes might deceive him, he called to Pedro Gutierrez, gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and inquired whether he saw a light in that direction; the latter replied in the affirmative. Columbus, yet doubtful whether it might not be some delusion of the fancy, called Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, and made the same inquiry. By the time the latter had ascended the round-house, the light had disappeared. They saw it once or twice afterwards in sudden and passing gleams; as if it were a torch in the bark of a fisherman, rising and sinking with the waves: or in the hand of some person on shore, borne up and down as he walked from house to house. So transient and uncertain were these gleams, that few attached any importance to them; Columbus, however, considered them as certain signs of

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 21.

land, and moreover, that the land was inhabited.

They continued their course until two in the morning, when a gun from the Pinta gave the joyful signal of land. It was first discovered by a mariner named Rodrigo de Triana; but the reward was afterwards adjudged to the Admiral, for having previously perceived the light. The land was now clearly seen about two leagues distant, whereupon they took in sail, and lay to, waiting impatiently for the dawn.

The thoughts and feelings of Columbus in this little space of time must have been tumultuous and intense. At length, in spite of every difficulty and danger, he had accomplished his object. The great mystery of the ocean was revealed; his theory, which had been the scoff of sages, was triumphantly established; he had secured to himself a glory which must be as durable as the world itself.

It is difficult even for the imagination to conceive the feelings of such a man, at the moment of so sublime a discovery. What a bewildering crowd of conjectures must have thronged upon his mind, as to the land which lay before him, covered with darkness! That it was fruitful, was evident from the vegetables which floated from its shores. He thought, too, that he perceived in the balmy air the fragrance of aromatic groves. The moving light which he had beheld, had proved that it was the residence of man. But what were its inhabitants? Were they like those of the other parts of the globe? or were they some strange and monstrous race, such as the imagination in those times was prone to give to all remote and unknown regions? Had he come upon some wild island far in the Indian sea; or was this the famed Cipango itself, the object of his golden fancies? A thousand speculations of this kind must have crowded upon him, as, with his anxious crews, he waited for the night to pass away; wondering whether the morning light would reveal a savage wilderness, or dawn upon spicy groves, and glittering fanes, and gilded cities, and all the splendour of oriental civilization.

## BOOK IV.

### CHAPTER I.

#### FIRST LANDING OF COLUMBUS IN THE NEW WORLD.

[ 1492. ]

It was on the morning of Friday, 12th of October, 1492, that Columbus first beheld the New World. When the day dawned, he saw before him a level and beautiful island several leagues in extent, of great freshness and verdure, and covered with trees like a continual orchard. Though every thing appeared in the wild luxuriance of untamed nature, yet the island was evidently populous, for the inhabitants were seen

issuing from the shore, to the shore, where they were all peering out. They were all peering out, and their hands and gestures were all the same. Columbus made a sign to the boats to be brought to his own boat, riding the royal standard. Vincent Yanez his boats, each bearing a flag blazoned with a golden cross, the letters F. and I., and the name of Ferdinand and Isabella.

As they approached by the sight of the natives have extraordinary beheld fruits of the growing among them. The purity and sublimity of the transparency of the air gave them a wonderful effect upon their minds. No sooner did he see his knees, kissed the ground with tears of joy, than he felt the same feelings of awe and admiration. He drew his sword, and beheld a round hut, the de Escobido, not far from the rest, whose inhabitants, in the possession of the island, were giving the island to the king, and complied with the wishes now called upon a prince to give audience to him as the persons of the

The feelings of the most extravagant and considered themselves as objects of destruction; they were the favourites of fortune, most unbounded. Columbus, the Admiral, in their presence, others kissed the ground, most dutiful and now most devoted to the favours of him, as he had and honours in his hands had outraged him as it were at his feet.

<sup>1</sup> In the Tablas Chalcidicas, Columbus conceived a form of piety on this occasion, and was afterwards used by the natives as a coverlet. "Domine Iohannes Columbus, et terram, et nomen tuum, laudetur servum tuum, ut ejus hac altera mundi parte Valencia, 1689.

issuing from the woods, and running from all parts to the shore, where they stood gazing at the ships. They were all perfectly naked, and from their attitudes and gestures appeared to be lost in astonishment. Columbus made signal for the ships to cast anchor, and the boats to be manned and armed. He entered his own boat, richly attired in scarlet, and bearing the royal standard; whilst Martin Alonso Pinzon, and Vincent Yanez his brother, put off in company in their boats, each bearing the banner of the enterprise emblazoned with a green cross, having on each side the letters F. and I., the initials of the Castilian monarchs Fernando and Isabel, surmounted by crowns.

As they approached the shores, they were refreshed by the sight of the ample forests, which in those climates have extraordinary beauty of vegetation. They beheld fruits of tempting hue, but unknown kind, growing among the trees which overhung the shores. The purity and suavity of the atmosphere, the crystal transparency of the seas which bathe these islands, give them a wonderful beauty, and must have had their effect upon the susceptible feelings of Columbus. No sooner did he land, than he threw himself upon his knees, kissed the earth, and returned thanks to God with tears of joy. His example was followed by the rest, whose hearts indeed overflowed with the same feelings of gratitude. Columbus then rising, drew his sword, displayed the royal standard, and assembling round him the two Captains, with Rodrigo de Escobido, notary of the armament, Rodrigo Sanchez, and the rest who had landed, he took solemn possession in the name of the Castilian Sovereigns, giving the island the name of San Salvador. Having complied with the requisite forms and ceremonies, he now called upon all present to take the oath of obedience to him as Admiral and viceroy representing the persons of the Sovereigns.<sup>1</sup>

The feelings of the crew now burst forth in the most extravagant transports. They had recently considered themselves devoted men hurrying forward to destruction; they now looked upon themselves as favourites of fortune, and gave themselves up to the most unbounded joy. They thronged around the Admiral, in their overflowing zeal. Some embraced him, others kissed his hands. Those who had been most mutinous and turbulent during the voyage, were now most devoted and enthusiastic. Some begged favours of him, as of a man who had already wealth and honours in his gift. Many abject spirits, who had outraged him by their insolence, now crouched as it were at his feet, begging pardon for all the trouble

they had caused him, and offering for the future the blindest obedience to his commands.<sup>2</sup> The natives of the island, when, at the dawn of day, they had beheld the ships, with their sails set, hovering, on their coast, had supposed them some monsters which had issued from the deep during the night. They had crowded to the beach, and watched their movements with awful anxiety. Their veering about, apparently without effort; the shifting and furling of their sails, resembling huge wings, filled them with astonishment. When they beheld their boats approach the shore, and a number of strange beings clad in glittering steel, or raiment of various colours, landing upon the beach, they fled in affright to their woods. Finding, however, that there was no attempt to pursue nor molest them, they gradually recovered from their terror, and approached the Spaniards with great awe; frequently prostrating themselves on the earth, and making signs of adoration. During the ceremonies of taking possession, they remained gazing in timid admiration at the complexion, the beards, the shining armour, and splendid dress of the Spaniards. The Admiral particularly attracted their attention, from his commanding height, his air of authority, his dress of scarlet, and the deference which was paid him by his companions; all which pointed him out to be the commander.<sup>3</sup> When they had still further recovered from their fears, they approached the Spaniards, touched their beards, and examined their hands and faces, admiring their whiteness. Columbus, pleased with their simplicity, their gentleness, and the confidence they reposed in beings who must have appeared to them so strange and formidable, suffered their scrutiny with perfect acquiescence. The wondering savages were won by this benignity; they now supposed that the ships had sailed out of the crystal firmament which bounded their horizon, or that they had descended from above on their ample wings, and that these marvellous beings were inhabitants of the skies.<sup>3</sup>

The natives of the island were no less objects of curiosity to the Spaniards, differing, as they did, from any race of men they had ever seen. Their appearance gave no promise of either wealth or civilization, for they were entirely naked, and painted with a variety of colours. With some it was confined merely to some part of the face, the nose, or around the eyes; with others it extended to the whole body, and gave them a wild and fantastic appearance. Their complexion was of a tawny or copper hue, and they were entirely destitute of beards. Their hair was not crisped, like the recently-discovered tribes of the African coast, under the same latitude, but straight

<sup>1</sup> In the *Tablas Chronológicas* of Padre Claudio Clemente is conceived a form of prayer said to have been made by Columbus on this occasion, and which, by order of the Castilian sovereigns, was afterwards used by Balboa, Cortez, and Pizarro, in their discoveries. "Domine Deus aeterni et omnipotens, sacro tuo verbo coelum, et terram, et mare creasti; benedicatur et glorificetur nomen tuum, laudetur tua majestas, que dignata est per humilem servum tuum, ut ejus sacrum nomen agnoscat et prædicetur in hac altera mundi parte." *Tabl. Chron. de los Descub.*, decad. 4. Valencia, 1689.

<sup>2</sup> Oviedo, l. 1, cap. 6. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, l. 4, c. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Las Casas, *ubi sup.*

<sup>3</sup> The idea that the white men came from heaven was universally entertained by the inhabitants of the New World. When in the course of subsequent voyages the Spaniards conversed with the Cacique Nicaragua, he inquired how they came down from the skies, whether flying or whether they descended on clouds. Herrera, decad. 3, l. iv, cap. 3.

and coarse, partly cut short above the ears, but some locks left long behind and falling upon their shoulders. Their features, though obscured and disfigured by paint, were agreeable; they had lofty foreheads and remarkably fine eyes. They were of moderate stature and well-shaped; most of them appeared to be under thirty years of age: there was but one female with them, quite young, naked like her companions, and beautifully formed.

As Columbus supposed himself to have landed on an island at the extremity of India, he called the natives by the general appellation of Indians, which was universally adopted before the true nature of his discovery was known, and has ever since been extended to all the aboriginals of the New World.

The Spaniards soon discovered that these islanders were friendly and gentle in their dispositions, and extremely simple and artless. Their only arms were lances, hardened at the end by fire, or pointed with a flint, or the tooth or bone of a fish. There was no iron to be seen among them, nor did they appear acquainted with its properties; for, when a drawn sword was presented to them, they unguardedly took it by the edge.

Columbus distributed among them coloured caps, glass beads, hawks'-bells, and other trifles, such as the Portuguese were accustomed to trade with among the nations of the gold coast of Africa. These they received as inestimable gifts, hanging the beads round their necks, and being wonderfully delighted with their finery, and with the sound of the bells. The Spaniards remained all day on shore, refreshing themselves, after their anxious voyage, amidst the beautiful groves of the island; they did not return to their ships until late in the evening, delighted with all that they had seen.

On the following morning at break of day, the shore was thronged with the natives, who having lost all dread of what at first appeared to be monsters of the deep, came swimming off to the ships; others came in light barks which they called canoes, formed of a single tree, hollowed, and capable of holding from one man to the number of forty or fifty. These they managed dexterously with paddles, and, if overturned, swam about in the water with perfect unconcern, as if in their natural element, righting their canoes with great facility, and baling them with calabashes.\*

They showed great eagerness to procure more of the toys and trinkets of the white men, not, apparently, from any idea of their intrinsic value, but because every thing from the hands of the strangers possessed a supernatural virtue in their eyes, as having been brought with them from heaven. They even picked up fragments of glass and earthenware as valuable prizes. They had but few objects to offer in return, except parrots, of which great numbers were domesticated among them, and cotton yarn, of which they

\* The calabashes of the Indians, which served the purposes of glass and earthenware, supplying them with all sorts of domestic utensils, were produced on stately trees of the size of elms.

had abundance, and would exchange large balls of five-and-twenty pounds' weight for the merest trifle. They brought also cakes of a kind of bread called cassava, which constituted a principal part of their food, and was afterwards an important article of provisions with the Spaniards. It was formed from a great root called yuca, which they cultivated in fields. This they cut into small morsels, which they grated or scraped, and strained in a press, making it into a broad thin cake, which afterwards dried hard, would keep for a long time, and had to be steeped in water when eaten. It was insipid, but nourishing, though the water strained from it in the preparation was a deadly poison. There was another kind of yuca destitute of this poisonous quality, which was eaten in the root, either boiled or roasted.

The avarice of the discoverers was quickly excited by the sight of small ornaments of gold, which some of the natives wore in their noses. These the latter gladly exchanged for glass beads and hawks'-bells; and both parties exulted in the bargain, no doubt admiring each other's simplicity. As gold, however, was an object of royal monopoly in all enterprises of discovery, Columbus forbade any traffic in it without his express sanction; and he put the same prohibition on the traffic for cotton, reserving to the crown all trade for it, wherever it should be found in any quantity.

He inquired of the natives where this gold was procured. They answered him by signs, pointing to the south; and he understood them that in that quarter there was a king of great wealth, insomuch, that he was served in great vessels of wrought gold. He understood also, that there was land to the south, the south-west, and the north-west; and that the people from the latter frequently proceeded to the south-west in quest of gold and precious stones; and in their way made descents upon the islands, carrying off the inhabitants. Several of the natives showed him the scars of wounds which they informed him they had received in battles with these invaders. It is evident that a great part of this fancied intelligence was the mere construction of the hopes and wishes of Columbus; for he was under a spell of the imagination, which gave its own shapes and colours to every object. He was persuaded that he had arrived among those islands described by Marco Polo, as lying opposite Cathay, in the Chinese sea, and he construed every thing to accord with the account given of those opulent regions. Thus the enemies which the natives spoke of as coming from the north-west, he concluded to be the people of the mainland of Asia, the subjects of the Great Khan of Tartary, who were represented by the Venetian traveller as accustomed to make war upon the islands, and to enslave their inhabitants. The country to the south, abounding in gold, could be no other than the famous island of Cipango; and the king who was served out of vessels of gold, must be the monarch whose magnificent city and gorgeous

\* Acosta, Hist. Ind., l. iv, c. 17.

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The island where Columbus had thus, for the first time, set his foot upon the New World, was called by the natives, Guanahani. It still retains the name of San Salvador, which he gave to it, though called by the English Cat Island. The light which he had seen the evening previous to his making land, may have been on Watling's Island, which lies a few leagues to the east. San Salvador is one of the great cluster of the Guayos, or Bahama Islands, which stretch south-east and north-west, from the coast of Florida to Hispaniola, covering the northern coast of Cuba.

On the morning of the 14th of October, the Admiral set off at day-break with the boats of the ships to reconnoitre the island, directing his course to the north-east. The coast was surrounded by a reef of rocks, within which there was depth of water and sufficient harbour to receive all the ships in Christendom. The entrance was very narrow; within there were several sand banks, but the water was as still as in a pool.

The island appeared throughout to be well wooded, with streams of water, and a large lake in the centre. As the boats proceeded, they passed two or three villages, the inhabitants of which, men as well as women, ran to the shores, throwing themselves on the ground, lifting up their hands and eyes, either giving thanks to heaven, or worshipping the Spaniards as supernatural beings. They ran along parallel to the boats, calling after the Spaniards, and inviting them by signs to land, offering them various fruits and vessels of water. Finding, however, that the boats continued on their course, many of the Indians threw themselves into the sea and swam after them, and others followed in canoes. The Admiral received them all with kindness and caresses, giving them glass beads and other trifles, which were received with transport as celestial presents; for the invariable idea of the savages was, that the white men had come from the skies.

In this way they pursued their course, until they came to a small peninsula, which in two or three days might be separated from the main land and surrounded with water, and which was, therefore, specified by Columbus as an excellent situation for a fortress. On this there were six Indian cabins, surrounded by groves and gardens as beautiful as those of Castile. The sailors being wearied with rowing, and the island not appearing to the Admiral of sufficient importance to induce colonisation, he returned to the ships, taking seven of the natives with him, that they might acquire the Spanish language, and serve as interpreters.

\* Some dispute having recently arisen as to the island on which Columbus first landed, the reader is referred for a discussion of this question to the illustrations of this work, article FIRST LAND-ING OF COLUMBUS.

† Primer Viage de Colón, Navarrete, t. 1.

Having taken in a supply of wood and water, they left the island of San Salvador the same evening, the Admiral being impatient to prosecute his discoveries, so satisfactorily commenced, and above all, to arrive at the wealthy country to the south, which he flattered himself would prove the famous island of Cipro.

## CHAPTER II.

## CRUISE AMONG THE BAHAMA ISLANDS.

[ 1492. ]

On leaving San Salvador, Columbus was at a loss which way to direct his course. He beheld a great number of beautiful islands, green and level and fertile, inviting him in different directions. The Indians on board of his vessel, intimated by signs that they were innumerable, well-peopled, and at war with one another. They mentioned the names of above a hundred. Columbus immediately supposed that he had arrived among that archipelago described by Marco Polo as stretching along the coast of Asia, and consisting of seven thousand four hundred and fifty-eight islands, abounding with spices and odoriferous trees.

Delighted with the idea, he selected the largest island in sight for his next visit, which appeared to be about five leagues' distant, and where, he understood from his Indians, the natives were richer than those of San Salvador, wearing bracelets and anklets, and other ornaments of massive gold.

The night coming on, Columbus ordered that the ships should lie to, as the navigation was difficult and dangerous among this group of unknown islands, and he feared to venture upon a strange coast in the dark. In the morning they again made sail, but met with counter currents which delayed their progress, so that it was not until sunset that they anchored at the island. The next morning (16th) they went on shore, and Columbus took solemn possession, giving the island the name of Santa Maria de la Concepcion. The same scene occurred with the inhabitants as with those of San Salvador. They manifested the same astonishment and awe, the same gentleness and simplicity, and the same nakedness and absence of all wealth. Columbus looked in vain for bracelets and anklets of gold, or for any other precious articles: they had been either fictions of his Indian guides, or his own misinterpretations.

Finding that there was nothing in this island to induce delay, he returned on board, and prepared to make sail for another and much larger one, which lay to the west. At this time one of the Indians of San Salvador, who was on board of the Niña, seeing himself about to be borne away by these strangers far from his home, plunged into the sea, and swam to a large canoe filled with natives. The boat of the caravel put off in pursuit, but the Indians skimmed

the surface of the sea in their light bark with too much velocity to be overtaken, and, reaching the land, fled like wild deer to the woods. The sailors took the canoe as a prize, and returned on board of the caravel. Shortly afterwards a small canoe approached one of the ships, from a different part of the island, with a single Indian on board, who came to offer a ball of cotton in exchange for hawks'-bells. As he paused when close to the vessel, and feared to enter, several sailors threw themselves into the sea and took him prisoner.

Columbus was extremely desirous of dispelling any terror or distrust that might have been awakened in the island by the pursuit of the fugitives, or by the Indian guide who had escaped; considering it of the utmost importance to conciliate the good-will of the natives for the benefit of future voyagers. Having seen all that had passed from his station on the high poop of the vessel, he ordered the captive to be brought to him; the poor Indian was led trembling with fear, and humbly offered his ball of cotton as a gift.

The Admiral received him with the utmost benignity, and, declining his offering, put a coloured cap upon his head, strings of green beads around his arms, and hawks' bells in his ears, then ordering him and his ball of cotton to be replaced in the canoe, dismissed him, astonished and overjoyed. He ordered that the other canoe, also, which had been seized, and which was fastened to the *Niña*, should be cast loose, to be regained by its proprietors. When the Indian reached the shore, Columbus could see his countrymen thronging round him, examining and admiring his finery, and listening to his account of the kind treatment he had experienced.

Such were the gentle and sage precautions continually taken by Columbus to impress the natives with a favourable opinion of the white men. Another instance of the kind occurred after his leaving the island of Conception, when he stood for the larger island, which lay several leagues to the west. When midway across the gulf which separated the two islands, they overtook a single Indian in a canoe. He had a mere morsel of cassava bread and a calabash of water for his sea-store, and a little red paint, like dragon's blood, for his personal decoration, when he should land. They found, also, a string of glass beads upon him, such as they had given to the natives of San Salvador, which showed that he had come from thence, and was probably passing from island to island, to give notice of the ships. Columbus admired the hardihood of this simple navigator, making such an extensive voyage in so frail a bark. As the island was still distant, he ordered that both the Indian and his canoe should be taken on board; where he treated him with the greatest kindness, giving him bread and honey to eat, and wine to drink. The water being very calm, they did not reach the island until too dark to anchor, through fear of cutting their cables with rocks. The sea about these islands was so

transparent, that in the day-time they could see the bottom, and choose their ground; and so deep, that at two gun-shot distance there was no anchorage. Hoisting out the canoe of their Indian voyager, therefore, and restoring to him all his effects, they sent him joyfully to the shore, to prepare the natives for their arrival, while the ships lay to until morning.

The benevolent treatment of the poor Indian had the desired effect; the natives came in their canoes during the night, eager to see these wonderful and benignant strangers. They surrounded the ships, bringing whatever their islands afforded, fruits and roots, and the pure water of their springs. Columbus distributed trifling presents among them, and to those who came on board he gave sugar and honey.

Landing the next morning, he gave to this island the name of Fernandina, in honour of the king; it is the same at present called Exuma.

The inhabitants were similar in every respect to those of the preceding islands, excepting that they appeared more ingenious and intelligent. Some of the women wore scanty coverings or aprons of cotton, and others had mantles of the same, but for the most part they were entirely naked. Their habitations were very simple, being in the form of a pavilion or high circular tent, constructed of branches of trees, of reeds and palm-leaves. They were kept very clean and neat, and sheltered under beautiful and spreading trees. For beds they had nets of cotton extended from two parts, which they called *hamacs*, a name since adopted into universal use among seamen.

In endeavouring to circumnavigate the island, within two leagues of the north-west cape, Columbus found a noble harbour, sufficient to hold a hundred ships, with two entrances formed by an island which lay in the mouth of it. Here while the men had landed with the casks, in search of water, he refreshed himself under the shade of the groves, which he says were more beautiful than any he had ever beheld; the country was as fresh and green as in the month of May in Andalusia; the trees, the fruits, the herbs, the flowers, the very stones, for the most part, as different from those of Spain, as night from day. The inhabitants gave the same proofs as the other islanders, of being totally unaccustomed to the sight of civilized man. They regarded the Spaniards with awe and admiration, approached them with propitiatory offerings of whatever their poverty or rather their simple and natural mode of life afforded; the fruits of their fields and groves, the cotton which was their article of greatest value, and their domesticated parrots. When the Spaniards landed in search of water, they took them to the coolest springs, the sweetest and freshest runs, filling their casks, rolling them to the boats, and seeking in every way to gratify their celestial visitors.

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continual disappointment to the Spaniards, whose avarice had been whetted to the quick by the scanty specimens of gold which they had met with, and by the information of golden islands continually given by the Indians.

Leaving Fernandina, on the 40th of October, they steered to the south-east in quest of an island called Saometo, where Columbus understood, from the signs of the guides, that there was a mine of gold, and a king who dwelt in a large city and possessed great treasures, wearing rich clothing, and jewels of gold, and being sovereign of all the surrounding islands. They found this island, but neither the monarch nor the mine; either Columbus had misunderstood the natives, or they, measuring things by their own poverty, had exaggerated the paltry state and trivial ornaments of some savage chieftain. Columbus extols, however, the beauty of the island, to which he gave the name of his royal patroness Isabella.\* Delightful as were the others he had visited, he declares that this surpasses them all. Like those it was covered with trees and shrubs and herbs of unknown kind, and of rich tropical vegetation. The climate had the same soft temperature; the air was delicate and balmy; the land was higher, with a fine verdant hill; the coast of a fine sand gently laved by transparent billows.

Columbus was enchanted by the lovely scenery of this island: "I know not," says he, "where first to go," nor are my eyes ever weary of gazing on the beautiful verdure." At the south-west end of the island, he found fine lakes of fresh water, overhung with groves, and surrounded by banks covered with herbage. Here he ordered all the casks of the ships to be filled. "Here are large lakes," says he, in his journal, "and the groves about them are marvellous, and here, and in all the island, every thing is green, and the herbage as in April in Andalusia. The singing of the birds is such that it seems as if one would never desire to depart hence; there are flocks of parrots which obscure the sun, and other birds, large and small, of so many kinds, and so different from ours, that it is wonderful; and besides, there are trees of a thousand species, each having its particular fruit, and all of marvellous flavour, so that I am in the greatest trouble in the world not to know them, for I am very certain that they are each of great value. I shall bring home some of them as specimens, and also some of the herbs." Columbus was intent on discovering the drugs and spices of the East, and on approaching this island, he fancied he perceived, in the air which came from it, the spicy odours said to be wafted from the islands of the Indian seas: "As I arrived at this cape," says he, "there came thence a fragrance, so good and soft, of the flowers or trees of the land, that it was the sweetest thing in the world. I believe there are here many herbs and trees which would be of great price in Spain for tinctures, medi-

cines, and spices, but I know nothing of them, which gives me great vexation."

The fish, which abounded in these seas, partook of the novelty which characterised most of the objects in this new world. They rivalled the birds in the tropical brilliancy of their colours, the scales of some of them glancing back the rays of light like precious stones; as they sported about the ships, they flashed gleams of gold and silver through the clear waves; and the dolphins, taken out of their element, delighted the eye with the changes of colours ascribed in fable to the camelion.

No animals were seen in these islands, excepting lizards, the dogs already mentioned, a kind of coney or rabbit called "utia" by the natives, and guanacs. The last was regarded with disgust and horror by the Spaniards, supposing it to be a fierce and noxious serpent, but it was found afterwards to be perfectly harmless, and esteemed a great delicacy by the Indians.

For several days Columbus hovered about this island, seeking in vain to find its imaginary monarch, or to establish a communication with him, until, at length, he reluctantly became convinced of his error. No sooner, however, did one delusion fade away, than another succeeded. In reply to the continual inquiries made by the Spaniards, concerning the source from whence they procured their gold, the natives had uniformly pointed to the south. Columbus now began to gather information of an island which lay in that direction, and which was called Cuba, but all that he could collect concerning it from the signs of the natives was coloured, and gilded, and exaggerated by his imagination. He understood it to be of great extent, abounding in gold, and pearls, and spices, and carrying on an extensive commerce in those precious articles; and that large merchant-ships came to trade with its inhabitants.

Comparing these misinterpreted accounts with the coast of Asia, as laid down on his map, after the descriptions of Marco Polo, he concluded that this island must be Cipango, and the merchant-ships mentioned must be those of the Grand Khan, who maintained an extensive commerce in these seas. He formed his plan accordingly, determining to sail immediately for this island, and make himself acquainted with its ports, cities, and productions, for the purpose of establishing relations of traffic. He would then seek another great island called Bohio, of which the natives gave likewise marvellous accounts. His sojourn in those islands would depend upon the quantities of gold, spices, precious stones, and other objects of oriental trade which he should find there. After this he would proceed to the mainland of India, which must be within ten days' sail, seek the city Quinsai, which, according to Marco Polo, was one of the most magnificent capitals in the world; he would there deliver in person the letters of the Castilian

\* At present called Isla Larga and Exumeta.

† Primer Viage de Colon, Navarrete, c. 1.

Sovereigns to the Grand Khan, and, when he received his reply, return triumphantly to Spain with this document, to prove that he had accomplished the great object of his voyage. Such was the splendid scheme with which Columbus fed his imagination, as he was about to leave the Bahamas in quest of the island of Cuba.

## CHAPTER III.

## DISCOVERY AND COASTING OF CUBA.

[ 1492. ]

FOR several days the departure of Columbus was delayed by contrary winds and calms, attended by heavy showers, which last had prevailed, more or less, since his arrival among the islands. It was the season of the autumnal rains, which in those torrid climates succeed the parching heats of summer, commencing about the decrease of the August moon, and lasting until the month of November.

At length, at midnight, October 24th, he set sail from the island of Isabella, but was nearly becalmed until mid-day; a gentle wind then sprang up, and, as he observes, began to blow most amorously. Every sail was spread, and he stood towards the west-south-west, the direction in which he was told the land of Cuba lay from Isabella. After three days' navigation, in the course of which he touched at a group of seven or eight small islands, which he called *Islas de Arena*, supposed to be the present *Mucaras Islands*, and having crossed the Bahama bank and channel, he arrived, on the morning of the 28th October, in sight of the island of Cuba. The part which he first discovered, is supposed to be the coast to the west of *Nuevitas del Principe*.

As he approached this noble island, he was struck with its magnitude, and the grandeur of its features; its high and airy mountains, which reminded him of those of Sicily; its fertile valleys, and long-sweeping plains watered by noble rivers, its stately forests; its bold promontories, and stretching headlands, which melted away into the remotest distance. He anchored in a beautiful river, free from rocks or shoals, of transparent water, its banks overhung with trees. Here, landing, and taking possession of the island, he gave it the name of *Juana*, in honour of Prince Juan, and to the river the name of *San Salvador*.

On the arrival of the ships, two canoes had put off from the shore, but on seeing the boat approach to sound the river for anchorage, they fled in affright. The Admiral visited two cabins, abandoned by their terrified inhabitants. They contained but scanty effects; a few nets made of the fibres of the palm-tree, hooks and harpoons of bone, and a few other

fishing-implements; and one of the same kind of dogs which he had met with on the smaller islands, which never bark. He ordered that nothing should be taken away or deranged, contenting himself with noting the manner and means of living of the inhabitants.

Returning to his boat, he proceeded for some distance up the river, more and more enchanted with the beauty of the country. The forests which covered each bank were of high and wide-spreading trees; some bearing fruits, others flowers, while in some, both fruit and flower were mingled, bespeaking a perpetual round of fertility: among them were many palms, but different from those of Spain and Africa; with the great leaves of these, the natives thatched their cabins.

The continual eulogies made by Columbus on the beauty of the scenery were warranted by the kind of scenery he was beholding. There is a wonderful splendour, variety, and luxuriance in the vegetation of those quick and ardent climates. The verdure of the groves, and the colours of the flowers and blossoms, derive a vividness to the eye from the transparent purity of the air, and the deep serenity of the azure heavens. The forests, too, are full of life, swarming with birds of brilliant plumage. Painted varieties of parrots, and woodpeckers, create a glitter amidst the verdure of the grove, and humming-birds rove from flower to flower, resembling, as has well been said, animated particles of a rainbow. The scarlet flamingos, too, seen sometimes through an opening of a forest in a distant savannah, have the appearance of soldiers drawn up in battalion, with an advanced scout on the alert, to give notice of approaching danger. Nor is the least beautiful part of animated nature the various tribes of insects that people every plant, displaying brilliant coats of mail, which sparkle to the eye like precious gems.

Such is the splendour of animal and vegetable creation in these tropical climates, where an ardent sun imparts, in a manner, his own lustre to every object, and quickens nature into exuberant fecundity. The birds, in general, are not remarkable for their notes, for it has been observed that in the feathered race sweetness of song rarely accompanies brilliancy of plumage. Columbus remarks, however, that there were various kinds which sang sweetly among the trees, and he frequently deceived himself in fancying that he heard the voice of the nightingale, a bird unknown in these countries. He was, in fact, in a mood to see every thing through a fond and favouring medium. His heart was full even to overflowing, for he was enjoying the fulfilment of his hopes, and the hard-earned but glorious reward of his toils and perils. Every thing round him was beheld with the enamoured and exulting eye of a discoverer, where triumph mingles with admiration; and it is difficult to conceive the rapturous state of his feelings, while

\* The ladies of Havannah, on gala occasions, wear in their hair numbers of those insects, which have a brilliancy equal to rubies, sapphires, or diamonds.

† Journal of Columbus, Navarrete, t. i.

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† Charlevoix, Hist

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From his continual remarks on the beauty of the scenery, and from the pleasure which he evidently derived from rural sounds and objects, he appears to have been extremely open to those delicious influences, exercised over some spirits, by the graces and wonders of nature. He gives utterance to these feelings with characteristic enthusiasm, and at the same time with an artlessness and simplicity of diction of a child. When speaking of some lovely scene among the groves, or along the flowery shore of this favoured island, he says, "one could live there for ever." Cuba broke upon him like an elysium. "It is the most beautiful island," he says, "that eyes ever beheld, full of excellent ports and profound rivers." The climate was more temperate here than in the other islands, the nights being neither hot nor cold, while the birds and grasshoppers sang all night long. Indeed there is a beauty in a tropical night, in the depth of the dark blue sky, the lambent purity of the stars, and the resplendent clearness of the moon, that spreads over the rich landscape and the halmý groves a charm more touching than the splendour of the day.

In the sweet smell of the woods, and the odour of the flowers, which loaded every breeze, Columbus fancied he perceived the fragrance of oriental spices; and along the shores he found shells of the kind of oyster which produces pearls. From the grass growing to the very edge of the water, he inferred the peacefulness of the ocean which bathes these islands, never lashing the shore with angry surges. Ever since his arrival among these Antilles, he had experienced nothing but soft and gentle weather, and he concluded that a perpetual serenity reigned over these happy seas. He was little suspicious of the occasional bursts of fury to which they are liable. Charlevoix, speaking from actual observation, remarks, "The sea of those islands is commonly more tranquil than ours; but like certain people who are excited with difficulty, and whose transports of passion are as violent as they are rare, so when this sea becomes irritated, it is terrible. It breaks all bounds, overflows the country, sweeps away all things that oppose it, and leaves frightful ravages behind, to mark the extent of its inundations. It is after these tempests, known by the name of hurricanes, that the shores are found covered with marine shells, which greatly surpass in lustre and beauty those of the European seas." It is a singular fact, however, that the hurricanes, which almost annually devastate the Bahamas, and other islands in the immediate vicinity of Cuba, have been seldom known to extend their influence to this favoured land. It would seem as if the very elements were charmed into gentleness as they approached it.

In a kind of riot of the imagination, Columbus finds

at every step something to corroborate the information he had received, or fancied he had received, from the natives. He had conclusive proofs, as he thought, that Cuba possessed mines of gold, and groves of spices, and that the crystal waters of its shores abounded with pearls. He no longer doubted that it was the island of Cipango, and weighing anchor, coasted along westward, in which direction, according to the signs of his interpreters, the magnificent city of its king was situated. In the course of his voyage, he landed occasionally, and visited several villages; particularly one on the banks of a large river, to which he gave the name of Rio de los Mares. The houses were neatly built of branches of palmtrees in the shape of pavilions; not laid out in regular streets, but scattered here and there, among the groves, and under the shade of broad-spreading trees, like tents in a camp; as is still the case in many of the Spanish settlements, and in the villages in the interior of Cuba. The inhabitants fled to the mountains, or hid themselves in the woods. Columbus carefully noted the architecture and furniture of their dwellings. The houses were better built than those he had hitherto seen, and were kept extremely clean. He found in them rude statues, and wooden masks, carved with considerable ingenuity. All these were indications of more art and civilization than he had observed in the smaller islands, and he supposed they would go on increasing as he approached terra firma. Finding in all the cabins implements for fishing, he concluded that these coasts were inhabited merely by fishermen, who carried their fish to the cities in the interior. He thought also he had found the skulls of cows, which proved that there were cattle in the island; though these are supposed to have been skulls of the manati, or sea-calf, found on this coast.

After standing to the north-west for some distance, Columbus came in sight of a great headland, to which, from the groves with which it was covered, he gave the name of the Cape of Palms, and which forms the eastern entrance to what is now known as Laguna de Moron. Here three Indians, natives of the island of Guanahani, who were on board of the Pinta, informed the commander, Martin Alonso Pinzon, that behind this cape there was a river, from whence it was but four days' journey to Cubanacan, a place abounding in gold. By this they designated a province situated in the centre of Cuba; *nacan*, in their language, signifying the midst. Pinzon, however, had studied intently the map of Toscanelli, and had imbibed from Columbus all his ideas respecting the coast of Asia. He concluded, therefore, that the Indians were talking of Cublay Khan, the Tartar Sovereign, and of certain parts of his dominions described by Marco Polo. He thought he understood from them that Cuba was not an island, but terra firma, extending a vast distance to the north, and that the king who reigned in this vicinity was at war with the great khan.

\* Charlevoix, Hist. St Domingo, l. i. p. 20. Paris, 1730.

† Now called Savannah la Mar.

‡ Las Casas, lib. i, cap. 41. MS.



This tissue of errors and misconceptions, he immediately communicated to Columbus. It put an end to the delusion in which the Admiral had hitherto indulged, that this was the island of Cipango; but it substituted another no less agreeable. He concluded that he must have reached the mainland of Asia, or as he termed it, India, and if so, he could not be at any great distance from Mangi and Cathay, the ultimate destination of his voyage. The prince in question, who reigned over this neighbouring country, must be some oriental potentate of consequence; he resolved, therefore, to seek the river beyond the Cape of Palms, and despatch a present to the monarch, with one of the letters of recommendation from the Castilian Sovereigns; and after visiting his dominions, he would proceed to the capital of Cathay, the residence of the great khan.

Every attempt to reach the river in question, however, proved ineffectual. Cape stretched beyond cape; there was no good anchorage; the wind became contrary, and the appearance of the heavens threatening rough weather, he put back to a river where he had anchored a day or two before, and to which he had given the name of Rio de los Mares.

On the 1st of November, at sun-rise, he sent the boats on shore to visit several houses, but the inhabitants fled to the woods. Columbus supposed that they must have a dread of his armament, thinking it one of the scouring expeditions sent by the grand khan to make prisoners and slaves. He sent the boat on shore again in the afternoon, with an Indian interpreter on board, who was instructed to assure the people of the peaceable and beneficent intentions of the Spaniards, and that they had no connexion with the grand khan. After the Indian had proclaimed this from the boat to the savages on the beach, part of it, no doubt, to their great perplexity, he threw himself into the water and swam to shore. He was well received by the natives, and succeeded so effectually in calming their fears, that before evening there were more than sixteen canoes about the ships, bringing cotton yarn, and the other simple articles of traffic of these islanders. Columbus forbade all trading for anything but gold, that the natives might be tempted to produce the real riches of their country. They had none to offer, and were destitute of all ornaments of the precious metals, excepting one, who wore in his nose a piece of wrought silver. Columbus understood this man to say that the king lived about the distance of four days' journey in the interior; that many messengers had been despatched to give him tidings of the arrival of the strangers upon the coast; and that in less than three days' time messengers might be expected from him in return, and many merchants from the interior, to trade with the ships. It is curious to observe how ingeniously the imagination of Columbus deceived him at every step, and how he wove every thing into a uniform web of false conclusions. Poring over the map of Toscanelli, referring to the reckonings of his voyage,

and musing on the misinterpreted words of the Indians, he imagined that he must be on the border of Cathay, and about one hundred leagues from the capital of the grand khan. Anxious to arrive there, and to delay as little as possible in the territories of this inferior prince, he determined not to await the arrival of messengers and merchants, but to despatch two envoys to seek the neighbouring monarch at his residence.

For this mission he chose two Spaniards, Rodrigo de Jerez and Luis de Torres; the latter a converted Jew, who knew Hebrew and Chaldaic, and even something of Arabic, one or other of which languages Columbus supposed might be known to this oriental prince. Two Indians were sent with them as guides, one a native of Guanahani, and the other an inhabitant of the hamlet on the bank of the river. The ambassadors were furnished with strings of beads, and other trinkets, for their travelling expenses. Instructions were given them to inform the king that Columbus had been sent by the Castilian Sovereigns, a bearer of letters and a present, which he was to deliver personally, for the purpose of establishing an amicable intercourse between the powers. They were likewise instructed to inform themselves accurately about the situation and distances of certain provinces, ports and rivers, which the Admiral specified by name from the descriptions which he had of the coast of Asia. They were moreover provided with specimens of spices and drugs, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any precious articles of the kind abounded in the country. With these provisions and instructions, the ambassadors departed, six days being allowed them to go and return. Many at the present day, will smile at this embassy to a naked savage chieftain in the interior of Cuba, in mistake for an Asiatic monarch; but such was the singular nature of this voyage, a continual series of golden dreams—and all interpreted by the delusive volume of Marco Polo.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### FURTHER COASTING OF CUBA.

WHILE awaiting the return of his ambassadors, the Admiral ordered the ships to be careened and repaired. He employed himself also in collecting information concerning the country. On the day after their departure, he ascended the river in boats for the distance of two leagues, until he came to fresh water. Here landing, he climbed a hill to command a prospect over the interior. His view, however, was shut in by thick and lofty forests, of the most wild but beautiful luxuriance. Among the trees were some which he considered to be the linaloes; many were odoriferous, and he doubted not possessed valuable aromatic qualities. There was a general eagerness

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among the voyagers to find the precious articles of commerce which grow in the favoured climes of the East; and their imaginations were continually deceived by their hopes.

For two or three days the Admiral was excited by reports of cinnamon-trees, and nutmegs, and rhubarb being found; but, on examination, they all proved fallacious. He showed the natives specimens of those and various other spices and drugs which he had brought with him from Spain; and he understood from them that those articles were to be found in abundance to the south-east. He showed them gold and pearls also, whereupon several old Indians informed him that there was a country where the natives wore ornaments of them round the neck, arms, and ankles. They repeatedly mentioned the word *Bohlo*, which Columbus supposed to be the name of the place in question, and that it was some rich district or island. They mingled, however, great extravagancies with their imperfect accounts, describing nations at a distance who had but one eye; others who had the heads of dogs, and who were cannibals—cutting the throats of their prisoners and sucking their blood.

All these reports of gold, and pearls, and spices, many of which were probably fabrications to please the Admiral, tended to keep up the persuasion that there was among the valuable coasts and islands of the East. On making a fire to heat the tar for careening the ships, the seamen found that the wood they burnt sent forth a powerful odour, and, on examining it, declared that it was mastic. The wood abounded in the neighbouring forest, inasmuch that Columbus flattered himself a thousand quintals of this precious gum might be collected every year; and a more abundant supply procured than that furnished by Scio, and other islands of the Archipelago. In the course of their researches in the vegetable kingdom, in quest of the luxuries of commerce, they met with the potatoe, a humble root, little valued at the time, but a more precious acquisition to man than all the spices of the East.

On the 6th of November, the two ambassadors returned, and every one crowded to hear tidings of the interior of the country, and of the prince to whose capital they had been sent. After penetrating twelve leagues, they had come to a village of fifty houses, built similarly to those of the coast, but larger; the whole village containing at least a thousand inhabitants. They were received with great solemnity; the natives conducted them to the best house, and placed them in what appeared to be intended for chairs of state, being wrought out of single pieces of wood, into the forms of quadrupeds. They then offered them the principal articles of their food, fruits, and vegetables. When they had complied with the laws of savage courtesy and hospitality, they seated themselves on the ground around their visitors, and waited to hear what they had to communicate.

<sup>1</sup> Primer Viage de Colon, Navarrete, lxxi. p. 48.

The Israelite, Luis de Torres, found his Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic, of no avail, and the Lucayan interpreter had to be the orator. He made a regular speech, after the Indian manner, in which he extolled the power, the wealth, and munificence of the white men. When he had finished, the Indians crowded round these wonderful beings, whom, as usual, they considered more than human. Some touched them, examining their skin and raiment, others kissed their hands and feet, in token of submission or adoration. In a little while the men withdrew, and were succeeded by the women, and the same ceremonies were repeated. Some of the women had a slight covering of netted cotton round the middle, but most of the inhabitants of both sexes were entirely naked. There seemed to be something like ranks and orders of society among them, and a chieftain who had some authority; whereas in all the natives they had previously met with among the islands, a complete equality had appeared to prevail.

Such were all the traces they found of the oriental city and court which they had anticipated. There was no appearance of gold, or other precious articles; and when they showed specimens of cinnamon, pepper, and other spices, the inhabitants told them they were not to be found in that neighbourhood, but far off to the south-west.

The envoys determined, therefore, to return to the ships. The natives would fain have induced them to remain for several days; but seeing them bent on departing, a great number were anxious to accompany them, imagining they were about to return to the skies. They took with them, however, only one of the principal men, with his son, who were attended by a domestic.

On their way back, they for the first time witnessed the use of a weed, which the ingenious caprice of man has since converted into a universal luxury, in defiance of the opposition of the senses. They beheld several of the natives going about with firebrands in their hands, and certain dried herbs which they rolled up in a leaf, and lighting one end, put the other in their mouths, and continued exhaling and puffing out the smoke. These rolls they called tobacco, a name since transferred to the plant of which they were made. The Spaniards were struck with astonishment at this singular indulgence, although prepared to meet with wonders.

On their return to the ships, they gave favourable accounts of the beauty and fertility of the country. They had met with many hamlets of four or five houses, well peopled, embowered among trees, laden with unknown fruits of tempting hue and delightful flavour. Around them were fields, planted with the agi, or sweet pepper, with potatoes, with maize, or Indian corn, and with a species of lupin or pulse. There were fields, also, of a plant, the roots whereof they made their cassava-bread. These, with the fruits of their groves, formed the principal food of the natives, who were extremely frugal and simple in

their diet. There were vast quantities of cotton, some just sown, some in full growth, and some wrought into yarn, or into nets, of which they made their hammocks. Of this there was great store, both wrought and unwrought, in their houses. They had seen many birds of rare plumage, but of unknown species; many ducks, several small partridges; and, like Columbus, they had heard the song of a bird which they had mistaken for the nightingale. All that they had seen, however, betokened a primitive and simple state of society; for, with all its beauty, the country was in a wild, uncultivated state. The wonder with which they had been regarded, showed clearly that the people were strangers to civilized man, nor could they hear of any inland city superior to the one they had visited. The report of the envoys put an end to many splendid fancies of Columbus, about this barbaric prince and his capital. He was cruising, however, in a region of enchantment, over which his imagination exercised a magic power. As fast as one illusion passed away another succeeded; for, during the absence of the emissaries, the Indians had informed him, by signs, of a place to the eastward, where the people collected gold along the river banks by torch-light, and afterwards wrought it into bars with hammers. In speaking of this place they again used the words Babeque and Bohio, which Columbus, as usual, supposed to be the proper names of islands or countries. The true meaning of these words has been variously explained. It is said that they were applied by the Indians to the coast of terra firma, called also by them Caritaba. It is also said that Bohio means a house, and was often used by the Indians to signify the populousness of an island. Hence it was frequently applied to Hispaniola, as well as the more general name of Hayti, which means highland, and occasionally Quisqueya (*i. e.* the whole), on account of its extent.

The misapprehension of these, and other words, was a source of perpetual error to Columbus. Sometimes he confounded Babeque and Bohio together, as if signifying the same island; sometimes they were different, and existing in different quarters; and Quisqueya he supposed to mean Quisai or Quinsai (*i. e.* the celestial city), of which, as has already been mentioned, he had received so magnificent an idea from the writings of the Venetian traveller.

The great object of Columbus was to arrive at some opulent and civilized country of the East, where he might establish a commercial relation with its sovereign, and carry home a quantity of oriental merchandise as a rich trophy of his discovery. The season was advancing; the cool nights gave hints of approaching winter; he resolved, therefore, not to proceed further to the north, nor to linger about uncivilized places, which, at present, he had not the means of colonising. Conceiving himself to be on the eastern coast of Asia, he determined to turn to

• Muñoz, Hist. N. Mundo, c. 3.

the east-south-east, in quest of Babeque, which he trusted might prove some rich and civilized island.

Before leaving the river, to which he had given the name of Rio de los Mares, he took several of the natives to carry with him to Spain, for the purpose of teaching them the language, that in future voyages they might serve as interpreters. He took them of both sexes, having learned from the Portuguese discoverers, that the men always were more contented on the voyage, and serviceable on their return, when accompanied by females. In his own enthusiasm, and with the religious feeling of the day, he anticipated great triumphs to the faith, and glory to the crown, from the conversion of these savage nations, through the means of the natives thus instructed. He imagined that the Indians had no system of religion, but a disposition to receive its impressions; as they looked on with great reverence and attention at the religious ceremonies of the Spaniards, soon repeating by rote any prayer that was taught them, and making the sign of the cross with the most edifying devotion. They had an idea of a future state, but limited and confused; it was difficult for mere savages to conceive an idea of pure spiritual existence and delight, separate from the joys of sense, or from those beautiful scenes which have been their favourite resort while living. Peter Martyr, a contemporary of Columbus, mentions the ideas of the Indians on this subject: "They confess the soul to be immortal, and having put off the bodily clothing, they imagine it goeth forth to the woods and the mountains, and that it liveth there perpetually in caves; nor do they exempt it from eating and drinking, but that it should be fed there. The answering voices heard from caves and hollows, which the Latines call echoes, they suppose to be the souls of the departed, wandering through those places."

From the natural tendency to devotion which Columbus thought he discovered among these poor people, from their gentle natures, and their ignorance of all warlike arts, he pronounces it an easy matter to make them all devout members of the church, and loyal subjects of the crown. He concludes his speculations upon the advantages to be derived from the colonization of these parts by anticipating a great trade there for gold, which must abound in the interior; for pearls and precious stones, of which, though he had seen none, he had received frequent accounts; for gums and spices, of which he thought he had found indubitable traces; and for the cotton, which grew wild in vast quantities. Many of these articles, he observed, would probably find a nearer market than Spain, in the ports and cities of the Great Khan, at which he had no doubt of soon arriving.\*

\* P. Martyr, decad. 8, c. 9.—M. Lock's translation, 1612.

• Primer Viage de Colon, Navarrete, t. 1.

SEARCH AFTER THE  
DESIGN

ON the 12th of March, he proceeded to the eastward, in the direction of the east, another critical change, a great effect upon his proceedings far with between Cuba and days more, he was in supposing Cuba, which he continued might have had in continent, and have been carried continuing along west, might have s Yucatan, and have nations in becoming sufficient glory for C overed the New Wor reserved to give spl

He now ran along without stopping to or cities were to be would have been vi a great cape, to wh Cuba, he struck Babeque, but was a quence of a head w chored, therefore, which he gave the passed a few days e pelago of small but known as *El Jard*. The gulf studded with of Nuestra Señora lurking-place for shelter and concealed solitary harbours of were covered with Spaniards thought Columbus supposed the innumerable is Asia, and famed for the Puerto del Príncipe and conspicuous place usual sign of having

On the 19th, he arrived, but the wind springing away off to the north was seven leagues. Land was now discovered, miles distant, which he supposed to be the continent. He continued all

## CHAPTER V.

SEARCH AFTER THE SUPPOSED ISLAND OF BABEQUE.  
DESERTION OF THE PINTA.

[ 1492. ]

ON the 12th of November, Columbus turned his course to the east-south-east, to follow back the direction of the coast. This may be considered another critical change in his voyage, which had a great effect upon his subsequent discoveries. He had proceeded far within what is called the old channel, between Cuba and the Bahamas. In two or three days more, he would have discovered his mistake in supposing Cuba a part of terra firma: an error in which he continued to the day of his death. He might have had intimation also of the vicinity of the continent, and have stood for the coast of Florida, or have been carried thither by the gulf stream, or continuing along Cuba where it leads to the south-west, might have struck over to the opposite coast of Yucatan, and have realized his most sanguine anticipations in becoming the discoverer of Mexico. It was sufficient glory for Columbus, however, to have discovered the New World. Its more golden regions were reserved to give splendour to succeeding enterprises.

He now ran along the coast for two or three days without stopping to explore it. No populous towns or cities were to be seen, which, if near the sea, would have been visible from the ships. Passing by a great cape, to which he gave the name of Cape Cuba, he struck eastward, to sea, in search of Babeque, but was soon obliged to put back in consequence of a head wind and boisterous sea. He anchored, therefore, in a deep and secure harbour, to which he gave the name of Puerto del Principe, and passed a few days exploring with his boats an archipelago of small but beautiful islands in the vicinity, since known as *El Jardin del Rey*, or the king's garden. The gulf studded with these islands, he named the sea of Nuestra Señora; in modern days it has been a lurking-place for pirates, who have found secure shelter and concealment among the channels and solitary harbours of this archipelago. These islands were covered with noble trees, among which the Spaniards thought they discovered mastic and aloes. Columbus supposed these, therefore, to be a part of the innumerable islands said to fringe the coast of Asia, and famed for abounding in spices. While at the Puerto del Principe, he elevated a cross in a lofty and conspicuous place adjacent to the harbour, his usual sign of having taken possession.

On the 19th, he again put to sea in almost a calm; but the wind springing from the eastward, he stood away off to the north-north-east, and at sun-down, was seven leagues distant from Puerto del Principe. Land was now descried directly east, about sixty miles distant, which, from the signs of the natives, he supposed to be the long desired island of Babeque. He continued all night to the north-east. On the

following day, the wind continued contrary, blowing directly from the quarter to which he wished to steer. He was for some time within sight of the island of Isabella, but forebore to touch there, lest his Indian interpreters, who were from the island of Guanahani, only eight leagues from that of Isabella, might desert,—the poor savages keeping a wistful eye in the direction of their homes. Finding the wind obstinately adverse, and the sea rough, Columbus at length put his ship about to return to Cuba, making signals to his companions to do the same. The Pinta, however, commanded by Martin Alonso Pinzon, had by this time gradually worked a considerable distance to the eastward. As he could easily rejoin the other vessels with the wind astern, Columbus repeated his signals, but they were still unattended to. Night coming on, he shortened sail, and hoisted signal lights to the mast-head, thinking that Pinzon would yet join him; but when morning dawned, the Pinta was no longer to be seen.<sup>1</sup>

The fact was, that Pinzon had received extravagant accounts from one of the Indians on board of his caravel, of an island or region of great riches, to which he offered to guide him. His avarice was suddenly awakened; his vessel being the best sailer, he could easily ply to windward, while the others had to abandon the attempt. He might be the first therefore to discover this golden region, and enrich himself with its first-fruits. He had long been impatient of the domination of the Admiral, thinking himself entitled to an equality from having contributed much of the funds of the expedition. He was a veteran navigator, the oracle of the maritime community of Palos, and accustomed, from his wealth and standing, to give the law among his nautical associates. He had ill brooked, therefore, being obliged to sail in a subordinate capacity on board of his own ship, and several disputes had occurred between him and the Admiral. The sudden temptation offered to his avarice, added to his previous discontent, had been too powerful for his sense of duty. Forgetting what was due to the admiral, as his commander, he had disregarded his signals, and keeping on to the eastward, with the advantage of his superior sailing, had gradually separated himself from the squadron.

Columbus was exceedingly indignant at this desertion. Independent of its being a flagrant example of insubordination, he suspected some sinister design. Either Pinzon intended to arrogate a separate command, and separate advantages, or to hasten back to Spain and snatch the laurel of discovery. The heavy sailing of his vessel, however, rendered all attempt to pursue him hopeless: he continued on, therefore, to Cuba, to finish the exploring of its coast.

On the 24th of November he regained Point Cuba, and anchored in a fine harbour formed by the mouth

<sup>1</sup> Journal of Columbus, Navarrete Collec. t. 1, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., t. 1, cap. 27. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 29. Journal of Columbus, Navarrete, t. 1.



of a river, to which he gave the name of St Catherine. It was bordered by rich meadows, the neighbouring mountains were well wooded, there were pines tall enough to make masts for the finest ships, and noble oaks. In the bed of the river they found stones veined with gold.

Columbus continued for several days coasting the residue of Cuba, extolling in rapturous terms the magnificence, freshness, and verdure of the scenery, the purity of the rivers, and the number and commodiousness of the harbours. His description of one place, to which he gave the name of Puerto Santo, is a specimen of his vivid and artless feeling for the beauties of nature. "The amenity of this river, and the clearness of the water, through which the sand at the bottom may be seen; the multitude of palm-trees of various forms, the highest and most beautiful that I have met with, and an infinity of other great and green trees; the birds in rich plumage and the verdure of the fields, render this country, most serene Princess, of such marvellous beauty, that it surpasses all others in charms and graces, as the day doth the night in lustre. For which reason I often say to my people, that, much as I endeavour 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."<sup>1</sup>

The transparency of the water, which Columbus attributed to the purity of the rivers, is the property of the ocean in these latitudes. So clear is the sea in the neighbourhood of some of these islands, that in still weather the bottom may be seen, as in a crystal fountain, and the inhabitants dive down four or five fathoms in search of conchs, and other shell-fish, which are visible from the surface. The delicate breezes and pure waters of these islands, are among their greatest charms.

As a proof of the gigantic vegetation of these coasts, Columbus mentions the enormous size of the canoes formed from single trunks of trees. One that he saw, was capable of containing one hundred and fifty persons. Among other articles found in the Indian dwellings, was a cake of wax. Columbus took it to present to the Castilian Sovereigns, "for where there is wax," said he, "there must be a thousand other good things."<sup>2</sup> It is since supposed to have been brought from Yucatan, as the inhabitants of Cuba were not accustomed to gather wax.<sup>3</sup>

On the 5th of December, Columbus reached the eastern end of Cuba, which he supposed to be the eastern extremity of Asia; or, as he always termed it, India. He gave it, therefore, the name of Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. He was now greatly perplexed what course to take. He felt a desire to follow along the coast as it bent off to the south-west, which might bring him to the more civilized

and opulent parts of India. On the other hand, if he took this course, he must abandon all hope of finding the island of Babeque, which the Indians now said lay to the north-east, and of which they still continued to give the most marvellous accounts. It was a state of embarrassment characteristic of this extraordinary voyage, to have a new and unknown world thus spread out to the choice of the explorer, who wonders and beauties invited him on every side; but where, whichever way he turned, he might leave the true region of profit and delight behind.

## CHAPTER VI.

### DISCOVERY OF HISPANIOLA.

[ 1492. ]

On the 5th of December, while Columbus was steering at large beyond the eastern extremity of Cuba, undetermined what course to take, he descried land to the south-east, which gradually increased upon the view; its high mountains towering above the clear horizon, and giving evidence of an island of great extent. The Indians, on beholding it, exclaimed *Bohio*, the name by which Columbus understood them to designate some country which abounded in gold. When they saw him standing on in that direction, they showed great signs of terror, imploring him not to visit it, assuring him by signs, that the inhabitants were fierce and cruel, that they had but one eye, and were cannibals. The wind being unfavourable, and the nights long, during which they did not dare to make sail in these unknown seas, they were a great part of two days working up to the island.

In the transparent atmosphere of the tropics, objects are descried at a great distance, and the purity of the air and serenity of the deep blue sky give a magical effect to the scenery. Under these advantages, the beautiful island of Hayti revealed itself to the eye as they approached. Its mountains were higher and more rocky than those of the other islands, but the rocks reared themselves from among rich forests. The mountains swept down into luxuriant plains and green savannas, while the appearance of cultivated fields, with the numerous fires at night, and the columns of smoke which rose in various parts by day, all showed it to be populous. It rose before them in all the splendour of tropical vegetation, one of the most beautiful islands in the world, and doomed to be one of the most unfortunate.

In the evening of the 6th of December, Columbus entered a harbour at the western end of the island, to which he gave the name of St Nicholas, by which it is called at the present day. The harbour was spacious and deep, surrounded with large trees, many of them loaded with fruit; while a beautiful plain extended in front of the port, traversed by a fine stream of water. From the number of canoes seen in va-

rious parts, there was a great neighbourhood, but at sight of the ships. Leaving the harbour, he coasted along the north and south, and then up a rich and fertile interior, betwixt the sea and the mountains. For several days which they called *San Domingo*, which even leapt in among them several—the first fish they of their own country of the bird which the land of several others. These, by the simple to the heart, reminding their distant Andalus of the surrounding more beautiful province of this idea, Hispaniola.

There were traces of the neighbourhood of the harbour. He saw five lurking at a distance. Columbus approached. Columbus came to the interior. The fields, and traces of the mountains. Though the whole of the island, Columbus conjectured that there must be a great number of people. He had beheld the mountains, and he was lighted up on the mountains. The times of Moorish conquest, to warn them.

On the 12th of December, Columbus, in the name of the King and Queen, erected a cross at the entrance of the harbour, and taken possession. About the vicinity, the natives, who immediately pursued them, and, on overtaking a young man, brought their wildness to the surface. He was perfectly naked, and he told which she wore precious metal was taken from her teeth.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of Columbus, Navarrete, t. i.

<sup>3</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i.



rious parts, there were evidently large villages in the neighbourhood, but the natives had fled with terror at sight of the ships.

Leaving the harbour of St Nicholas on the 7th, they coasted along the northern side of the island. It was lofty and mountainous, but with green savannas and long-sweeping plains. At one place they caught a view up a rich and smiling valley that ran far into the interior, between two mountains, and appeared to be in a high state of cultivation.

For several days they were detained in a harbour which they called Port Conception; a small river emptied into it, after winding through a delightful country. The coast abounded with fish, some of which even leapt into their boats. They cast their nets, therefore, and caught great quantities, and among them several kinds similar to those of Spain, — the first fish they had met with resembling those of their own country. They heard, also, the notes of the bird which they mistook for the nightingale, and of several others to which they were accustomed. These, by the simple associations of idea which speak to the heart, reminded them strongly of the groves of their distant Andalusia. They fancied the features of the surrounding country resembled those of the more beautiful provinces of Spain, and, in consequence of this idea, the Admiral named the island Hispaniola.

There were traces of rude cultivation in the neighbourhood of the harbour, but the natives had abandoned the coast on their arrival. They at one time saw five lurking at a distance, who escaped on being approached. Columbus, desirous of establishing some intercourse, despatched six men, well armed, into the interior. They found several cultivated fields, and traces of roads and places where fires had been made, but the inhabitants had fled with terror to the mountains.

Though the whole country was solitary and deserted, Columbus consoled himself with the idea, that there must be populous towns in the interior, where the people had taken refuge; and that the fires he had beheld had been signal-fires, like those lighted up on the mountains in the old countries, in the times of Moorish war and sudden ravages of the sea-borders, to warn the peasantry to fly from the coast.

On the 12th of December, Columbus, with great solemnity, erected a cross on a commanding eminence, at the entrance of the harbour, in sign of having taken possession. As three sailors were rambling about the vicinity, they beheld a large number of the natives, who immediately took flight; but the sailors pursued them, and, with great difficulty, succeeded in overtaking a young and handsome female, and brought their wild beauty in triumph to the ships. She was perfectly naked, which was a bad omen as to the civilization of the island, but an ornament of gold which she wore in the nose, gave hope that the precious metal was to be found there. The Admiral soon soothed her terror by his kindness. He had

her clothed, and made her presents of beads, brass rings, hawks'-bells, and other trinkets, and sent her on shore accompanied by several of the crew, and three of the Indian interpreters. So well pleased was this simple savage with her finery, and so won by the kind treatment she had experienced, that she would gladly have remained with the Indian women whom she found on board. The party which had been sent with her returned on board late in the night, finding that her village was far distant, and fearing to venture inland. Confident of the favourable impression which the report given by the woman must produce, the Admiral, on the following day, despatched nine stout-hearted, well-armed men, to seek the village, accompanied by a native of Cuba as an interpreter. They found the village about four and a half leagues to the south-east, situated in a fine valley, on the banks of a beautiful river.<sup>1</sup> It contained one thousand houses, but all deserted, for they had beheld the inhabitants flying as they approached. The interpreter was sent after them, who, with great difficulty, quieted their terrors, assuring them of the goodness of these strangers, who had descended from the skies, and went about the world making precious and beautiful presents. Thus assured, the natives ventured back to the number of two thousand. They approached the nine Spaniards with slow and trembling steps, often pausing and putting their hands upon their heads, in token of profound reverence and submission. They were a well-formed race, fairer and handsomer than the natives of the other island.<sup>2</sup> While the Spaniards were conversing with them by means of their interpreter, they beheld another multitude approaching. These were headed by the husband of the female Indian who had been entertained on board of the ships the preceding evening. They brought her in triumph on their shoulders, and the husband was profuse in his gratitude for the kindness with which she had been treated, and the magnificent presents which had been bestowed upon her.

The Indians having now become more familiar with the Spaniards, and having, in some measure, recovered from their extreme fear, conducted them to their houses, and set before them cassava-bread, fish, roots, and fruits of various kinds. Learning from the interpreter that the Spaniards were fond of parrots, they brought great numbers of them which they had domesticated, and indeed offered freely whatever they possessed; such was the frank hospitality which reigned throughout the island, where, as yet, the passion of avarice was unknown. The great river which flowed through this valley was bordered with noble forests, among which were palms, bananas, and many trees covered with fruit and flowers. The air was mild as in April; the birds sang all day long, and some were even heard in the

<sup>1</sup> This village was formerly known by the name of Gros Morne, situated on the banks of the river of "Trois Rivieres," which empties itself half a mile west of Port de Paix. Navarrete. t. i.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, lib. 1, cap. 85. MS.

night. The Spaniards had not learnt as yet to account for the difference of seasons in this opposite part of the globe; they were astonished to hear the voice of this supposed nightingale singing in the midst of December, and considered it a proof that there was no winter in this happy climate. They returned to the ships enraptured with the beauty of the country; surpassing, as they said, even the luxuriant plains of Cordova. All that they complained of was, that they saw no signs of riches among the natives: And here it is impossible to refrain from dwelling on the picture given by the first discoverers, of the state of manners in this eventful island before the arrival of the white men. According to their accounts, the people of Hayti existed in that state of primitive and savage simplicity, which some philosophers have fondly pictured as the most enviable on earth; surrounded by natural blessings, without even a knowledge of artificial wants. The fertile earth produced the chief part of their food almost without culture, their rivers and sea-coast abounded with fish, and they caught the utia, the guana, and a variety of birds. This, to beings of their frugal and temperate habits, was great abundance; and what nature furnished thus spontaneously they willingly shared with all the world. Hospitality, we are told, was with them a law of nature universally observed; there was no need of being known to receive its succours, every house was as open to the stranger as his own. Columbus, too, in a letter to Luis de St Angel, observes, "True it is that after they felt confidence, and lost their fear of us, they were so liberal with what they possessed, that it would not be believed by those who had not seen it. If any thing was asked of them, they never said no, but rather gave it cheerfully, and showed as much amity as if they gave their very heart; and whether the thing were of value, or of little price, they were content with whatever was given in return. \* \* \* In all these islands it appears to me that the men are content with one wife, but they give twenty to their chieftain or king. The women seem to work more than the men; and I have not been able to understand whether they possess individual property; but rather think that whatever one has all the rest share, especially in all articles of provisions."

One of the most pleasing descriptions of the inhabitants of this island is given by old Peter Martyr, who gathered it, as he says, from the conversations of the Admiral himself. "It is certain," says he, "that the land among these people is as common as the sun and water; and that 'mine and thine,' the seeds of all mischief, have no place with them. They are content with so little, that in so large a country they have rather superfluity than scarceness; so that they seem to live in the golden world, without toil, living in open gardens; not entrenched with dykes,

divided with hedges, or defended with walls. They deal truly one with another, without laws, without books, and without judges. They take him for an evil and mischievous man, who taketh pleasure in doing hurt to another; and albeit they delight not in superfluities, yet they make provision for the increase of such roots whereof they make their bread, contented with such simple diet, whereby health is preserved and disease avoided."

Much of this picture may be overcoloured by the imagination, but it is generally confirmed by contemporary historians. They all concur in representing the life of these islanders as approaching to the golden state of poetical felicity; living under the absolute but patriarchal and easy rule of their caciques, free from pride, with few wants, an abundant country, a happily-tempered climate, and a natural disposition to careless and indolent enjoyment.

## CHAPTER VII.

### COASTING OF HISPANIOLA.

[ 1492. ]

WHEN the weather became favourable, Columbus made another attempt, on the 14th of December, to find the island of Babeque, but was again baffled by adverse winds. In the course of this attempt, he visited an island lying opposite to the harbour of Conception, to which, from its abounding in turtle, he gave the name of Tortugas. The natives had fled to the rocks and forests, and alarm-fires blazed along the heights, from which circumstance he inferred that they were more subject to invasion than the other islands. The country was so beautiful, that he gave to one of the valleys the name of Valle de Paraiso, or the Vale of Paradise; and called a fine stream the Guadalquivir, after that renowned river which flows through some of the fairest provinces of Spain.<sup>1</sup> Setting sail on the 16th of December at midnight, Columbus steered again for Hispaniola. When halfway across the gulf which separates the islands he perceived a canoe navigated by a single Indian, and, as on a former occasion, was astonished at his hardihood in venturing so far from land in so frail a bark, and at his adroitness in keeping it above water, as the wind was fresh, and there was some sea running. He ordered both him and his canoe to be taken on board; and having anchored near a village on the coast of Hispaniola, at present known as Puerto de Paz, he sent him on shore well regaled and enriched with various presents.

In the early intercourse with these people kindness never seems to have failed in its effect. The favourable accounts given by this Indian, and by those with whom the Spaniards had communicated in their pre-

vious landings, dispelled the doubts which were visited by a friendly intercourse. From this chieftain had further information which was described. No mention is after does it appear that tempt to seek it. N

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While detained a- Columbus was visit- rently great importa- on a sort of litter, h- his subjects. The- arrived, the young- remain without, and- beside Columbus, n- any ceremony. C- him, who appeared- seated themselves- given him to eat on- sent it to his follow- gravity and dignit- counsellors watchin- communicating his ide- Admiral with a b- pieces of gold. Co- several amber-bead- orange-flower water- on which were the- and endeavoured to- grandeur of those s- royal banners and- all in vain to alter- these symbols; the- lieve that there wa- duced these wond- he joined in the cor- more than mortal- reigns they talked- skies.

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<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix, Hist. St Dominge, l. i.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Columbus to Luis de St Angel, Navarrete, t. i, p. 167.

<sup>1</sup> P. Martyr, decad. l. i. iii. Transl. of Richard Eden, 1535.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of Columbus, Navarrete Collec., t. i.

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vious landings, dispelled the fears of the islanders. A friendly intercourse soon took place, and the ships were visited by a cacique of the neighbourhood. From this chieftain and his counsellors, Columbus had further information of the island of Babeque, which was described as lying at no great distance. No mention is afterwards made of this island, nor does it appear that Columbus made any further attempt to seek it. No such island exists in the ancient charts, and it is probable that this was one of the numerous misinterpretations of Indian words, which led Columbus and others of the first discoverers into so many fruitless researches. The people of Hispaniola appeared handsomer to Columbus than any he had yet met with, and of a gentle and peaceable disposition. Some of them had trifling ornaments of gold, which they readily gave away or exchanged for any trifle. The country was finely diversified with lofty mountains and fine valleys, which stretched away inland as far as the eye could reach. The mountains were of such easy ascent, that the highest of them might be ploughed with oxen, and the luxuriant growth of the forests manifested the fertility of the soil. The valleys were watered by numerous clear and beautiful streams; they appeared to be cultivated in many places, and to be fitted for grain, for orchards, and pasturage.

While detained at this harbour by contrary winds, Columbus was visited by a young cacique of apparently great importance. He was borne by four men on a sort of litter, and attended by two hundred of his subjects. The Admiral being at dinner when he arrived, the young chieftain ordered his followers to remain without, and entering the cabin, took his seat beside Columbus, not permitting him to rise or use any ceremony. Only two old men entered with him, who appeared to be his counsellors, and who seated themselves at his feet. If any thing were given him to eat or drink, he merely tasted it, and sent it to his followers, maintaining an air of great gravity and dignity. He spoke but little, his two counsellors watching his lips, and catching and communicating his ideas. After dinner he presented the Admiral with a belt curiously wrought, and two pieces of gold. Columbus gave him a piece of cloth, several amber-heads, coloured shoes, and a flask of orange-flower water; he showed him Spanish coin, on which were the likenesses of the king and queen, and endeavoured to explain to him the power and grandeur of those sovereigns; he displayed, also, the royal banners and the standard of the cross: it was all in vain to attempt to convey any clear idea by these symbols; the cacique could not be made to believe that there was a region on the earth which produced these wonderful people and wonderful things; he joined in the common idea that the Spaniards were more than mortal, and that the country and sovereigns they talked of must exist somewhere in the skies.

In the evening the cacique was sent on shore in

the boat with great ceremony, and a salute fired in honour of him. He departed in the state in which he had come, carried on a litter, accompanied by a great concourse of his subjects; not far behind him was his son, borne and escorted in like manner, and his brother on foot, supported by two attendants. The presents which he had received from the Admiral were carried before him with great ceremony.

They procured but little gold in this place, though whatever ornaments the natives possessed they readily gave away. The region of promise still lay farther on, and one of the old counsellors of the cacique told Columbus that he would soon arrive at islands rich in the precious ore. Before leaving this place, the Admiral caused a large cross to be erected in the centre of the village, and from the readiness with which the Indians assisted, and their implicit imitation of the Spaniards in their acts of devotion, he inferred that it would be an easy matter to convert them all to Christianity.

On the 19th of December they made sail before day-light, but with unfavourable wind, and on the evening of the 20th they anchored in a fine harbour, to which Columbus gave the name of St. Thomas, supposed to be what at present is called the Bay of Acùl. It was surrounded by a beautiful and well-peopled country. The inhabitants came off to the ships, some in canoes, some swimming, bringing fruits of various unknown kinds, of great fragrance and flavour. These they gave freely, with whatever else they possessed, especially their golden ornaments, which they saw were particularly coveted by the strangers. There was a remarkable frankness and generosity about these people; they had no idea of traffic, but gave away every thing with spontaneous liberality. Columbus would not permit his people, however, to take advantage of this free disposition, but ordered that something should always be given in exchange. Several of the neighbouring caciques visited the ships, bringing presents, and inviting the Spaniards to their villages, where, on going to land, they were most hospitably entertained.

On the 22d of December a large canoe filled with natives came on a mission from a grand cacique named Guacanagari, who commanded all that part of the island. A principal servant of that chieftain came in the canoe, bringing the Admiral a present of a broad belt, wrought ingeniously with coloured beads and bones, and a wooden mask, the eyes, nose, and tongue of which were of gold. He delivered also a message from the cacique, begging that the ships might come opposite to his residence, which was on a part of the coast a little further to the eastward. The wind preventing an immediate compliance with this invitation, the Admiral sent the notary of the squadron, with several of the crew, to visit the cacique. He resided in a town, situated on a river, at what they called Punta Santa, at present Point Honorata. It was the largest and best-built town they had yet seen. The cacique received them

in a kind of public square, which had been swept and prepared for the occasion, and treated them with great honour, giving to each a dress of cotton. The inhabitants crowded round them, bringing provisions and refreshments of various kinds. The seamen were received into their houses as distinguished guests; they gave them garments of cotton, and whatever else appeared to have value in their eyes, asking nothing in return; but if any thing were given, appearing to treasure it up as a sacred relic.

The cacique would have detained them all night, but their orders obliged them to return. On parting with them, he gave them presents of parrots and of pieces of gold for the Admiral; and they were attended to their boats by a crowd of the natives, carrying the presents for them, and vying with each other in rendering them service.

During their absence, the Admiral had been visited by a great number of canoes and several inferior caciques; all assured him that the island abounded with wealth; they talked, especially, of a region in the interior, further to the east, which they called Cibao, the cacique of which, as far as they could be understood, had banners of wrought gold. Columbus, deceiving himself as usual, fancied that this name Cibao must be a corruption of Cipango, and that this chieftain with golden banners must be identical with the magnificent prince of that island, mentioned by Marco Polo.\*

## CHAPTER VIII.

### SHIPWRECK.

[ 1492. ]

ON the morning of the 24th of December, Columbus set sail from Port Conception before sunrise, and steered to the eastward, with an intention of anchoring at the harbour of the cacique Guacanagari. The wind was from the land, but so light as scarcely to fill the sails, and the ships made but little progress. At eleven o'clock at night, being Christmas-eve, they were within a league or a league and a half of the residence of the cacique; and Columbus, who had hitherto kept watch, finding the sea calm and smooth, and the ship almost motionless, retired to take a little rest, not having slept the preceding night. He was, in general, extremely wakeful on his coasting voyages, passing whole nights upon deck in all weathers; never trusting to the watchfulness of others, where there was any difficulty or danger to be provided against. In the present instance he felt perfectly secure; not merely on account of the profound calm, but because the boats on the preceding day, in their visit to the cacique, had reconnoitred the coast,

\* Journal of Columbus, Navarrete Collec., t. i. Hist. del Almirante, c. 31, 32. Herrera, d. i. lib. i, c. 15, 16.

and had reported that there were neither rocks nor shoals in their course.

Never was the importance of the eye of a commander more clearly illustrated. No sooner had the vigilant Admiral retired, than the steersman gave the helm in charge to one of the ship-boys, and went to sleep. This was in direct violation of one of the invariable orders of the Admiral, that the helm should never be intrusted to the boys. The rest of the mariners who had the watch, took like advantage of the absence of Columbus, and in a little while the whole crew was buried in sleep. While this security reigned over the ship, the treacherous currents, which run swiftly along this coast, carried her quickly, but with force, upon a sand-bank. The heedless boy had not noticed the breakers, although they made a roaring that might have been heard a league. No sooner, however, did he feel the rudder strike, and hear the tumult of the rushing sea, than he began to cry for aid. Columbus, whose careful thoughts never permitted him to sleep profoundly, was the first to take the alarm and mount the deck. The master of the ship, whose duty it was to have been on watch, next made his appearance, followed by others of the crew, half awake, and unconscious of the peril of their situation. The Admiral ordered them to take the boat and carry out an anchor astern, that they might endeavour to warp the vessel off. The master and the sailors sprang into the boat; but they were confused and seized with a panic, as men are apt to be when suddenly awakened by an alarm. Instead of obeying the commands of Columbus, they rowed off to the other caravel, which was about half a league to windward; while he, supposing that they were carrying out the anchor, trusted soon to get the vessel in deep water.

When the boat arrived at the caravel, and made known the perilous state in which they had left their vessel, they were reproached with their pusillanimous desertion, and refused admission. The commander and several of his crew, manning their boat, hastened to the assistance of the Admiral, and were followed by the recreant master and his companions, covered with shame and confusion.

They arrived too late to save the ship, for the violent current had set her more and more upon the bank. The Admiral seeing that his boat had deserted him, that the ship had swung across the stream, and that the water was continually gaining upon her, had ordered the mast to be cut away, in the hope of lightening her sufficiently to float her off. Every effort was in vain. The keel was firmly bedded in the sand; the shock had opened several seams; while the swell of the breakers striking her broadside, left her each moment more and more aground, until she fell over on one side. Fortunately the weather continued calm, otherwise the ship must have gone to pieces, and the whole crew might have perished amidst the currents and breakers.

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## CHAPTER IX.

## TRANSACTIONS WITH THE NATIVES.

[ 1492. ]

The Admiral and her men took refuge on board the caravel. Diego de Arana, chief judge of the armament, and Pedro Gutierrez, the King's butler, were immediately sent on shore as envoys to the cacique Guacanagari, to inform him of the intended visit of the Admiral, and of his disastrous shipwreck. In the mean time, as a light wind had sprung up from shore, and the Admiral was ignorant of his situation, and of the rocks and banks that might be lurking around him, he lay to until night.

The habitation of the cacique was about a league and a half from the wreck. When Guacanagari heard of the misfortune of his guest, he manifested the utmost affliction, and even shed tears. He immediately sent all his people, with all the canoes, large and small, that could be mustered; and so active were they in their assistance, that in a little while the vessel was unloaded. The cacique himself, and his brothers and relations, rendered all the aid in their power, both on sea and land; keeping vigilant guard that everything should be conducted with order, and the property rescued from the wreck be preserved with inviolable fidelity. From time to time he sent some one of his family, or some principal person of his attendants, to condole with the Admiral, and to entreat him not to be distressed, for that everything he possessed should be at his disposal.

Never, in civilized country, were the vaunted rites of hospitality more scrupulously observed, than by this uncultured savage. All the effects landed from the ships were deposited near his dwelling; and an armed guard surrounded them all night, until houses could be prepared in which to store them. There seemed, however, even among the common people, no disposition to take advantage of the misfortune of the stranger. Although they beheld, what must in their eyes have been inestimable treasures, cast, as it were, upon their shores, and open to depredation, yet there was not the least attempt to pilfer, nor, in transporting the effects from the ships, had they appropriated the most trifling article. On the contrary, a general sympathy was visible in their countenances and actions; and to have witnessed their concern, one would have supposed the misfortune had happened to themselves.

"So loving, so tractable, so peaceable are these people," says Columbus in his journal, "that I swear to your Majesties, there is not in the world a better nation, nor a better land. They love their neighbours as themselves; and their discourse is ever sweet and gentle, and accompanied with a smile; and though it is true that they are naked, yet their manners are decorous and praise-worthy."

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 32. Las Casas, lib. i. c. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. del Almirante.

On the 26th of December, Guacanagari came on board of the caravel Niña, to visit the Admiral; and observing him to be very much dejected, the compassionate heart of the cacique was so much moved, that he shed tears. He repeated the message which he had sent, entreating Columbus not to be cast down by his misfortune, and offering every thing he possessed, that might render him aid or consolation. He had already given three houses to shelter the Spaniards, and to receive the effects landed from the wreck, and he offered to furnish more if necessary.

While they were conversing, a canoe arrived from another part of the island, bringing pieces of gold to be exchanged for hawks'-bells. There was nothing upon which the natives set so much value as upon these toys. The Indians were extravagantly fond of the dance, which they sometimes performed to the cadence of certain songs, accompanied by the sound of a kind of drum, made from the trunk of a tree, and the rattling of hollow bits of wood; but when they hung the hawks'-bells about their persons, and heard the clear musical sound responding to the movements of the dance, nothing could exceed their wild delight.

The sailors who came from the shore, informed the Admiral that considerable quantities of gold had been brought to barter, and large pieces were eagerly given for the merest trifle. This information had a cheering effect upon Columbus. The attentive cacique, perceiving the lighting up of his countenance, inquired into what the sailors had communicated. When he learned its purport, and found that the Admiral was extremely desirous of procuring gold, he assured him, by signs, that there was a place not far off, among the mountains, where it abounded to such a degree as to be held in little value. He promised to procure him from thence as much as he desired. The place to which he alluded, and which he called Cibao, was, in fact, a mountainous region which the Spaniards afterwards found to contain valuable mines; but Columbus still confounded the name with that of Cipango.

Guacanagari dined on board of the caravel with the Admiral, after which he invited him on shore to visit his residence. Here he had prepared a collation, as choice and abundant as his simple means afforded, consisting of utias, or coney, fish, roots, and the various fruits with which the island abounded. The generous cacique did everything in his power to honour his guest, and cheer him under his misfortune, showing a warmth of sympathy, yet delicacy of attention, which could not have been expected from his savage state. Indeed there was a degree of innate dignity and refinement displayed in his manners,

<sup>3</sup> Primer Viaje de Colon, Navarrete, t. i. p. 114.



that often surprised the Spaniards. He was remarkably nice and decorous in his mode of eating, which was slow and with moderation, washing his hands when he had finished, and rubbing them with sweet and odoriferous herbs, which Columbus supposed was done to preserve their delicacy and softness. He was served with great deference by his subjects, and conducted himself towards them with a gracious and prince-like majesty. His whole deportment, in the enthusiastic eyes of Columbus, betokened the inborn grace and dignity of lofty lineage.\*

In fact, the sovereignty among the people of this island was hereditary, and they had a simple but sagacious mode of maintaining, in some degree, the verity of descent. On the death of a cacique, without children, his authority passed to those of his sisters, in preference to those of his brothers, being considered most likely to be of his blood; for they observed, that a brother's reputed children may by accident have no consanguinity with their uncle: but those of his sister must certainly be the children of their mother. The form of government was completely despotic; the caciques had entire control over the lives, the property, and even over the religion of their subjects. They had few laws, and ruled according to their judgment and their will; but they ruled mildly, and were implicitly and cheerfully obeyed. Throughout the course of the disastrous history of these islanders, after their discovery by the Europeans, there are continual proofs of their affectionate and devoted fidelity to their caciques.

After the collation, Guacanagari conducted Columbus to the beautiful groves which surrounded his residence. They were attended by upwards of a thousand of the natives, all perfectly naked. Under the shade of their groves, the natives performed several of their national games and dances, which Guacanagari had ordered to amuse the melancholy of his guest.

When the Indians had finished their games, Columbus gave them an entertainment in return, calculated at the same time to impress them with a formidable idea of the military power of the Spaniards. He sent on board the caravel for a Moorish bow and a quiver of arrows, and a Castilian who had served in the wars of Granada, and was skilful in the use of them. When the cacique beheld the accuracy with which this man used his weapons, he was greatly surprised, being himself of an unwarlike character, and little accustomed to the use of arms. He told the Admiral that the Caribs, who often made descents upon his territory, and carried off his subjects, were likewise armed with bows and arrows. Columbus assured him of the protection of the Castilian monarchs, who would destroy the Caribs, for he let him know that he had weapons far more tremendous, against which there was no defence. In proof of this, he ordered a bombard or heavy cannon,

\* Las Casas, l. i, c. 70, MS. Primer Viage de Colon, Navarrete, lxxi. p. 114.

and an arquebuse to be discharged. At the sound of these weapons, the Indians fell to the ground as though they had been struck by a thunderbolt; and when they saw the effect of the ball, rending and shivering the trees like a stroke of lightning, they were filled with dismay. On being told, however, that the Spaniards would defend them with these arms, against the invasions of their dreaded enemies the Caribs, their alarm was changed into confident exultation, for they considered themselves under the protection of the sons of heaven, who had come from the skies armed with thunder and lightning.

The cacique now presented Columbus with several of his national jewels, a mask carved of wood, with the eyes, ears, and various other parts of gold; he hung plates of the same metal round his neck, and placed a kind of golden coronet upon his head. He displayed also the natural munificence of his disposition, by dispensing various presents among the followers of the Admiral; acquitting himself in all things, in his simple and savage state, in a manner that would have done honour to an accomplished prince in civilized life.

Whatever trifles Columbus gave in return, were regarded with reverence as celestial gifts. The Indians, in admiring the articles of European manufacture, continually repeated the word *turey*, which in their language signifies heaven. They pretended to distinguish the different qualities of gold by the smell; in the same way, when any article of tin, of silver, or other white metal was given them, to which they were unaccustomed, they smelt it and declared it "turey" of excellent quality. Every thing in fact, from the hands of the Spaniards, was precious in their eyes; a rusty piece of iron, an end of a strap, a head of a nail, every thing had an occult and supernatural value and smell of turey. Hawks'-bells, however, were by them sought with a mania only equalled by that of the Spaniards for gold. They could not contain their ecstasies at the sound, dancing and playing a thousand antics. On one occasion an Indian gave half a handful of gold-dust in exchange for one of these toys; and no sooner was he in possession of it, than he, bounded away to the woods, looking often behind him, and fearful that the Spaniards would repent of having parted so cheaply with such an inestimable jewel.†

The extreme kindness of the cacique, the gentleness of his people, the quantities of gold which were daily brought to be exchanged for the veriest trifles; and the information continually received of sources of wealth in the bosom of this beautiful island, all contributed to console the Admiral for the misfortune he had suffered.

The shipwrecked crew also, living on shore, and mingling freely with the natives, became fascinated with their easy and idle mode of life. Exempted by their simplicity from the painful cares and toils which civilized man inflicts upon himself by his many artifi-

† Las Casas, l. i, c. 70, MS.

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cial wants, the existence of these islanders seemed to the Spaniards like a pleasant dream. They disquieted themselves about nothing. A few fields, cultivated almost without labour, furnished the roots and vegetables which formed a great part of their diet. Their rivers and coasts abounded with fish; their trees were laden with fruits of golden or blushing hue, and heightened by a tropical sun to delicious flavour and fragrance. Softened by the indulgence of nature, a great part of their day was passed in indolent repose, in that luxury of sensation inspired by a serene sky and a voluptuous climate; and in the evenings they danced in their fragrant groves, to their national songs, or the rude sound of their sylvan drums.

Such was the indolent and holiday life of these simple people; which, if it had not the great scope of enjoyment, nor the high-seasoned poignancy of pleasure which attends civilization, was certainly destitute of most of its artificial miseries. The venerable Las Casas, speaking of their perfect nakedness, observes, it seemed almost as if they were existing in the state of primeval innocence of our first parents, before their fall brought sin into the world. He might have added, that they seemed exempt likewise from the penalty inflicted on the children of Adam, that they should eat their bread by the sweat of their brow.

When the Spanish mariners looked back upon their toilsome and painful life, and reflected on the cares and hardships that must still be their lot if they returned to Europe, it is no wonder that they regarded with a wistful eye the easy and idle existence of these Indians. Wherever they went they met with caressing hospitality. The men were simple, frank, and cordial; the women loving and compliant, and prompt to form those connexions which anchor the most wandering heart. They saw gold glittering around them, to be had without labour, and every enjoyment to be procured without cost. Captivated by these advantages, many of the seamen surrounded the Admiral; they represented the difficulties and sufferings which they must encounter on a return voyage, where so many would be crowded in a small caravel, and they entreated permission to remain in the island.\*

could spare provisions enough to maintain a small garrison for a year. The people who thus remained in the island could explore it, and make themselves acquainted with its mines, and other sources of wealth; they might, at the same time, procure by traffic a large quantity of gold from the natives; they could learn their language, and accustom themselves to their habits and manners, so as to be of great use in future intercourse. In the mean time, the Admiral would return to Spain, report the success of his enterprise, and bring out reinforcements.

No sooner did this idea break upon the mind of Columbus, than he set about accomplishing it with his accustomed promptness and celerity. The wreck was broken up and brought piecemeal to shore, and a site chosen, and preparations made for the erection of a tower. When Guacanagari was informed of the intentions of the Admiral to leave a part of his men for the defence of the island from the Caribs, while he returned to his country for more, he was greatly overjoyed. His subjects manifested equal delight in the idea of retaining those wonderful people among them; and at the prospect of the future arrival of the Admiral, with ships freighted with hawks'-bells and other precious articles. They eagerly lent their assistance in building the fortress—little dreaming that they were assisting to place on their necks the galling yoke of perpetual and toilsome slavery.

The preparations for the fortress were scarcely commenced, when a report was brought by certain Indians that the caravel *Pinta* had anchored in a river at the eastern end of the island. Columbus immediately procured a canoe from Guacanagari, navigated by several Indians, in which he sent a Spaniard, with a letter to Pinzon, making no complaints of his desertion, but urging him to join company immediately.

After three days' absence the canoe returned, having coasted the island for twenty leagues, without having seen or heard any thing of the *Pinta*; and though the Admiral immediately afterwards had further reports of her being to the eastward, he gave them no credit.

The desertion of this vessel was a source of great anxiety to Columbus, and altered all his plans. Should Pinzon return to Spain before him, he would doubtless seek to excuse his conduct by injurious misrepresentations, detrimental to his future expeditions. He might even try to forestall him with the public, and bear off the glory of the discovery. Should the *Pinta* be lost, the situation of Columbus was still more critical. But one ship of the three would then be surviving, and that one an indifferent sailer. On the precarious return of that crazy bark, across an immense expanse of ocean, depended the ultimate success of his expedition. Should that one likewise perish, every record of his great discovery would be swallowed up with it; the obscurity of his fate would perhaps deter all future enterprise, and the New World would remain, as heretofore, unknown. He durst not risk such an event by prolonging his voyage, and exploring those

## CHAPTER X.

## BUILDING OF THE FORTRESS OF LA NAVIDAD.

[ 1492. ]

The solicitude expressed by many of his people to be left behind, added to the friendly and pacific character of the natives, now suggested to Columbus the idea of forming the germ of a future colony. The wreck of the caravel would afford abundant materials to construct a fortress, which might be defended by her guns, and supplied with her ammunition; and he

\* Primer Viage de Colon, Navarrete, lxxi, p. 416.

magnificent regions which seemed to be inviting him on every hand. He determined, therefore, to lose no time in returning direct to Spain.

While the fortress was building, the Admiral continued to receive every day new proofs of the amity and kindness of Guacanagari. Whenever he went on shore, to superintend the works, he was entertained in the most hospitable manner by that chieftain. He had the largest house in the place prepared for his reception, strewed or carpeted with palm leaves, and furnished with low stools, of a black and shining wood that looked like jet. When he received the Admiral, it was always in a style of princely generosity, hanging around his neck some jewel of gold, or making him some present of similar value.

On one occasion, he came to meet him on his landing, attended by five tributary caciques, each carrying a coronet of gold; they conducted him, with great deference, to the house already mentioned, where, seating him in one of the chairs, Guacanagari took off his own coronet of gold and placed it upon his head: Columbus in return took from his neck a collar of fine-coloured beads, which he put round that of the cacique; he invested him in a mantle of fine cloth, which he wore, gave him a pair of coloured boots, and put on his finger a large silver ring, upon which metal the Indians set a great value, it not being found in their island. Such were the acts of kindness and amity continually interchanged between Columbus and this warm-hearted, open-handed cacique.

The latter, also, exerted himself to the utmost to procure a great quantity of gold for the Admiral before his departure. The supplies thus furnished, and the vague accounts collected through the medium of signs and imperfect interpretations, filled the mind of Columbus with magnificent ideas of the wealth which must exist in the interior of this island. The names of caciques, mountains, and provinces, were confused together in his imagination, and supposed to mean various places where great treasure was to be found; above all the name of Cibao continually occurred, the golden region among the mountains, from whence the natives procured most of the ore for their ornaments. In the pimento or red pepper which abounded in the island, Columbus fancied he found a trace of oriental spices, and he thought he had met with specimens of rhubarb.

Passing, with his usual buoyancy of spirit, from a state of doubt and anxiety to one of sanguine anticipation, he now considered his shipwreck as one of those providential events mysteriously ordained by Heaven to work out the success of his enterprise. Without this seeming disaster, he should never have remained to find out the secret wealth of the island, but should merely have touched at various parts of its coast, and have passed on. As a proof that the particular hand of Providence was exerted in it, he cites the circumstance of his having been wrecked in a perfect calm, without wind or wave; and the desertion of the pilot and mariners, when sent to carry out an anchor astern;

for, had they performed his orders, the vessel would have been hauled off, they would have pursued their voyage, and the treasures of the island would have remained a secret to them. But now he looked forward to glorious fruits to be reaped from this seeming evil; "for he hoped," he said, "that when he returned from Spain, he should find a ton of gold collected in traffic by those whom he had left behind, and that they had discovered mines and spices in such quantities, that the Sovereigns, before three years, would be able to undertake a crusade for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre. For so I protested to your Highnesses," he adds, "that all the gain of this my enterprise should be spent in the conquest of Jerusalem, and your Highnesses smiled, and said that it pleased you, and that without this you were well disposed to the undertaking."

Such was the visionary, yet generous enthusiasm of Columbus, the moment that prospects of vast wealth broke upon his mind. What in some spirits would have awakened a grasping and sordid avidity to accumulate, immediately filled his imagination with plans of magnificent expenditure. But how vain are our attempts to interpret the inscrutable decrees of Providence! The shipwreck, which Columbus considered an act of divine favour, to reveal to him the secrets of the land, shackled and limited all his after discoveries. It linked his fortunes, for the remainder of his life, to this island; which was doomed to be to him a source of cares and troubles, to involve him in a thousand perplexities, and to becloud his declining years with humiliation and disappointment.

## CHAPTER XI.

### REGULATION OF THE FORTRESS OF LA NAVIDAD. DEPARTURE OF COLUMBUS FOR SPAIN.

So great was the activity of the Spaniards in the construction of their fortress, and so ample the assistance rendered by the natives, that in ten days it was sufficiently complete for service. A large vault had been made, over which was erected a strong wooden tower, and the whole was surrounded by a wide ditch. It was stored with all the ammunition that had been saved from the wreck, or that could be spared from the caravel; and, the guns being mounted, the whole had a formidable aspect, sufficient to overawe and repulse this naked and unwarlike people. Indeed Columbus was of opinion that but little force was necessary to subjugate the whole island. He considered a fortress, and the restrictions of a garrison, more requisite to keep the Spaniards themselves in order, and to prevent their wandering about, and committing acts of licentiousness among the natives. The fortress being finished, he gave to it, as well as to the adjacent village and the harbour, the name

Primer Viage de Colon, Navarrete, lxxi. p. 117.

of La Navidad, or the having escaped from There were many v from whom he sele and exemplary. T given to Diego de a notary and alguazil gain all the powers the Catholic Sovere was to be succeede by, by Rodrigo among the number haulker, a cooper, a t their several calli left with them, to eds to sow, and a Indian traffic, that t possible against th As the time drew us assembled the n land, and addresse emphatic language. of the Sovereigns, whom he had intru should maintain the for the cacique Gua collecting how deepi ness, and how impo their welfare. That their intercourse wit ways with gentlenee vidence, and all disp street in their cond the frequent source of intercourse with savs moreover, not to sca deep together, as t united number; and the friendly territory upon Arana, and t do their utmost to actions and mines o spices, and to explor situation for a settler inconvenient and dar and shoals which bes On the 2d of Janu like a farewell of the rains, intending the them all a parting fe devoted to his use, a the men who were Arana, Pedro Gutier his lieutenants, assu returned from Castil jewels more precious had yet seen. The great concern at the i

Primer Viage de Colon, Navarrete, lxxi. p. 117.

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of La Navidad, or the Nativity, in memorial of their  
 having escaped from the shipwreck on Christmas-day.  
 There were many volunteers to remain on the island,  
 from whom he selected thirty-nine of the most able  
 and exemplary. The command of the whole was  
 given to Diego de Arana, a native of Cordova, and  
 notary and alguazil to the armament, who was to re-  
 tain all the powers which had been vested in him by  
 the Catholic Sovereigns. In case of his death, he  
 was to be succeeded by Pedro Gutierrez, and, he  
 dying, by Rodrigo de Escobedo. There were also  
 among the number a physician, a ship-carpenter, a  
 caulker, a cooper, a tailor, and a gunner, all expert  
 in their several callings. The boat of the wreck was  
 left with them, to be used in fishing, a variety of  
 seeds to sow, and a large quantity of articles used in  
 Indian traffic, that they might procure as much gold  
 as possible against the Admiral's return.

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As the time drew nigh for his departure, Colum-  
 bus assembled the men who were to remain in the  
 island, and addressed them in the most earnest and  
 emphatic language. He charged them, in the name  
 of the Sovereigns, to be obedient to the officer to  
 whom he had intrusted the command. That they  
 should maintain the utmost respect and reverence  
 for the cacique Guacanagari and his chieftains, re-  
 collecting how deeply they were indebted to his good-  
 ness, and how important a continuance of it was to  
 their welfare. That they should be circumspect in  
 their intercourse with the natives, treating them al-  
 ways with gentleness and justice, avoiding all acts of  
 violence, and all disputes; and, above all, being dis-  
 tinct in their conduct towards the Indian women,  
 the frequent source of troubles and disasters in the  
 intercourse with savage nations. He warned them,  
 moreover, not to scatter themselves asunder, but to  
 keep together, as they derived safety from their  
 united number; and that they should not stray beyond  
 the friendly territory of Guacanagari. He enjoined  
 upon Arana, and the other persons in command,  
 to do their utmost to acquire a knowledge of the pro-  
 ducts and mines of the island, to procure gold and  
 spices, and to explore the coast in search of a better  
 situation for a settlement, the present harbour being  
 inconvenient and dangerous, on account of the rocks  
 and shoals which beset its entrance.

## DAD. DEPARTURE

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On the 2d of January, 1493, Columbus landed to  
 take a farewell of the generous cacique and his chief-  
 tains, intending the next day to set sail. He gave  
 them all a parting feast at the house which had been  
 devoted to his use, and commended to their kindness  
 the men who were to remain, especially Diego de  
 Arana, Pedro Gutierrez, and Rodrigo de Escobedo,  
 his lieutenants, assuring the cacique that, when he  
 returned from Castile, he would bring abundance of  
 jewels more precious than anything he or his people  
 had yet seen. The worthy Guacanagari showed  
 great concern at the idea of his departure, and assured

him that, as to those who remained, he should fur-  
 nish them with provisions, and render them every  
 service in his power.

Once more, to impress the Indians with an idea  
 of the warlike prowess of the white men, Columbus  
 had skirmishes and mock-fights performed by his  
 crews. In these they made use of their various  
 arms and weapons; their swords, bucklers, lances,  
 cross-bows, arquebusses, and cannon. The In-  
 dians were astonished at the keenness of their  
 swords, and at the deadly power of the cross-  
 bows and arquebusses; but when the heavy bon-  
 ards were discharged from the fortress, wrapping  
 it in wreaths of smoke, shaking the forests with  
 their thunder, and shivering the trees with the balls  
 of stone, which in those times were used in artillery,  
 there was the deepest awe mingled with their ad-  
 miration. Conceiving that these tremendous powers  
 were all to be employed for their protection, they  
 rejoiced while they trembled; since no Carib would  
 now dare to invade the tranquillity of their island,  
 and carry them into captivity.

When the festivities of the day were over, Colum-  
 bus embraced the cacique and his principal chieftains,  
 and took a final leave of them. Guacanagari was  
 greatly affected, and shed tears; for while he had  
 been awed by the dignified demeanour of the Ad-  
 miral, and the idea of his superhuman nature, he had  
 been completely won by the benignity of his man-  
 ners. Indeed, the parting scene was sorrowful on  
 all sides. The arrival of the ships had been an event  
 of wonder and excitement to the islanders, who had  
 as yet known nothing but the good qualities of their  
 guests, and had been enriched by their celestial gifts;  
 while the rude seamen had been flattered by the  
 blind deference paid them, and captivated by the  
 kindness and unlimited indulgence with which they  
 had been treated.

The sorest parting was between the Spaniards  
 who embarked and those who remained behind; for  
 there is a strong sympathy arising from a com-  
 panionship in perils and adventures which binds the  
 hearts of men together. The little garrison, how-  
 ever, evinced a cheerful spirit and stout resolution.  
 They looked forward with bright anticipations to  
 the day when the Admiral should return from Spain  
 with large reinforcements, and they promised to give  
 him a good account of all things in the island. The  
 caravel was detained one day longer by the absence  
 of some of the Indians whom they were to take to  
 Spain. At length the signal-gun was fired; they  
 gave a parting cheer to the handful of comrades thus  
 left in the wilderness of an unknown world, who  
 echoed their cheering as they gazed wistfully after  
 them from the beach, but who were destined never  
 to welcome their return.

\* Primer Viage de Colon, Navarrete, lxxi, p. 421.

\* Primer Viage de Colon, Navarrete, lxxi. Hist. del Almi-  
 rante, c. 53.



## BOOK V.

## CHAPTER I.

COASTING TOWARDS THE EASTERN END OF HISPANIOLA. MEETING WITH PINZON. AFFAIR WITH THE NATIVES AT THE GULF OF SEMANA.

[ 1493. ]

It was on the 4th of January that Columbus set sail from Lá Navidad on his return to Spain. The wind being light, it was necessary to tow the caravel out of the harbour, and clear of the reefs which environed it. They then stood eastward, towards a lofty promontory with trees, but covered with grass, and shaped like a tent, having at a distance the appearance of a towering island, being connected with Hispaniola by a low neck of land. To this promontory, Columbus gave the name of Monte Christi, by which it is still known. The country in the immediate neighbourhood was level, but further inland rose a high range of mountains, well wooded, with broad fruitful valleys between them, watered by abundant streams. The wind being contrary, they were detained for two days in a large bay to the west of the promontory. On the 6th, they again made sail with a land breeze, and, weathering the cape, advanced ten leagues, when the wind again turned to blow freshly from the east. At this time, a sailor stationed at the mast-head to look out for rocks, cried out that he beheld the Pinta at a distance. Every one was animated at the intelligence, for it was a joyful event once more to meet with their companion in these lonely seas. The Pinta came sweeping towards them directly before the wind, with flowing canvass, and the Admiral seeing that it was in vain to contend with the adverse wind, and that there was no safe anchorage in the neighbourhood, put back to the bay west of Monte Christi, followed by the other caravel. At their first interview, Martin Alonso Pinzon endeavoured to account to the Admiral for his temporary desertion, pretending that it was involuntary, and offering various weak and unsatisfactory excuses. Columbus restrained his indignation, and tacitly admitted them. Pinzon had a powerful party in the armament; most of the mariners were his townsmen, several of them his relations, and one of the commanders was his brother; whereas Columbus was a stranger among them, and, what was worse, a foreigner. Pinzon had ungenerously presumed upon these circumstances several times in the course of the voyage, arrogating to himself undue importance, and treating the Admiral with disrespect. Unwilling to provoke any altercations which might disturb the remainder of the voyage, Columbus listened passively, but incredulously, to the excuses of Pinzon, convinced that he had wilfully parted from him, for selfish purposes. Various particulars, gathered partly from his own story, and

partly from that of his companions, confirmed this opinion. It was evident he had been actuated by a sudden impulse of avarice. On parting with the other caravel, he had steered eastward in search of an island of imaginary wealth, described by the Indians on board of his vessel. Having wasted some time among a cluster of small islands, supposed to have been the Calcos, he had at length been guided by the Indians to Hispaniola, where he had been for three weeks, trading in various places with the natives; especially in a river about fifteen leagues east of the harbour of Navivity. He had collected a large quantity of gold, one half of which he retained as captain, the rest he divided among his men, to secure their fidelity and secrecy. After thus making considerable booty, he had left the river, carrying off four Indian men and two girls, whom he had taken by force, with the intention of selling them in Spain. He pretended to have been entirely ignorant that Columbus was in a neighbouring part of the island, and declared that he was in search of him when they met off Monte Christi.

Being thus rejoined by the other caravel, Columbus would have felt encouraged to explore the coast of this fancied island of Cipango; in which case he had no doubt of being able to load his ships with treasures: but he had lost all confidence in the Pinzons; he found himself subject to frequent arrogance and contradiction from them, and had no security that Martin Alonso might not again desert him on the least temptation. He determined, therefore, to continue his route to Spain, and to leave the exploring of these golden regions for a subsequent expedition.

The boats were accordingly despatched to a large river which empties itself into the bay, to take in a supply of wood and water for the voyage. This river, called by the natives the Yaque, descends from the mountains of the interior, and in its course to the ocean receives the contributions of various minor streams. Columbus observed among the sands at its mouth, many particles of gold,<sup>2</sup> and found others adhering to the hoops of the water-casks; wherefore he gave to this stream the name of Rio del Oro, or the golden river; it is at present called the Santiago. In this neighbourhood were turtles of great size. Columbus also mentions in his journal that he saw three mermaids which elevated themselves above the surface of the sea, and he observes that he had before seen such on the coasts of Africa. He adds that they were by no means the beautiful beings they had been represented, although they possessed some traces of the human countenance. It is supposed that these must have been manati or sea-calves, seen indistinctly and at a distance; and that the image

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas suggests that these may have been particles of mica, which abounds in this river, and in the other streams which fall from the mountains of Cibao.—Las Casas, Hist. Ind. l. i, c. 76.

nation of Columbus character to every individual. He justified these misapprehensions by the ancient story.

On the evening made sail, and on the river where Pinzon Columbus gave the took the appellation long continued to Alonso. Here he duplicity; ascertain days in the river, to declare that he received tidings of Navivity, but had the Admiral, until by collecting gold. this flagrant violation to restore to their whom he had taken who were dismissed presents, to atone for his offence, and to punish against the Spaniards with great unwillingly the part of Pinzon.

The wind being against the trade wind is of winter by north-coasting the island beautiful headland Cape del Enamorado at present is known this, they anchored three leagues in front of the sea, separated from the land. On landing, different from the hitherto met with ferocious aspect, and a deportment. They wore their hair long with the feathers of plumage. They wore war-clubs and swords bows were of the archers; their arrows with hard wood, or with the tooth of palm wood, as hard not sharp, but broad fingers, and captured through a helmet prepared for combat to molest the Spaniards the latter two of

<sup>3</sup> Hist. del Almirante, l. i, c. 76.

<sup>4</sup> Las Casas.



nation of Columbus, disposed to give a wonderful character to everything in this new world, had identified these mishapen animals with the sirens of ancient story.

On the evening of the 9th of January, they again made sail, and on the following day arrived at the river where Pinzon had been trading, to which Columbus gave the name of Rio de Gracia; but it took the appellation of its original discoverer, and long continued to be known as the river of Martin Alonso. Here he had additional proofs of Pinzon's duplicity; ascertaining that he had been sixteen days in the river, although he had obliged his crew to declare that he had been but six; and that he had received tidings of the shipwreck at the harbour of Nativity, but had delayed sailing to the assistance of the Admiral, until he had served his own interests by collecting gold.<sup>1</sup> Columbus still forbore to notice this flagrant violation of duty; but he obliged Pinzon to restore to their homes the four men and two girls whom he had taken from this neighbourhood, and who were dismissed well-clothed, and with many presents, to atone for the wrong they had experienced, and to prevent its prejudicing the natives against the Spaniards. This restitution was made with great unwillingness, and many high words on the part of Pinzon.

The wind being favourable, for in these regions the trade wind is often alternated during autumn and winter by north-westerly breezes, they continued coasting the island, until they came to a high and beautiful headland, to which they gave the name of Cape del Enamorado, or the Lover's Cape, but which at present is known as Cape Cabron. A little beyond this, they anchored in a vast bay, or rather gulph, three leagues in breadth, and extending so far inland, that Columbus at first supposed it might be an arm of the sea, separating Hispaniola from some other land. On landing, they found the natives quite different from the gentle and pacific people they had hitherto met with on this island. These were of a ferocious aspect, and of a turbulent and warlike deportment. They were hideously painted, and wore their hair long and tied behind, and decorated with the feathers of parrots and other birds of gaudy plumage. They were armed with bows and arrows, war-clubs and swords of a formidable kind. Their bows were of the length of those used by the English archers; their arrows were of slender reeds, pointed with hard wood, and sometimes tipped with bone or with the tooth of a fish. Their swords were of palm wood, as hard and heavy as iron: they were not sharp, but broad, nearly of the thickness of two fingers, and capable, with one blow, of cleaving through a helmet to the very brains.<sup>2</sup> Though thus prepared for combat, the natives made no attempt to molest the Spaniards; on the contrary, they sold the latter two of their bows and several of their

arrows, and one of them was prevailed upon to go on board of the Admiral's ship.

When Columbus beheld the ferocious looks, and hardy undaunted manner of this wild warrior, he was persuaded that he and his companions must be of the nation of Caribs, so much dreaded throughout these seas, and that the gulph in which he was anchored must be a strait separating their island from Hispaniola. On inquiring of the Indian, however, he still pointed to the east, as the quarter in which were situated the Caribbean islands. He spoke also of an island, which he called Mantinino, which Columbus fancied him to say was peopled merely by women, who received the Caribs among them once in the course of a year, for the sake of continuing the population of their island. All the male progeny resulting from such visits were delivered to the fathers, the female remained with the mothers.

This Amazonian island is repeatedly mentioned in the course of the voyages of Columbus, and is another of his self-delusions, which are to be explained by the work of Marco Polo. That traveller described two islands near the coast of Asia, one inhabited solely by women, the other by men, between which a similar intercourse subsisted; and Columbus, supposing himself in that vicinity, easily interpreted the signs of the Indians to coincide with the descriptions of the Venetian.

Having regaled this warrior on board of the caravel, and made him various presents, the Admiral sent him on shore, in hopes, through his mediation, of opening a trade for gold with his companions. As the boat approached the land, upwards of fifty savages, armed with bows and arrows, war-clubs and javelins, were seen lurking among the trees. On a word from the Indian who was in the boat, they laid by their arms and came forth to meet the Spaniards. The latter, according to directions from the Admiral, endeavoured to purchase several of their weapons to take as curiosities to Spain. They parted with two of their bows; but, suddenly conceiving some distrust, or thinking to overpower this handful of strangers, they rushed to the place where they had left their weapons, snatched them up, and returned with menacing looks, and provided with cords, as if to bind the Spaniards. The latter immediately attacked them, wounded two, and put the rest to flight, terrified at the flashing lustre and keen edge of the European weapons. The Spaniards would have pursued and put several to the sword, but they were restrained by the pilot who commanded the boat. This was the first contest they had had with the Indians, and the first time that native blood had been shed by the white men in the new world. Columbus lamented to see all his exertions to maintain an amicable intercourse vain: he consoled himself with the idea, however, that if these were Caribs, or frontier Indians of warlike character, they would be inspired with a dread of the force, and the weapons of the

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i, cap. 77. M.

<sup>3</sup> Marco Polo, lib. iii, cap. 37.

white men, and would thus be deterred from molesting the little garrison of Fort Nativity. The fact was, that these were of the tribe of the Ciguayans, a bold and hardy race of Indians, inhabiting a mountainous district, extending five-and-twenty leagues along the coast, and several leagues into the interior. They differed in language, look, and manners, from the other natives of the island, and had more of the rude, but independent and vigorous character which belongs to mountaineers.

Their frank and bold spirit was evinced on the day after the skirmish, when, a multitude appearing on the beach, the Admiral sent a large party, well armed, on shore in the boat. The natives immediately approached as freely and confidently as if nothing had happened; neither did they betray, throughout their subsequent intercourse, any signs of lurking fear or enmity. The cacique who ruled over the neighbouring country was on the shore. He sent to the boat a string of beads formed of small stones, or rather of the hard part of shells, which the Spaniards understood to be a token and assurance of amity; but they were not yet aware of the full meaning of this symbol, which was the wampum belt, the pledge of peace, held sacred among the Indians. The chieftain followed shortly after, and entering the boat with only three attendants, was conveyed on board of the caravel.

This frank and confiding conduct, so indicative of a brave and generous nature, was properly appreciated by Columbus. He received the cacique with cordial friendship, set before him a collation such as the caravel afforded, particularly biscoits and honey, which appear to have been great dainties with the Indians, and after showing him the wonders of the vessel, and making him and his attendants many presents, sent them to land highly gratified by their entertainment. The residence of the cacique was at such a distance that he could not repeat his visit; but as a token of high regard, he sent to the Admiral his coronet of gold. In speaking of these incidents, the historians of Columbus have made no mention of the name of this mountain chief; he was doubtless the same who, a few years afterwards, appears in the history of the island under the name of Mayonabex, Cacique of the Ciguayans, and will be found acquitting himself with valour, frankness and magnanimity, under the most trying circumstances.

Columbus remained a day or two longer in the bay, during which time the most friendly intercourse prevailed with the natives, who brought cotton, and various fruits and vegetables, but still manifested their warrior character, being always armed with bows and arrows. From four young Indians, who came on board of the caravel, Columbus received such interesting accounts of the islands said to be situated to the east, that he determined to touch there on his way to Spain, and he prevailed on these young men to accompany him as guides. Taking advantage of a favourable wind, therefore, he sailed

before daylight on the 46th of January from this bay to which, in consequence of the skirmish with the natives, he gave the name of Golfo de las Flechas, or the Gulph of Arrows, but which is now known by the name of the Gulf of Semana.

On leaving the bay, Columbus at first steered to the north-east, in which direction the young Indians assured him he would find the island of the Caribs, and that of Mantinino, the abode of the Amazons; it being his desire to take several of the natives of each, to present to the Spanish sovereigns. After sailing about sixteen leagues, however, his Indian guides changed their opinion, and pointed to the south-east. This would have brought him to Porto Rico, which, in fact, was known among the Indians as the island of Carib. The Admiral immediately shifted sail, and stood in this direction. He had not proceeded two leagues, however, when a most favourable breeze sprang up for the voyage to Spain. He observed a gloom gathering on the countenances of the sailors, as they diverged from the homeward route. Reflecting upon the little hold he had upon the feelings and affections of these men, the insubordinate spirit they had evinced on former occasions in the voyage, the want of faith and loyalty on the part of Pinzon, and also the leaky condition of his ships, he was suddenly brought to a pause. As long as he protracted his return, the whole fate of his discovery was at the mercy of a thousand contingencies, and an adverse accident might bury himself, his crazy barks, and all the records of his voyages, for ever in the ocean. Repressing, therefore, the strong inclination to seek further discoveries, and determined to place what he had already made beyond the reach of accident, he once more shifted sail, to the great joy of his crews, and resumed his course for Spain.

## CHAPTER II.

RETURN VOYAGE. VIOLENT STORMS. ARRIVAL AT THE AZORES.

[ 1495. ]

THE trade-winds, which had been so propitious to Columbus on his outward voyage, wafting him with flowing sail to the New World, were equally adverse to him on his return. The favourable breeze soon died away, and, for the remainder of January, there was a prevalence of light winds from the eastward, which prevented his making any great progress. He was frequently detained also by the bad sailing of the *Pinta*: her foremast was defective, so that it could carry but little sail, an evil which Pinzon had neglected to remedy while in port, in his eager search after gold. The weather continued mild and pleasant, and the sea so calm, that the Indians whom they were taking to Spain, would frequently plunge into the

<sup>1</sup> Journal of Columbus, Navarrete, t. 1. Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. 1, c. 77. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 34, 35.

from this bay, and swim about the ships. They saw many unny-fish, one of which they killed, as likewise a large shark; these gave them a temporary supply of provisions, of which they soon began to stand in need: their sea-stock being reduced to bread and wine, and chili peppers, which they had learnt from the Indians to use as an important article of food.

In the early part of February, having run to about the thirty-eighth degree of north latitude, and got out of the track of ocean swept by the trade-winds, they began to have more favourable breezes, and were enabled to steer direct for Spain. In consequence of the frequent changes of course, the pilots became extremely perplexed in their reckonings, differing widely among themselves, and still more widely from the truth. Columbus, beside keeping a reckoning with great care, was a vigilant observer of all those phenomena by which experienced seamen ascertain latitudes and longitudes, in what, to an unpractised eye, appears to be a blank expanse of ocean. In all his voyages, he studied the simple indications furnished by the sea, the air, and the sky, with the watchful and anxious eye of a commander; the fate of himself and his ships, in the unknown regions which he traversed, often depended upon these observations; and the sagacity at which he arrived, in deciphering the signs of the elements, was looked upon by the common seamen as something almost supernatural. In the present instance, on his return homewards, he had noticed where the great bands of floating weeds commenced, and where they finished; and in emerging from among them, he concluded himself to be in about the same degree of longitude as when he encountered them on his outward voyage, that is to say, about two hundred and sixty leagues west of Ferro.

On the 40th of February, Vicente Yañes Pinzon, and the pilots Ruiz and Bartolomeo Roldan, who were on board of the Admiral's ship, examined the charts and compared their reckonings to determine their situation, but could not come to any agreement. They all supposed themselves at least one hundred and fifty leagues nearer Spain than what Columbus believed to be the true reckoning, and in the latitude of Madeira; whereas he knew them to be nearly in a direction for the Azores. He suffered them, however, to remain in their error, and even added to their perplexity, that they might retain but a confused idea of the voyage, and he alone possess a clear knowledge of the route to the newly-discovered countries.

On the 42th of February, as they were flattering themselves with soon coming in sight of land, the wind came on to blow violently, and the sea to be greatly agitated; they still kept their course to the east, but with great labour and peril, from the turbulence of the elements. On the following day, after sunset, the wind and swell increased; there were three flashes of lightning in the north-north-east, considered by Columbus as signals of an approaching tempest, either from that or the opposite quarter. It

soon burst upon them with frightful violence: their small and crazy vessels, open and without decks, were little fitted for the wild storms of the Atlantic; all night they were obliged to remain under bare poles, driven along by the fury of the winds. As the morning dawned of the 44th, there was a transient pause, and they made a little sail; but the wind arose again, with redoubled vehemence from the south, raging throughout the day, and increasing in fury in the night; while the vessels laboured terribly in a cross sea, the broken waves of which threatened at each moment to overwhelm them, or dash them to pieces. For three hours, they lay with just sail enough to keep them above the waves; but the tempest still augmenting, they were obliged to give up all attempt to withstand it, and to scud before the wind. The *Pinta* did the same, but was soon lost sight of in the darkness of the night. The Admiral kept as much as possible to the north-east, to approach to the coast of Spain, and made signal-lights at the mast-head for the *Pinta* to do the same, and to keep in company. The latter, however, from the weakness of her foremast, could not hold the wind, and was obliged to scud before it, directly north. For some time she replied to the signals of the Admiral, but her lights gleamed more and more distant, until they ceased entirely, and nothing more was seen of her.

Columbus continued to scud all night, full of forebodings of the fate of his own vessel, and of fears for the safety of that of Pinzon. As the day dawned, the sea presented a frightful waste of wild broken waves, lashed into fury by the gale; he looked around anxiously for the *Pinta*, but she was nowhere to be seen. He now made a little sail, to keep his vessel a-head of the sea, lest its huge waves should break over her. As the sun rose, the wind and the waves rose with it, and throughout a dreary day the helpless bark was driven along by the fury of the tempest.

Seeing all human skill baffled and confounded, Columbus now endeavoured to propitiate Heaven by solemn vows and acts of penance. By his orders, a number of beans, equal to the number of persons on board, were put into a cap, on one of which was cut the sign of the cross. Each of the crew made a vow, that, should he draw forth the marked bean, he would make a pilgrimage to the shrine of Santa Maria de Guadalupe, bearing a wax taper of five pounds' weight. The Admiral was the first to put in his hand, and the lot fell upon him. From that moment he considered himself a pilgrim, bound to perform the vow. Another lot was cast in the same way, for a pilgrimage to the chapel of our Lady of Loretto, which fell upon a seaman named Pedro de Villa, and the Admiral engaged to bear the expenses of his journey. A third lot was also cast for a pilgrimage to Santa Clara de Moguer, to perform a solemn mass, and to watch all night in the chapel, and this likewise fell upon Columbus.

The tempest still raging with unabated violence, the Admiral and all the mariners made a solemn vow,

that, if they were spared to reach the land, wherever they first went on shore, they would go in procession, barefooted and in their shirts, to offer up prayers and thanksgivings in some church dedicated to the holy Virgin. Beside these general acts of propitiation, each one made his private vow, binding himself to some pilgrimage, or vigil, or other rite of penitence and thanksgiving at his favourite shrine. Such has always been the custom with mariners of the catholic countries in times of tempest and peril; but it was especially the case in that superstitious age. The heavens, however, seemed deaf to these pious vows; the storm grew still more wild and frightful, and each man gave himself up for lost. The danger of the ship was augmented by the want of ballast, the consumption of the water and provisions having lightened her so much, that she rolled and tossed about at the mercy of the waves. To remedy this, and to render her more steady, the admiral ordered that all the empty casks should be filled with sea-water, which in some measure gave relief. During this long and awful conflict of the elements, the mind of Columbus was a prey to the most distressing anxiety. He feared that the Pinta had foundered in the storm. In such case the whole history of his discovery, the secret of the New World, depended upon his own feeble bark, and one surge of the ocean might bury it for ever in oblivion. The tumult of his thoughts may be judged from his own letter to the Sovereigns. "I could have supported this evil fortune with less grief," said he, "had my person alone been in jeopardy, since I am a debtor for my life to the supreme Creator, and have at other times been within a step of death. But it was a cause of infinite sorrow and trouble, to think, that after having been illuminated from on high with faith and certainty to undertake this enterprise, after having victoriously achieved it, and when on the point of convincing my opponents, and securing to your highnesses great glory and vast increase of dominions, it should please the divine Majesty to defeat all by my death. It would have been more supportable, also, had I not been accompanied by others who had been drawn on by my persuasions, and who, in their distress, cursed not only the hour of their coming, but the fear inspired by my words which prevented their turning back, as they had at various times determined; above all, my grief was doubled when I thought of my two sons, whom I had left at school in Cordova, destitute, in a strange land, without any testimony of the services rendered by their father, which, if known, might have inclined your highnesses to befriend them. And although, on the one hand, I was comforted by faith that the Deity would not permit a work of such great exaltation to his church, wrought through so many troubles and contradictions, to remain imperfect; yet, on the other hand, I reflected on my sins, as a punishment for which he might intend that I should be deprived of the glory which would redound to me in this world."

• Hist. del Almirante, cap. 36.

In the midst of these gloomy apprehensions, an expedient suggested itself to Columbus, by which, though he and his ships should perish, the glory of his achievements might survive to his name, and its advantages be secured to his sovereigns. He wrote on parchment a brief account of his voyage and discovery, and of his having taken possession of the newly-found lands in the name of their catholic majesties. This he sealed and directed to the king and queen, and superscribed also a promise of a thousand ducats to whosoever should deliver the packet unopened. He then wrapped it in a waxed cloth, which he placed in the centre of a cake of wax, and enclosing the whole in a large barrel, threw it into the sea, giving his men to suppose that he was performing some religious vow. Lest this memorial should never reach the land, he enclosed a copy in a similar manner, and placed it upon the poop, so that, should the caravel be swallowed up by the waves, the barrel might float off and survive.

These precautions in some measure mitigated his anxiety; and he was still more relieved when, after heavy showers, there appeared at sun-dawn a streak of clear sky in the west, giving hopes that the wind was about to shift to that quarter. These hopes were confirmed; a favourable breeze succeeded, but the sea still ran so high and tumultuously, that but little sail could be carried during the night.

On the morning of the 15th, at day-break, the cry of land was given by Riu Garcia, a mariner stationed in the main-top. The transports of the crew, at once more gaining sight of the Old World, were almost equal to what they had experienced on first beholding the New. The land was seen east-north-east, directly over the prow of the caravel; and the usual diversity of opinion concerning it arose among the pilots. One thought that it must be the island of Madeira; another the rock of Cintra near Lisbon; the most part, deceived by their ardent wishes, placed it near Spain. Columbus, however, judging from his private reckonings and observations, concluded it to be one of the Azores. A nearer approach proved it to be an island: it was but five leagues distant, and the voyagers were congratulating themselves upon the assurance of speedily being in port, when suddenly the wind veered again to the east-north-east, blowing directly from the land, while a heavy sea kept rolling from the west.

For two days they remained hovering in sight of the island, vainly striving to reach it, or to arrive at another island of which they caught glimpses occasionally through the mist and rack of the tempest. On the evening of the 17th they approached so near the first island they had seen, as to cast anchor, but they immediately parted their cable, and had to put to sea again, where they remained beating about until the following morning, when they anchored under shelter of its northern side. For several days, Columbus had been in such a state of agitation and anxiety, that he had scarcely taken any food or re-

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tained his watchful post on deck, exposed to wintry  
cold, to the pelting of the storm, and the drenching  
surges of the sea. It was not until the night of the  
17th, that he was enabled to get a little sleep, more  
from the exhaustion of nature than from any tran-  
quillity of mind. Such were the difficulties and pe-  
nals which attended his return to Europe; had one-  
tenth part of them beset his outward voyage, his  
timid and factious crew would have risen in arms  
against the enterprise, and he never would have dis-  
covered the New World.

## CHAPTER III.

TRANSACTIONS AT THE ISLAND OF ST MARY'S.

[ 1493. ]

On sending the boat to land, Columbus ascertained  
that the island where he had thus arrived was St  
Mary's, the most southern of the Azores, and a pos-  
session of the crown of Portugal. The inhabitants,  
when they beheld the light caravel riding at anchor,  
were astonished that it had been able to live through  
the gale which had raged for fifteen days with un-  
exampled fury; but when they heard that this tem-  
pest-tossed vessel brought tidings of a strange country  
beyond the ocean, they were filled with wonder and  
curiosity. To the inquiries of the boat's crew about  
a place where the caravel might anchor securely,  
they replied by pointing out a harbour in the vicin-  
ity; but when the boat was about to depart, they  
prevailed on three of the mariners to remain on shore,  
and gratify them with further particulars of this un-  
paralleled voyage.

In the evening, three men of the island hailed the  
caravel; and a boat being sent for them, they brought  
on board fowls, bread, and refreshments of various  
kinds, from Juan de Castañeda, governor of the is-  
land, who claimed an acquaintance with Columbus,  
and sent him many compliments and congratulations.  
He apologized for not coming in person, owing to the  
lateness of the hour, and the distance of his residence,  
but promised to visit them the next morning, and to  
bring further refreshments, and the three men whom  
he still kept with him to satisfy his extreme curiosity  
respecting the voyage. As there were no houses on  
the neighbouring shore, the messengers remained on  
board all night.

On the following morning, Columbus reminded his  
people of the vow made during their recent peril, to  
perform a pious procession at the first place where  
they should land. On the neighbouring shore, at no  
great distance from the sea, was a small hermitage  
or chapel dedicated to the Virgin, which was favour-  
able for the purpose, and he made immediate ar-  
rangements for the performance of the rite. The

three messengers, on returning to the village, sent a  
priest to perform mass, and one-half of the crew,  
landing, walked in procession, barefooted, and in  
their shirts, to the chapel; while the Admiral awaited  
their return, to perform the same ceremony with the  
remainder of his men.

An ungenerous reception, however, awaited the  
poor tempest-tossed mariners on their first return to  
the abode of civilized men, far different from the  
sympathy and hospitality they had experienced among  
the savages of the New World. Scarcely had they  
begun their prayers and thanksgivings, when the  
whole rabble of the village, horse and foot, headed  
by the governor, surrounded the hermitage and took  
them all prisoners.

As an intervening point of land hid the hermitage  
from the view of the caravel, the Admiral remained  
in ignorance of this transaction. When eleven o'clock  
arrived without the return of the pilgrims, he began  
to fear that they were detained by the Portuguese,  
or that the boat had been shattered upon the s  
beaten rocks which bordered the island. Weigh-  
ing anchor, therefore, he stood in a direction to com-  
mand a view of the chapel and the adjacent shore;  
from hence he beheld a number of armed horsemen,  
who, dismounting, entered the boat and made for  
the caravel. The Admiral's ancient suspicions of  
Portuguese hostility towards himself and his enter-  
prises were immediately revived, and he ordered his  
men to arm themselves, but to keep out of sight,  
ready either to defend the vessel or surprise the boat.  
The latter, however, approached in a pacific man-  
ner; the governor of the island was on board, and,  
coming within hail, demanded assurance of personal  
safety in case he should enter the caravel. This the  
Admiral readily gave, but the Portuguese, still dis-  
trustful and conscious of their own sinister designs,  
continued to maintain a wary distance. The indig-  
nation of Columbus now broke forth; he re-  
ached the governor with his peridy, and with the wrong  
he did, not merely to the Spanish monarchs, but to  
his own sovereign, by such a dishonourable outrage.  
He informed him of his own rank and dignity, dis-  
played his letters-patent sealed with the royal seal of  
Castile, and threatened him with the vengeance of  
his government. The reply of Castañeda was in an  
arrogant vein of contempt for the letters of the mon-  
archs, and of defiance of Columbus, and he con-  
cluded by declaring that all he had done was in  
conformity to the commands of the King his sove-  
reign.

After an unprofitable altercation, the boat returned  
to shore, leaving Columbus much perplexed by this  
unexpected hostility, and fearful that a war might  
have broken out between Spain and Portugal during  
his absence. The next day the weather became so  
tempestuous that they were driven from their anchor-  
age, and obliged to stand to sea toward the island of  
St Michael. For two days the ship continued beat-  
ing about in great peril, half of her crew being de-



tained on shore, and the greater part of those on board being landsmen and Indians, almost equally useless in difficult navigation. Fortunately, although the waves ran high, there were none of those cross-seas which had recently prevailed; otherwise, being so feebly manned, the caravel could scarcely have lived through the storm.

On the evening of the 22d, the weather having moderated, Columbus returned once more to his anchorage at St Mary's. Shortly after his arrival, a boat came off, bringing two priests and a notary. After a cautious parley and an assurance of safety, they came on board of the caravel, and requested a sight of the papers of Columbus, on the part of Castañeda, assuring him that it was the disposition of the governor to render him every service in his power, provided he really sailed in service of the Spanish Sovereigns. Columbus saw it was a mere manœuvre of Castañeda to cover a retreat from the hostile position he had assumed; he restrained his indignation, however, expressing his thanks for the friendly disposition of the governor, and, showing his letters of commission, easily satisfied the priests and the notary. On the following morning, the boat and mariners were liberated. The latter, during their detention, had collected information from the inhabitants which elucidated the conduct of Castañeda.

The King of Portugal, jealous lest the expedition of Columbus might interfere with his own discoveries, had sent orders to his commanders of islands and distant ports to seize and detain him wherever he should be met with. In compliance with these orders, Castañeda had, in the first instance, hoped to surprise Columbus in the chapel, and, failing in that attempt, had intended to get him in his power by stratagem, but was deterred by finding him on his guard.—Such was the first reception of the Admiral on his return to the Old World! an earnest of the crosses and troubles with which he was to be requited throughout life, for one of the greatest benefits that ever man had conferred upon his fellow-beings.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### ARRIVAL AT PORTUGAL. VISIT TO THE COURT.

[ 4493. ]

COLUMBUS remained two days longer at the island of St Mary's, endeavouring to take in wood and ballast, but was prevented by the heavy surf which broke upon the shore. The wind veering to the south, and being dangerous for vessels at anchor off the island, but favourable for the voyage to Spain, he set sail on the 24th of February, and had pleasant weather until the 27th, when, being within one hundred and twenty-five leagues of Cape St Vincent, he again en-

countered contrary gales, and a boisterous and laborious sea. The fortitude of Columbus was scarcely proof against these perils and delays, which appeared to increase, the nearer he approached his home; and he could not help uttering a complaint at thus being repulsed as it were from the very door of the house. He contrasted the rude storms which raged about the coasts of the Old World, with the genial airs, the tranquil seas, and balmy weather which he supposed perpetually to prevail about the favoured countries he had discovered. "Well," says he, "may the sacred theologians and sage philosophers declare that the terrestrial paradise is in the uttermost extremity of the east, for it is the most temperate of regions."

After experiencing several days of stormy and adverse weather, about midnight, on Saturday the 2d of March, the caravel was suddenly struck by a squall of wind, which rent all her sails; and, continuing to blow with resistless violence, she was obliged to scud under bare poles, threatened each moment with destruction. In this hour of darkness and peril, the crew again called upon the aid of heaven. A lot was cast for the performance of a barefooted pilgrimage to the shrine of Santa Maria de la Ceuta in Huelva, and, as usual, the lot fell upon Columbus. There was something singular in the recurrence of this circumstance. Las Casas devoutly considers it as an intimation from the Deity to the Admiral that these storms were all on his account, to humble his pride, and prevent his arrogating to himself the glory of a discovery which was the work of God, and for which he had merely been chosen as an instrument.

Various signs appeared of their being in the vicinity of land, which they supposed must be the coast of Portugal; the tempest, however, increased to such a degree, that they doubted whether any of them would survive to reach a port. The whole crew made a vow, in case their lives were spared, to fast upon bread and water the following Saturday. The turbulence of the elements was still greater in the course of the following night. The sea was broken, wild, and mountainous; at one moment the light caravel was tossed high in the air, and the next moment she seemed sinking in a yawning abyss. The rain at times fell in torrents, and the lightning flashed and the thunder pealed from various parts of the heavens.

In the first watch of this fearful night, the seamen gave the usually welcome cry of land, but it now only increased the general alarm. They knew not where they were, nor where to look for a harbour; they dreaded being driven on shore, or dashed upon the rocks, and thus the very land they had so earnestly desired was rendered a terror to them. Taking in sail, therefore, they kept to sea as much as possible, and waited anxiously for the morning light.

At day-break on the 4th of March, they found themselves off the rock of Cintra, at the mouth of the Tagus. Though entertaining a strong distrust of the

good-will of Portugal, Columbus no alternative he accordingly arrived at Rastello, to return thanks to many perils.

The inhabitants on shore, congratulating the vessel the whole, and putting up prayers for the mariners of the place, had never known so many vessels had remained sound, and there had during the season.

Immediately on his arrival, the King of Portugal, with great tidings of his discovery, requesting permission to visit the vessel, a report had got about with gold, and he fell upon the Tagus, in the Tagus, scantily peopled inhabitants. To probe the nature of his voyage, he had not been on the other of Portugal, Cipango and the extent discovered by sailing.

On the following day, the captain of a large Portuguese vessel, Rastello, summoned Columbus to give an account of his voyage, and he immediately appeared before the Admiral of the fleet, to leave his vessel, and to receive his reward. No sooner, however, was he disembarked, than he came to the drums, fifes, and trumpets, and the courtesies of a brave army, the fullest offer of which he received at Lisbon, where he anchored in the Tagus, and the productions of the country, the effect may be more than Lisbon, for nearly a century of glory from its maritime achievement that could scarcely have been so freighted with the several days the Tagus picture, covered with swarming round the night the vessel was whom were cavaliers officers of the crew upon the accounts of

\* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 39. Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. 1, cap. 72.

\* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. 1, c. 75.

good-will of Portugal, the still prevailing tempest left Columbus no alternative but to run in for shelter; and he accordingly anchored about three o'clock, opposite to Rastello, to the great joy of the crew, who returned thanks to God for their escape from so many perils.

The inhabitants came off from various parts of the shore, congratulating them upon what they considered a miraculous preservation. They had been watching the vessel the whole morning with great anxiety, and putting up prayers for her safety. The oldest mariners of the place assured Columbus that they had never known so tempestuous a winter; many vessels had remained for months in port, weather-bound, and there had been numerous shipwrecks during the season.

Immediately on his arrival, Columbus despatched a courier to the King and Queen of Spain, with the great tidings of his discovery. He wrote also to the King of Portugal, who was then at Valparaiso, requesting permission to go with his vessel to Lisbon: a report had got abroad that his caravel was laden with gold, and he felt himself insecure in the mouth of the Tagus, in the neighbourhood of a place like Rastello, scantily peopled by needy and adventurous inhabitants. To prevent any misunderstanding as to the nature of his voyage, he assured the King that he had not been on the coast of Guinea, nor to any other of the Portuguese colonies, but had come from Cipango and the extremity of India, which he had discovered by sailing to the west.

On the following day, Don Alonso de Acuña, the captain of a large Portuguese man-of-war, stationed at Rastello, summoned Columbus on board his ship, to give an account of himself and his vessel. The latter immediately asserted his rights and dignities as Admiral of their Castilian Majesties, and refused to leave his vessel, or to send any one in his place. No sooner, however, did the commander learn his rank, and the extraordinary nature of his voyage, than he came to the caravel with great sound of drums, fifes, and trumpets, showing Columbus the courtesies of a brave and generous spirit, and making the fullest offer of his services. When the tidings reached Lisbon of this wonderful bark, which lay anchored in the Tagus, freighted with the people and the productions of a newly-discovered world, the effect may be more easily conceived than described. Lisbon, for nearly a century, had derived its chief glory from its maritime discoveries, but here was an achievement that eclipsed them all. Curiosity could scarcely have been more excited had the vessel come freighted with the wonders of another planet. For several days the Tagus presented a gay and moving picture, covered with barges and boats of every kind, swarming round the caravel. From morning till night the vessel was thronged with visitors, among whom were cavaliers of high distinction, and various officers of the crown. All hung with rapt attention upon the accounts given by Columbus and his crew,

of the events of their voyage, and of the New World they had discovered; and gazed with insatiable curiosity upon the specimens of unknown plants and animals, but above all, upon the Indians, so different from any race of men hitherto known. Some were filled with generous enthusiasm at the idea of a discovery, so sublime and so beneficial to mankind; the avarice of others was inflamed by the descriptions of wild unappropriated regions, teeming with gold, with pearls and spices; while others repined at the incredulity of the king and his councillors, by which so immense an acquisition had been for ever lost to Portugal.

On the 8th of March, a cavalier, called Don Martin de Noroña, came with a letter from King John, congratulating Columbus on his arrival, and inviting him to court, which was then held at Valparaiso, about nine miles from Lisbon. The king, with his usual munificence, issued orders at the same time that everything which the Admiral required, for himself, his crew, or his vessel, should be furnished promptly and abundantly, without cost.

Columbus would gladly have declined the royal invitation, feeling distrust of the good faith of the king; but the tempestuous weather placed him in his power, and he thought it prudent to avoid all appearance of suspicion. He set forth, therefore, that very evening, for Valparaiso, accompanied by his pilot. The first night he slept at Sacamben, where preparations had been made for his honourable entertainment. The weather being rainy, he did not reach Valparaiso until the following night. On approaching the royal residence, the principal cavaliers of the king's household came forth to meet him, and attended him with great ceremony to the palace. His reception by the Monarch was worthy of an enlightened prince. He ordered him to seat himself in his presence, an honour only granted to persons of royal dignity; and after many congratulations on the glorious result of his enterprise, assured him that every thing in his kingdom that could be of service to his Sovereigns or himself, was at his command.

A long conversation ensued, in which Columbus gave an account of his voyage, and of the countries he had discovered. The king listened with much seeming pleasure, but with secret grief and mortification; the idea was incessantly preying upon his mind, that this splendid enterprise had once been offered to himself, had, in a manner, been begging for patronage at his court, and had been rejected. A casual observation showed what was passing in his thoughts. He expressed a doubt whether the discovery did not really appertain to the crown of Portugal, according to the capitulations of the treaty of 1479 with the Castilian Sovereigns. Columbus replied that he had never seen those capitulations, nor knew any thing of their nature: his orders had been not to go to La Mina, nor the coast of Guinea, which orders he had carefully observed. The king made a gracious reply, expressing himself satisfied that he had acted correctly, and

persuaded that these matters would be readily adjusted between the two powers, without the need of umpires. On dismissing Columbus for the night, he gave him in charge, as guest, to the prior of Crato, the principal personage present, by whom he was honourably and hospitably entertained.

On the following day, the king had further conversation with the Admiral, in which he made many minute inquiries as to the soil, productions, and people of the newly-discovered countries, and the route he had taken in his voyage; to all which Columbus gave the fullest replies, endeavouring to convince the royal mind, in the clearest manner, that these were regions heretofore undiscovered and unappropriated by any christian power. Still, the king was uneasy lest this vast and undefined discovery should in some way interfere with his own newly-acquired territories. He doubted whether Columbus had not found a short way to those very countries which were the object of his own expeditions, and which were comprehended in the papal bull, granting to the crown of Portugal all the lands which it should discover from Cape Non to the Indias.

On suggesting these doubts to his councillors, they eagerly confirmed them. Some of these were the very persons who had once derided this enterprise, and scoffed at Columbus as a dreamer. To them, its success was a source of confusion; every demonstration of its importance was felt as a reproach, and the return of Columbus, covered with glory, was a deep humiliation. Incapable of conceiving the high and generous thoughts which elevated him at that moment above all mean considerations, they attributed to all his actions the most petty and ignoble motives. His rational exultation was construed into an insulting triumph, and they accused him of assuming a boastful and vain-glorious tone, when talking with the king of his discovery; as if he would revenge himself upon the monarch for having rejected his proposition.<sup>1</sup> It was with the greatest eagerness, therefore, that they sought to foster these doubts, which had sprung up in the royal mind. Some who had seen the natives brought in the caravel, declared that their colour, hair, and manners, agreed with the descriptions of the people of that part of India which lay within the route of the Portuguese discoveries, and which had been included in the papal bull. Others observed that there was but little distance between the Tercera Islands and those which Columbus had discovered, and that the latter, therefore, clearly appertained to Portugal. Seeing the king deeply perturbed in spirit, some even went so far as to propose, as a means of

<sup>1</sup> Vasconcelles, *Vida de D. Juan XI*, lib. vi. The Portuguese historians in general charge Columbus with having conducted himself loftily, and talked in vaunting terms of his discoveries, in his conversations with the King. It is evident their information must have been derived from prejudiced courtiers. Faria y Souza, in his *Europa Portuguesa* (Parte III, c. iv.) goes so far as to say that Columbus entered into the port of Bastello merely to make Portugal sensible by the sight of the trophies of his discovery, how much she had lost by not accepting his propositions.

impeding the prosecution of these enterprises, that Columbus should be assassinated; declaring that he deserved death for attempting to deceive and embroil the two nations, by his pretended discoveries. It was suggested that his assassination might easily be accomplished without incurring any odium; advantage might be taken of his lofty deportment to pique his pride, provoke him into an altercation, and then despatch him as if in casual and honourable encounter.

It is difficult to believe that such wicked and dastardly counsel could have been proposed to a monarch so upright as John II, but the fact is asserted by various historians, Portuguese as well as Spanish; and it accords with the perfidious advice formerly given to the monarch in respect to Columbus. There is a spurious loyalty about courts, which is often prone to prove its zeal by its baseness; and it is the weakness of kings to tolerate the grossest faults that appear to arise from personal devotion.

Happily, the king had too much magnanimity to adopt the iniquitous measure proposed. He did justice to the great merit of Columbus, and honoured him as a distinguished benefactor of mankind; and he felt it his duty, as a generous prince, to protect all strangers driven by adverse fortune to his ports. Others of his council suggested a more bold and martial line of policy. They advised that Columbus should be permitted to return to Spain; but that, before he could fit out a second expedition, a powerful armament should be despatched, under the guidance of two Portuguese mariners who had sailed with the Admiral, to take possession of the newly-discovered country; possession being after all the best title, and an appeal to arms the clearest mode of settling so doubtful a question.

This counsel, in which there was a mixture of courage and craft, was more relished by the king; and he resolved privately, but promptly, to put it in execution, fixing upon Dom Francisco de Almeida, one of the most distinguished captains of the age, to command the expedition.

In the mean time, Columbus, after being treated with distinguished attention, was escorted back to his ship by Don Martin de Noroña, and a numerous train of cavaliers of the court, a mule being provided for himself, and another for his pilot, to whom the king made a present of twenty *espidinos*, or ducats of gold.<sup>2</sup> On his way, Columbus stopped at the monastery of San Antonio, at Villa Franca, to visit the Queen, who had expressed an earnest wish to see him. He found her attended by a few of her favourite ladies, and experienced the most flattering reception. Her majesty made him relate the prin-

<sup>2</sup> Vasconcelles, *Vida del Rei Don Juan II*, l. vi. Garcia de Resende, *Vida de Dom Joao II*. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, l. i, c. 74, MS.

<sup>3</sup> Vasconcelles, l. vi.

<sup>4</sup> Twenty-eight dollars in gold of the present day, and equivalent to seventy-four dollars, considering the depreciation of the precious metals.

incipal events of his voyage, which he had found, while his eager curiosity upon every primary and enterprising theme of every island; and being in the morning, a servant of the part of his majesty if he preferred to provide horses, lodgings, and stand in need of, at however, having met in his caravel. Upon the 15th of March Saltes on sun-rise of the harbour of Palos the 3d of August taken not quite seven this most momentous

RECEPTION

THE triumphant and glorious event in the world, where everybody was witness to the fate of his expedition. The wealthy sea-captain and scarcely a famer among the navigators upon what appeared a cruise, had spread the storms of winter had heigh Many lamented the fate lent mysterious them as driven about of water without a and quicksands, a monsters of the deep days, peopled even There was something more serious fate than in the ordinary form.

When the news of the adventurous ship and its inhabitants were when they heard

<sup>1</sup> Works generally known as the *Ind.*, l. i, c. 74; His Majesty, Navarrete.

<sup>2</sup> In the maps and charts of much later date, the dangers with which the coast also be said of distant Asia and Africa have been depicted in all remotest parts of the world, to be difficult to trace to

principal events of his voyage, and describe the countries he had found, while she and her ladies hung with eager curiosity upon the narration of this extraordinary and enterprising man, whose achievement was the theme of every tongue. That night he slept at Llandra; and being on the point of departing in the morning, a servant of the king arrived, offering on the part of his majesty, to attend him to the frontier, if he preferred to return to Spain by land, and to provide horses, lodgings, and everything he might stand in need of, at the royal expense. The weather, however, having moderated, he preferred turning in his caravel. Putting to sea once more, therefore, on the 45th of March, he arrived safely at the bar of Saltes on sun-rise of the 45th, and at mid-day entered the harbour of Palos, from whence he had sailed on the 5d of August in the preceding year; having taken not quite seven months and a half to accomplish this most momentous of all maritime enterprises.

## CHAPTER V.

## RECEPTION OF COLUMBUS AT PALOS.

[ 1493. ]

THE triumphant return of Columbus was a prodigious event in the history of the little port of Palos, where everybody was more or less interested in the fate of his expedition. The most important and wealthy sea-captains of the place had engaged in it, and scarcely a family but had some relative or friend among the navigators. The departure of the ships, upon what appeared a chimerical and desperate cruise, had spread gloom and dismay over the place; and the storms which had raged throughout the winter had heightened the public despondency. Many lamented their friends as lost, while imagination lent mysterious horrors to their fate, picturing them as driven about over wild and deserted wastes of water without a shore, or as perishing amidst rocks and quicksands, and whirlpools; or a prey to those monsters of the deep, with which credulity, in those days, peopled every distant and unfrequented sea. There was something more awful in such a mysterious fate than in death itself, under any defined and ordinary form.

When the news arrived, therefore, that one of the adventurous ships was standing up the river, the inhabitants were thrown into great agitation; but when they heard that she returned in triumph from

<sup>1</sup> Works generally consulted in this chapter:—Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. c. 74; Hist. del Almirante, c. 59, 40, 41; Journal of Columb., Navarrete, t. i.

<sup>2</sup> In the maps and charts of those times, and even in those of a much later date, the variety of formidable and hideous monsters depicted in all remote parts of the ocean, evince the terrors and dangers with which the imagination clothed it. The same may also be said of distant and unknown lands; the remote parts of Asia and Africa have monsters depicted in them which it would be difficult to trace to any originals in natural history.

the discovery of a world, and beheld her furling her sails in their harbour, the whole community broke forth into transports of joy. The bells were rung, the shops shut, all business was suspended; for a time there was nothing but the hurry and tumult of sudden exultation and breathless curiosity. Some were anxious to know the fate of a relative, others of a friend, and all to learn particulars of so wonderful a voyage. When Columbus landed, the multitude thronged to see and welcome him, and a grand procession was formed to the principal church, to return thanks to God for so signal a discovery made by the people of that place,—the unthinking populace forgetting, in their exultation, the thousand difficulties which they had thrown in the way of the enterprise. Wherever Columbus passed, the streets resounded with shouts and acclamations; he received such honours as are paid to Sovereigns, but to him they were rendered with tenfold warmth and sincerity. What a contrast was this to his departure a few months before, followed by murmurs and execrations; or, rather, what a contrast to his first arrival at Palos, a poor pedestrian, craving bread and water for his child at the gate of a convent!

Understanding that the court was at Barcelona, Columbus felt disposed to proceed thither immediately in his caravel; reflecting, however, on the dangers and disasters he had already experienced on the seas, he resolved to proceed by land. He despatched a letter to the King and Queen, informing them of his arrival, and soon after departed for Seville to await their orders, taking with him six of the natives whom he had brought from the New World. One had died at sea, and three were left ill at Palos.

It is a singular coincidence, which appears to be well authenticated, that on the very evening of the arrival of Columbus at Palos, and while the peals of triumph were still ringing from its towers, the Pinta, commanded by Martin Alonso Pinzon, likewise entered the river. After her separation from the Admiral in the storm, she had been driven before the gale into the Bay of Biscay, and had made the port of Bayonne. Doubting whether Columbus had survived the tempest, and, at all events, anxious to anticipate him, and to secure the favourable prepossessions of the court and the public, Pinzon had immediately written to the Sovereigns, giving information of the discovery he had made, and had requested permission to come to court and communicate the particulars in person. As soon as the weather permitted, he had again set sail, anticipating a triumphant reception in his native port of Palos. When, on entering the harbour, he beheld the vessel of the Admiral riding at anchor, and learnt the enthusiasm with which he had been received, and the rejoicings with which his return had been celebrated, the heart of Pinzon died within him. He called to mind his frequent arrogance and insubordination, and his wilful desertion off the coast of Cuba, by which he



had impeded the prosecution of the voyage. It is said that he feared to meet Columbus in this hour of his triumph, lest he might put him under arrest; but it is more probable that he was ashamed to appear before the public in the midst of its rejoicings, as a recreant to the cause which excited such universal admiration. Getting into his boat, therefore, he landed privately, and kept himself out of sight until he heard of the Admiral's departure. He then returned to his home, broken in health and deeply dejected. Palos had been his little world, in which he had moved with unrivalled importance; but now he found himself fallen in public opinion, and fancied the finger of scorn continually pointed at him. All the honours lavished on Columbus, all the rapturous eulogiums of his enterprise, sunk into the soul of Pinzon as so many reproaches on himself; and when at length he received a severe and reproachful reply to the letter he had written to the Sovereigns, his morbid feelings added virulence to his malady, and in a few days he died, the victim of envy and remorse.<sup>1</sup>

He was a man of great spirit and enterprise, one of the ablest seamen of the age, and the head of a family that continued to distinguish itself among the early discoverers. He had contributed greatly to encourage Columbus when poor and unknown in Spain, offering him his purse, and entering with hearty concurrence into his plans. He had assisted him by his personal influence at Palos, combating the public prejudices, and promoting the manning and equipping of his vessels, when even the orders of the Sovereigns were of no avail; he had advanced the part of the funds to be borne by the Admiral; finally, he had embarked with his brothers in the expedition, staking life as well as property on the event. He had thus entitled himself to participate largely in the glory of this immortal enterprise; but forgetting the grandeur of the cause, he had deserted the high object in view, and by yielding to the impulse of a low and sordid passion, had tarnished his character for ever. That he was a man naturally of generous sentiments is evident from the poignancy of his remorse; a mean man could not have fallen a victim to self-upbraiding for having committed a mean action. His story shows how one lapse from duty may counterbalance the merits of a thousand services; how one moment of weakness may mar the beauty of a whole life of virtue; and how important it is for a man, under all circumstances, to be true, not merely to others, but to himself.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Muñoz, Hist. N. Mundo, l. iv, sect. 14. Charlevoix, Hist. S. Domingo, l. ii.

<sup>2</sup> The children and heirs of Martin Alonso Pinzon showed, in subsequent years, a great animosity against Columbus seeking in various ways to deprecate the merit of his discoveries, or to gain the credit of it to their father. Among other extravagancies, it was asserted, that before the Sovereigns accepted the proposition of Columbus, Pinzon had prepared to go at his own cost and risk, in two of his own ships, in search of lands in the west, of which he had some notice from papers found in the Papal library at Rome.

## CHAPTER VI.

## RECEPTION OF COLUMBUS BY THE SPANISH COURT AT BARCELONA.

THE letter of Columbus to the Spanish Monarchs, announcing his discovery, had produced the greatest sensation at court. The event he communicated, was considered the most extraordinary of their prosperous reign, and, following so close upon the conquest of Granada, was pronounced a signal mark of divine favour for that triumph achieved in the cause of true faith. The Sovereigns themselves were for a time dazzled and bewildered by this sudden and easy acquisition of a new empire, of indefinite extent, and apparently boundless wealth; and their first idea was to secure it beyond the reach of question or competition. Shortly after his arrival in Seville, Columbus received a letter from them expressing their great delight, and requesting him to repair immediately to court, to concert plans for a second and more extensive expedition. As the summer was already advancing, the time favourable for a voyage, they desired him to make any arrangements at Seville or elsewhere that might hasten the expedition, and to inform them, by the return of the courier, what was to be done on their part. This letter was addressed to him by the title of "Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean sea, and viceroy and governor of the islands discovered in the Indies;" at the same time he was promised still further rewards. Columbus lost no time in complying with the commands of the Sovereigns. He sent a memorandum of the ships, men, and munitions that would be requisite, and having made such dispositions at Seville as circumstances permitted, set out on his journey for Barcelona, taking with him the six Indians, and the various curiosities and pro-

and also from a prophecy of the time of Solomon, in which it was written, that navigating from Spain westward, by a temperate course between north and south, at ninety-five degrees of longitude, would be found the fertile and abundant island of Cipango. Muñoz, Hist. N. Mundo, l. iv, sect. 14.

It will not be uninteresting here to insert a few particulars concerning Palos and the Pinzons, furnished me by a friend, and which he had gathered in a voyage on board of the steam-boat between Seville and Cadiz. "On my way down the river," says he, "I found a sailor on board, a native of Huelva. He was intelligent for his situation, and I gathered from him the following information, which may be depended upon. Palos is dwelted to a paltry village of about four hundred inhabitants, and has only four or five barks, which are employed in fishing. The neighbouring town of Huelva has greatly increased, and chiefly at its expense. La Rabida, the monastery of Franciscans, still exists, and is inhabited by friars of that order. It is situated on a hill that overlooks the low sand plains of the surrounding country. The family of the Pinzons removed long since to Huelva, where there are now four or five branches of them. They are not wealthy; they venerate the memory of their ancestor, and preserve some documents in his hand-writing; they also follow his profession. Near San Lucar, the sailor pointed out to me a small trim-looking felucca commanded by a young Pinzon of that family. The same sailor mentioned to me incidentally, that he had been employed in Seville to fit an awning to the house of a canon, the last descendant of Heruando Cortes."

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The fame of his discovery had resounded throughout the nation, and as his route lay through several of the finest and most populous provinces of Spain, his journey appeared like the progress of a sovereign. Wherever he passed, the surrounding country poured forth its inhabitants, who lined the road and thronged the villages. In the large towns, the streets, windows, and balconies, were filled with eager spectators, who rent the air with acclamations. His journey was continually impeded by the multitude pressing to gain a sight of him and of the Indians, who were regarded with as much astonishment as if they had been natives of another planet. It was impossible to satisfy the craving curiosity which assailed himself and his attendants at every stage with innumerable questions; popular rumour, as usual, had exaggerated the truth, and had filled the newly-found country with all kinds of wonders.

It was about the middle of April that Columbus arrived at Barcelona, where every preparation had been made to give him a solemn and magnificent reception. The beauty and serenity of the weather in that genial season and favoured climate, contributed to give splendour to this memorable ceremony. As he drew near the place, many of the more youthful courtiers, and hidalgos of gallant bearing, together with a vast concourse of the populace, came forth to meet and welcome him. His entrance into this noble city has been compared to one of those triumphs which the Romans were accustomed to decree to conquerors. First, were paraded the Indians, painted according to their savage fashion, and decorated with their national ornaments of gold. After these were borne various kinds of live parrots, together with stuffed birds and animals of unknown species, and rare plants, supposed to be of precious qualities; while great care was taken to make a conspicuous display of Indian coronets, bracelets, and other decorations of gold, which might give an idea of the wealth of the newly-discovered regions. After this, followed Columbus on horseback, surrounded by a brilliant cavalcade of Spanish chivalry. The streets were almost impassable from the countless multitude; the windows and balconies were crowded with the fair; the very roofs were covered with spectators. It seemed as if the public eye could not be sated with gazing on these trophies of an unknown world, or on the remarkable man by whom it had been discovered. There was a sublimity in this event that mingled a solemn feeling with the public joy. It was looked upon as a vast and signal dispensation of Providence, in reward for the piety of the Monarchs; and the majestic and venerable appearance of the discoverer, so different from the youth and buoyancy that are generally expected from roving enterprise, seemed in harmony with the grandeur and dignity of his achievement.

To receive him with suitable pomp and distinction, the Sovereigns had ordered their throne to be placed

in public, under a rich canopy of brocade of gold, in a vast and splendid saloon. Here the King and Queen awaited his arrival, seated in state, with the Prince Juan beside them, and attended by the dignitaries of their court, and the principal nobility of Castile, Valentia, Catalonia, and Aragon, all impatient to behold the man who had conferred so incalculable a benefit upon the nation. At length Columbus entered the hall, surrounded by a brilliant crowd of cavaliers, among whom, says Las Casas, he was conspicuous for his stately and commanding person, which, with his countenance rendered venerable by his grey hairs, gave him the august appearance of a senator of Rome; a modest smile lighted up his features, showing that he enjoyed the state and glory in which he came; and certainly nothing could be more deeply moving to a mind inflamed by noble ambition, and conscious of having greatly deserved, than these testimonials of the admiration and gratitude of a nation, or rather of a world. As Columbus approached, the Sovereigns rose, as if receiving a person of the highest rank. Bending his knees, he requested to kiss their hands; but there was some hesitation on the part of their Majesties to permit this act of vassalage. Raising him in the most gracious manner, they ordered him to seat himself in their presence; a rare honour in this proud and punctilious court.\*

At the request of their Majesties, Columbus now gave an account of the most striking events of his voyage, and a description of the islands which he had discovered. He displayed the specimens he had brought of unknown birds, and other animals; of rare plants of medicinal and aromatic virtues; of native gold in dust, in crude masses, or laboured into barbaric ornaments; and, above all, the natives of these countries, who were objects of intense and inexhaustible interest; since there is nothing to man so curious as the varieties of his own species. All these he pronounced mere harbingers of greater discoveries he had yet to make, which would add realms of incalculable wealth to the dominions of their Majesties, and whole nations of proselytes to the true faith.

The words of Columbus were listened to with profound emotion by the Sovereigns. When he had finished, they sank on their knees, and raising their clasped hands to heaven, their eyes filled with tears of joy and gratitude, they poured forth thanks and praises to God for so great a providence: all present followed their example, a deep and solemn enthusiasm pervaded that splendid assembly, and prevented all common acclamations of triumph. The anthem of *Te Deum laudamus*, chanted by the choir of the royal chapel, with the melodious responses of the minstrels, rose up from the midst in a full body of sacred harmony; bearing up, as it were, the feelings and thoughts of the auditors to heaven, "so that,"

\* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i, c. 78. MS.

† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i, c. 78. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 81.

says the venerable Las Casas, "it seemed as if in that hour they communicated with celestial delights." Such was the solemn and pious manner in which the brilliant court of Spain celebrated this sublime event; offering up a grateful tribute of melody and praise, and giving glory to God for the discovery of another world.

When Columbus retired from the royal presence, he was attended to his residence by all the court, and followed by the shouting populace. For many days he was the object of universal curiosity, and, wherever he appeared, he was surrounded by an admiring multitude. While the mind of Columbus was thus teeming with glorious anticipations, his pious scheme for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre was not forgotten. It has been shown that he suggested it to the Spanish Sovereigns at the time of first making his propositions, holding it forth as the great object to be effected by the profits of his discoveries. Flushed with the idea of the vast wealth that was now to accrue to himself, he made a vow to furnish within seven years an army, consisting of four thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot, for the rescue of the holy sepulchre, and a similar force within the five following years. This vow was recorded in one of his letters to the Sovereigns, to which he refers, but which is no longer extant, nor is it certain whether it was made at the end of his first voyage, or at a subsequent date, when the magnitude and wealthy result of his discoveries became more fully manifest. He often alludes to it vaguely in his writings, and he refers to it expressly in a letter to Pope Alexander VI., written in 1502, in which he accounts also for its non-fulfilment. It is essential to a full comprehension of the character and motives of Columbus, that this wild and visionary project should be borne in recollection. It will be found to have entwined itself in his mind with his enterprise of discovery, and that a holy crusade was to be the consummation of those divine purposes, for which he considered himself selected by Heaven as an agent. It shows how much his mind was elevated above selfish and mercenary views; how it was filled with those devout and heroic schemes, which in the time of the crusades had inflamed the thoughts and directed the enterprises of the bravest warriors and most illustrious princes.

#### CHAPTER VII.

SOJOURN OF COLUMBUS AT BARCELONA. ATTENTIONS PAID HIM BY THE SOVEREIGNS AND COURTIEES.

[ 1495. ]

THE joy occasioned by this great discovery was not confined to Spain. The tidings were spread far and wide by embassies, by the correspondence of the learned, by the negotiations of merchants, and the reports of travellers. Allegretto Allegretti, a contemporary

writer, in his *Annals of Sienna* for 1493, mentions it as just made known at that court by the letters of their merchants who were in Spain, and by the mouths of various travellers. The news was brought to Genoa by the return of her ambassadors, Francesco Marchesi and Giovanni Antonio Grimaldi, and was recorded among the triumphant events of the year. The republic, though she may have slighted the opportunities of making herself mistress of the discovery, has ever since been tenacious of the glory of having given birth to the discoverer. Sebastian Cabot mentioned that he was in London when news was brought there of the discovery, and that it caused great talk and admiration in the court of Henry VII, being affirmed "to be a thing more divine than human."<sup>3</sup>

The whole civilized world, in fact, was filled with wonder and delight. Every one rejoiced in it as an event in which he was more or less interested, and as opening a new and unbounded field for inquiry and enterprise. Of the exultation of the learned, we have a proof in a letter of Peter Martyr to his friend Pomponius Lætus. "You tell me, my amiable Pomponius," he writes, "that you leaped for joy, and that your delight was mingled with tears, when you read my epistles certifying to you the hitherto hidden world of the Antipodes. You have felt and acted as became a man distinguished for learning. What aliment more delicious than such tidings can be set before an ingenious mind? I feel a happiness of spirit when I converse with intelligent people who have returned from these regions. It is like an accession of wealth to a miser. Our minds, soiled with vices, become meliorated by contemplating such glorious events."<sup>4</sup>

Notwithstanding all his triumphs, however, no one as yet was aware of the real importance of this discovery. No one had an idea that this was a totally distinct portion of the globe, separated by oceans from the ancient world. The opinion of Columbus was universally adopted, that Cuba was the end of the Asiatic continent, and that the adjacent islands were in the Indian seas. This agreed with the opinions of the ancients, heretofore cited, about the moderate distance from Spain to the extremity of India, sailing westwardly. The parrots were also thought to resemble those described by Pliny as abounding in the remote parts of Asia. The lands, therefore, which Columbus had visited were called the West Indies, and as he seemed to have entered upon a vast region of unexplored countries, existing in a state of nature, the whole received the comprehensive appellation of "the New World."

During the whole of his sojourn at Barcelona, the Sovereigns took every occasion to bestow on Columbus personal marks of their high consideration. He

<sup>3</sup> Diarj Senesi de Alleg. Allegretti. Muratori, Ital. Script., t. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Foglieta, Istoria di Genova, d. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Hackluyt, Collect. Voyages, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Letters of Peter Martyr, l. 35.

was admitted at all times to the Queen's presence, and the Queen delighted to be the object of his enterprises. He was especially distinguished on horseback, and Columbus on the family of the glory of his discovery was assigned him, in the lion, were quartered and assigned to him, a golden waves. To these are the motto—

FOR CA  
NUEVO M  
(FOR  
COLUMBUS

The pension of this was created by the Sovereigns. The voyage, should discover the Indies, Columbus, for having found them. It is said that the sea-king was so incensed at being deprived of his merited reward, that he received his country and his faith from a Mussulman; an anecdote of Oviedo,\* who is entitled to the honor of this voyage, as he was the first to inform him by the enemies of the King.

It may appear, at first sight, that with the acknowledgment of his discovery, Columbus have borne away the honors of this was a subject in which he was involved, and he was not of being personally the projector of the discovery.

Next in importance to the King and Queen, Gonzalez de Mendoza was the first subject of the character for piety, and his qualities, gave signal honor to Columbus to a banquet most honourable place with the ceremonies of the times, were observed with the most exactness. A repast is said to have been made of the egg. A student of the honours of the Indies, jealous of him as a foreigner, thought that the Indies, there were been capable of the made no immediate company to make one attempted it, but upon the table so standing on the in a simple manner, that

\* Equal to a value in gold of one hundred and seven thousand ducats.

<sup>7</sup> Oviedo, Cronica de

was admitted at all times to the royal presence, and the Queen delighted to converse with him on the subject of his enterprises. The King too appeared occasionally on horseback, with Prince Juan on one side, and Columbus on the other. To perpetuate in his family the glory of his achievement, a coat of arms was assigned him, in which the royal arms, the castle and lion, were quartered with those more peculiarly assigned to him, a group of islands surrounded by waves. To these arms were afterwards annexed the motto—

POR CASTILLA Y POR LEON  
NUEVO MUNDO HALLÓ COLÓN.  
(FOR CASTILE AND LEON  
COLUMBUS FOUND A NEW WORLD.)

The pension of thirty crowns<sup>1</sup> which had been decreed by the Sovereigns to him who, in the first voyage, should discover land, was adjudged to Columbus, for having first seen the light on the shore. It is said that the seaman who first descried the land was so incensed at being disappointed of what he conceived his merited reward, that he renounced his country and his faith, and, going into Africa, turned Mussulman; an anecdote which rests on the authority of Oviedo,<sup>2</sup> who is extremely incorrect in his narration of this voyage, and inserts several falsehoods told him by the enemies of the Admiral.

It may appear, at first sight, but little accordant with the acknowledged magnanimity of Columbus, to have borne away the prize from this poor sailor; but this was a subject in which his whole ambition was involved, and he was, doubtless, proud of the honour of being personally the discoverer of the land, as well as the projector of the enterprise.

Next in importance to the protection shown him by the King and Queen, may be mentioned that of Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, the Grand Cardinal of Spain, and first subject of the realm; a man whose elevated character for piety, learning, and high prince-like qualities, gave signal value to his favours. He invited Columbus to a banquet, where he assigned him the most honourable place at table, and had him served with the ceremonies which, in those punctilious times, were observed towards sovereigns. At this repast is said to have occurred the well-known anecdote of the egg. A shallow courtier present, impatient of the honours paid to Columbus, and meanly jealous of him as a foreigner, abruptly asked him whether he thought that, in case he had not discovered the Indies, there were not other men who would have been capable of the enterprise. To this, Columbus made no immediate reply, but, taking an egg, invited the company to make it stand upon one end. Every one attempted it, but in vain, whereupon he struck it upon the table so as to break the end, and left it standing on the broken part; illustrating, in this simple manner, that when he had once shown the

way to the New World, nothing was easier than to follow it.

The favour shown Columbus by the Sovereigns, ensured him, for a time, the caresses of the nobility: for in a court every one vies with his neighbour in lavishing attentions upon the man "whom the King delighteth to honour." He bore all these caresses and distinctions with becoming modesty, though he must have felt a proud satisfaction in the idea, that they had been wrested, as it were, from the nation, by his courage and perseverance. One can hardly recognise in the individual, thus made the companion of princes, the theme of general wonder and admiration, the same obscure stranger, who, but a short time before, had been a common scoff and jest in this very court, derided by some as an adventurer, and pointed out by others as a madman. Those who had treated him with contumely during his long course of solicitation, now sought to efface the remembrance of it by adulations. Every one who bestowed upon him a supercilious patronage, or a few courtly smiles, now arrogated to himself the credit of having been a patron, and of having promoted the discovery of the New World. Scarce a great man about the court, but has been enrolled by his historian or biographer among the benefactors of Columbus; though, had one-tenth part of this boasted patronage been really exerted, he would never have had to linger seven years soliciting for an armament of three caravels. Columbus knew well the weakness of the patronage that had been given him. The only friends mentioned by him with gratitude, in his after letters, as having been really zealous and effective, were those two worthy friends, Diego de Deza, afterwards Bishop of Palencia and Seville, and Juan Perez, Prior of the Convent of La Rabida.

Thus, honoured by the Sovereigns, courted by the great, idolized by the people, Columbus, for a time, drank the honeyed draught of popularity, before enmity and detraction had time to drug it with bitterness. His discovery burst with such sudden splendour upon the world, as to dazzle envy itself, and to call forth the general acclamations of mankind. Well would it be for the honour of human nature, could history, like romance, close with the consummation of the hero's wishes; we should then leave Columbus in the full fruition of great and well-merited prosperity. But his history is destined to furnish another proof, if proof be wanting, of the inconstancy of public favour, even when won by distinguished services. No greatness was ever acquired by more incontestable, unalloyed, and exalted benefits rendered to mankind, yet none ever drew on its possessor more unremitting jealousy and defamation, or involved him in more unmerited distress and

<sup>1</sup> This anecdote rests on the authority of the Italian historian Benzoni (l. i. p. 42, ed. Venezia, 1572). It has been condemned as trivial, but the simplicity of the reproof constituted its severity, and was characteristic of the practical sagacity of Columbus. The universal popularity of the anecdote is a proof of its merit.

<sup>1</sup> Equal to a value in gold of thirty-nine dollars, and equivalent to one hundred and seventeen dollars in our day.

<sup>2</sup> Oviedo, Cronica de las Indias, l. ii. c. 5.

difficulty. Thus it is with illustrious merit : its very effulgence draws forth the rancorous passions of low and grovelling minds, which too often have a temporary influence in obscuring it to the world; as the sun emerging with full splendour into the heavens, calls up, by the very fervour of his rays, the rank and noxious vapours which, for a time, becloud his glory.

#### CHAPTER VIII.

PAPAL BULL OF PARTITION. PREPARATIONS FOR A SECOND VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

[ 1493. ]

IN the midst of their rejoicings, the Spanish Sovereigns lost no time in taking every measure necessary to secure their new acquisitions. Although it was supposed that the countries just discovered were part of the territories of the Grand Khan, and of other oriental princes, considerably advanced in civilization, yet there does not appear to have been the least doubt of the right of their Catholic Majesties to take possession of them. During the crusades, a doctrine had been established among the Christian princes extremely favourable to their ambitious designs. According to this, they had the right to invade, ravage, and seize upon, the territories of all infidel nations, under the plea of defeating the enemies of Christ, and extending the sway of his holy church on earth. In conformity to the same doctrine, the pope, from his supreme authority over all temporal things, was considered as empowered to dispose of all heathen lands, to such pious potentates as would engage to reduce them to the dominion of the church, and to propagate the true faith among their benighted inhabitants. It was in virtue of this power, that Pope Martin V and his successors had conceded to the crown of Portugal all the lands it might discover from Cape Bojador to the Indies; and the Catholic Sovereigns, in a treaty concluded in 1479 with the Portuguese monarch, had engaged themselves to respect the territorial rights thus acquired. It was to this treaty that John II alluded, in his conversation with Columbus, wherein he suggested his title to the newly-discovered countries.

On the first intelligence received from the Admiral of his success, therefore, the Spanish Sovereigns took the immediate precaution to secure the sanction of the Pope. Alexander VI had recently been elevated to the holy chair; a pontiff whom some historians have stigmatized with every vice and crime that could disgrace humanity, but whom all have represented as eminently able and politic. He was a native of Valencia, and being born a subject of the crown of Aragon, it might be inferred was favourably disposed to Ferdinand; but in certain questions which had come before him, he had already shown a disposition not the most cordial towards the Catholic Monarch.

At all events, Ferdinand was well aware of his worldly and perfidious character, and endeavoured to manage him accordingly. He despatched ambassadors, therefore, to the court of Rome, announcing the new discovery as an extraordinary triumph of the faith; setting forth the great glory and gain which must redound to the church from the dissemination of Christianity throughout these vast and heathen lands. Care was also taken to state, that the present discovery did not in the least interfere with the possessions ceded by the holy chair to Portugal, all which had been sedulously avoided. Ferdinand, who was at least as politic as he was pious, insinuated a hint at the same time, by which the Pope might perceive that he was determined, at all events, to maintain his important acquisitions. His ambassadors were instructed to state that, in the opinion of many learned men, these newly-discovered lands, having been taken possession of by the Catholic Sovereigns, their title to the same did not require the papal sanction; still, as pious princes, obedient to the holy chair, they supplicated his holiness to issue a bull, making a concession of them, and of such others as might be discovered, to the crown of Castile.

The tidings of the discovery were received, in fact, with great astonishment and no less exultation by the court of Rome. The Spanish Sovereigns had already elevated themselves to high consequence in the eyes of the church, by their war against the Moors of Spain, which had been considered in the light of a pious crusade; and though richly repaid by the acquisition of the kingdom of Granada, it was thought to entitle them to the gratitude of all Christendom. The present discovery was a still greater achievement; it was the fulfilment of one of the sublime promises to the church; it was giving to it "the heathen earth for a possession." No difficulty, therefore, was made in granting what was considered but a modest request for so important a service; though it is probable that the acquiescence of the worldly-minded pontiff was quickened by the insinuations of the politic Monarch.

A bull was accordingly issued, dated May 2d, 1493, ceding to the Spanish Sovereigns the same rights, privileges and indulgences, in respect to the newly-discovered regions, as had been accorded to the Portuguese, with regard to their African discoveries, under the same condition of planting and propagating the catholic faith. To prevent any conflicting claims, however, between the two powers in the wide range of their discoveries, another bull was issued on the following day, containing the famous line of demarcation, by which their territories were thought to be clearly and permanently defined. This was an ideal line drawn from the north to the south pole, a hundred leagues to the west of the Azores, and the Cape de Verde Islands. All land discovered by the Spanish navigators to the west of this line, and which had not been taken possession of by any christian power be-

fore the preceding Spanish crown: all direction, was to be never to have occurred their opposite career day or other come a question of territorial. In the mean time tion of the court of made by the Sovereign. To ensure re-airs relative to the under the superinter-eca, archdeacon of promoted to the see-ns, and finally ap-He was a man of far-Alonso and Antonio and Alacyos, and th- of Castile. Juan Ro- by Las Casas as a w- temporal than spirit- to the bustling occup- armadas. Notwith- dignities to which he- term never to have- with his sacred func- though unmerited, fa- tained the control of- ears. He must un- for business, to ensu- but he was malignan- fication of his priva- wrongs and sorrows- early discoverers, b- gress of their enterp- the crown. This he- curately by his offic- duct is repeatedly al- by contemporary wr- was the curate of Lo- lasas; but they evid- the fulness of their- historians, always m- tistical supervision,- bly with this base-r- held up as a warni- brings in office, who- not of honourable e- tem influence, the f- appointing the hopes- To assist Fonseca- was associated with- oria as contador, o- the transaction of In- extending its vigilan- of Cadiz, where a cu- his new branch of r- of the Royal India I- such great power au-



fore the preceding Christmas, was to belong to the Spanish crown : all land discovered in the contrary direction, was to belong to Portugal. It seems never to have occurred to the pontiff, that, by pushing their opposite careers of discovery, they might some day or other come again in collision, and renew the question of territorial right at the Antipodes.

In the mean time, without waiting for the sanction of the court of Rome, the utmost exertions were made by the Sovereigns to fit out a second expedition. To ensure regularity and despatch in the affairs relative to the New World, they were placed under the superintendence of Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, archdeacon of Seville, who was successively promoted to the sees of Badajoz, Palencia, and Burgos, and finally appointed patriarch of the Indies. He was a man of family and influence; his brothers Alonso and Antonio were seniors, or lords, of Coca and Alayos, and the latter was comptroller-general of Castile. Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca is represented by Las Casas as a worldly man, more calculated for temporal than spiritual concerns, and well adapted to the bustling occupation of fitting out and manning armadas. Notwithstanding the high ecclesiastical dignities to which he rose, his worldly employments seem never to have been considered incompatible with his sacred functions. Enjoying the perpetual, though unmerited, favour of the Sovereigns, he maintained the control of Indian affairs for about thirty years. He must undoubtedly have possessed talents for business, to ensure him such perpetuity of office : but he was malignant and vindictive ; and in the gratification of his private resentments, not only heaped wrongs and sorrows upon the most illustrious of the early discoverers, but frequently impeded the progress of their enterprises, to the great detriment of the crown. This he was enabled to do privately and securely by his official situation. His perfidious conduct is repeatedly alluded to, but in guarded terms, by contemporary writers of weight and credit, such as the curate of Los Palacios, and the bishop Las Casas ; but they evidently were fearful of expressing the fulness of their feelings. Subsequent Spanish historians, always more or less controlled by ecclesiastical supervision, have likewise dealt too favourably with this base-minded man. He deserves to be held up as a warning example of those perfidious beings in office, who too often lie like worms at the root of honourable enterprise, blighting, by their un- seen influence, the fruits of glorious action, and disappointing the hopes of nations.

To assist Fonseca in his duties, Francisco Pinelo was associated with him as treasurer, and Juan de Borja as contador, or comptroller. Their office, for the transaction of Indian affairs, was fixed at Seville ; extending its vigilance at the same time to the port of Cadiz, where a custom-house was established for this new branch of navigation. Such was the germ of the Royal India House, which afterwards rose to such great power and importance. A correspondent

office was ordered to be instituted in Hispaniola, under the direction of the Admiral. These offices were to interchange registers of the cargoes, crews, and munition of each ship, by accountants who sailed with it. All persons thus employed were dependants upon the two comptrollers general, superior ministers of the royal revenue ; since the crown was to be at all the expenses of the colony, and to receive all the emoluments.

The most minute and rigorous account was to be exacted of all expenses and proceeds ; and the most vigilant caution observed as to the persons employed in the concerns of the newly discovered lands. No one was permitted to go there either to trade or to form an establishment, without express license from the Sovereigns, from Columbus, or from Fonseca, under the heaviest penalties. The ignorance of the age as to enlarged principles of commerce, and the example of the Portuguese in respect to their African possessions, have been cited in excuse of the narrow and jealous spirit here manifested ; but it always more or less influenced the policy of Spain in her colonial regulations.

Another instance of the despotic sway maintained by the crown over commerce, is manifested in a royal order, that all ships in the ports of Andalusia, with their captains, pilots, and crews, should be held in readiness to serve in this expedition. Columbus and Fonseca were authorized to freight or purchase any of those vessels they might think proper, and to take them by force, if refused, even though they had been freighted by other persons, paying what they should conceive a reasonable price. They were furthermore authorised to take the requisite provisions, arms, and ammunition, from any place or vessel in which they might be found, paying a fair price to the owners ; and they might compel, not merely mariners, but any officer holding any rank or station whatever, whom they should deem necessary to the service, to embark in the fleet, on a reasonable pay and salary. The civil authorities, and all persons of rank and standing, were called upon to render all requisite aid in expediting the armament, and warned against creating any impediment, under penalty of privation of office and confiscation of estate. To provide for the expenses of the expedition, the royal revenue arising from two-thirds of the church tithes was placed at the disposition of Pinelo ; and other funds were drawn from a disgraceful source, from the jewels and other valuables, the sequestrated property of the unfortunate Jews, banished from the kingdom, according to a bigoted edict of the preceding year. As these resources were still inadequate, Pinelo was authorized to supply the deficiency by a loan. Requisitions were likewise made for provisions of all kinds, as well as for artillery, powder, muskets, lances, corselets, and cross-bows. This latter weapon, notwithstanding the introduction of fire-arms, was still preferred by many to the arquebuss, and considered more formidable and destructive ; the other having to be used with a match-



lock, and being so heavy as to require an iron rest. The military stores which had accumulated during the war with the Moors of Granada, furnished a great part of these supplies. Almost all the preceding orders were issued by the 23d of May, while Columbus was yet at Barcelona. Rarely has there been witnessed such a scene of activity in the dilatory offices of Spain.

As the conversion of the heathens was professed to be the grand object of these discoveries, twelve zealous and able ecclesiastics were chosen for the purpose, to accompany the expedition. Among these was Bernardo Buyl or Boyle, a Benedictine monk, of talent and reputed sanctity, but one of those subtle politicians of the cloister, who in those days glided into all temporal concerns. He had acquitted himself with success in recent negotiations with France, relative to the restitution of Roussillon. Before the sailing of the fleet, he was appointed by the Pope his Apostolical Vicar for the new world, and placed as superior over his ecclesiastical brethren. This pious mission was provided with all things necessary for the dignified performance of its functions; the queen supplying from her own chapel the ornaments and vestments to be used in all solemn ceremonies. Isabella, from the first, took the most warm and compassionate interest in the welfare of the Indians. Won by the accounts given by Columbus of their gentleness and simplicity, and looking upon them as committed by Heaven to her especial care, her pious heart was filled with concern at their destitute and ignorant condition. She ordered that great care should be taken of their religious instruction; that they should be treated with the utmost kindness; and enjoined Columbus to inflict signal punishment on all Spaniards who should be guilty of outrage or injustice towards them.

By way, at it was said, of offering to Heaven the first-fruits of these pagan nations, the six Indians whom Columbus had brought to Barcelona were baptized with great state and ceremony; the king, the queen, and Prince Juan officiating as sponsors. Great hopes were entertained that, on their return to their native country, they would facilitate the introduction of christianity among their countrymen. One of them, at the request of Prince Juan, remained in his household, but died not long afterwards: a Spanish historian<sup>\*</sup> remarked that, according to what ought to be our pious belief, he was the first of his nation that entered heaven.

Before the departure of Columbus from Barcelona, the provisional agreement made at Santa Fé was confirmed, granting him the titles, emoluments, and prerogatives of admiral, viceroy, and governor, of all the countries he had discovered, or might discover. He was intrusted also with the royal seal, with authority to use the names of their majesties in granting letters-patent and commissions within the bounds of

his jurisdiction; with the right also, in case of absence, to appoint a person in his place, and to invest him, for the time, with the same powers.

It had been premised in the agreement, that for all vacant offices in the government of the islands and mainland, he should nominate three candidates, one of which number the Sovereign should make a choice; but now, to save time, and to show their confidence in Columbus, they empowered him to appoint at once such persons as he thought proper, who were to hold their offices during the royal pleasure. He had likewise the title and command of captain-general of the armament about to sail, with unqualified powers as to the government of the crews, the establishments to be formed in the New World, and the ulterior discoveries to be undertaken.

This was the honey-moon of royal favour, during which Columbus enjoyed the unbounded and well-merited confidence of his Sovereigns, before envious minds had dared to insinuate a doubt of his integrity. After receiving every mark of public honour and private regard, he took leave of the Sovereigns on the 28th of May. The whole court accompanied him from the palace to his dwelling, and attended, also, to pay him farewell honours on his departure from Barcelona for Seville.

## CHAPTER IX.

DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE COURTS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL WITH RESPECT TO THE NEW DISCOVERIES.

[ 1493. ]

THE anxiety of the Spanish monarchy for the speedy departure of the expedition, was heightened by the proceedings of the court of Portugal. John had unfortunately among his councillors certain politicians of that short-sighted class, who mistake craft for wisdom. By adopting their perfidious policy, he had lost the New World when it was an object of honourable enterprise; in compliance with their advice, he now sought to retrieve it by subtle stratagem. He had accordingly prepared a large armament, the avowed object of which was an expedition to Africa; but its real destination to seize upon the newly-discovered countries. To lull suspicion, Don Ruy de Sande was sent ambassador to the Spanish court, requesting permission to procure certain prohibited articles from Spain for this African voyage. He required also, that the Spanish Sovereigns should forbid their subjects to fish beyond Cape Bojador, until the possessions of the two nations should be properly defined. The discovery of Columbus, the real object of solicitude, was treated as an incidental affair. The manner of his arrival and reception in Portugal was mentioned; the congratulations of King John on the happy result of his voyage; his satisfaction at finding that the Admiral had been instructed to steer west-

ward from the Can- Castilian Sovereigns similar track to the those Islands being of Portugal. He confidence of King ly-discovered island the matter would b which existed betw

Ferdinand was t deceived. He had real designs of Kin his ambassador he de Herrera to the double instructions opposite tenor. Th terms, acknowledg shown to Columbu of his discoveries, the Portuguese nav visiting those new manner that the S their subjects from sessions of Portugal

In case, however John had either ser the New World, h letter, and present peremptory terms, kind.<sup>\*</sup> A keen dip two Sovereigns, per acquainted with the in his History of K Portuguese monarch bribes, held certai the Castilian cabin lim of the most se roads were covered tention expressed it was conveyed t was, that the Span the influence of so ticipated all their into their very th crossed on the roa powered to settle t to make remonstr and proposed a s the envoys at his cquire fresh instruce be astonished by a the questions wh through secret in vided for. As a s might naturally a his agents in sec cions from them u

<sup>\*</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1. l. ii. cap. 5.

<sup>\*</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind. l. i. c. 25.

ward from the Canary Islands, and his hope that the Castilian Sovereigns would continue to enjoin a similar track to their navigators,—all to the south: of those Islands being granted by papal bull to the crown of Portugal. He concluded by intimating the entire confidence of King John, that should any of the newly-discovered islands appertain by right to Portugal, the matter would be adjusted in that spirit of amity which existed between the two crowns.

Ferdinand was too wary a politician to be easily deceived. He had received early intelligence of the real designs of King John, and before the arrival of his ambassador he had himself despatched Don Lope de Herrera to the Portuguese court, furnished with double instructions, and with two letters of widely opposite tenor. The first was couched in affectionate terms, acknowledging the hospitality and kindness shown to Columbus, and communicating the nature of his discoveries, requesting at the same time that the Portuguese navigators might be prohibited from visiting those newly-discovered lands, in the same manner that the Spanish Sovereigns had prohibited their subjects from interfering with the African possessions of Portugal.

In case, however, the ambassador found that King John had either sent, or was about to send, vessels to the New World, he was to withhold the amicable letter, and present the other, couched in stern and peremptory terms, forbidding any enterprise of the kind.<sup>1</sup> A keen diplomatic game ensued between the two Sovereigns, perplexing to any spectator not acquainted with the secret of their play. Reesende, in his History of King John II, informs us, that the Portuguese monarch, by large presents, or rather bribes, held certain of the confidential members of the Castilian cabinet in his interest, who informed him of the most secret councils of their court. The roads were covered with couriers; scarce was an intention expressed by Ferdinand to his ministers, but it was conveyed to his rival monarch. The result was, that the Spanish Sovereigns seemed as if under the influence of some enchantment. King John anticipated all their movements, and appeared to dive into their very thoughts. Their ambassadors were crossed on the road by Portuguese ambassadors, empowered to settle the very points on which they were to make remonstrances. Frequently, when Ferdinand proposed a sudden and perplexing question to the envoys at his court, which apparently would require fresh instructions from the Sovereigns, he would be astonished by a prompt and positive reply; most of the questions which were likely to occur having, through secret information, been foreseen and provided for. As a surmise of treachery in the cabinet might naturally arise, King John, while he rewarded his agents in secret, endeavoured to divert suspicions from them upon others, making rich presents of

jewels to the Duke de Infantado and other Spanish grandees of incorruptible integrity.<sup>2</sup>

Such is the intriguing diplomatic craft which too often passes for refined policy, and is extolled as the wisdom of the cabinet; but all corrupt and disingenuous measures are unworthy of an enlightened politician and a magnanimous prince. The grand principles of right and wrong operate in the same way between nations as between individuals; fair and open conduct, and inviolable faith, however they may appear adverse to present purposes, are the only kind of policy that will ensure ultimate and honourable success.

King John, having received intelligence, in the furtive manner that has been mentioned, of the double instructions furnished to Don Lope de Herrera, received him in such a manner as to prevent any resort to his peremptory letter. He had already despatched an extra envoy to the Spanish court to keep it in good humour, and he now appointed Doctor Pero Diaz and Don Ruy de Pena ambassadors to the Spanish Sovereigns, to adjust all questions relative to the new discoveries: and promised that no vessel should be permitted to sail on a voyage of discovery within sixty days after their arrival at Barcelona.

These ambassadors were instructed to propose, as a mode of effectually settling all claims, that a line should be drawn from the Canaries due west; all lands and seas north of it to appertain to the Castilian court; all south to the crown of Portugal, excepting any islands already in possession of either power.<sup>3</sup>

Ferdinand had now the vantage-ground; his object was to gain time for the preparation and departure of Columbus, by entangling King John in long diplomatic negotiations.<sup>3</sup> In reply to his proposals, he despatched Don Pedro de Ayala and Don Garcia Lopez de Caravajal on a solemn embassy to Portugal, in which there was great outward pomp and parade, and many professions of amity, but the whole purport of which was to propose to submit the territorial questions which had arisen between them to arbitration, or to the court of Rome. This stately embassy moved with becoming slowness, but a special envoy was sent in advance to apprise the King of Portugal of its approach, in order to keep him waiting for its communications.

King John understood the whole nature and object of the embassy, and felt that Ferdinand was foiling him. The ambassadors at length arrived, and delivered their credentials with great form and ceremony. As they retired from his presence, he looked after them contemptuously: "This embassy from our cousin," said he, "wants both head and feet." He alluded to the character both of the mission and the envoys. Don Garcia de Caravajal was vain and

<sup>1</sup> Reesende, Vida del Rey Don Johan II, cap. 157. Faria y Souza, Europa Portuguesa, t. ii, c. 4, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Quirita, lib. I, cap. 25. Herrera, decad. t. i, li, c. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Vasconcelos, Don Juan II, lib. vi.

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i, l. ii. Zurita, Anales de Aragon, l. i, c. 25.

frivolous, and Don Pedro de Ayala was lame of one leg.<sup>1</sup>

In the height of his vexation, King John is even said to have held out some vague show of hostile intentions, taking occasion to let the ambassadors discover him reviewing his cavalry, and dropping ambiguous words in their hearing, which might be construed into something of menacing import.<sup>2</sup> The embassy returned to Castile, leaving him in a state of perplexity and irritation; but whatever might be his chagrin, his discretion prevented him from coming to an open rupture. He had some hopes of interference on the part of the Pope, to whom he had sent an embassy, complaining of the pretended discoveries of the Spaniards, as infringing the territories granted to Portugal by papal bull, and earnestly imploring redress. Here, as has been shown, his wary antagonist had been beforehand with him, and he was doomed again to be foiled. The only reply his ambassador received, was a reference to the line of partition from pole to pole, so sagely devised by his holiness.<sup>3</sup> Such was this royal game of diplomacy, where the parties were playing for a newly-discovered world. John II was able and intelligent, and had crafty councillors to advise him in all his moves; but whenever deep and subtle policy was required, Ferdinand was master of the game.

#### CHAPTER X.

FURTHER PREPARATIONS FOR THE SECOND VOYAGE. CHARACTER OF ALONSO DE OJEDA. DIFFERENCE OF COLUMBUS WITH SORIA AND FONSECA.

[ 1493. ]

DISTRUSTFUL of some attempt on the part of Portugal to interfere with their discoveries, the Spanish sovereigns, in the course of their negotiations, wrote repeatedly to Columbus, urging him to hasten his departure. His zeal, however, needed no incitement; immediately on arriving at Seville, in the beginning of June, he had proceeded with all diligence to fit out the armament, making use of the powers given him to put in requisition the ships and crews which were in the harbours of Andalusia. He was joined soon after by Fonseca and Soria, who had remained for a time at Barcelona, and, with their united exertions, a fleet of seventeen vessels, large and small, were soon in a state of preparation. The best pilots were chosen for the service, and the crews were mustered in presence of Soria the comptroller. A number of skilful husbandmen, miners, carpenters, and other mechanics, were engaged for the projected colony. Horses, both for military purposes and for stocking the country, cattle, and domestic animals of all kinds, were likewise provided. Grain, seeds of

<sup>1</sup> Vasconcelos, lib. vi. Barros, Asia, c. 1, l. iii, cap. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Vasconcelos, lib. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Herrera, decad. 1, l. ii.

various plants, vines, sugar-canes, grafts, and saplings, were embarked, together with a great quantity of merchandise; consisting of trinkets, beads, hawk-bells, looking-glasses, and other showy trifles, calculated for trafficking with the natives. Nor was there wanting an abundant supply of provisions of all sorts, munitions of war, and medicines and refreshments for the sick.

An extraordinary degree of excitement prevailed respecting this expedition. The most extravagant fancies were entertained with respect to the New World. The accounts given by the voyagers who had visited it were full of exaggeration; for in fact they had nothing but vague and confused notions concerning it, like the recollections of a dream; and it has been shown that Columbus himself had beheld every thing through the most delusive medium. The vivacity of his descriptions, and the sanguine anticipations of his ardent spirit, while they aroused the public to a wonderful degree of enthusiasm, prepared the way for bitter disappointment. The cupidity of the avaricious was inflamed with the idea of regions of unappropriated wealth, where the rivers rolled over golden sands, and the mountains teemed with gems and precious metals; where the groves produced spices and perfumes, and the shores of the ocean were sown with pearl. Others had conceived visions of a loftier kind. It was a romantic and stirring age, and the wars with the Moors being over, and hostilities with the French suspended, the bold and restless spirits of the nation, impatient of the monotony of peaceful life, were eager for employment. To these, the New World presented a vast field for wild enterprise and extraordinary adventure, so congenial to the Spanish character in that period of its meridian fervour and brilliancy. Many hidalgos of high rank, officers of the royal household, and Andalusian cavaliers, schooled in arms, and inspired with a passion for hardy achievements by the romantic wars of Granada, pressed into the expedition, some in the royal service, others at their own cost. To them, it was the commencement of a new series of crusades, surpassing in extent and splendour the chivalrous enterprises to the Holy Land. They pictured to themselves vast and beautiful islands of the ocean to be over-run and subdued; their internal wonders to be explored, and the banner of the cross to be planted on the walls of the cities they were supposed to contain. From thence they were to make their way to the shores of India, or rather Asia, penetrate into Mangi and Cathay, convert, or what was the same thing, conquer, the Grand Khan, and thus open a glorious career of arms among the splendid countries and semi-barbarous nations of the east. Thus, no one had any definite idea of the object or nature of the service on which he was embarking, or the situation and character of the region to which he was bound. Indeed, during this fever of the imagination, had sober facts and cold realities been presented, they would have been rejected with disdain;

for there is nothing so patient than of being any of its golden dream.

Among the noted expedition, was a young Alonso de Ojeda, of personal endowments distinguished himself and singular exploits. He was of a good venerable father. A Spaniard; had been brother of the Duke of Medina against the Moors. To make, well proportioned, handsome animated strength and agility; accomplished in all admirable horsemanship highest order. Bold, haud, fierce in fight, forgive and prone to long time the idol of engaged in the early and has been made to. On introducing him gives an anecdote of be unworthy of regular character of the

Queen Isabella be church of Seville, Ojeda, to entertain his courage and age which projected in tower, at such an in that the people below enough to make Ojeda. Along this beam his much confidence as chamber. When a one leg, lifting the nimbly round, he tower, unaffected by the least false step dashed him to pierce one foot on the bear the wall of the summit of the tower immerse muscular Ojeda, who soon followers of Columbus every enterprise of courted peace as if seemed to fight more than for the sake of

The number of the expedition had been such was the urgent

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, lib. 1, MS. Hist. Ind., decad. 1, l. ii.

for there is nothing of which the public is more impatient than of being disturbed in the indulgence of any of its golden dreams.

Among the noted personages who engaged in the expedition, was a young cavalier of the name of Don Alonso de Ojeda, celebrated for his extraordinary personal endowments and his daring spirit; and who distinguished himself by many perilous expeditions and singular exploits among the early discoveries. He was of a good family, cousin-german to the venerable father Alonso de Ojeda, Inquisitor of Spain; had been brought up under the patronage of the Duke of Medina Celi, and had served in the wars against the Moors. He was of small size, but vigorous make, well proportioned, dark complexioned, of handsome animated countenance, and incredible strength and agility; expert at all kinds of weapons, accomplished in all manly and warlike exercises, an admirable horseman, and a partisan soldier of the highest order. Bold of heart, free of spirit, open of hand, fierce in fight, quick in brawl, but ready to forgive and prone to forget an injury, he was for a long time the idol of the rash and roving youth who engaged in the early expeditions to the New World, and has been made the hero of many wonderful tales. On introducing him to historical notice, Las Casas gives an anecdote of one of his exploits which would be unworthy of record, but that it exhibits the singular character of the man.

Queen Isabella being in the tower of the principal church of Seville, better known as the Giralda, Ojeda, to entertain her Majesty, and to give proofs of his courage and agility, mounted on a great beam which projected in the air, twenty feet from the tower, at such an immense height from the ground, that the people below looked like dwarfs, and it was enough to make Ojeda himself shudder to look down. Along this beam he walked briskly, and with as much confidence as though he had been pacing his chamber. When arrived at the end, he stood on one leg, lifting the other in the air; then turning nimbly round, he returned in the same way to the tower, unaffected by the giddy height, from whence the least false step would have precipitated him and dashed him to pieces. He afterwards stood with one foot on the beam, and placing the other against the wall of the building, threw an orange to the summit of the tower, a proof, says Las Casas, of immense muscular strength. Such was Alonso de Ojeda, who soon became conspicuous among the followers of Columbus, and was always foremost in every enterprise of an adventurous nature; who courted peril as if for the very love of danger, and seemed to fight more for the pleasure of fighting than for the sake of distinction.\*

The number of persons permitted to embark in the expedition had been limited to one thousand; but such was the urgent application of volunteers to be

permitted to enlist without pay, that the number had increased to twelve hundred. Many more were refused for want of room in the ships for their accommodation, but some contrived to get admitted by stealth, so that eventually about fifteen hundred set sail in the fleet. As Columbus, in his laudable zeal for the welfare of the enterprise, provided everything that might be necessary in various possible emergencies, the expenses of the outfit exceeded what had been anticipated. This gave rise to occasional demurs on the part of the comptroller Juan de Soria, who sometimes refused to sign the accounts of the Admiral, and in the course of their transactions seemed to have forgotten the deference due both to his character and station. For this he received repeated and severe reprimands from the Sovereigns, who emphatically commanded that Columbus should be treated with the greatest respect, and everything done to facilitate his plans and yield him satisfaction. From similar injunctions inserted in the royal letters to Fonseca, the archdeacon of Seville, it is probable that he also had occasionally indulged in the captious exercise of his official powers. He appears to have demurred to various requisitions of Columbus, particularly one for footmen and other domestics for his immediate service, to form his household and retinue as admiral and viceroy, a demand which was considered superfluous by the prelate, as all who embarked on the expedition were at his command. In reply, the Sovereigns ordered that he should be allowed ten *escuderos de á pie*, or footmen, and twenty persons in other domestic capacities; and reminded Fonseca that they had charged him that, both in the nature and mode of his transactions with the Admiral, he should study to give him content; observing that, as the whole armament was intrusted to his command, it was but reasonable that his wishes should be consulted, and that no one should embarrass him with punctilios and difficulties.†

These trivial differences are worthy of particular notice, from the effect they appear to have had on the mind of Fonseca, for from them we must date the first rise of that singular hostility which he ever afterwards manifested towards Columbus, which every year increased in rancour, and which he gratified in the most invidious manner, by secretly multiplying impediments and vexations in his path.

While the expedition was yet lingering in port, intelligence was received that a Portuguese caravel had set sail from Madeira and steered for the west. Suspicions were immediately awakened that she was bound for the lately-discovered lands. Columbus wrote an account of it to the Sovereigns, and prepared to despatch a part of his fleet in pursuit of her. His proposition was approved, but not carried into effect. On remonstrances being made to the court of Lisbon, King John declared that the vessel had sailed without his permission, and that he would send three

\* Las Casas, lib. 1, MS. Pizarro, Varones Ilustres. Herrera Hist. Ind. lib. 1, l. ii, c. 5.

† Navarrete Collec., vii, 2. Documentos, No. 62--66.

caravels to bring her back. This only served to increase the jealousy of the Spanish monarchs, who considered the whole a deep-laid stratagem, and that it was intended the vessels should join their forces, and pursue their course together to the New World. Columbus was urged, therefore, to depart without an hour's delay, and instructed to steer wide of Cape St Vincent, and entirely avoid the Portuguese coasts and islands, for fear of molestation. If he met with any vessels in the seas he had explored, he was to seize them, and inflict rigorous punishment on the crews. Fonseca was also ordered to be on the alert, and in case any expedition sailed from Portugal, to send double the force after it. These precautions, however, proved unnecessary. Whether such caravels actually did sail, and whether they were sent with sinister motives by Portugal, does not appear; nothing was either seen or heard of them by Columbus in the course of his voyage.

It may be as well, for the sake of distinctness, to anticipate, in this place, the regular course of history, and mention the manner in which this territorial question was finally settled between the rival Sovereigns. It was impossible for King John to repress his disquiet at the indefinite enterprises of the Spanish Monarchs; he did not know how far they might extend, and whether they might not forestall him in all his anticipated discoveries in India. Finding, however, all attempts fruitless to gain by stratagem an advantage over his wary and skilful antagonist, and despairing of any further assistance from the court of Rome, he had recourse, at last, to fair and amicable negotiations, and found, as is generally the case with those who turn aside into the inviting but crooked paths of craft, that had he kept to the line of frank and open policy, he would have saved himself a world of perplexity, and have arrived sooner at his object. He offered to leave to the Spanish Sovereigns the free prosecution of their western discovery, and to conform to the plan of partition by a meridian line, but he represented that this line had not been drawn far enough to the west: that while it left the wide ocean free to the range of Spanish enterprise, his navigators could not venture more than a hundred leagues west of his possessions, and had no scope nor sea-room for their southern voyages.

After much difficulty and discussion, this momentous dispute was adjusted by deputies from the two crowns, who met at Tordesillas in Old Castile, in the following year, and on the 7th of June, 1494, signed a treaty, by which the papal line of partition was moved to three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape de Verde Islands. It was agreed that within six months an equal number of caravels and mariners, on the part of the two nations, should rendezvous at the island of the Grand Canary; provided with men learned in astronomy and navigation. They were to proceed thence to the Cape de Verde Islands, and thence westward three hundred and seventy leagues, and determine the proposed line from pole to pole,

dividing the ocean between the two nations. Each of the two powers engaged solemnly to observe the bounds thus prescribed, and to prosecute no enterprise beyond its proper limits; though it was agreed that the Spanish navigators might traverse freely the eastern parts of the ocean in prosecuting their rightful voyages. Various circumstances impeded the proposed expedition to determine the line, but the treaty remained in force, and prevented all further discussions.

Thus, says Vasconceles, this great question, the greatest ever agitated between the two crowns, for it was the partition of a new world, was amicably settled by the prudence and address of two of the most politic Monarchs that ever swayed the sceptre. It was arranged to the satisfaction of both parties, each holding himself entitled to the vast countries that might be discovered within his boundary, without any regard to the rights of the native inhabitants.

## BOOK VI.

### CHAPTER I.

#### DEPARTURE OF COLUMBUS ON HIS SECOND VOYAGE. DISCOVERY OF THE CARIBBEE ISLANDS.

[ 1495. ]

THE departure of Columbus on his second voyage of discovery presented a brilliant contrast to his gloomy embarkation at Palos. On the 25th of September, at the dawn of day, the bay of Cadiz was whitened by his fleet. There were three large ships of heavy burden,<sup>1</sup> and fourteen caravels, loitering with flapping sails, and awaiting the signal to get under weigh. The harbour resounded with the well known note of the sailor, hoisting sail, or weighing anchor; a motley crowd were hurrying on board and taking leave of their friends, in the confidence of a prosperous voyage and triumphant return. There was the high-spirited cavalier, bound on romantic enterprise; the hardy navigator, ambitious of acquiring laurels in these unknown seas; the roving adventurer who anticipates everything from change of place and distance; the keen calculating speculator, eager to profit by the ignorance of savage tribes; and the pale missionary from the cloister, anxious to extend the domination of the church, or devoutly zealous for the propagation of the faith. All were full of animation and lively hope. Instead of being regarded by the populace as devoted men, bound upon a dark and des-

<sup>1</sup> Zurita, Hist. del Rey Fernand, l. i. c. 29. Vasconceles, lib. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Martyr says they were carracks ( a large species of merchant vessel, principally used in coasting trade ), of one hundred tons burden; and that two of the caravels were much larger than the rest, and more capable of bearing decks, from the size of their masts. Decad. i. l. i.

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<sup>3</sup> Hist. del Almirante.  
<sup>4</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind.  
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erate enterprise, they were contemplated with envy, as favoured mortals, destined to golden regions and happy climes, where nothing but wealth, and wonder, and delights awaited them. Columbus moved among the throng, conspicuous for his height and for his commanding appearance. He was attended by his two sons Diego and Fernando, the eldest but a stripling, who had come to witness his departure, proud of the glory of their father. Wherever he passed, every eye followed him with admiration, and every tongue praised and blessed him. Before sunrise the whole fleet was under weigh; the weather was serene and propitious, and as the populace watched their parting sails brightening in the morning beams, they looked forward to their joyful return laden with the treasures of the New World.

According to the instructions of the Sovereigns, Columbus steered wide of the coasts of Portugal and of its islands, standing to the south-west of the Canaries, where they arrived on the 1st of October. After touching at the Grand Canary, they anchored on the 5th at Gomera, where they took in a supply of wood and water for the voyage. Here also they purchased calves, goats, and sheep, to stock the island of Hispaniola; and eight hogs, from which, according to Las Casas, the infinite number of swine was propagated, with which the Spanish settlements in the New World subsequently abounded. A number of domestic fowls were likewise purchased, which were the origin of the species in the New World; and the same might be said of the seeds of oranges, lemons, bergamots, melons, and various orchard fruits,<sup>2</sup> which were thus first introduced into the islands of the west, from the Hesperides or Fortunate Islands of the Old World.<sup>3</sup>

On the 7th, when about to sail, Columbus gave to the commander of each vessel a sealed letter of instructions, in which was specified his route to the harbour of Natividad, the residence of the cacique Guacanagari. This was only to be opened in case of being separated by accident, as he wished to make a mystery, as long as possible, of the exact route to the newly-discovered country, lest adventurers of other nations, and particularly the Portuguese, should follow in his track, and interfere with his enterprises.<sup>4</sup>

After making sail from Gomera, they were becalmed for a few days among the Canaries, until, on the 13th of October, a fair breeze sprang up from the east, which soon carried them out of sight of the island of Ferro. Columbus held his course to the south-west, intending to keep considerably more to the southward than in his first voyage, in hopes of falling in with the islands of the Caribs, of which he

had received such vague and wonderful accounts from the Indians.<sup>5</sup> Being in the region of the trade winds, the breeze continued fair and steady, with a quiet sea and pleasant weather, and by the 24th they had made four hundred and fifty leagues west of Gomera, without having seen any of those fields of sea-weeds which they had encountered within a much less distance on their first voyage, when their appearance had been so important, and almost providential, inspiring continual hope, and enticing them forward in their dubious enterprise. Now they needed no such signals, they were full of confidence and lively anticipation; and on seeing a swallow circling about the ships, and being visited occasionally by sudden showers, they began to look out cheerily for land.

Towards the latter part of October they were alarmed in the night by one of those sudden gusts of heavy rain, which are accompanied, in the tropics, with intense lightning and tremendous peals of thunder. It lasted for four hours, and they considered themselves in much peril, until they beheld several of those lambent flames playing about the tops of the mast, and gliding along the rigging, which are occasionally seen about tempest-tossed vessels during a highly electrical state of the atmosphere. These singular phenomena occurring in such awful times of gloom and peril, have always been objects of superstitious fancies among sailors. Fernando Columbus records their present appearance, and makes remarks on them strongly characteristic of the age in which he lived. "On the same Saturday, in the night, was seen St Elmo, with seven lighted tapers, at the topmast: there was much rain and great thunder; I mean to say, that those lights were seen which mariners affirm to be the body of St Elmo, on beholding which they chanted manyitanics and orisons, holding it for certain, that in the tempest in which he appears, no one is in danger. Be that as it may, I leave the matter to them; but if we may believe Pliny, similar lights have sometimes appeared to the Roman mariners during tempests at sea, which they said were Castor and Pollux, of which likewise Seneca makes mention."<sup>6</sup>

On the evening of Saturday, the 2nd of November, Columbus was convinced, from the colour of the sea, the nature of the waves, and the variable winds and frequent showers, that they must be near to land; he gave orders, therefore, to take in sail, and to maintain a vigilant watch throughout the night. He had judged with his usual sagacity. As the morning dawned, a lofty island was descried to

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Dr Chanca.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 43. A similar mention is made of this nautical superstition in the voyage of Magellan. During these great storms, they said that St Elmo appeared at the topmast with a lighted candle, and sometimes with two; upon which the people shed tears of joy, receiving great consolation, and saluted him according to the custom of mariners. He remained visible for a quarter of an hour, and then disappeared, with a great flash of lightning, which blinded the people. Herrera, decal. 2. l. iv, c. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. 1, c. 87.

<sup>5</sup> M. de Humboldt is of opinion that there were wild oranges, small and bitter, as well as wild lemons, in the New World prior to the discovery. Calkleugh mentions also that the Brazilians consider the small bitter wild orange of native origin.—Humboldt, Essai Politique sur l'île de Cuba, t. 1, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> Las Casas, M. Sup.

the west, at the sight of which there were shouts of joy throughout the fleet. Columbus gave to the island the name of *Dominica*, from having discovered it on Sunday. As the ships moved gently onward, other islands rose to sight one after another, emerging as it were from the quiet ocean, covered with verdant forests; while great flights of parrots, and other tropical birds, were winging their way from one to the other.

The crews were now assembled on the decks of the several ships, to return thanks to God for their prosperous voyage, and their happy discovery of land, and the *Salve Regina* and other anthems were chanted by the mariners throughout the armada. Such was the pious manner in which Columbus celebrated all his discoveries, and which, in fact, was generally observed by the Spanish and Portuguese voyagers. It certainly presents a solemn and beautiful picture to the mind; this congregation of mariners uniting, as it were, in a Sabbath jubilee on the tranquil bosom of the deep, and sending up swelling anthems of praise to Heaven for the fair land that was rising to their view.

## CHAPTER II.

### TRANSACTIONS AT THE ISLAND OF GUADALOUPE.

[ 1493. ]

THE islands among which Columbus had arrived, were a part of that beautiful cluster called by some the Antilles, which sweep almost in a semicircle from the eastern end of Porto Rico to the coast of Paria on the southern continent, forming a kind of barrier between the main ocean and the Caribbean Sea.

During the course of the first day that he entered this archipelago, Columbus saw no less than six islands of different magnitude, clothed in that majestic vegetation peculiar to the tropics; and whenever the breeze passed over them, the whole air was sweetened by the fragrance of their forests.

After seeking in vain for good anchorage at *Dominica*, he stood for another of the group, to which he gave the name of his ship, *Marigalante*. Here he landed, displayed the royal banner, and took possession of that and the adjacent islands in the name of his sovereigns. There was no vestige of a human being to be seen, the island appeared to be uninhabited; a rich and dense forest overspread it, some of the trees being in blossom, others laden with unknown fruits, others possessing spicy odours—among which was one with the leaf of the laurel and the fragrance of the clove.

From hence they made sail for an island of larger size, with a remarkable mountain, one peak of which rose to a great height with streams of water gushing from it, which proved afterwards to be the crater of a volcano. As they approached within three

leagues, they beheld a great torrent tumbling over a precipice of such immense height, that, to use the words of the narrator, it seemed to be falling from the sky. As it broke into foam in its descent, many at first believed it to be merely a stratum of white rock.<sup>1</sup> To this island, which was called by the Indians *Turuqueira*,<sup>2</sup> the Admiral gave the name of *Guadaloupe*, having promised the monks of our Lady of *Guadaloupe* in *Estremadura* to call some newly-discovered place after their convent.

Landing here on the 4th, they visited a village near the shore, the inhabitants of which fled at the sight of them, some leaving even their children behind in their terror and confusion. These the Spaniards soothed with caresses, binding hawks-bells and other trinkets round their arms, to win the good-will of their parents. This village, like most of those of the island, consisted of twenty or thirty houses built round a kind of public place or square. The houses were constructed in a similar style to those of *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*, of trunks of trees interwoven with reeds and branches, and thatched with palm-leaves. They were square, not circular like those of the other islands,<sup>3</sup> and each had its portico or shelter from the sun. The entrance of one of these houses was decorated with images of serpents tolerably carved in wood. Their furniture was the same;—hammocks of cotton net, utensils formed of calabashes or earthenware, equal to the best of those of *Hispaniola*. There were large quantities of cotton—some crude, some in yarn, and some wrought into cloth of very tolerable texture; and many bows and arrows, the latter tipped with sharp bones. Provisions seemed to abound here. There were many domesticated geese like those of Europe, and parrots as large as household fowls, with blue, green, white, and scarlet plumage, being the splendid species called *guacamayos*. Here also the Spaniards first met with the delicious anana, or pine-apple, the flavour and fragrance of which astonished and delighted them. While searching these houses, they were surprised to find a pan or other utensil of iron, not having ever met with that metal in the New World. *Fernando Colon* supposes, however, that it was formed of a certain kind of heavy stone found among those islands, which, when burnt, has the appearance of shining iron, and in their hasty survey may have been mistaken for such; though he admits that it might have been some utensil brought by the Indians from *Hispaniola*. Certain it is, that no native iron was ever found among the people of these islands.

Another object, which was a matter of surprise and speculation, was the stern-post of a vessel, which they found in one of the houses. How had it reached these shores, which appeared never to have been visited by the ships of civilized man? Was it the

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Dr Chanca.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Dr Chanca. Peter Martyr calls it *Carnoueira* or *Queraqueira*. Decad. i, lib. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 62.

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umbling over a wreck of some vessel from the more enlightened countries of Asia, which they supposed to lie somewhere in this direction? Or was it part of the caravel which Columbus had lost at the island of Hispaniola during his first voyage? Or was it some fragment of a European ship which had drifted across the Atlantic? The latter was most probably the case. The constant current which sets over from the coast of Africa, produced by the steady prevalence of the trade winds, must occasionally bring the wrecks of the Old World to the shores of the New; and long before the discovery of Columbus, the simple savages of the islands and the coasts may have gazed with wonder at huge fragments of European barks, which have perished in the opposite regions of the ocean, and have gradually floated to their shores.

What most struck the attention of the Spaniards, and filled them with horror, was the sight of various human bones, vestiges, as they supposed, of the unnatural repasts of these savages. There were also skulls suspended in the houses, which apparently were used as vases and other household utensils. These dismal objects convinced them that they were now at the abodes of the Cannibals, or Caribs—those roving and ferocious warriors, whose predatory expeditions and ruthless character rendered them the terror of these seas. The boat having returned on board, Columbus proceeded for upwards of two leagues, until late in the evening, when he anchored in a convenient port. The island on this side extended for the distance of five-and-twenty leagues, diversified with lofty mountains and broad plains. Along the coast were seen small villages and hamlets, the inhabitants of which fled in affright as they beheld the squadron sweeping along their shores. At day-break Columbus permitted several of the captains to land, with a number of their men, to endeavour to communicate with the inhabitants. These divided into parties, and returned in the course of the day, having taken a boy and several women, some of whom were natives of the island, and others captives. From the latter Columbus was confirmed in his idea that this was one of the islands of the Caribs. He learnt that the inhabitants were in league with two neighbouring islands, but that they made war upon all others in their vicinity. They even went on predatory enterprises, in their canoes made from the hollowed trunks of trees, to the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues. Their arms were bows and arrows pointed with the bones of fishes, or shells of tortoises, and poisoned with the juice of a certain herb. They made descents upon the islands, ravaged the villages, carried off the youngest and handsomest of the women, whom they retained as servants or companions, and made prisoners of the men, to be killed and eaten.

After hearing such formidable accounts of the natives of this island, Columbus was extremely uneasy at finding, in the evening, that a captain of one of the caravels, Diego Marque, was missing, together with

eight men. He had landed with his party early in the morning without leave, and, straying into the woods, had not since been seen or heard of. On the following day the wanderers had not returned, and the anxiety of the Admiral increased, fearing that they might have fallen into some ambush of the savages, for several of them were such experienced mariners, that it was thought, in case of being lost, they could readily have found their way back by the stars. Parties were sent in various directions in quest of them, each with a trumpeter to sound calls and signals. Guns were fired from the ships, and arquebuses on shore, but all to no purpose, and the parties returned in the evening, wearied with a fruitless search. They had visited several hamlets, in which they met with what they considered proofs of the cannibal propensities of the natives, and which were by no means calculated to allay their apprehensions for the safety of their companions. Human limbs were suspended to the beams of the houses, as if curing for provisions; they found the head of a young man recently killed, which was yet bleeding, and some parts of his body boiling with the flesh of geese and parrots, and others roasting before the fire.

Several of the natives, in the course of the day, had been seen occasionally on the shore, gazing with wonder at the ships, but when the boats approached the island, they fled to the woods or the mountains. Several women came off to the Spaniards for refuge, being captives who had been brought from other islands. Columbus ordered that they should be decorated with hawks'-bells, and strings of beads and bugles, and sent on shore, in hopes by these means to entice some of the men of the island to visit them. They soon returned to the boats stripped of their ornaments by the ferocious islanders, and imploring to be taken on board the ships. The Admiral learnt from them that most of the men of the island were absent, the king having sailed some time before with ten canoes and three hundred warriors, on a predatory cruise in quest of prisoners and booty. When the men went forth on these expeditions, the women remained to defend their shores from invasion. They were expert archers, partaking of the warrior spirit of their husbands, and almost equalling them in force and intrepidity.<sup>2</sup>

Beside the female fugitives who had taken refuge on board of the ships, there were several boys who had been captives among the natives, and reserved, for a time, with a singular refinement of cruelty. The Spaniards were informed, that it was the custom of the Caribs to rear these youthful prisoners to man's estate, and then to fatten them for their feasts, and that they were deprived of their virility to render them more tender and palatable food.<sup>3</sup> There is

<sup>1</sup> P. Martyr, Letter 147, to Pomponius Lætus. Idem, decad. 1. lib. ii.

<sup>2</sup> P. Martyr, decad. 3. lib. ix.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of Dr Chanca. Peter Martyr, Let. 147. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 46.

something so revolting to human nature in the idea of cannibalism, that we would fain attribute these accounts to the mistakes, the misinterpretations, and the fables of travellers, but they are too positively affirmed by respectable writers, and are too curious in themselves to be passed over in silence.

Columbus was now at a loss what course to adopt. He was anxious to arrive at Hispaniola, and ascertain the fate of the followers whom he had left there, and was impatient of any delay. To sail without these men, however, provided they were yet alive, was to abandon them to a cruel death at the hands of cannibals. To leave a vessel and crew behind to await their return was to run the risk of losing them by a thousand accidents on these wild coasts and in these unexplored seas. In this emergency, Alonso de Ojeda, the same daring young cavalier whose exploit on the tower of the cathedral at Seville has been mentioned, volunteered to penetrate with forty men into the interior of the island, and to search all the forests for the wanderers. His offer was accepted; and the Admiral commanded, that, during his absence, the ships should take in a supply of wood and water, and gave permission for part of the crews to land, to wash their clothes and recreate themselves on shore.

Alonso de Ojeda, with his followers, beat up all the forest in the neighbourhood, and marched far into the interior, discharging arquebusses, sounding trumpets in the hollow valleys, and from the cliffs of mountains and precipices; but it was all in vain, no voice nor sound but their own echoes was heard in reply. Their search was rendered excessively toilsome by the closeness of the forests, which flourished with the vigorous and wild luxuriance of the tropics. Ojeda saw every thing romantic with the eye of a young adventurer, and brought back the most exaggerated accounts of the natural productions of the country. The forests were filled with the odour of aromatic trees and shrubs, in which he fancied he perceived the fragrance of many precious gums and spices. He saw many tropical birds of unknown species; also falcons, royal herons, kites, wood-pigeons, turtle-doves, and crows. He fancied also that he met with partridges, which, in reality, were only to be found in the island of Cuba, and that he heard the song of the nightingale, which is unknown in the New World. The island, however, abounded with fruits, for, according to Peter Martyr, the cannibals being a wild and wandering people, and overrunning all the neighbouring countries in their expeditions, were accustomed to bring home the seeds and roots of all kinds of strange and profitable plants. As a proof of its luxuriance also, he observes that honey was found in hollow trees and in the clefts of the rocks. So abundantly was it watered, that Ojeda declared he had waded through twenty-six rivers within the distance of six leagues, though it is probable many of them were the windings and doublings of the same stream.

Columbus now gave the stragglers up for lost. Several days had elapsed since their disappearance, dur-

ing which time, if alive, it seemed impossible that they should not have either been found, or have made their way back to the ships. He was on the point of sailing, when, to the universal joy of the fleet, a signal was made by them from the shore. When they came on board, their laggard and exhausted looks bespoke what they had suffered. Having unaccountably diverged on their first entering the forests, they had unknowingly penetrated deeper and deeper into the island, until they had become completely bewildered. For several days they had been perplexed in the mazes of a trackless forest, so dense as almost to exclude the light of day. They had clambered rocks, waded rivers, and struggled through briars and thickets. Some, who were experienced seamen, climbed the trees, in hopes of getting a sight of the stars, by which they might govern their course; but the wide-spreading branches and thick foliage shut out all view of the heavens. They were harassed with the most dismal apprehensions, fearing that the Admiral, thinking them dead, might set sail and leave them behind in this wilderness, cut off for ever from their homes and the abodes of civilized man. At length, when almost reduced to despair, they had arrived at the sea-shore, and following its margin for some time, beheld, to their great joy, the fleet riding quietly at anchor. They brought with them several Indian women and boys; but in all their wanderings they had not met with any man; the greater part of the warriors, as has been said, being fortunately absent on an expedition.

Notwithstanding the hardships they had endured, and his joy at their return, Columbus thought it important in a service of so critical a nature to punish every breach of discipline. The captain was, therefore, put under arrest, and a part of the rations of the men were stopped for having thus strayed away without permission.\*

### CHAPTER III.

#### CRUISE AMONG THE CARIBBEE ISLANDS.

[ 1495. ]

WEIGHING anchor on the 10th of November, Columbus steered along the coast of Guadalupe towards the north-west, in which direction, according to his own calculations and the informations of the Indians, lay Hispaniola. The women he had recently taken on board, had given him intelligence of other islands to the south, and had assured him that the main land extended in that quarter; information which he afterwards found to be true, but at present his impatience to arrive at the harbour of Nativity prevented his extending his discoveries.

Continuing along this beautiful archipelago, he

\* Dr Chanca's letter. Hist. det Almirante, cap. 46.

† Dr Chanca's letter.

gave names to its view. Montserrat, Maria la Antigua, lands appeared to west and south-east with stately and forbore to visit them, they anchored land called Ayay b Admiral gave the boat was sent on to get water and their route. They men, but they secured of whom were captives islands; for this was They had soon an in of this singular race a canoe with a few males, came coast land, and, turning in full view of the must have been so rition, they remain amazement. So c contemplation, that had stolen close up Seizing their padd but though their li the waves, the ste them, and the boat cut off their retreat up their bows and their pursuers. Th One of them appea and reverence, as accompanied by h Martyr) strongly r brow, and a lion's amazing vigour an were covered with quickly wounded; force by one of th through a buckler To avoid this ga more formidable rows might be poi violently upon th fierce savages, ho the water; gathe sunken rocks, and ously as though th was with the utmo and taken. One o so that he died af the queen's son w Spaniards could spirit and fierce

gave names to its islands as they successively rose to view. Montserrat, Santa Maria la Redonda, Santa Maria la Antigua, and San Martin; various other islands appeared to the north, and extending north-west and south-east, all very lofty and mountainous, with stately and magnificent forests, but the Admiral forbore to visit them. The weather proving boisterous, they anchored on the 14th of November, at an island called Ayay by the Indians, but to which the Admiral gave the name of Santa Cruz. Here the boat was sent on shore, with five-and-twenty men, to get water and procure information concerning their route. They found a village deserted by the men, but they secured a few women and boys, most of whom were captives, brought hither from other islands; for this was likewise an abode of the Caribs. They had soon an instance of the courage and ferocity of this singular race. While the boat was on shore, a canoe with a few Indians, two of whom were females, came coasting from a distant part of the island, and, turning a point of land, arrived suddenly in full view of the ships. Astonished at what to them must have been so awful and supernatural an apparition, they remained for a long time gazing in mute amazement. So completely were they entranced in contemplation, that the boat returning from the shore had stolen close upon them before they perceived it. Seizing their paddles, they now attempted to escape; but though their light canoe skimmed the surface of the waves, the steady sweep of the oar gained upon them, and the boat being between them and the land, cut off their retreat. Seeing flight was vain, they caught up their bows and arrows, and turned fiercely upon their pursuers. The women fought as well as the men. One of them appeared to be treated with obedience and reverence, as if she were their queen. She was accompanied by her son, a young man (says Peter Martyr) strongly made, with a terrible and frowning brow, and a lion's face.<sup>1</sup> They pitted their bows with amazing vigour and rapidity. Although the Spaniards were covered with their bucklers, two of them were quickly wounded; and an arrow was sent with such force by one of the heroines, as to pass through and through a buckler.

To avoid this galling shower, which was rendered more formidable from an apprehension that the arrows might be poisoned, the Spaniards ran their boat violently upon the canoe, and overturned it. The fierce savages, however, continued to fight while in the water; gathering themselves occasionally upon sunken rocks, and discharging their arrows as dexterously as though they had been upon firm land. It was with the utmost difficulty they could be overcome and taken. One of them was transfixed with a lance, so that he died after being brought to the ships, and the queen's son was wounded. When on board, the Spaniards could not but wonder at their untamed spirit and fierce demeanour. Their hair was long

and coarse, their eyes encircled with paint, so as to give them a hideous expression; and they had bands of cotton bound firmly above and below the muscular parts of the arms and legs, so as to cause them to swell to a disproportioned size, which was regarded by them as a great beauty, a custom which prevailed among various tribes of the New World. Though captives in chains, and in the power of their enemies, they still retained a frowning brow and an air of defiance. Peter Martyr, who often went to see them when in Spain, declares, from his own experience, and that of others who accompanied him, that it was impossible to look at them without a certain inward sensation of horror; nature having endowed them with so menacing and terrible an aspect. This sensation was doubtless caused in a great measure from the idea of their being cannibals. In this skirmish, according to the same writer, the Indians used poisoned arrows; and one of the Spaniards died within a few days, of a wound he had received from a female warrior.<sup>2</sup>

Pursuing his voyage, Columbus soon came in sight of a great cluster of islands of various shapes and appearances. Some were verdant and covered with forests, but the greater part naked and sterile, rising into wild and craggy mountains; many of the rocks of which were of a bright azure colour, and others of a glistening white; these Columbus, with his usual vivacity of imagination, supposed to contain mines of rich metals and precious stones. The islands lying close together, with the sea beating and tossing roughly in the narrow channels which divided them, rendered it dangerous to enter among them with the large ships. Keeping off, therefore, in the broad sea, Columbus sent in a small caravel with latine sails, to reconnoitre, which returned with the report that there were upwards of fifty islands, but apparently uninhabited. To the largest of this group Columbus gave the name of Santa Ursula, and he called the others the Eleven Thousand Virgins.<sup>3</sup>

Deferring the examination of them to some future time, he continued his course, until he arrived one evening in sight of a great island covered with beautiful forests, and indented with fine havens. It was called by the natives Boriquon, but he gave it the name of San Juan Bautista, and it is the same since known by the name of Porto Rico. This was the native island of most of the captives who had fled to the ships for refuge from the Caribs. According to their accounts, it was fertile and populous, and under the dominion of a single cacique. Its inhabitants were not given to rove, and possessed but few canoes. They were subject to frequent invasions from the Caribs, who were their implacable enemies. They had become warriors, therefore, in their own defence, using the bow and arrow and the war-club; and in their contests with their cannibal foes, they

<sup>1</sup> P. Martyr, decad. i. lib. ii. Hist. del Almirante. c. 47. Las Casas, Hist. Ind., c. 83, MS. Lett. of Dr Chanca.

<sup>2</sup> P. Martyr, decad. i. lib. ii. Letter of Dr. Chanca.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Martyr, decad. i. lib. ii.



retorted upon them their own atrocities, devouring their prisoners in revenge.

After running for a whole day along the beautiful coast of this island, they anchored in a bay at the west end, which abounded with fish. On landing, they found an Indian village, constructed as usual round a common square, like a market-place, with one large and well-built house. From hence, a spacious road led to the sea-side, having fences on each side, of interwoven reeds, enclosing fruitful gardens. At the end of the road was a kind of terrace, or look-out, overhanging the water. The whole place had an air of neatness and ingenuity, superior to the ordinary residences of the natives, and appeared to be the abode of some important chieftain. All, however, was silent and deserted. Not a human being was to be seen, during the time that they remained at the place. The natives had fled and concealed themselves at the sight of the squadron. After remaining here for two days, they again made sail, and stood for the island of Hispaniola. Thus ended his cruise among the Caribbee Islands, the account of whose fierce and savage people was received with eager curiosity by the learned of Europe, and considered as settling one dark and doubtful question to the disadvantage of human nature. Peter Martyr, in his letter to Pomponius Lætus, announces the fact with fearful solemnity. "The stories of the Lestriginians and of Polyphemus who fed on human flesh are no longer doubtful! Attend, but beware, lest thy hair bristle with horror!"

That many of the pictures given us of this extraordinary race of people have been coloured by the fears of the Indians, and the prejudices of the Spaniards, is highly probable. They were constantly the terror of the former, and the brave and obstinate opponents of the latter. The evidences adduced of their cannibal propensities must be considered with large allowances for the careless and inaccurate observations of seafaring men, and the preconceived belief of the fact, which existed in the minds of the Spaniards. It was a custom among the natives of many of the islands, and of other parts of the New World, to preserve the remains of their deceased relatives and friends. Sometimes the entire body; sometimes only the head, or some of the limbs, dried at the fire; sometimes the mere bones. These, when found in the dwellings of the natives of Hispaniola, against whom no prejudice of the kind existed, were correctly regarded as relics of the deceased, preserved through affection or reverence; but any remains of the kind found among the Caribs, were looked upon with horror as proofs of cannibalism.

The warlike and unyielding character of these people, so different from that of the pusillanimous nations around them, and the wide scope of their enterprises and wanderings, like those of the Nomade tribes of the Old World, cutlute them to distinguished

attention. They were trained to war from their infancy. As soon as they could walk, their intrepid mothers put in their hands the bow and arrow, and prepared them to take an early part in the hardy enterprises of their fathers. Their distant roamings by sea made them observant and intelligent. The natives of the other islands only knew how to divide time by day and night, by the sun and moon; whereas these had acquired some knowledge of the stars, by which to calculate the times and seasons.

The traditional accounts of their origin, though of course extremely vague, are yet capable of being verified to a great degree by geographical facts, and open one of the rich veins of curious enquiry and speculation which abound in the New World. They are said to have migrated from the remote valleys embosomed in the Apalachian mountains. The earliest accounts we have of them represent them with their weapons in their hands, continually engaged in wars, winning their way and shifting their abode, until, in the course of time, they found themselves at the extremity of Florida. Here, abandoning the northern continent, they passed over to the Lucayos, and from thence gradually, in the process of years, from island to island of that vast and verdant chain, which links, as it were, the end of Florida to the coast of Paria, on the southern continent. The archipelago, extending from Porto Rico to Tobago, was their strong hold, and the island of Guadaloupe in a manner their citadel. Hence they made their expeditions, and spread the terror of their name through all the surrounding countries. Swarms of them landed upon the southern continent, and overran some parts of terra firma. Traces of them have been discovered far in the interior of the country through which flows the Oroonoko. The Dutch found colonies of them on the banks of the Ikouteka, which empties into the Surinam, along the Esquibi, the Maroni, and other rivers of Guayana, and in the country watered by the windings of the Cayenne; and it would appear that they have extended their wanderings to the shores of the southern ocean, where, among the aboriginals of Brazil, were some who called themselves Caribs, distinguished from the surrounding Indians by their superior hardihood, subtlety, and enterprise.

To trace the footsteps of this roving tribe through-out its wide migrations from the Apalachian mountains of the northern continent, along the clusters of islands which stud the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea to the shores of Paria, and so across the vast regions of Guayana and Amazonia to the remote coast of Brazil, would be one of the most curious researches in aboriginal history, and might throw much light upon the mysterious question of the population of the New World.

\* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 62.

\* Rochefort, Hist. Nat. des Iles Antilles. Rotterdam, 1643.

On the 22d of Nov of a great island, the eastern extremity had named it, Hispaniola prevailed throughout soon arriving at the anticipated the joy which he had left in inestimable information island and its surr amassed treasure. been here in the pre- pleasant days they groves of Hayti; an eagerness to scenes painted to them with golden age.

As the fleet swept green shore, a boat-cayana sailor who had which he had received. Two light caravels the boat's crew, which formed on the beach. natives came off to the admiral from the cacoviting him to land, a gold; anxious, however, Columbus declined the presents, and continuing a considerable distance Flechas, or, as it is the same place, which occurred the skirmish on shore one of the had accompanied by diverted to Christianity, parcelled and loaded able effects from him all the wonders the treatment he had made many promises either forgot them and his native mou envy caused by his seen or heard of those who had been fleet; a young Lucahani, who had been been named after the He continued always Spaniards.

## CHAPTER IV.

## ARRIVAL AT THE HARBOUR OF LA NAVIDAD. DISASTER OF THE FORTRESS.

[ 1494.† ]

On the 22d of November, the fleet arrived off the end of a great island, and it was soon ascertained to be the eastern extremity of Hayti, or, as the Admiral had named it, Hispaniola. The greatest excitation prevailed throughout the armada, at the thoughts of soon arriving at the end of their voyage. Columbus anticipated the joy of the handful of bold spirits which he had left in the wilderness, and looked for inestimable information from them, relative to the island and its surrounding seas, if not for heaps of amassed treasure. Those of his followers who had been here in the preceding voyage, remembered the pleasant days they had passed among the blooming groves of Hayti; and the rest looked forward with eagerness to scenes and manners which had been painted to them with all the captivating illusions of the golden age.

As the fleet swept gently, with easy sail, along the green shore, a boat was sent to land to bury a Biscayan sailor who had died of the wound of an arrow which he had received in the skirmish with the Caribs. Two light caravels hovered near the shore to guard the boat's crew, while the funeral ceremony was performed on the beach, under the trees. Several of the natives came off to the ship, with a message to the Admiral from the cacique of the neighbourhood, inviting him to land, and promising great quantities of gold; anxious, however, to arrive at La Navidad, Columbus declined the invitation, dismissed them with presents, and continued his course. After sailing for a considerable distance, he came to the Gulf of Las Flechas, or, as it is now called, the Gulf of Samana, the same place, where, in his preceding voyage, had occurred the skirmish with the natives. Here he set on shore one of the young Indians of the place, who had accompanied him to Spain, and had been converted to Christianity. He dismissed him finely apparelled and loaded with trinkets, anticipating favourable effects from his representing to his countrymen all the wonders that he had seen, and the kind treatment he had experienced. The young Indian made many promises of friendly exertions, but he either forgot them all, on regaining his wild liberty and his native mountains, or he fell a victim to the envy caused by his wealth and finery. Nothing was seen or heard of him more. Only one Indian of those who had been to Spain now remained in the fleet; a young Lucayan native of the island of Guanahani, who had been baptized at Barcelona, and had been named after the Admiral's brother, Diego Colon. He continued always faithful and devoted to the Spaniards.

On the 23th, Columbus anchored in the harbour of Monte Christi; anxious to fix upon a place suitable for a settlement in the neighbourhood of the stream, to which, in his first voyage, he had given the name of the Rio del Oro, or the Golden River. As several of the mariners were ranging the coast, they found, on the green and moist banks of a rivulet, the bodies of a man and boy; the former, with a cord of Spanish grass about his neck, and his arms extended and tied by the wrists to a stake in the form of a cross. The bodies were in such a state of decay, that it was impossible to ascertain whether they were Indians or Europeans. Sinister doubts, however, were entertained, which were confirmed on the following day; for on revisiting the shore, they found, at some distance from the former, two other bodies, one of which, having a beard, was evidently the corpse of a white man.

The pleasant anticipations of Columbus on his approach to La Navidad were now overcast with gloomy forebodings. The experience he had recently had of the ferocity of some of the inhabitants of these islands, made him doubtful of the amity of others, and he began to fear that some misfortune might have befallen Arana and his garrison.

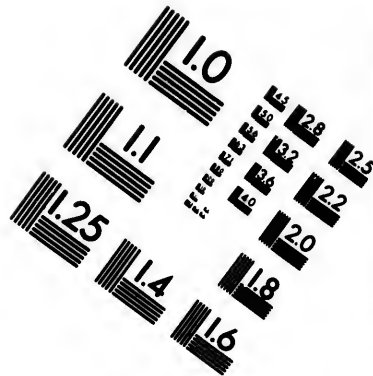
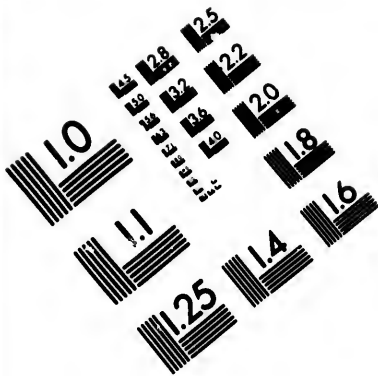
The frank and fearless manner, however, in which a number of the natives came off to the ships, and their unembarrassed demeanour in some measure allayed his suspicions. Had any violence been done to the white men, they would not have ventured thus confidently among their companions.

On the 27th, he arrived in the evening opposite to the harbour of La Navidad, and cast anchor about a league from the land, not daring to enter in the dark, on account of the dangerous reefs. It was too late in the night to distinguish objects. Impatient to satisfy his doubts, therefore, he ordered two cannon to be fired. The report echoed along the shore, but there was no reply from the fort. Every eye was now directed to catch the gleam of some signal-light; every ear listened to hear some friendly shout: but there was neither light nor shout, nor any other sign of life: all was darkness and death-like silence.

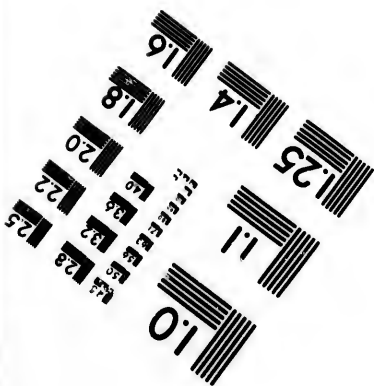
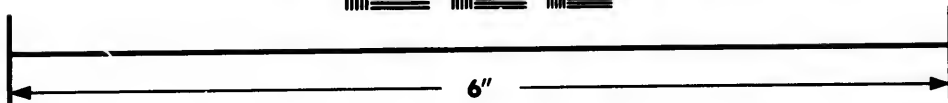
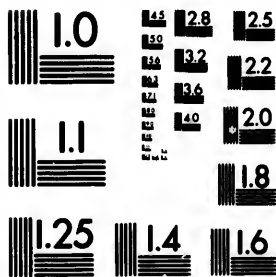
Several hours passed away in the most dismal suspense. A thousand disastrous pictures presented themselves of the fate of their companions, and every one longed for the morning light, to put an end to his uncertainty. About midnight a canoe was observed approaching the fleet; when within a certain distance, it paused, and the Indians who were in it, hailing one of the vessels, asked for the Admiral. When directed to his ship they drew near to it, but would not venture on board until they saw Columbus personally. He showed himself at the side of his vessel, and a light being held up, his countenance and commanding person were not to be mistaken. They now entered the ship without hesitation. One of them was a cousin of the Cacique Guacanagari, and brought a present from him of two masks ornamented with gold.

† Letter of Dr Chanca. Navarrete, Collec. de Viage, t. 1.





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Columbus immediately inquired about the Spaniards who had remained on the island. The information which the native gave was somewhat confused, or perhaps was imperfectly understood, as the only Indian interpreter on board was the young Lucayan, Diego Colon, whose native language was different from that of Hayti. He told Columbus that several of the Spaniards had died of sickness; others had fallen in a quarrel, which had occurred among themselves, and others had removed to a different part of the island, where they had taken to themselves several Indian wives. That Guacanagari had been assailed by Caonabo, the fierce Cacique of the golden mountains of Cibao, who had wounded him in battle, and had burnt his village; and that he remained ill of his wound in a neighbouring hamlet, which had prevented his hastening in person to welcome the Admiral on his return.

Melancholy as were these tidings, they relieved Columbus from a dark and dismal surmise. Whatever disasters had overwhelmed his garrison, it had not fallen a sacrifice to the perfidy of the natives: his good opinion of the gentleness and kindness of these people had not been misplaced; nor had their cacique forfeited the admiration inspired by his benevolent hospitality. Thus, the most corroding care was dismissed from his mind; for, to a generous spirit, there is nothing so disheartening as to discover treachery where it has reposed its confidence and friendship. It would seem also that some of the garrison were yet alive, though scattered about the island; they would doubtless soon hear of the arrival of the ships, and would hasten to rejoice them, well qualified to give information of the interior.

Satisfied of the friendly disposition of the natives, the cheerfulness of the crews was in a great measure restored. The Indians who had come on board were well entertained, and departed in the night gratified with various presents, promising to return in the morning with the Cacique Guacanagari. The mariners now awaited the dawn of day with reassured spirits, when it was expected that the cordial intercourse and pleasant scenes of the first voyage would be renewed.

The morning dawned and passed away, and the day advanced and began to decline, without the promised visit from the cacique. Some apprehensions were now entertained that the Indians who had visited them the preceding night might be drowned, as they had partaken freely of wine, and their small canoe was easy to be overset. There was a silence and an air of desertion about the whole neighbourhood extremely suspicious. On their preceding visit the harbour had been a scene of continual animation; canoes gliding over the clear waters, Indians in groups on the shores, or under the trees, or swimming off to the caravel. Now, not a canoe was to be seen,

<sup>1</sup> Dr Chanca's Letter. Hist. del Almirante, c. 46. Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1, lib. 1, c. 9.

nor an Indian hailed them from the land; nor was there any smoke rising from among the groves, to give a sign of habitation. After waiting for a long time in vain, Columbus sent a boat to the shore to reconnoitre. On landing, the crew hastened to the place where the fortress had been erected. They found it a burnt ruin; the palisades beaten down, and the whole presenting the appearance of having been sacked and destroyed. Here and there were broken chests, spoiled provisions, and the ragged remains of European garments; which gave dismal indications of the fate of their companions. Not an Indian approached them. They caught sight of two or three lurking at a distance among the trees, and apparently watching them; but they vanished into the woods on finding themselves observed. Meeting no one from whom they could obtain an explanation of the melancholy scene before them, they returned with dejected hearts to the ships, and related to the Admiral what they had seen.

Columbus was greatly troubled in mind at this intelligence, and the fleet having now anchored in the harbour, he went himself to shore on the following morning. Repairing to the ruins of the fortress, he found every thing as had been described, and searched in vain for the remains of dead bodies. No traces of the garrison were to be seen, but the broken utensils, and torn vestments, scattered here and there among the grass. There were many surmises and conjectures. If the fortress had been sacked, some of the garrison might yet survive, and might either have fled from the neighbourhood, or been carried into captivity. Cannon and arquebuses were discharged, in hopes that if any of the survivors were hid among rocks and thickets in the vicinity, they might hear them and come forth; but no one made his appearance. A mournful and lifeless silence reigned over the place. The suspicion of treachery on the part of Guacanagari was again revived, but Columbus was unwilling to indulge it. On looking further, the village of that cacique was found a mere heap of burnt ruins, which showed that he had been involved in the same disaster with the garrison.

Columbus had left orders with Arana and the other officers to bury all the treasure they might procure, or, in case of sudden danger, to throw it into the well of the fortress. He ordered excavations to be made, therefore, among the ruins, and the well to be cleared out. While this search was making, he proceeded with the boats to explore the neighbourhood, partly in hopes of gaining intelligence of any scattered survivors of the garrison, and partly to look out for a better situation for a fortress. After proceeding about a league he came to a hamlet, the inhabitants of which had fled, taking with them whatever they could, and hiding the rest in the grass. In the houses were found European articles, which evidently had not been procured by barter, such as stockings, pieces of cloth, an anchor of the caravel which had been wrecked, and a beautiful Moorish robe, which

remained folded brought from Spain.

Having passed scattered documents returned to the natives and search for treasure was to however, they had men, buried in known, by their had evidently been grass having grown of the day a number their appearance, showing great diligence gradually conquered presents, until the Some of them could and knew the name remained with Arana of the interpreter some measure ascertained.

It is curious to mention in the New World had left behind, the commander Diego others, were but concepts of so prudential duties enjoined principally men of the knew not how to or sobriety on shore sail of the Admiral his councils and minds. Though attacked by savage tribes, a defence and good-will the natives, for we to indulge in the Some were incited gross sensuality. of gold, nor were among the Indian three wives had Guacanagari. The kinds of wrongful property of the natives wives and daughters carried among themselves or the favours of the people natives beheld whom they had wailed, abandoned and raging against ferocity.

Still these dissensions as they observed of Columbus, and kept

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Dr Cortes Oviedo, Hist. Ind.

remained folded in the form in which it had been brought from Spain.\*

Having passed some time in contemplating these scattered documents of a disastrous story, Columbus returned to the ruins of the fortress. The excavations and search in the well had proved fruitless, no treasure was to be found. Not far from the fort, however, they had discovered the bodies of eleven men, buried in different places, and which were known, by their clothing, to be Europeans. They had evidently been for some time in the ground, the grass having grown upon their graves. In the course of the day a number of the Indians began to make their appearance, hovering timidly at a distance, and showing great distrust. Their apprehensions were gradually conquered by amicable signs and trifling presents, until they became perfectly communicative. Some of them could speak a few words of Spanish, and knew the names of all the men who had remained with Arana. By this means, and by the aid of the interpreter, the story of the garrison was in some measure ascertained.

It is curious to note this first foot-print of civilization in the New World. Those whom Columbus had left behind, says Oviedo, with the exception of the commander Don Diego de Arana, and one or two others, were but little calculated to follow the precepts of so prudent a person, or to discharge the critical duties enjoined upon them. They were principally men of the lowest order, or mariners who knew not how to conduct themselves with restraint or sobriety on shore.† No sooner had the departing sail of the Admiral faded from their sight, than all his councils and commands died away from their minds. Though a mere handful of men, surrounded by savage tribes, and dependent upon their own prudence and good-conduct, and upon the good-will of the natives, for very existence, yet they soon began to indulge in the most wanton cruelties and abuses. Some were incited by rapacious avarice, others by gross sensuality. They sought to amass private hoards of gold, nor were they content with their success among the Indian women, though at least two or three wives had been granted to each of them by Guacanagari. They possessed themselves, by all kinds of wrongful means, of the ornaments and other property of the natives, and seduced from them their wives and daughters. Fierce brawls incessantly occurred among themselves, about their ill-gotten spoils, or the favours of the Indian beauties, and the simple natives beheld with astonishment the beings whom they had worshipped as descended from the skies, abandoned to the grossest of earthly passions, and raging against each other with worse than brutal ferocity.

Still these dissensions were not dangerous, as long as they observed one of the grand injunctions of Columbus, and kept together in the fortress, maintain-

ing military vigilance; but all precaution of the kind was soon forgotten. In vain did Don Diego de Arana interpose his authority; in vain did every inducement present itself which could bind man and man together in a foreign land. All order, all subordination, all unanimity was at an end. Many of them abandoned the fortress, and lived carelessly and at random about the neighbourhood; every one was for himself, or associated with some little knot of confederates to injure and despoil the rest. Thus factions broke out among them, until ambition arose to complete the destruction of their mimic empire. The two persons, Pedro Gutierrez and Rodrigo de Escobido, whom Columbus had left as lieutenants to the commander, to succeed to him in case of accident, now took advantage of these disorders, and aspired to an equal share in the authority, if not to the supreme control.‡ Violent affrays succeeded, in which a Spaniard named Jacomo was killed. Having failed in their object, Gutierrez and Escobido withdrew from the fortress with nine of their adherents, and a number of their women; and, still bent on command, now turned their thoughts on distant enterprise. Having heard marvellous accounts of the mines of Cibao, and the golden sands of its mountain rivers, they set off for that district, flushed with the thoughts of amassing immense treasure. Thus they disregarded another strong injunction of Columbus, which was to keep within the friendly territories of Guacanagari. The region to which they repaired was in the interior of the island, within the province of Magnana, ruled by the famous Caonabo, called by the Spaniards the Lord of the Golden House. This renowned chieftain was a Carib by birth, possessing the fierceness and the enterprise of his nation. He had come an adventurer to the island, and had acquired such ascendancy over these simple and unwarlike people by his courage and address, that he had made himself the most potent of their caciques. His warlike exploits were renowned throughout the island, and the inhabitants universally stood in awe of him for his Carib origin.

Caonabo had for some time maintained permanent importance in the island, the hero of this savage world, when the ships of the white men suddenly appeared upon the shores. The wonderful accounts of their power and prowess had reached him among his mountains, and he had the shrewdness to perceive that his own consequence must decline before such formidable intruders. The departure of Columbus had revived his hopes that their intrusion would be but temporary. The discords and excesses of those who remained, while they moved his detestation, inspired him with increasing confidence. No sooner, therefore, did Gutierrez and Escobido, with their companions, take refuge in his dominions, than he considered himself sure of a triumph over these detested strangers. He seized upon the fugitives, and put them instantly to death. He then assembled his

\* Letter of Dr Chanca. *Cura de los Palacios*, c. 120.

† Oviedo, *Ilist. Ind.*, l. ii, c. 12.

‡ Oviedo, *Ilist. Ind.*, l. ii, c. 12.

subjects privately, and, concerting his plans with the cacique of Marion, whose territories adjoined those of Guacanagari on the west, he determined to make a sudden attack upon the fortress. Emerging from among the mountains, and traversing great tracts of forest with profound secrecy, he arrived with his army, in the vicinity of the village, without being discovered. Confiding in the gentle and pacific nature of the Indians, the Spaniards had neglected all military precautions, and lived in the most careless security. But ten men remained in the fortress with Arana, and these do not appear to have maintained any guard. The rest were quartered in houses in the neighbourhood. In the dead of the night, when all were wrapt in unsuspecting repose, Caonabo and his warriors burst upon the place with frightful yells, got possession of the fortress before the inmates could put themselves upon their defence, and surrounded and set fire to the houses in which the rest of the white men were sleeping. The Spaniards were completely taken by surprise. Eight of them fled to the sea-side pursued by the savages, and, rushing into the waves for safety, were drowned; the rest were massacred. Guacanagari and his subjects fought faithfully in defence of their guests, but not being of a warlike character, they were easily routed; Guacanagari was wounded in the combat by the hand of Caonabo, and his village was burnt to the ground.\*

Such was the history of the first European establishment in the New World. It presents in a diminutive compass an epitome of the gross vices which degrade civilization, and the grand political errors which sometimes subvert the mightiest empires. All law and order relaxed by corruption and licentiousness, public good was sacrificed to private interest and passion, the community was convulsed by divers factions and dissensions, until the whole was shaken asunder by two aspiring demagogues, ambitious of the command of a petty fortress in a wilderness, and the supreme control of eight-and-thirty men.

#### CHAPTER V.

##### TRANSACTIONS WITH THE NATIVES. SUSPICIOUS CONDUCT OF GUACANAGARI.

[ 1465. ]

THE tragical story of the fortress, as gathered from the Indians at the harbour, received confirmation from another quarter. One of the captains, Melchor Maldonado, was despatched along the coast with his caravel to the east, to look out for some more favourable situation for a settlement. He had scarcely proceeded three leagues, when a canoe came off from the shore, in which were two Indians. One of them,

\* Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1, lib. II, cap. 9. Letter of Dr Chanca. Peter Martyr, decad. 1, lib. II. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 49. Cura de los Palacios, c. 120. MS. Muñoz, Hist. N. Mundo, l. IV.

the brother of Guacanagari, entreated him, in the name of the cacique, to come to land and visit him at the village where he lay ill. Maldonado immediately went to shore with two or three of his companions. They found Guacanagari confined by lameness to his hammock, surrounded by seven of his wives. The cacique expressed great regret at not being able to visit the Admiral, whom he was extremely desirous to see. He related various particulars concerning the disasters of the garrison, and the part which he and his subjects had taken in its defence, showing his leg bound up from a wound he had received. His story agreed with that already related. After treating the Spaniards with his accustomed respect and hospitality, he gave each of them at parting a present of some golden ornament.

On the following morning Columbus repaired in person to visit the cacique. To impress him with a superior idea of his present power and importance, he appeared with a numerous train of his principal officers, all richly dressed or in glittering armour. They found Guacanagari reclining in a hammock of cotton net. He exhibited great emotion on beholding the Admiral, and immediately adverted to the death of the Spaniards. As he related the disasters of the garrison he shed many tears, but dwelt particularly on the part he had taken in the defence of his guests, pointing out several of his subjects present who had received wounds in the battle. On regarding their scars, it was evident that the wounds had been received from Indian weapons.

Columbus was readily satisfied of the good faith of Guacanagari. When he reflected on the many proofs of an open and generous nature, which he had given at the time of his shipwreck, he could not believe him capable of so dark an act of perfidy. An exchange of presents now took place. The cacique gave him eight hundred beads of a certain stone called ciba, which they considered highly precious, and one hundred of gold, a golden coronet, and three small calabashes filled with gold dust; and thought himself outdone in munificence when presented with a number of glass beads, hawks'-bells, knives, pins, needles, small mirrors, and ornaments of copper, which metal he seemed to prefer to gold.\*

The wound from which Guacanagari suffered was in the leg, which had been violently bruised by a stone. At the request of Columbus he permitted it to be examined by a surgeon who was present. On removing the bandage no signs of a wound were to be seen, although he shrunk with pain whenever the limb was handled.† As some time had elapsed since the battle, the external bruise might have disappeared, while a tenderness remained in the part. Several present, however, who had not been in the first voyage, and had witnessed nothing of the generous conduct of the cacique, looked upon his lameness as feigned, and the whole story of the battle a fabrica-

\* Letter of Dr Chanca. Navarrete, Collec. t. I.  
† Jaern. Cura de los Palacios, cap. 120.

tion, to conceal especially, who was Admiral to maintain. Columbus different light. have were in favour to believe in his innocence, Guacansions of the whitefects of his wound made by Indian village, were str of his story. To and to pacify the persecution, he amicable conduct his guilt was fully force at present utility, but violent intercourse with panic, and impeded. Most of his officers determined, notwithstanding of the friar current truth, a friendship.

At the invitation still apparently in him to the ships ed at the power a they first visited but his wonder ing a fleet riding going on board of vessel of heavy bu Caribs who had b the voyage. So of habitants of Hay they contemplated even though in ch tenances from the miral had dared their very island, from their strong greatest proofs of men.

Columbus took on every side he b works of art, and ture; the plants a mestic fowls of di and other animals struck him with a him with amaze He had never se quadrupeds, and grandeur of these

† Hist. del Al  
Peter Martyr

tion, to conceal his real perfidy. Father Boyle especially, who was a friar of vindictive spirit, advised the Admiral to make an immediate example of the chieftain. Columbus, however, viewed the matter in a different light. Whatever prepossessions he might have were in favour of the cacique; his heart refused to believe in his criminality. Though conscious of innocence, Guacanagari might have feared the suspicions of the white men, and have exaggerated the effects of his wound; but the wounds of his subjects made by Indian weapons, and the destruction of his village, were strong proofs to Columbus of the truth of his story. To satisfy his more suspicious followers, and to pacify the friar, without gratifying his love for persecution, he observed that true policy dictated amicable conduct towards Guacanagari, at least until his guilt was fully ascertained. They had too great a force at present to apprehend anything from his hostility, but violent measures in this early stage of their intercourse with the natives might spread a general panic, and impede all their operations in the island. Most of his officers concurred in this opinion; so it was determined, notwithstanding the inquisitorial suggestions of the friar, to take the story of the Indians for current truth, and to continue to treat them with friendship.

At the invitation of Columbus, the cacique, though still apparently in pain from his wound, accompanied him to the ships that very evening. He had wondered at the power and grandeur of the white men when they first visited his shores with two small caravels; but his wonder was infinitely increased on beholding a fleet riding at anchor in the harbour, and on going on board of the Admiral's ship, which was a vessel of heavy burden. Here he beheld a number of Caribs who had been taken prisoners in the course of the voyage. So great was the dread of the timid inhabitants of Hayti for these fierce barbarians, that they contemplated them with fear and shuddering, even though in chains, and turned with averted countenances from their frowning aspects.<sup>1</sup> That the Admiral had dared to invade these terrible beings in their very island, and had dragged them as it were from their strong-holds, was, perhaps, one of the greatest proofs of the irresistible prowess of the white men.

Columbus took the cacique through the ship, and on every side he beheld new wonders. The various works of art, and the unknown productions of nature; the plants and fruits of the Old World; domestic fowls of different kinds, cattle, sheep, swine, and other animals brought to stock the island, all struck him with astonishment; but what most filled him with amazement, was the sight of the horses. He had never seen any but the most diminutive quadrupeds, and was struck with admiration at the grandeur of these noble animals, their great strength,

terrific appearance, yet perfect docility.<sup>2</sup> He looked upon all these extraordinary objects as so many wonders brought from heaven, which he still believed to be the native home of the white men.

On board of the ship were ten of the women delivered from captivity among the Caribs. They were chiefly natives of the Island of Boriquen, or Porto Rico. These soon attracted the notice of the cacique, who is represented to have been of an amorous complexion. He entered into conversation with them; for though the islanders spoke different languages, or, rather, as is more probable, different dialects of the same language, they were able, in general, to understand each other. Among these women was one distinguished above her companions by a certain loftiness of air and manner; she had been much noticed and admired by the Spaniards, who had given her the name of Catalina. The cacique spoke to her repeatedly with great gentleness of tone and manner, pity in all probability being mingled with his admiration; for though rescued from the hands of the Caribs, she and her companions were in a manner captives on board of the ship.

A collation was now spread before the chieftain, and Columbus endeavoured in every way to revive their former cordial intercourse. He treated his guest with every manifestation of perfect confidence, and talked of coming to live with him in his present residence, and of building houses in the vicinity. The cacique expressed much satisfaction at the idea, but observed that the situation of the place was unhealthy, which was indeed the case. Notwithstanding every demonstration of friendship, however, the cacique was evidently ill at ease. The charm of mutual confidence was broken. It was evident that the gross licentiousness of the garrison had greatly impaired the veneration of the Indians for their heaven-born visitors. Even the reverence for the symbols of the Christian faith, which Columbus endeavoured to inculcate as a grand means of civilization, was completely frustrated by the profligacy of its votaries. Though fond of ornaments, it was with the greatest difficulty the cacique could be prevailed upon by the Admiral to suspend an image of the Virgin about his neck, when he understood it to be an object of Christian adoration.<sup>3</sup>

The suspicions of the chieftain's guilt continued to gain ground with many of the Spaniards. Father Boyle, in particular, regarded him with hatred, and privately advised the Admiral, now that he had him securely on board of his ship, to detain him prisoner; but Columbus rejected the counsel of the crafty friar, as contrary to sound policy and honourable faith. It is difficult, however, to conceal lurking ill-will; the heart will speak in the countenance, even though the tongue be mute. The cacique accustomed, in his former intercourse with the Spaniards, to meet on every side with faces beaming

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Martyr, letter 153 to Pomponius Lætus.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. del Almirante, ubi seq. Letter of Dr Chanca.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 49.



with gratitude and friendship, could not but perceive the altered looks of cold suspicion and secret hostility. Notwithstanding the frank and cordial hospitality of the Admiral, therefore, he soon begged permission to land.\*

The next morning there was an appearance of mysterious movement and agitation among the natives on shore. Of this, the Spaniards could not comprehend the cause, as there was no longer that easy and unreserved communication between them which formerly prevailed. A messenger from the cacique inquired of the Admiral how long he intended to remain at the harbour, and was informed that he should sail on the following day. In the evening the brother of Guacanagari came on board, under pretext of bartering a quantity of gold; he was observed to converse in private with the Indian women, and particularly with Catalina, the one whose distinguished appearance had attracted the attention of Guacanagari. After remaining some time on board, he returned to the shore. It would seem from subsequent events, that the warm heart of the cacique had been touched by the situation of this Indian beauty, and captivated by her charms; and that, with a kind of native gallantry, he had undertaken to deliver her from bondage.

At midnight, when the crew were buried in their first sleep, the intrepid Catalina awakened her companions, and proposed a bold attempt to regain their liberty. The ship was anchored full three miles from the shore, and the sea was rough; but these island women were accustomed to buffet with the waves, and to consider the water almost as their natural element. Letting themselves down from the side of the vessel, with great caution and silence, they trusted to the strength of their arms, and swam bravely for the shore. With all their precautions they were overheard by the watch. The alarm was given, the boats were manned, and gave chase in the direction of a light blazing on the shore, an evident beacon for the fugitives. Notwithstanding all the exertions of the oar, such was the vigour of these sea-nymphs, that they reached the land in safety. Four were retaken on the beach, but the heroic Catalina with the rest of her companions made good their escape into the forest.

When the day dawned, Columbus sent to Guacanagari to demand the fugitives; or if they were not in his possession, that he would have search made for them. The residence of the cacique, however, was silent and deserted; not an Indian was to be seen. Either conscious of the suspicions of the Spaniards, and apprehensive of their hostility, or desirous to enjoy his prize unmolested, the cacique had removed with all his effects, his household, and his followers, and had taken refuge with his island beauty in the interior. This sudden and mysterious desertion gave redoubled force to the doubts heretofore entertained, and Guacanagari was generally

\* Peter Martyr, decad. i. l. ii.

stigmatized as a traitor to the white men, and the perfidious destroyer of the garrison.\*

## CHAPTER VI.

FOUNDING OF THE CITY OF ISABELLA. MALADIES OF THE SPANIARDS.

[ 1495. ]

THE misfortunes which had befallen the Spaniards both by sea and land in the vicinity of this harbour, had thrown a gloom round the neighbourhood. The ruins of the fortress, and the graves of their murdered countrymen were continually before their eyes, and the forests no longer looked beautiful while there was an idea that treachery might be lurking in their shades. The silence and dreariness, also, caused by the desertion of the natives, gave a sinister appearance to the place. It began to be considered by the credulous mariners, as under some baneful influence or malignant star. These were sufficient objections to discourage the founding of a settlement in that superstitious age, but there were others of a more solid nature. The land in the vicinity was low, moist, and unhealthy, and there was no stone for building; Columbus determined, therefore, to abandon the place altogether, and found his projected colony in some more favourable situation. No time was to be lost: the animals on board of the ships were suffering from long confinement, and needed the reviving range and the fresh herbage of the pasture: and the multitude of persons, unaccustomed to the sea, and pent up in the fleet, languished for the refreshment of the land. Reconnoitring expeditions were despatched, therefore, in the lighter caravels, which scoured the coast in each direction, entering the rivers and harbours, in search of an advantageous site for a colony. They were instructed also to make inquiries after Guacanagari, of whom Columbus, notwithstanding every suspicious appearance, still retained a favourable opinion. The expedition returned after ranging a considerable extent of coast without success. There were fine rivers and secure ports, but the coast was low and marshy, and deficient in stone. The country was generally deserted, or if they saw any of the natives they fled immediately to the woods. Melchor Maldonado had proceeded to the eastward, until he came to the dominions of another cacique; who at first issued forth at the head of his warriors, with menacing aspect and a show of hostility, but was readily smoothed into the most amicable disposition. From him he learnt that Guacanagari had retired from the plain to the mountains. Another party discovered an Indian concealed near a hamlet, having been disabled by a wound received from a lance when flight

\* Peter Martyr, decad. i. lib. ii. Letter of Dr Chanca, Cura de los Palacios, cap. 120. MS.

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Being convin part of the island bus weighed an the intention of consequence of obliged to put in of Monte Christ was struck with

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A plan was fo jected, accordin The greatest dilig



ing against Caonabo. His account of the destruction of the fortress agreed with that of the Indians at the harbour, and concurred to vindicate the cacique from the charge of treachery. Thus the minds of the Spaniards continued full of doubt and perplexity as to the real perpetrators of this dark and dismal tragedy.

Being convinced that there was no place in this part of the island favourable for a settlement, Columbus weighed anchor on the 7th of December, with the intention of seeking the port of La Planta. In consequence of adverse weather, however, he was obliged to put into a harbour about ten leagues east of Monte Christi; and on considering the place, he was struck with its advantages.

The harbour was spacious, and commanded by a point of land protected on one side by a natural rampart of rocks, and on another by an impervious forest, presenting a strong position for a fortress. There were two rivers, one large and the other small, watering a green and beautiful plain, and offering advantageous situations for mills. About a bow-shot from the sea, on the banks of one of the rivers, was an Indian village. The soil appeared to be fertile, the waters to abound in excellent fish, and the climate to be temperate and genial; for the trees were in leaf, the shrubs in flower, and the birds in song, though it was the middle of December. They had not yet become familiarized with the temperature of this favoured island, where the rigours of winter are unknown, where there is a perpetual succession, and even intermixture of fruit and flower, and where smiling verdure reigns throughout the year.

Another grand inducement to form their settlement in this place, was the information received from the Indians of the adjacent village, that the mountains of Cibao, where the gold mines were situated, lay at no great distance, and almost parallel to the harbour. It was determined, therefore, that there could not be a situation more favourable for their colony. An interesting and animated scene now commenced. The troops and various persons belonging to the land-service, and the various labourers and artificers to be employed in building were disembarked. The provisions, articles of traffic, guns and ammunition for defence, and implements of every kind, were brought to shore, as were also the cattle and live stock, which had suffered excessively from long restraint, especially the horses. There was a general joy at escaping from the irksome confinement of the ships, and once more treading the firm green earth, and breathing the sweetness of the fields. An encampment was formed on the margin of the plain, around a basin or sheet of water, and in a little while the whole place was in activity. Thus was founded the first christian city of the New World, to which Columbus gave the name of Isabella, in honour of his royal patroness.

A plan was formed, and streets and squares projected, according to which the place was to be built. The greatest diligence was then exerted in erecting a

church, a public storehouse, and a residence for the Admiral. These were built of stone; the private houses were constructed of wood, plaster, reeds, or such materials as the exigency of the case permitted, and for a short time every one exerted himself with the utmost zeal.

This animated scene was soon overcast by maladies which broke out among the people. Many that were unaccustomed to the sea, had suffered greatly from the confinement of the ships, and the sickness incident to voyages; their healths had likewise been affected by subsisting for a length of time on salt provisions, much of which was in an unwholesome state, and biscuit which was mouldy and decayed. They had been subject to great exposure on the land also, before houses could be built for their reception; for the exhalations of a hot and moist climate, and a new rank soil, the humid vapours from the rivers, and the stagnant air of close overwhelming forests, render the luxuriant wilderness a place of severe trial to constitutions accustomed to old and highly-cultivated countries. The labour also of building the city, clearing fields, setting out orchards, and planting gardens, having all to be done with great haste, bore hard upon men, who, after tossing so long upon the ocean, stood in need of relaxation and repose. The maladies of the mind also mingled with those of the body. Many, as has been shown, had embarked in the expedition with the most visionary and romantic expectations. Some had anticipated the golden regions of Cipango and Cathay, where they were to amass wealth without toil or trouble; others a region of Asiatic luxury, abounding with wonders and delights; and others a splendid and open career for gallant adventures and chivalrous enterprises. What then was their disappointment to find themselves confined to the margin of an island; surrounded by impracticable forests, doomed to struggle with the rudeness of a wilderness; to toil painfully for mere subsistence, and to attain every comfort by the severest exertion! As to gold, it was brought to them from various quarters, but in small quantities; and it was evidently to be procured only by patient and persevering labour. All these disappointments sank deep into their hearts; their spirits flagged as their golden dreams melted away; and the gloom of despondency aided the ravages of disease.

Columbus himself did not escape the prevalent maladies. The arduous nature of his enterprise, the responsibility under which he found himself, not merely to his followers, or to his sovereigns, but to the world at large, had kept his mind in continual agitation. The cares of so large a squadron; the incessant vigilance required, not only against the lurking dangers of these unknown seas, but against the passions and follies of his followers, prone to sally forth into excesses in adventurous enterprises of every kind, the distress he had suffered from the fate of his murdered garrison, and his uncertainty as to the conduct of the barbarous tribes by which he was surrounded;

all these had harassed his mind and broken his rest while on board the ship: since landing, new cares and toils had crowded upon him, which, added to the exposures incident to his situation in this new climate, completely overpowered his strength. Still, though confined for several weeks to his bed by severe illness, his energetic mind rose superior to the sufferings of the body, and he continued to give directions about the building of the city, and to superintend the general concerns of the expedition.'

## CHAPTER VII.

EXPEDITION OF ALONSO DE OJEDA TO EXPLORE THE INTERIOR OF THE ISLAND. DESPATCH OF THE SHIPS TO SPAIN.

[ 1495. ]

THE ships having discharged their cargoes, it was necessary to send the greater part of them back to Spain. Here new anxieties pressed upon the mind of Columbus. He had hoped to find treasures of gold, and precious merchandise, accumulated by the men he had left behind; or at least the sources of wealthy traffic ascertained, by which he would have been enabled speedily to freight his vessels. The destruction of the garrison had defeated all those hopes. He was aware of the extravagant expectations entertained by the Sovereigns and the nation. What would be their disappointment when the returning ships brought nothing but a tale of disaster! Something must be done, before the vessels sailed, to keep up the fame of his discoveries, and justify his own magnificent representations. As yet he knew nothing of the interior of the island, and his sanguine imagination pictured it as abounding with riches. If it were really the island of Cipango, it must contain populous cities, existing very probably in some more cultivated region, beyond the lofty mountains with which it was intersected. All the Indians concurred in mentioning Cibao as the tract of country from whence they derived their gold. The very name of its cacique, Caonabo, signifying "The Lord of the Golden House," seemed to indicate the wealth of his dominions. The tracts where the mines were said to abound, lay at a distance of but three or four days' journey, directly interior; Columbus determined, therefore, to send an expedition to explore it, previous to the sailing of the ships. If the result should confirm his hopes, he would then be able to send home the fleet with confidence, bearing tidings of the discovery of the golden mountains of Cibao.'

The person he chose for this enterprise was Don Alonso de Ojeda, the same cavalier who has been already noticed for his daring spirit and great bodily

force and agility. Delighting in all service of a hazardous and adventurous nature, Ojeda was the more stimulated to this expedition from the formidable character of the mountain cacique, Caonabo, whose dominions he was to penetrate. He set out from the harbour, early in January, 1494, accompanied by a small force of well-armed and determined men, several of them young and spirited cavaliers like himself. He struck directly southward into the interior. For the two first days, the march was toilsome and difficult, through a country abandoned by its inhabitants; for terror of the Spaniards seemed to have extended along the sea-coast. On the second evening they came to a lofty range of mountains, which they ascended by an Indian path, winding up a steep and narrow defile, and they slept for the night at the summit. From hence, the next morning, they beheld the sun rise with great glory over a vast and delicious plain, covered with noble forests studded with villages and hamlets, and enlivened by the shining waters of the Yagui.

Descending into this plain, Ojeda and his companions boldly entered the Indian villages. The inhabitants, far from being hostile, overwhelmed them with hospitality, and, in fact, impeded their journey by their kindness. They had also to ford many rivers in traversing this plain, so that they were five or six days in reaching the chain of mountains which locked up, as it were, the golden region of Cibao. They penetrated into this district without meeting with any other obstacles than those presented by the rude nature of the country. Caonabo, so redoubtable for his courage and ferocity, must have been in some distant part of his dominions, for he never appeared to dispute their progress. The natives received them with kindness: they were naked and uncivilized, like the other inhabitants of the island; nor were there any traces of the important cities which their imaginations had once pictured forth. They saw, however, ample signs of natural wealth. The sands of the mountain streams glittered with particles of gold; these the natives would skilfully separate, and frankly give to the Spaniards, without expecting a recompense. In some places they picked up large specimens of virgin ore from the beds of the torrents, and stones streaked and richly impregnated with it. Peter Martyr affirms that he saw a mass of rude gold weighing nine ounces, which Ojeda himself had found in one of the brooks.'

All these were considered as mere superficial washings of the soil, betraying the hidden treasures lurking in the deep veins and rocky bosoms of the mountains, and only requiring the hand of labour to bring them to light. As the object of his expedition was merely to ascertain the nature of the country, Ojeda led back his little band to the harbour, full of enthusiastic accounts of the golden promise of these mountains. A young cavalier of the name of Gervalan, who had been despatched at the same time on

a similar expedition, had discovered a fertile tract of country. These flattering reports induced Columbus to send a party of men necessary to explore the fertile sources of his health would be mountains, and an establishment.

The season was the fleet. Encouraged was enabled to hasten despatching two of Antonio de Torres service of the colony.

By this opportunity gold found among and all such fruits appeared to be valuable in guine terms of the the last of whom repeated his confidence to make abundantly drugs, and spices search for them people, and the growth of the infant city. of the island; its abundant plains, quick fecundity of growth of the vegetables brought

As it would take provisions from the duce of their livelihood of the colony, which souls; and as the diet of the natives supplies from Spain growing scanty. from the badness of the colonists the of their accustomed immediate necessities. Horses were required for military service in awing the natives those animals. number of workmen mining and in so commended variety of the Sovereigns an Aragonian cavalier had a wife and children for his good service pointed to a colony belonged. In full

\* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 50. Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1. l. ii, cap. 10. Peter Martyr, decad. 1. l. ii. Letter of Dr Chanca, etc.

\* Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1. l. ii, c. 10.

\* Peter Martyr, decad. 1. l. ii.

a similar expedition, and who had explored a different tract of country, returned with similar reports. These flattering accounts served for a time to reanimate the drooping and desponding colonists, and induced Columbus to believe that it was only necessary to explore the mines of Cibao, to open inexhaustible sources of riches. He determined, as soon as his health would permit, to repair in person to the mountains, and seek a favourable site for a mining establishment.

The season was now propitious for the return of the fleet. Encouraged by the promising prospects he was enabled to hold out, Columbus lost no time in despatching twelve of the ships under the command of Antonio de Torres, retaining only five for the service of the colony.

By this opportunity, he sent home specimens of the gold found among the mountains and rivers of Cibao, and all such fruits and plants as were curious, or appeared to be valuable. He wrote in the most sanguine terms of the expeditions of Ojeda and Gorvalan, the last of whom returned to Spain in the fleet. He repeated his confident anticipation of soon being able to make abundant shipments of gold, of precious drugs, and spices; being prevented at present in the search for them by the sickness of himself and his people, and the cares and labours required in building the infant city. He described the beauty and fertility of the island; its range of noble mountains; its wide, abundant plains, watered by beautiful rivers; the quick fecundity of the soil, evinced in the luxuriant growth of the sugar-cane, and of various grains and vegetables brought from Europe.

As it would take some time, however, to obtain provisions from their fields and gardens, and the produce of their live stock, adequate to the subsistence of the colony, which consisted of about a thousand souls; and as they could not accustom themselves to the diet of the natives, Columbus requested present supplies from Spain. Their provisions were already growing scanty. Much of their wine had been lost, from the badness of the casks; and in the infirm state of the colonists they suffered greatly from the want of their accustomed nourishment. There was an immediate necessity of medicines, clothing, and arms. Horses were required, likewise, for the public works, and for military service, it being found of great effect in awing the natives, who had the utmost dread of those animals. He required also an additional number of workmen and mechanics, and men skilled in mining and in smelting and purifying ore. He recommended various persons to the notice and favour of the Sovereigns, among whom was Pedro Margarite, an Aragonian cavalier of the order of St Jago, who had a wife and children to be provided for, and who, for his good services, Columbus begged might be appointed to a command in the order to which he belonged. In like manner he entreated patronage

for Juan Aguado, who was about to return in the fleet, making particular mention of his merits. From both of these men he was destined to experience the most signal ingratitude. In these ships he sent also the men, women, and children taken in the Caribbee Islands, recommending that they should be carefully instructed in the Spanish language and the Christian faith. From the roving and adventurous nature of these people, and their general acquaintance with the various languages of this great archipelago, he thought that, when the precepts of religion and the usages of civilization had reformed their savage manners and cannibal propensities, they might be rendered eminently serviceable as interpreters, and as means of propagating the doctrines of Christianity.

Among the many sound and salutary suggestions in this letter, there is one of a most pernicious tendency, written in that mistaken view of natural rights prevalent at the day, but fruitful of so much wrong and misery in the world. Considering that the greater number of these cannibal pagans transferred to the catholic soil of Spain, the greater would be the number of souls put in the way of salvation, he proposed to establish an exchange of them, as slaves, against live stock, to be furnished by merchants to the colony. The ships to bring such stock were to land nowhere but at the island of Isabella, where the Carib captives would be ready for delivery. A duty was to be levied on each slave for the benefit of the royal revenue. In this way the colony would be furnished with all kinds of live stock free of expense; the peaceful islanders would be freed from warlike and inhuman neighbours; the royal treasury would be greatly enriched; and a vast number of souls would be snatched from perdition, and carried, as it were, by main force to heaven. Such is the strange sophistry by which upright men may sometimes deceive themselves. Columbus feared the disappointment of the Sovereigns in respect to the prospect of his enterprises, and was anxious to devise some mode of lightening their expenses until he could open some ample source of profit. The conversion of infidels, by fair means or foul, by persuasion or force, was one of the popular tenets of the day; and in recommending the enslaving of the Caribs, Columbus thought that he was obeying the dictates of his conscience, when he was in reality listening to the incitements of his interests. It is but just to add, that the Sovereigns did not accord with his ideas, but ordered that the Caribs should be converted like the rest of the islanders—a command which emanated from the merciful heart of Isabella, who ever showed herself the benign protectress of the Indians.

The fleet put to sea on the 2d of February, 1494. Though it brought back no wealth to Spain, yet expectation was kept alive by the sanguine letter of Columbus, and the specimens of gold which he transmitted: his favourable accounts were corroborated by letters from Friar Boyle, the Doctor Chanca, and other persons of credibility, and by the personal re-

ports of Gorvalan. The sordid calculations of petty spirits were as yet overruled by the enthusiasm of generous minds, captivated by the lofty nature of these enterprises. There was something wonderfully grand in the idea of thus introducing new races of animals and plants, of building cities, extending colonies, and sowing the seeds of civilization and of enlightened empire in this beautiful but savage world. It struck the minds of learned and classical men with admiration, filling them with pleasant dreams and reveries, and seeming to realize the poetical pictures of the olden time. "Columbus," says old Peter Martyr, "has begun to build a city, as he has lately written to me, and to sow our seeds and to propagate our animals! Who of us shall now speak with wonder of Saturn, Ceres, and Triptolemus, travelling about the earth to spread new inventions among mankind! Or of the Phœnicians, who built Tyre and Sidon? Or of the Tyrians themselves, whose roving desires led them to migrate into foreign lands, to build new cities and establish new communities?"

Such were the comments of enlightened and benevolent men, who hailed with enthusiasm the discovery of the New World, not for the wealth it would bring to Europe, but for the field it would open for glorious and benevolent enterprise, and the blessings and improvements of civilized life, which it would widely dispense through barbarous and uncultivated regions.

#### CHAPTER VIII.

DISCONTENTS AT ISABELLA. MUTINY OF BERNAL DIAZ DE PISA.

[ 1494. ]

THE embryo city of Isabella was rapidly assuming a form. A dry stone wall surrounded it, to protect it from any sudden attack of the natives; although the most friendly disposition was evinced by the Indians of the vicinity, who brought supplies of their simple articles of food, and gave them in exchange for European trifles. On the day of the Epiphany, the 6th of January, the church being sufficiently completed, high mass was celebrated, with great pomp and ceremony, by Friar Boyle, and the twelve ecclesiastics. The affairs of the settlement being thus apparently in a regular train, Columbus, though still confined by indisposition, began to make arrangements for his contemplated expedition to the mountains of Cibao, when an unexpected disturbance in his little community for a time engrossed his attention.

The sailing of the fleet for Spain had been a melancholy sight to many whose terms of enlistment compelled them to remain on the island. Disappointed in their expectations of immediate wealth,

\* Letter 153. To Pomponius Lætus.

disgusted with the labours imposed on them, and appalled by the maladies prevalent throughout the community, they began to look with horror upon the surrounding wilderness, as destined to be the grave of their hopes and of themselves. When the last sail disappeared which was bearing their companions back to Spain, they felt as if completely severed from their country, and the tender recollections of home, which had been checked for a time by the novelty and bustle around them, rushed with sudden force upon their minds. To return to Spain became their ruling idea; and the same want of reflection which had hurried them into the enterprise, without inquiring into its real nature, now prompted them to extricate themselves from it, by any means however desperate. Where popular discontents prevail, there is seldom wanting some daring spirit to give them a dangerous direction. One Bernal Diaz de Pisa, a man of some standing, who had held a civil office about the court, had come out with the expedition as comptroller: he seems to have presumed upon his official powers, and to have had early differences with the Admiral. Disgusted with his employment in the colony, he soon made a faction among the discontented, and proposed that they should take advantage of the indisposition of Columbus, to seize upon some or all of the five ships in the harbour, and return in them to Spain. It would be easy to justify their clandestine return, by preferring a complaint against the Admiral, representing the fallacy of his enterprises, and accusing him of gross deceptions and exaggerations in his accounts of the countries he had discovered. It is probable that some of these people really considered him culpable of the charges thus fabricated against him; for, in the disappointment of their avaricious hopes, they overlooked the real value of those fertile islands, which were to enrich nations by the produce of their soil. Every country was sterile and unprofitable in their eyes, that did not immediately teem with gold. Though they had continual proofs in the specimens brought by the natives to the settlement, or furnished to Ojeda and Gorvalan, that the rivers and mountains in the interior abounded with ore, yet even these daily proofs were falsified in their eyes. One Fermin Cado, a wrong-headed and obstinate man, who had come out as assayer and purifier of metals, had imbibed the same prejudice against the expedition with Bernal Diaz. He pertinaciously insisted that there was no gold in the island; or at least that it was found in such inconsiderable quantities as not to repay the research. He declared that the large grains of virgin ore brought by the natives had been melted; that they had been the slow accumulations of many years, having remained a long time in the families of the Indians, and been handed down from generation to generation. Other specimens, of a very large size, he pronounced of a very inferior quality, and that they had been debased with brass by the natives. Thus the words of this man outweighed the evidence of facts; and many joined him

in the belief that gold. It was not the real character of the discovery made equal to his obstinacy which are apt to be of a meddlesome

Encouraged by the number of the turbulent to take possession of the rope. The influence would obtain for they trusted to the prejudice Columbus, fickle in its smiles and capriciously favored.

Fortunately this proceeded to action the ringleaders to the gations, a memorial full of slanders and concealed in the by the hand-writing conducted himself with respect to the rank and inflict any punishment board one of the st together with the fence, and the sed discovered. Sever punished according but not with the served. To guard a attempt, Columbus val munitions should sels, and put into the in charge to person confidence.\*

This was the first right of punishing ment, and it immed animadversions. For the general safety est lenity, were cen Already the disadvantage the people he was t He had national pre the most general an friends to rally rou had connexions in S met with sympathy early hostility was bus, which continue and the seeds were s mutinies which after

\* Cura de los Palacios, Herrera, Hist. Ind., tomo, c. 50.



in the belief that the island was really destitute of gold. It was not until some time afterwards that the real character of Fernán Cado was ascertained, and the discovery made, that his ignorance was at least equal to his obstinacy and his presumption—qualities which are apt to enter largely into the compound of a meddling and mischievous man.\*

Encouraged by such substantial co-operation, a number of the turbulent spirits of the colony concerted to carry the plan into immediate effect, and to take possession of the ships and make sail for Europe. The influence of Bernal Diaz de Pisa at court would obtain for them a favourable hearing; and they trusted to their unanimous representations, to prejudice Columbus in the opinion of the public, ever fickle in its smiles, and most ready to turn suddenly and capriciously from the favourite it has most idolized.

Fortunately this mutiny was discovered before it proceeded to action. Columbus immediately ordered the ringleaders to be arrested. On making investigations, a memorial or information against himself, full of slanders and misrepresentations, was found concealed in the buoy of one of the ships. It was in the hand-writing of Bernal Diaz. The Admiral conducted himself with great moderation. Out of respect to the rank and station of Diaz, he forbore to inflict any punishment on him; but confined him on board one of the ships, to be sent to Spain for trial, together with the process or investigation of his offence, and the seditious memorial which had been discovered. Several of the inferior mutineers were punished according to the degree of their culpability, but not with the severity which their offence deserved. To guard against any recurrence of a similar attempt, Columbus ordered that all the guns and naval munitions should be taken out of four of the vessels, and put into the principal ship, which was given in charge to persons in whom he could place implicit confidence.\*

This was the first time Columbus exercised the right of punishing delinquents in his new government, and it immediately awakened the most violent animadversions. His measures, though necessary for the general safety, and characterized by the greatest lenity, were censured as arbitrary and vindictive. Already the disadvantage of being a foreigner among the people he was to govern was clearly manifested. He had national prejudices to encounter, of all others the most general and illiberal. He had no natural friends to rally round him; whereas the mutineers had connexions in Spain, friends in the colony, and met with sympathy in every discontented mind. An early hostility was thus engendered against Columbus, which continued to increase throughout his life, and the seeds were sown of a series of factions and mutinies which afterwards distracted the island.

\* Cura de los Palacios, cap. 420, 422, MS.

† Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1, l. ii, c. 11. Hist. del Almirante, c. 50.

## CHAPTER IX.

## EXPEDITION OF COLUMBUS TO THE MOUNTAINS OF CIBAO.

[ 1494. ]

HAVING at length recovered from his long illness, and the mutiny at the settlement being effectually checked, Columbus prepared for his immediate departure for Cibao. He intrusted the command of the city and the ships, during his absence, to his brother Don Diego, appointing able persons to counsel and assist him. Don Diego is represented by Las Casas, who knew him personally, as a man of great merit and discretion, of a gentle and pacific disposition, and more characterized by simplicity than shrewdness. He was sober in his attire, wearing almost the dress of an ecclesiastic, and Las Casas thinks he had secret hopes of preferment in the church;† indeed Columbus intimates as much when he mentions him in his will. As the Admiral intended to build a fortress in the mountains, and to form an establishment for working the mines, he took with him the necessary artificers, workmen, miners, munitions, and implements. He was also about to enter the territories of the dreaded Caonabo: it was important, therefore, to take with him a force that should not only secure him against any warlike opposition, but that should spread through the country a formidable idea of the power of the white men, and deter the Indians from any future act of violence, either towards communities or wandering individuals whom chance might throw into their power. Every healthy person, therefore, who could be spared from the settlement, was put in requisition, together with all the cavalry that could be mustered; and every arrangement was made to strike the savages with the display of military splendour.

On the 12th of March, Columbus set out at the head of about four hundred men well armed and equipped, with shining helmets and corselets; with arquebuses, lances, swords, and cross-bows, and followed by a multitude of the neighbouring Indians. They sallied forth from the city in battle array, with banners flying, and sound of drum and trumpet. Their march for the first day was across the plain which lay between the sea and the mountains, fording two rivers, and passing through a fair and verdant country. They encamped in the evening in the midst of pleasant fields, at the foot of a wild and rocky pass of the mountains.

The ascent of this rugged defile presented formidable difficulties to the little army, encumbered as it was with various implements and munitions. There was nothing but an Indian foot-path, winding among rocks and precipices, or through brakes and thickets, entangled by the rich vegetation of a tropical forest. A number of high-spirited young cavaliers volunteered to open a route for the army. The youthful cavaliers of Spain were accustomed to this kind of ser-

† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. 1, c. 82, MS.



vice in the Moorish wars, where it was often necessary on a sudden to open roads for the march of troops, and the conveyance of artillery, across the mountains of Granada. Throwing themselves in the advance with labourers and pioneers, whom they stimulated by their example, as well as by promises of liberal reward, they soon constructed the first road formed in the New World; and which was called El Puerto de los Hidalgos, or the pass of gentlemen, in honour of the gallant cavaliers who effected it.

On the following day, the army toiled up this steep delfle, and arrived where the gorge of the mountain opened into the interior. Here a land of promise suddenly burst upon their view. It was the same glorious prospect which had delighted Ojeda and his companions. Below lay a vast and delicious plain, painted and enamelled, as it were, with all the rich variety of tropical vegetation. The magnificent forests presented that mingled beauty and majesty of vegetable forms known only to these generous climates. Palms of prodigious height, and spreading mahogany-trees, towered from amid a wilderness of variegated foliage. Universal freshness and verdure were maintained by numerous streams, which meandered gleaming through the deep bosom of the woodland; while various villages and hamlets, peeping from among the trees, and the smoke of others rising out of the midst of the forest, gave signs of a numerous population. The luxuriant landscape extended as far as the eye could reach, until it appeared to melt away and mingle with the horizon. The Spaniards gazed with rapture upon this soft voluptuous country, which seemed to realize their ideas of a terrestrial paradise; and Columbus, struck with its vast extent, gave it the name of the Vega Real, or Royal Plain.\*

Having descended the rugged pass, the army issued upon the plain, in military array, with great clangour of warlike instruments. When the Indians beheld this shining band of warriors, glittering in steel, emerging from the mountains with prancing steeds and flaunting banners, and heard, for the first time, their rocks and forests echoing to the din of drum and trumpet, they might well have taken such a wonderful pageant for a supernatural vision.

In this way Columbus disposed his forces whenever he approached a populous village, placing the cavalry in front, for the horses inspired a mingled terror and admiration among the natives. Las Casas observes, that at first they supposed the rider and his horse to be one animal, and nothing could exceed their astonishment at seeing the horseman dismount; a circumstance which shows that the alleged origin of the ancient fable of the Centaurs is at least founded in nature. On the approach of the army the Indians generally fled with terror, and took refuge in their

houses. Such was their simplicity, that they merely put up a slight barrier of reeds at the portal, and seemed to consider themselves perfectly secure. Columbus, pleased to meet with such artlessness, ordered that these frail barriers should be scrupulously respected, and the inhabitants allowed to remain in their fancied security.† By degrees their fears were allayed through the mediation of their interpreters, and the distribution of trifling presents. Their kindness and gratitude could not then be exceeded, and the march of the army was continually retarded by the hospitality of the numerous villages through which it passed. Such was the frank communion among these people, that the Indians who accompanied the army entered without ceremony into the houses, helping themselves to anything of which they stood in need, without exciting surprise or anger in the inhabitants: the latter offered to do the same with respect to the Spaniards, and seemed astonished when they met a repulse. This, it is probable, was the case merely with respect to articles of food; for we are told that the Indians were not careless in their notions of property, and the crime of theft was one of the few which were punished among them with great severity. Food, however, is generally open to free participation in savage life, and is rarely made an object of barter, until habits of trade have been introduced by the white men. The untutored savages, in almost every part of the world, scorn to make a traffic of hospitality.

After a march of five leagues across this plain, they arrived at the banks of a large and beautiful stream, called by the natives the Yagui, but to which the Admiral gave the name of the River of Reeds. He was not aware that it was the same stream, which, after winding through the Vega, falls into the sea near Monte Christi, and which, in his first voyage, he had named the River of Gold. On its green banks the army encamped for the night, animated and delighted with the beautiful scenes through which they had passed. They bathed and sported in the waters of the Yagui, enjoying the amenity of the surrounding landscape, and the delightful breezes which prevail in that genial season. "For though there is but little difference," observes Las Casas, "from one month to another in all the year in this island, and in most parts of these Indies, yet in the period from September to May, it is like living in paradise."‡

On the following morning they crossed this stream by the aid of canoes and rafts, swimming the horses over. For two days they continued their march through the same kind of rich level country, diversified by noble forests, and watered by abundant streams, several of which descended from the mountains of Cibao, and were said to bring down gold dust mingled with their sands. To one of these, the limpid waters of which ran over a bed of smooth round pebbles, Columbus gave the name of Rio

Verde, or Green, for the greenness of its banks. It passed through a country where the experienced general and his men had fled a slight barricade, and was easily won to favour by means to entreat.

Thus penetrating where every scene was beautiful but unequal, evening of the rugged mountains to the Vega. The golden mountains at their rocky sun grow rough and worn, they encan steep delfle, which pioneers were sent army. From this supply of bread to grow scanty, themselves to the afterwards found suited to the climate.

On the next morning up a narrow and rocky, where they Arrived at the sun prospect of the del a still grander app either hand, like plain, according to length, and from t incomparable beau

They now ente gold, which, as if displayed a miser- tion to its hidden uriant landscape o rocky and sterile lofty pines. The possessing the ric parts of the island cepting such as gr very name of the soil,—Cibao, in th ing a stone. Still and shady clefts a the most limpid ri and the strips of v to the eye from th consoled the Spar was to observe pa sands of those crys in quantity, they locked up within

The natives hav exploring party u

\* Hist. del Almirante, c. 50. Hidalgo, l. e. Hijó de Algo, literally, "a son of somebody;" In contradistinction to an obscure and low-born man, a son of nobody.

† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. 1, cap. 90. MS.

‡ Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. 1, c. 90.

§ Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. 1, c. 90. MS.

Verde, or Green River, from the verdure and freshness of its banks. In the course of this march they passed through numerous villages, where they experienced generally the same reception. The simple inhabitants fled at their approach, putting up their slight barricadoes of reeds; but, as before, they were easily won to familiarity, and tasked their limited means to entertain the strangers.

Thus penetrating into the midst of this great island, where every scene presented the wild luxuriance of beautiful but uncivilized nature, they arrived on the evening of the second day at a chain of lofty and rugged mountains, which formed a kind of barrier to the Vega. These Columbus was told were the golden mountains of Cibao, whose region commenced at their rocky summits. The country now began to grow rough and difficult; and the people being way-worn, they encamped for the night at the foot of a steep defile, which led up into the mountains, and pioneers were sent in advance to open a road for the army. From this place they sent back mules for a supply of bread and wine, their provisions beginning to grow scanty, for they had not as yet accustomed themselves to the food of the natives, which was afterwards found to be very nutritious, and well suited to the climate.

On the next morning they resumed their march up a narrow and steep glen, winding among craggy rocks, where they were obliged to lead the horses. Arrived at the summit, they once more enjoyed a prospect of the delicious Vega, which here presented a still grander appearance, stretching far and wide on either hand, like a vast verdant lake. This noble plain, according to Las Casas, is eighty leagues in length, and from twenty to thirty in breadth, and of incomparable beauty.

They now entered Cibao, the famous region of gold, which, as if nature delighted in contrarieties, displayed a miser-like poverty of exterior, in proportion to its hidden treasures. Instead of the soft luxuriant landscape of the Vega, they beheld chains of rocky and sterile mountains, scantily clothed with lofty pines. The trees in the valleys also, instead of possessing the rich tufted foliage common to other parts of the island, were meagre and dwarfish, excepting such as grew on the banks of streams. The very name of the country bespoke the nature of the soil,—Cibao, in the language of the natives, signifying a stone. Still, however, there were deep glens and shady clefts among the mountains, watered by the most limpid rivulets, where the green herbage, and the strips of woodland, were the more delightful to the eye from the neighbouring sterility. But what consoled the Spaniards for the asperity of the soil, was to observe particles of gold glittering among the sands of those crystal streams, which, though scanty in quantity, they regarded as earnest of the wealth locked up within the mountains.

The natives having been previously visited by the exploring party under Ojeda, came forth to meet

them with great alacrity, bringing them food, and, above all, grains and particles of gold, which they had collected in the brooks and torrents, seeing how eagerly that metal was coveted by the Spaniards. From the quantities of gold dust in every stream, Columbus was convinced there must be several mines in the vicinity. He had met with specimens of amber and lapis lazuli, though in very small quantities, and thought that he had discovered a mine of copper. He was now about eighteen leagues from the settlement; the rugged nature of the mountains made a communication, even from this distance, laborious. He gave up the idea, therefore, of penetrating further into the country, and determined to establish a fortified post in this neighbourhood, with a large number of men, as well to work the mines as to explore the rest of the province. He accordingly selected a pleasant situation on an eminence almost entirely surrounded by a small river, called the Yanique, the waters of which were as pure as if distilled, and the sound of its current musical to the ear. In its bed were found curious stones of various colours, large masses of beautiful marble, and pieces of pure jasper. From the foot of the height extended one of those graceful and verdant plains, called by the Indians, savannahs, which were freshened and fertilized by the river.

On this eminence Columbus ordered a strong fortress of wood to be erected, capable of defence against any attack of the natives, and protected by a deep ditch on the side which the river did not secure. To this fortress he gave the name of St Thomas, intended as a pleasant, though pious, reproof of the incredulity of Fermin Cado and his doubting adherents, who obstinately refused to believe that the island produced gold, until they beheld it with their eyes and touched it with their hands.

The natives having heard of the arrival of the Spaniards in their vicinity, came flocking from various parts, anxious to obtain European trinkets. The Admiral signified to them that anything would be given in exchange for gold; upon hearing this some of them ran to a neighbouring river, and gathering and sifting its sands, returned in a little while with considerable quantities of gold dust. One old man brought two pieces of virgin ore, weighing an ounce, and thought himself richly repaid when he received a hawk's-bell. On remarking that the Admiral was struck with the size of these specimens, he affected to treat them with contempt, as insignificant, intimating by signs, that in his country, which lay within half a day's journey, they found pieces of gold as big as an orange. Other Indians brought grains of gold weighing ten and twelve draclums, and declared that in the country from whence they got them, there were masses of ore as large as the head of a child.<sup>1</sup> As usual, however,

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i, c. 90. MS.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Martyr, decad. 1, lib. lii.

these golden tracts were always in some remote valley, or along some rugged and sequestered stream; and the wealthiest spot was sure to be at the greatest distance,—for the land of promise is ever beyond the mountain.

## CHAPTER X.

EXCURSION OF JUAN DE LUXAN AMONG THE MOUNTAINS. CUSTOMS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NATIVES. COLUMBUS RETURNS TO ISABELLA.

[ 1494. ]

WHILE the Admiral remained among the mountains, superintending the building of the fortress, he despatched a young cavalier of Madrid, named Juan de Luxan, with a small band of armed men, to range about the country, and explore the whole of the province, which, from the reports of the Indians, appeared to be equal in extent to the kingdom of Portugal. Luxan returned, after a few days' absence, with the most satisfactory accounts. He had traversed a great part of Cibao, which he had found more capable of cultivation than had at first been imagined. It was generally mountainous, and the soil covered with large round pebbles of a blue colour, yet there was good pasturage in many of the valleys. The mountains also, being watered by frequent showers, produced grass of surprisingly quick and luxuriant growth, often reaching to the saddles of the horses. The forests seemed to Luxan to be full of valuable spices; he being deceived by the odours emitted by those aromatic plants and herbs which abound in the woodlands of the tropics. There were great vines also, climbing to the very summits of the trees, and bearing clusters of grapes entirely ripe, full of juice, and of a pleasant flavour. Every valley and glen possessed its stream, large or small, according to the size of the neighbouring mountain, and all yielding more or less gold, in small particles, showing the universal prevalence of that precious metal. Luxan was supposed, likewise, to have learned from the Indians many of the secrets of their mountains; to have been shown the parts where the richest ore was found, and to have been taken to the richest streams. On all these points, however, he observed a discreet mystery, communicating the particulars to no one but the Admiral.

The fortress of St Thomas being nearly completed, Columbus gave it in command to Pedro Margarite, the same cavalier whom he had recommended to the favour of the Sovereigns; and left with him a garrison of fifty-six men. He then set out on his return to Isabella. On arriving at the banks of the Rio Verde, or Green River, in the Royal Vega, he found a number of Spaniards on their way to the fortress with supplies. He remained, therefore, a few days in the neighbourhood, searching for the best ford-

place of the river, and establishing a route between the fortress and the harbour. During this time, he resided in the Indian villages, endeavouring to accustom his people to the food of the natives; as well as to inspire the latter with a mingled feeling of goodwill and reverence for the white men.

From the report of Luxan, Columbus had derived some information concerning the character and customs of the natives, and he acquired still more from his own observations, in the course of his sojourn among the tribes of the mountains and the plains. And here a brief notice of a few of the characteristics and customs of these people may be interesting. They are given, not merely as observed by the Admiral and his officers during this expedition, but as recorded some time afterwards, in a crude dissertation, by a friar of the name of Roman, a poor hermit, as styled himself, of the order of the Hieronymites, who was one of the colleagues of Father Boyl, and resided for some time in the Vega as a missionary.

Columbus had already discovered the error of one of his opinions concerning these islanders, formed during his first voyage. They were not so entirely pacific, nor so ignorant of warlike arts, as he had imagined. He had been deceived by the enthusiasm of his own feelings, and by the gentleness of Guacanagari and his subjects. The casual descents of the Caribs had compelled the inhabitants of the seashore to acquaint themselves with the use of arms. Some of the mountain tribes near the coast, particularly those on the side which looked towards the Caribbean islands, were of a more hardy and warlike character than those of the plains. Caonabo, also, the Carib chief, had introduced something of his own warrior spirit into the centre of the island. Yet, generally speaking, the habits of the people were mild and gentle. If wars sometimes occurred among them, they were of short duration, and unaccompanied by any great effusion of blood, and, in general, they mingled amicably and hospitably with each other.

Columbus had also at first indulged in the error that the natives of Hayti were destitute of all notions of religion, and he had consequently flattered himself that it would be the easier to introduce into their minds the doctrines of Christianity; not aware that it is more difficult to light up the fire of devotion in the cold heart of an atheist, than to direct the flame to a new object, when it is already unkindled. There are few beings, however, so destitute of reflection, as not to be impressed with the conviction of an overruling deity. A nation of atheists never existed. It was soon discovered that these islanders had their creed, though of a vague and simple nature. They believed in one supreme being, who inhabited the sky, who was immortal, omnipotent, and invisible; to whom they ascribed an origin, who had a mother, but no father. They never addressed their worship

directly to him. Zemes, as messengers, had his tutelary spirits, and pretended to be the images, and who had a house appointed for them, was an image of the sun, or shaped of clay, and hideous from its appearance. He had likewise a particular name, like the Lares of the Romans, were placed in their houses, on their furniture, and bound to attend on their masters, and went to battle. They were transferable, with them from each among them, and should be taken to Zemes, president of the province, having a particular influence on the sterile or abundant crops, and whirlwinds, and sending sweet showers. They were sent to the springs, and fountains, and Satyrs of ancient fables, and fishing, and mountains into the sea, to wander through peaceful rivers; and burst forth into floods, inundating the land.

The natives had tended to hold certain practices rigorous, the powder, or which produced trances and visions, them future events, and the prevention of maladies, and well-known properties of trees, and through their knowledge of many mysterious charms; chanting of the patient, and to expel it from or to the mountain.

Their bodies of the Zemes, and the Spaniards, and vil; and the Butios, were able. These Butios of deceptions upon through the Zen

<sup>1</sup> Peter Martyr, decad. 1, lib. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Escritura de Fr. Roman. Hist. del Almirante.

directly to him, but employed inferior deities, called *Zemes*, as messengers and mediators. Each cacique had his tutelar deity of this order, whom he invoked and pretended to consult in all his public undertakings, and who was revered by his people. He had a house apart, as a temple to this deity, in which was an image of his *Zemi*, carved of wood, of stone, or shaped of clay, and generally of some monstrous and hideous form. Each family and each individual had likewise a particular *Zemi*, or protecting genius, like the *Lares* and *Penates* of the ancients. They were placed in every part of their houses, or carved on their furniture; some had them of a small size, and bound them about their foreheads when they went to battle. They believed their *Zemes* to be transferable, with all their powers, and often stole them from each other. When the Spaniards came among them, they often hid their idols, lest they should be taken away. They believed that these *Zemes* presided over every object in nature, each having a particular charge or government. They influenced the seasons and the elements, causing sterile or abundant years, exciting hurricanes and whirlwinds, and tempests of rain and thunder, or sending sweet and temperate breezes and fruitful showers. They governed the seas and forests, the springs, and fountains, like the *Nereids*, the *Dryads*, and *Satyrs* of antiquity. They gave success in hunting and fishing; they guided the waters of the mountains into safe channels, and led them down to wander through the plains, in gentle brooks and peaceful rivers; or, if incensed, they caused them to burst forth into rushing torrents and overwhelming floods, inundating and laying waste the valleys.

The natives had their *Butios*, or priests, who pretended to hold communion with these *Zemes*. They practised rigorous fasts and ablutions, and inhaled the powder, or drank the infusion of a certain herb, which produced a temporary intoxication or delirium. In the course of this process, they professed to have trances and visions, and that the *Zemes* revealed to them future events, or instructed them in the treatment of maladies. They were, in general, great herbalists, and well acquainted with the medical properties of trees and vegetables. They cured diseases through their knowledge of simples, but always with many mysterious rites and ceremonies, and supposed charms; chanting and burning a light in the chamber of the patient, and pretending to exorcise the malady, to expel it from the mansion, and to send it to the sea or to the mountain.

Their bodies were painted or tattooed with figures of the *Zemes*, which were regarded with horror by the Spaniards, as so many representations of the devil; and the *Butios*, esteemed as saints by the natives, were abhorred by the former as necromancers. These *Butios* often assisted the caciques in practising deceptions upon their subjects, speaking oracularly through the *Zemes*, by means of hollow tubes; in-

spiring the Indians to battle by predicting success, or dealing forth such promises or menaces as might suit the purposes of the chieftain.

There is but one of their solemn religious ceremonies of which any record exists. The cacique proclaimed a day when a kind of festival was to be held in honour of his *Zemes*. His subjects assembled from all parts, and formed a solemn procession; the married men and women decorated with their most precious ornaments, the young females entirely naked. The cacique, or the principal personage, marched at their head, beating a kind of drum. In this way they proceeded to the consecrated house or temple, in which were set up the images of the *Zemes*. Arrived at the door, the cacique seated himself on the outside, continuing to beat his drum while the procession entered, the females carrying baskets of cakes ornamented with flowers, and singing as they advanced. These offerings were received by the *Butios* with loud cries, or rather howlings. They broke the cakes, after they had been offered to the *Zemes*, and distributed the portions to the heads of families, who preserved them carefully throughout the year, as preventive of all adverse accidents. This done, the females advanced, at a given signal, singing songs in honour of the *Zemes*, or in praise of the heroic actions of their ancient caciques. The whole ceremony finished by invoking the *Zemes* to watch over and protect the nation.

Besides the *Zemes*, each cacique had three idols or talismans, which were mere stones, but which were held in great reverence by themselves and their subjects. One they supposed had the power to produce abundant harvests, another to remove all pain from women in travail, and the third to call forth rain or sunshine when either was required. Three of these were sent home by Columbus to the Sovereigns.

The ideas of the natives with respect to the creation were vague and undefined. They gave their own island of Hayti priority of existence over all others, and believed that the sun and moon originally issued out of a cavern in the island to give light to the world. This cavern still exists, about seven or eight leagues from Cape François. It is about one hundred and fifty feet in depth, and nearly the same in height, but very narrow. It receives no light but from the entrance, and from a round hole in the roof, from whence it was said the sun and moon issued forth to take their places in the sky. The vault was so fair and regular, that it appeared a work of art rather than of nature. In the time of Charlevoix the figures of various *Zemes* were still to be seen cut in the rock, and there were the remains of niches, as if to receive statues. This cavern was held in great veneration. It was painted, and adorned with green branches and other simple decorations. There were in it two images of *Zemes*. When there was a want of rain, the natives made pilgrimages and processions

\* Charlevoix, *Hist. St. Domingo*, l. i, p. 26.

\* *Hist. del Almirante*, cap. 61.

\* Oviedo, *Cronica*, l. 7, c. 1.



to it, with songs and dances, bearing offerings of fruits and flowers.<sup>1</sup>

They believed that mankind issued from another cavern, the large men from a great aperture, the small men from a little cranny. They were for a long time destitute of women, but, wandering on one occasion near a small lake, they saw certain animals among the branches of the trees, which proved to be women. On attempting to catch them, however, they were found to be as slippery as eels, so that it was impossible to hold them. At length they employed certain men, whose hands were rendered rough by a kind of leprosy. These succeeded in securing four of these slippery females, from whom the world was peopled.

While the men inhabited this cavern, they dared only venture forth at night, for the sight of the sun was fatal to them, turning them into trees and stones. There was a cacique, named Vagoniona, who sent one of his men forth from the cave to fish, who lingering at his sport until the sun had risen, was turned into a bird of melodious note, the same that Columbus mistook for the nightingale. They added, that yearly about the time that he had suffered this transformation, he comes in the night, with a mournful song, bewailing his misfortune, which is the cause why that bird always sings in the night season.<sup>2</sup>

Like most savage nations, they had also a tradition concerning the universal deluge, equally fanciful with most of the preceding; for it is singular how the human mind, in its natural state, is apt to account, by trivial and familiar causes, for great events. They said that there once lived in the island a mighty cacique, whose only son conspiring against him, he slew him. He afterwards collected and picked his bones, and preserved them in a gourd, as was the custom of the natives with the relics of their friends. On a subsequent day, the cacique and his wife opened the gourd to contemplate the bones of their son, when, to their astonishment, several fish, great and small, leaped out. Upon this the cacique closed the gourd and placed it on the top of his house, boasting that he had the sea shut up within it, and could have fish whenever he pleased. Four brothers, however, born at the same birth, and curious intermeddlers, hearing of this gourd, came during the absence of the cacique to peep into it. In their carelessness, they suffered it to fall upon the ground, when it was dashed to pieces, and there issued forth a mighty flood, with dolphins, and sharks, and great tumbling whales; and the water spread until it overflowed the earth, and formed the ocean, leaving only the tops of the mountains uncovered, which are the present islands.<sup>3</sup>

They had singular modes of treating the dying and the dead. When the life of a cacique was despaired of, they strangled him, out of a principle of respect,

rather than suffer him to die like the vulgar. Common people were extended in their hammocks, bread and water placed at their head, and they were then abandoned to die in solitude. Sometimes they were carried to the cacique, and if he gave his decision or consent, they were strangled. After death the body of a cacique was opened, dried at a fire, and preserved; of others the head only was treasured up as a memorial, or occasionally a limb. Sometimes the whole body was interred in a cave, with a calabash of water, and a loaf of bread; sometimes it was consumed with fire in the house of the deceased.

They had confused and uncertain notions of the existence of the soul when separated from the body. They believed in the apparitions of the departed at night, or by daylight in solitary places, to lonely individuals; sometimes advancing as if to attack them, but upon the traveller's striking at them they vanished, and he struck merely against trees or rocks. Sometimes they mingled among the living, and were only to be known by having no navels. The Indians, fearful of meeting with these apparitions, disliked to go about alone, and in the dark. They had an idea of a place of reward, to which the spirits of good men repaired after death, where they were reunited to the spirits of those they had most loved during life, and to all their ancestors. Here they enjoyed uninterruptedly, and in perfection, those pleasures which constituted their felicity on earth. They lived in shady and blooming bowers, with beautiful women, and banqueted on delicious fruits. The paradise of these happy spirits was variously placed, almost every tribe assigning some favourite spot in their native province. Many however, concurred in describing this region as being near a lake in the western part of the island, in the beautiful province of Xaragua. Here there were delightful valleys, covered with a delicate fruit called the mamey, about the size of an apricot. They imagined that the souls of the deceased remained concealed among the airy and inaccessible cliffs of the mountains during the day, but descended at night into these happy valleys, to regale on this consecrated fruit. The living were sparing, therefore, in eating of it, lest the souls of their friends should suffer from want of their favourite nourishment.<sup>4</sup>

The dances to which the natives seemed so immoderately addicted, and which had been at first considered by the Spaniards mere idle pastimes, were found to be often ceremonies of a serious and mystic character. They form, indeed, a singular and important feature throughout the customs of the aboriginals of the New World. In these are typified, by signs well understood by the initiated, and, as it were, by hieroglyphic action, their historical events, their projected enterprises, their hunting, their ambuscades, and their battles, resembling in some respects the Pyrrhic dances of the ancients. Speaking

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix, *Hist. de St Domingo*, t. i, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Fray Roman, *Hist. del Almirante*, P. Martyr, d. i, l. ix.

<sup>3</sup> *Escritura de Fray Roman, padre Heremito*.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. del Almirante*, c. 61. Peter Martyr, *decat. i*, lib. ix.

Charlevoix, *Hist. St Domingo*, lib. i.

of the prevalence of Hayti, Peter them to the cl handed down which were rel "These rhyme areytos; and as to the harp and these songs, and brels made of sh they call mague of love, and oth also to encourag agreeable to th as has been alr ger to procure their persons, a the cadence of to a ballad has peasants in Flan prevalent throu tanets, and the rived from the before their inv the peninsula.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mariana, *Hist.*

<sup>2</sup> Oviedo, *Cron.*

<sup>3</sup> Fray Roman, *Hist. del Almirante*, d. i, l. ix. Herrera, *Hist.*



of the prevalence of these dances among the natives of Hayti, Peter Martyr observes that they performed them to the chant of certain metres and ballads, handed down from generation to generation, in which were rehearsed the deeds of their ancestors. "These rhymes or ballads," he adds, "they call areytos; and as our minstrels are accustomed to sing to the harp and lute, so do they in like manner sing these songs, and dance to the same, playing on timbrels made of shells of certain fishes. These timbrels they call maguey. They have also songs and ballads of love, and others of lamentation or mourning; some also to encourage them to the wars, all sung to tunes agreeable to the matter." It was for these dances, as has been already observed, that they were so eager to procure hawks'-bells, suspending them about their persons, and keeping time with their sound to the cadence of the singers. This mode of dancing to a ballad has been compared to the dances of the peasants in Flanders during the summer, and to those prevalent throughout Spain to the sound of the castanets, and the wild popular chants said to be derived from the Moors; but which, in fact, existed before their invasion, among the Goths who overran the peninsula.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest history of almost all nations, has generally been preserved by rude heroic rhymes and ballads, and by the lays of the minstrels; and such was the case with the areytos of the Indians. "When a cacique died," says Oviedo, "they sang in dirges his life and actions, and all the good that he had done was recollected. Thus they formed the ballads or areytos which constituted their history."<sup>2</sup> Some of these ballads were of a sacred character, containing their traditional notions of theology, and the superstitions and fables which comprised their religious creeds. None were permitted to sing these but the sons of caciques, who were instructed in them by their Butios. They were chanted before the people on solemn festivals, like those already described, accompanied by the sound of a kind of drum, made from a hollow tree.<sup>3</sup>

Such are a few of the characteristics remaining in record of these simple people, who perished from the face of the earth before their customs and creeds were thought of sufficient importance to be investigated. The present work does not profess to enter into detailed accounts of the countries and people discovered by Columbus, otherwise than as they may be useful for the illustration of his history; and perhaps the foregoing are carried to an unnecessary length, but they may serve to give greater interest to the subsequent transactions of the island.

Many of these particulars, as has been observed, were collected by the Admiral and his officers, during their excursion among the mountains, and their

<sup>1</sup> Mariana, *Hist. Esp.*, l. v. c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Oviedo, *Cron. de las Indias*, lib. v. ch. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Fray Roman, *Hist. del Almirante*, cap. 61. P. Martyr, *decaad.* l. i. ix. Herrera, *Hist. Ind.*, d. 1, l. iii. c. 4. Oviedo, l. v. c. 1.

sojourn in the plain. The natives appeared to them a singularly idle and improvident race, indifferent to most of the objects of human anxiety and toil. They were impatient of all kinds of labour, scarcely giving themselves the trouble to cultivate the yuca root, the maize, and the potatoe, which formed the main articles of subsistence. For the rest, their streams abounded with fish; they caught the utia or coney, the guana, and various birds; and they had a perpetual banquet from the fruits spontaneously produced by their groves. Though the air was sometimes cold among the mountains, yet they preferred submitting to a little temporary suffering, rather than take the trouble to weave garments from the gossampine cotton which abounded in their forests. Thus they loitered away existence in vacant inactivity, under the shade of their trees, or amusing themselves occasionally with various games and dances.

In fact, they were destitute of all powerful motives to toil, being free from most of those wants which doom mankind in civilized life, or in less genial climes, to incessant labour. They had no sterile winter to provide against, particularly in the valleys and the plains, where, according to Peter Martyr, "the island enjoyed perpetual spring-time, and was blessed with continual summer and harvest. The trees preserved their leaves throughout the year, and the meadows continued always green." "There is no province, nor any region," he again observes, "which is not remarkable for the majesty of its mountains, the fruitfulness of its vales, the pleasantness of its hills, and delightful plains, with abundance of fair rivers running through them. There never was any noisome animal found in it, nor yet any ravening four-footed beast; no lion, nor bear; no fierce tigers, nor crafty foxes, nor devouring wolves, but all things blessed and fortunate."<sup>1</sup>

In the soft regions of the Vega, the circling seasons brought each its store of fruits; and while some were gathered in full maturity, others were ripening on the boughs, and buds and blossoms gave promise of still future abundance. What need was there of garnering up and anxiously providing for coming days, to men who lived in a perpetual harvest? What need too of toilsomely spinning or labouring at the loom, where a genial temperature prevailed throughout the year, and neither nature nor custom prescribed the necessity of clothing?

The hospitality which characterise men in such a simple and easy mode of existence, was evinced towards Columbus and his followers during their sojourn in the Vega. Wherever they went it was a continual scene of festivity and rejoicing. The natives hastened from all parts, bearing their presents, and laying the treasures of their groves, and streams, and mountains, at the feet of beings whom they still considered as descended from the skies to bring blessings to their island.

<sup>1</sup> P. Martyr, *decaad.* 3, l. ix, translated by H. Eden. London. 1533.

Having accomplished the purposes of his residence in the Vega, Columbus, at the end of a few days, took leave of its hospitable inhabitants, and resumed his march for the harbour, returning with his little army through the lofty and rugged gorge of the mountains called the Pass of the Hidalgos. As we accompany him in imagination over the rocky height, from whence the Vega first broke upon the eye of the Europeans, we cannot help pausing to cast back a look of mingled pity and admiration over this beautiful but devoted region. The dream of natural liberty, of ignorant content, and loitering idleness, was as yet unbroken, but the fiat had gone forth; the white man had penetrated into the land; avarice, and pride, and ambition, and pining care, and sordid labour, were soon to follow, and the indolent paradise of the Indian to disappear for ever.

#### CHAPTER XI.

ARRIVAL OF COLUMBUS AT ISABELLA. SICKNESS OF THE COLONY.

[ 1494. ]

It was on the 29th of March that Columbus arrived at Isabella, highly satisfied with his expedition into the interior. The appearance of every thing in the vicinity of the harbour was calculated to increase his anticipations of future prosperity. The plants and fruits of the Old World, which he was endeavouring to introduce into the island, gave promise of rapid increase. The orchards, fields, and gardens, were in a great state of forwardness. The seeds of various fruits had produced young plants; the sugar-cane had prospered exceedingly in the soil; a native vine, trimmed and dressed with care, had yielded grapes of tolerable flavour; and cuttings from European vines already began to form their clusters. On the 30th of March a husbandman brought to Columbus ears of wheat which had been sown in the latter part of January. The smaller kind of garden herbs came to maturity in sixteen days, and the larger kind, such as melons, gourds, pompions, and cucumbers, were fit for the table within a month after the seed had been put into the ground. The soil, moistened by brooks and rivers and frequent showers, and stimulated by an ardent sun, possessed those principles of fecundity which surprise the stranger, accustomed to less vigorous climates, by the promptness and prodigality of vegetation.

The Admiral had scarcely returned to Isabella, when a messenger arrived from Pedro Margarite, the commander at fort St Thomas, informing him that the Indians of the vicinity had manifested unfriendly feelings, abandoning their villages, and shunning all intercourse with the white men; and that Caonabo was assembling his warriors, and secretly preparing to attack the fortress. The fact was, that the moment

the Admiral had departed, the Spaniards, no longer awed by his presence, had, as usual, listened only to their passions, and had exasperated the natives by wresting from them their gold, and wronging them with respect to their women. Caonabo also had seen with impatience these detested intruders planting their standard in the very midst of his mountains, and he knew that he had nothing to expect from them but vengeance.

The tidings from Margarite, however, caused but little solicitude in the mind of Columbus. From what he had seen of the Indians in the interior, he had no apprehensions from their hostility. He knew their weakness and their awe of white men, and above all, he confided in their terror of the horses, which they looked at with alarm, as ferocious beasts of prey, obedient to the Spaniards, but ready to devour their enemies. He contented himself, therefore, with sending Margarite a reinforcement of twenty men, with a supply of provisions and ammunition, and detaching thirty men to open a road between the fortress and the port.

What gave Columbus real and deep anxiety, was the sickness, the discontent, and dejection which continued to increase in the settlement. The same principles of heat and humidity which gave such fecundity to the fields, were fatal to the people. The exhalations from undrained marshes, and a vast continuity of forest, and the action of a burning sun upon a reeking vegetable soil, produced intermittent fevers, and various other maladies, so trying to European constitutions in the uncultivated countries of the tropics. Many of the Spaniards suffered also under the torments of a disease hitherto unknown to them, the scourge of their licentious intercourse with the Indian females. Thus the greater part of the colonists were either confined by positive illness, or reduced to great debility. The stock of medicines was soon exhausted; there was a lack of medicinal aid, and of the watchful attendance which is even more important than medicine to the sick. Every one who was well, was either engrossed by the public labours, or by his own wants or cares; having to perform all menial offices for himself, even to the cooking of his provisions. The public works, therefore, languished, and it was impossible to cultivate the soil in a sufficient degree to produce a supply of the fruits of the earth. Provisions began to fail, much of the stores brought from Europe had been wasted on board ship, or suffered to spoil through carelessness. Much had perished on shore from the warmth and humidity of the climate. It seemed impossible for the colonists to accommodate themselves to the food of the natives; and their infirm condition required the aliments to which they had been accustomed. To avert an absolute famine, therefore, it was necessary to put the people on a short allowance even of the damaged and unhealthy provisions which remained. This immediately caused loud and factious murmurs, in which many of those in office, who ought to have supported

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Columbus in his measures for the common safety, took a leading part: among those was Father Boyle, a priest as turbulent as he was crafty. He had been irritated, it is said, by the rigid impartiality of Columbus, who, in enforcing his salutary measures, made no distinction of rank or persons, and put the friar and his household on a short allowance as well as the rest of the community.

In the midst of this general discontent, the bread began to grow scarce. The stock of flour was exhausted, and there was no mode of grinding corn but by the tedious and toilsome process of the hand-mill. It became necessary, therefore, to erect a mill immediately, and other works were required equally important to the welfare of the settlement. Many of the workmen, however, were ill—some feigned greater sickness than they really suffered; for there was a general disinclination to all kind of labour which was not to produce immediate wealth. In this emergency, Columbus put every healthy person in requisition; and as the cavaliers and gentlemen of rank required food as well as the lower orders, they were called upon to take their share in the common labour. This was considered cruel degradation by many youthful hidalgos of high blood and haughty spirit, and they refused to obey the summons. Columbus, however, was a strict disciplinarian, and felt the importance of making his authority respected. He resorted, therefore, to strong and compulsory measures, and enforced their obedience. This was another cause of the deep and lasting hostilities that sprang up against him. It aroused the immediate indignation of every person of birth and rank in the colony, and drew upon him the resentment of several of the proud families of Spain. He was inveighed against as an arrogant and upstart foreigner, who, inflated with a sudden acquisition of power, and consulting only his own wealth and aggrandisement, was trampling upon the rights and dignities of Spanish gentlemen, and insulting the honour of the nation.

Columbus may have been too strict and indiscriminate in his regulations. There are cases in which even justice may become oppressive, and where the severity of the time should be tempered with indulgence. The mere toilsome labours of a common man, became humiliation and disgrace to a Spanish cavalier. Many of these young men had come out, not in the pursuit of wealth, but with romantic dreams inspired by his own representations; hoping, no doubt, to distinguish themselves by heroic achievements and chivalrous adventure, and to continue in the Indies the career of arms which they had commenced in the recent wars of Granada. Others had been brought up in soft, luxurious indulgence, in the midst of opulent families, and were little calculated for the rude perils of the seas, the fatigues of the land, and the hardships, the exposures, and deprivations which attend a new settlement in a wilderness. When they fell ill, their case soon became incurable. The ailments of the body were increased by sickness

of the heart. They suffered under the irritation of wounded pride, and the morbid melancholy of disappointed hope; their sick-bed was destitute of all the tender care and soothing attention to which they had been accustomed; and they sank into the grave in all the sullenness of despair, cursing the day that they left their country.

The venerable Las Casas, and Herrera after him, record with much solemnity, a popular belief current in the island at the time of his residence there, and connected with the untimely fate of these cavaliers.

In after years, when the seat of the colony was removed from Isabella on account of its unhealthy situation, the city fell to ruin, and was abandoned. Like all decayed and deserted places, it soon became an object of awe and superstition to the common people, and no one ventured to enter its gates. Those who passed near it, or hunted the wild swine which abounded in the neighbourhood, declared that they heard appalling voices issue from within its walls by night and day. The labourers became fearful, therefore, to cultivate the fields adjacent. The story went, adds Las Casas, that two Spaniards happened one day to wander among the ruined edifices of the place; on entering one of the solitary streets, they beheld two rows of men, evidently, from their stately demeanour, hidalgos of noble blood, and cavaliers of the court. They were richly attired in the old Castilian mode, with rapiers by their sides, and broad travelling-hats, such as were worn at the time. The two men were astonished to behold persons of their rank and appearance apparently inhabiting that desolate place, unknown to the people of the island. They saluted them, and inquired when and whence they had arrived. The cavaliers maintained a gloomy silence, but courteously returned the salutation by raising their hands to their sombreros or hats, in taking off which their heads came off also, and their bodies stood decapitated. The whole phantom assemblage then vanished. So great was the astonishment and horror of the beholders, that they had nearly fallen dead, and remained stupified for several days.\*

The foregoing legend is curious, as illustrating the superstitious character of the age, and especially of the people with whom Columbus had to act. It shows, also, the deep and gloomy impression made upon the minds of the common people by the death of these cavaliers, which operated materially to increase the unpopularity of Columbus; as it was mischievously represented, that they had been seduced from their homes by his delusive promises, and sacrificed to his private interests.

\* Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, l. i, c. 92. MS. Herrera, *Hist. Ind.*, decad. i, l. ii, c. 12.

## CHAPTER XII.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SPANISH FORCES IN THE INTERIOR.  
PREPARATIONS FOR A VOYAGE TO CUBA.

[ 1484. ]

THE increasing discontents of the motley population of Isabella, and the rapid consumption of the scanty stores which remained, were causes of great anxiety to Columbus. He was desirous of proceeding on another voyage of discovery, but it was indispensable, before sailing, to place the affairs of the island in such a state as to secure tranquillity. He determined, therefore, to send all the men that could be spared from Isabella, into the interior; with orders to visit the territories of the different caciques, and to explore the island. By this means they would be roused and animated; they would become accustomed to the climate and to the diet of the natives, and such a force would be displayed as to overawe the machinations of Caonabo or any other hostile cacique. In pursuance of this plan, every healthy person, not absolutely necessary to the concerns of the city or the care of the sick, was put under arms, and a little army mustered, consisting of two hundred and fifty cross-bowmen, one hundred and ten arquebussiers, sixteen horsemen, and twenty officers. The general command of the forces was intrusted to Pedro Margarite, in whom Columbus had great confidence as a noble Catalonian, and a knight of the order of Santiago. Alonso de Ojeda was to conduct the army to the fortress of St Thomas, where he was to succeed Margarite in the command; and the latter was to proceed with the main body of the troops on a military tour, in which he was particularly to explore the province of Cibao, and subsequently the other parts of the island.

Columbus wrote a long and earnest letter of instructions to Margarite, by which to govern himself in a service requiring such great circumspection. He charged him above all things to observe the greatest justice and discretion in respect to the Indians, protecting them from all wrong and insult, and treating them in such a manner as to secure their confidence and friendship. At the same time they were to be made to respect the property of the white men, and all thefts were to be severely punished. Whatever provisions were required from them for the subsistence of the army, were to be fairly purchased by persons whom the Admiral appointed for that purpose; the purchases were to be made in the presence of the agent of the comptroller. If the Indians refused to sell the necessary provisions, then Margarite was to interfere and compel them to do so, acting, however, with all possible gentleness, and soothing them by kindness and caresses. No traffic was to be allowed between individuals and the natives, it being displeasing to the Sovereigns and injurious to the service; and it was always to be kept in mind that their Majesties were more desirous of the conversion of

the natives than of any riches to be derived from them.

A strict discipline was to be maintained in the army, all breach of orders to be severely punished, the men to be kept together and not suffered to wander from the main body either singly or in small parties, so as to expose themselves to be cut off by the natives; for it had been observed, that though these people were pusillanimous, yet there were no people so apt to be perfidious and cruel as cowards; seldom sparing the life of an enemy when in their power.'

These judicious instructions, which, if followed, might have preserved an amicable intercourse with the natives, are more especially deserving of notice because Margarite disregarded them all, and by his disobedience brought trouble on the colony, obloquy on the nation, destruction on the Indians, and unmerited censure on Columbus.

In addition to the foregoing orders, there were particular directions for the surprising and securing of the persons of Caonabo and his brothers. The warlike character of that chieftain, his artful policy, extensive power, and implacable hostility, rendered him a dangerous enemy. The measures proposed were not the most open and chivalrous, but Columbus thought himself justified in opposing stratagem to stratagem with a subtle and sanguinary foe.

On the 9th of April, Alonso de Ojeda sallied forth from Isabella at the head of the forces, amounting to nearly four hundred men. On arriving at the Rio del Oro in the Royal Vega, he learnt that three Spaniards, coming from the fortress of St Thomas, had been robbed of their effects by five Indians, whom a neighbouring cacique had sent to assist them in fording the river; and that the cacique, instead of punishing the thieves, had countenanced them and shared their booty. Ojeda was a quick, impetuous soldier, whose ideas of legislation were all of a military kind. Having seized one of the thieves, he inflicted summary justice upon him by ordering his ears to be cut off in the public square of the village: he then secured the cacique, his son, and nephew, and sent them in chains to the Admiral; which being accomplished, he pursued his march to the fortress.

In the mean time the prisoners arrived at Isabella in deep dejection. They were accompanied by a neighbouring cacique, who, relying upon the merit of various acts of kindness which he had shown to the Spaniards, came to plead for their forgiveness. His intercessions appeared to be of no avail. Columbus felt the importance of striking awe into the minds of the natives with respect to the property of the white men. He ordered, therefore, that the prisoners should be taken to the public square with their hands tied behind them, their crime and punishment proclaimed by the crier, and their heads struck off. Nor was this a punishment disproportioned to their own ideas of justice, for we are told that the crime of theft

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was held in such abhorrence among them, that, though not otherwise sanguinary in their laws, they punished it with impalement.\* It is not probable, however, that Columbus really meant to carry the sentence into effect. At the place of execution, the prayers and tears of the friendly cacique were redoubled, pledging himself that there should be no repetition of the offence. The Admiral at length made a merit of yielding to his entreaties, and released the prisoners. Just at this juncture a horseman arrived from the fortress, who in passing by the village of the captive cacique, had found five Spaniards in the power of the Indians. The sight of his horse had put the multitude to flight, though upwards of four hundred in number. He had pursued the fugitives, wounding several with his lance, and had brought off his countrymen in triumph.

Convinced by this circumstance that nothing was to be apprehended from the hostilities of these timid people as long as his orders were obeyed, and confiding in the distribution he had made of his forces, both for the tranquillity of the colony and the island, Columbus prepared to depart on the prosecution of his discoveries. To direct the affairs of the island during his absence, he formed a junta, of which his brother Don Diego was president, and Father Boyle, Pedro Fernandez Coronel, Alonso Sanchez Caravajal, and Juan de Luxan, were councillors. He left his two largest ships in the harbour, being of too great a size and draft of water to explore unknown coasts and rivers, and he took with him three caravels, the Niña or Santa Clara, the San Juan, and the Cordera.

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## BOOK VII.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### VOYAGE TO THE EAST END OF CUBA.

[ 1494. ]

COLUMBUS set sail with his little squadron from the harbour of Isabella on the 24th of April, and steered to the westward. The plan of his present expedition was to revisit the coast of Cuba at the point where he had abandoned it on his first voyage, and thence to explore it on the southern side. As has already been observed, he supposed it to be a continent, and the extreme end of Asia; and if so, by following its shores in the proposed direction, he must eventually arrive at Cathay and those other rich and commercial, though semi-barbarous countries, described by Mandeville and Marco Polo.<sup>2</sup>

After touching at Monte Christi, he anchored on the same day at the disastrous harbour of La Navidad.

His object in revisiting this melancholy scene was to obtain an interview with Guacanagari, who he understood had returned to his former residence. He could not be persuaded of the perfidy of that cacique, so deep was the impression made upon his heart by past kindness; he trusted, therefore, that a frank explanation would remove all painful doubts, and restore a friendly intercourse, which would be highly advantageous to the Spaniards in their present time of scarcity and suffering. Guacanagari, however, still maintained his equivocal conduct, absconding at the sight of his ships; and though several of his subjects assured Columbus that the cacique would soon make him a visit, he did not think it advisable to delay his voyage on such an uncertainty.

Pursuing his course, impeded occasionally by contrary winds, he arrived on the 29th at the port of San Nicholas, from whence he beheld the extreme point of Cuba, to which in his preceding voyage he had given the name of Alpha and Omega, but which was called by the natives Bayatiquiri, and is now known as Point Maysi. Having crossed the channel, which is about eighteen leagues wide, Columbus sailed along the southern coast of Cuba for the distance of twenty leagues, when he anchored in a harbour, to which, from its size, he gave the name of Puerto Grande, at present called Guantanamo. The entrance was narrow and winding, though deep; the harbour expanded within like a beautiful lake, in the bosom of a wild and mountainous country, covered with trees, some of them in blossom, others bearing fruit. Not far from the shore were two cottages built of reeds, and several fires blazing in various parts of the beach gave signs of inhabitants. Columbus landed, therefore, attended by several men well armed, and by the young Indian interpreter Diego Colon, the native of the island of Guanahani who had been baptized in Spain. On arriving at the cottages, he found them deserted; the fires also were abandoned—not a human being was to be seen. The Indians had all fled to the woods and mountains. The sudden arrival of the ships had spread a panic throughout the neighbourhood, and apparently interrupted the preparations for a rude but plentiful banquet. There were great quantities of fish, utias, and guanas; some suspended to the branches of the trees, others roasting on wooden spits before the fires.

The Spaniards, accustomed of late to slender fare, fell without ceremony on this bounteous feast, thus spread for them, as it were, in the wilderness. They abstained, however, from the guanas, which they still regarded with disgust as a species of serpent, though they were considered so delicate a food by the savages, that, according to Peter Martyr, it was no more lawful for the common people to eat of them, than of peacocks and pheasants in Spain.<sup>1</sup>

After their repast, as the Spaniards were roving about the vicinity, they beheld about seventy of the natives collected on the top of a lofty rock, and look-

<sup>1</sup> Oviedo, Hist. Ind., lib. v, cap. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cura de los Palacios, cap. 123. MS.

<sup>1</sup> P. Martyr, decad. 1, lib. iiii.

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ing down upon them with great awe and amazement. On attempting to approach them, they instantly disappeared among the woods and clefts of the mountain. One, however, more bold or more curious than the rest, lingered on the brow of the precipice, gazing with timid wonder at the Spaniards, partly encouraged by their friendly signs, but ready in an instant to bound away after his companions.

By order of Columbus, the young Lucayan interpreter advanced and accosted him. The expressions of friendship, in his own language, soon dispelled the apprehensions of the wondering savage. He came to meet the interpreter, and being informed by him of the good intentions of the Spaniards, hastened to communicate the intelligence to his comrades. In a little while they were seen descending from their rocks, and issuing from their forests, approaching the strangers with great gentleness and veneration. Through means of the interpreter, Columbus learnt that they had been sent to the coast by their cacique, to procure fish for a solemn banquet which he was about to give to a neighbouring chieftain, and that they roasted the fish to prevent it from spoiling in the transportation. They seemed to be of the same gentle and pacific character with the natives of Hayti. The ravages that had been made among their provisions by the hungry Spaniards gave them no concern, for they observed that one night's fishing would replace all the loss. Columbus, however, in his usual spirit of justice, ordered that ample compensation should be made them, and shaking hands, they parted mutually well pleased.<sup>1</sup>

Leaving this harbour on the 1st of May, the Admiral continued to the westward, sailing along a mountainous coast adorned by beautiful rivers, and indented by those commodious harbours for which this island is so remarkable. As he advanced, the country grew more fertile and populous. The natives crowded to the shores, man, woman, and child, gazing with astonishment at the ships, which glided gently along at no great distance. They held up fruits and provisions, inviting the Spaniards to land; others came off in canoes, bringing cassava-bread, fish, and calabashes of water, not for sale, but as offerings to the strangers, whom, as usual, they considered celestial beings descended from the skies. Columbus distributed the customary presents among them, which were received with transports of joy and gratitude. After continuing some distance along the coast, he came to another gulf or deep bay, narrow at the entrance and expanding within, surrounded by a rich and beautiful country. There were lofty mountains sweeping up from the sea, but the shores were enlivened by numerous villages, and cultivated to such a degree as to resemble gardens and orchards. In this harbour, which it is probable was the same at present called St Jago de Cuba, Columbus anchored and passed a night, overwhelmed as usual with the simple hospitality of the natives.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. Martyr, ubi sup.    <sup>2</sup> Cura de los Palacios, cap. 124. MS.

On inquiring of the people of this coast after gold, they uniformly pointed to the south, and, as far as they could be understood, intimated that a great island lay in that direction where it abounded. The Admiral in the course of his first voyage had received information of such an island, which some of his followers had thought might be Babeque, the object of so much anxious search and chimerical expectation. He had felt a strong inclination to diverge from his course, and go in quest of it, and this desire increased with every new report. On the following day, therefore (the 3d of May), after standing westward to a high cape, he suddenly turned his prow directly south, and abandoning for a time the coast of Cuba, steered off into the broad sea, in quest of this reported island.

## CHAPTER II.

### DISCOVERY OF JAMAICA.

[ 1494. ]

COLUMBUS had not sailed many leagues before the blue summits of Jamaica began to rise above the horizon. It was two days and nights, however, before he reached the island, filled with admiration, as he gradually drew near, at its vast size, the beauty of its mountains, the majesty of its forests, the fertility of its valleys, and the great number of villages with which the whole face of the country was animated.

On approaching the land, at least seventy canoes, filled with savages gaily painted and decorated with feathers, sallied forth more than a league from shore. They advanced in warlike array, uttering loud yells, and brandishing lances of pointed wood. The mediation of the interpreter, and a few presents to the crew of one of the canoes, which ventured nearer than the rest, soothed this angry armada, and the squadron pursued its course unmolested. Columbus anchored in a harbour about the centre of the island, to which, from the great beauty of the surrounding country, he gave the name of Santa Gloria; it is the same at present called St Ann's Bay.

On the following morning, he weighed anchor at day-break, and coasted westward in search of a sheltered harbour, where his ship could be careened and caulked, as it leaked considerably. After proceeding a few leagues, he found one apparently suitable for the purpose. On sending a boat to sound the entrance, two large canoes, filled with Indians, issued forth to oppose their landing, hurling their lances, but from such distance as to fall short of the Spaniards. Not wishing to proceed to any act of hostility that might prevent future intercourse, Columbus ordered the boat to return on board, and finding there was sufficient depth of water for his ship, entered and anchored in the harbour. Immediately

<sup>1</sup> Cura de los Palacios, cap. 123.

the whole beach with a variety partly clothed with tufts and coronets the hospitable is prepared to partake Caribs, manifest their javelins at resound with the

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the whole beach was covered with Indians painted with a variety of colours, but chiefly black, some partly clothed with palm-leaves, and all wearing tufts and coronets of gay tropical feathers. Unlike the hospitable islanders of Cuba and Hayti, these appeared to partake of the warlike character of the Caribs, manifesting the fiercest hostility, hurling their javelins at the ships, and making the shores resound with their yells and war-whoops.

The Admiral reflected that further forbearance might be mistaken for cowardice. It was necessary to careen his ship, and to send men on shore for a supply of water, but previously it was advisable to strike an awe into the savages, that might prevent any molestation from them. As the caravels could not approach sufficiently near to the beach where the Indians were collected, he despatched the boats well manned and armed. These, rowing close to the shore, let fly a volley of arrows from their cross-bows, by which several Indians were wounded, and the rest thrown into confusion. The Spaniards then sprang on shore, and put the whole multitude to flight; giving another discharge of their cross-bows, and letting loose upon them a dog, who pursued them with sanguinary fury.<sup>1</sup> This is the first instance of the use of dogs against the natives, which were afterwards employed with such cruel effect by the Spaniards in their Indian wars. Columbus now landed and took formal possession of the island, to which he gave the name of Santiago; but it has retained its original Indian name of Jamaica. The harbour, from its commodiousness, he called Puerto Bueno; it was in the form of a horse-shoe, and a river ran in its vicinity.<sup>2</sup>

During the rest of the day, the neighbourhood remained silent and deserted. On the following morning, however, before sunrise, six Indians were seen on the shore, making signal of amity. They proved to be envoys sent by the caciques with profers of peace and friendship. These were cordially returned by the Admiral; presents of trinkets were sent to the chieftains; and in a little while the harbour again swarmed with the naked and painted multitude, bringing abundance of provisions, similar in kind, but superior in quality, to those of the other islands.

During three days that the ships remained in this harbour, the most amicable intercourse was kept up with the natives. They appeared to be more ingenious, as well as more warlike than their neighbours of Cuba and Hayti. Their canoes were better constructed, being ornamented with carving and painting at the bow and stern. Many were of great size, though formed by the trunks of single trees, often from a species of the mahogany. Columbus measured one, which was ninety-six feet long, and eight broad,<sup>3</sup> hollowed out of one of those magnificent trees which

rise like verdant towers amidst the rich forests of the tropics. Every cacique prided himself on possessing a large canoe of the kind, which he seemed to regard as his ship of state. It is curious to remark the apparently innate difference between these island tribes. The natives of Porto Rico, though surrounded by adjacent islands, and subject to frequent incursions of the Caribs, were yet of a pacific character, and possessed very few canoes; while Jamaica, separated by distance from intercourse with other islands, protected in the same way from the dangers of invasion, and embosomed, as it were, in a peaceful mediterranean sea, was inhabited by a warlike race, and surpassed all the other islands in its maritime armaments. His ship being repaired, and a supply of water taken in, Columbus made sail, and continued along the coast to the westward, so close to the shore, that the little squadron was continually surrounded by the canoes of the natives, who came off from every bay, and river, and headland, no longer manifesting hostility, but anxious to exchange any thing they possessed for European trifles. After proceeding about twenty-four leagues, they approached the western extremity of the island, where the coast bending to the south, the wind became unfavourable for their further progress along the shore. Being disappointed in his hopes of finding gold in Jamaica, and the breeze being fair for Cuba, Columbus determined to return thither, and not to leave it until he had explored its coast to a sufficient distance, to determine the question, whether it were terra firma or an island.<sup>4</sup> To the last place at which he touched in Jamaica, he gave the name of the Gulf of Buentiempo (or Fair Weather), on account of the propitious wind which blew for Cuba. Just as he was about to sail, a young Indian came off to the ship, and begged that the Spaniards would take him with them to their country. He was followed by his relations and friends, who endeavoured by the most affecting supplications to dissuade him from his purpose. For some time he was distracted between concern for the distress of his family, and an ardent desire to see the home of these wonderful strangers, which his imagination pictured as a region of celestial delights. Curiosity, and the youthful propensity to rove prevailed; he tore himself from the embraces of his friends, and that he might not behold the tears of his sisters, hid himself in a secret part of the ship. Touched by this scene of natural affection, and pleased with the enterprising and confiding spirit of the youth, Columbus gave orders that he should be treated with especial kindness.<sup>5</sup>

It would have been interesting to have known something more of the fortunes of this curious savage, and of the impressions made upon so lively a mind by a first sight of the wonders of civilization: whether the land of the white men equalled his hopes, whether, as is usual with savages, he pined amidst the splen-

<sup>1</sup> Cura de los Palacios, cap. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. del Almirante, ubi sup.

<sup>3</sup> Cura de los Palacios, cap. 124.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 54.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem.

dours of cities for his native forests, and whether he ever returned to the arms of his family. The early Spanish historians seem never to have interested themselves in the feelings or fortunes of these first visitors from the New to the Old World. No further mention is made of this youthful adventurer.

### CHAPTER III.

#### RETURN TO CUBA. NAVIGATION AMONG THE ISLANDS CALLED THE QUEEN'S GARDENS.

[ 1494. ]

SETTING sail from the Gulf of Buentempo, the squadron once more steered for the island of Cuba, and on the 18th of May arrived at a great cape, to which Columbus gave the name of Cabo de la Cruz, which it still retains. Here landing at a large village, he was well received and entertained by the cacique and his subjects, who had long since heard of himself and his ships. In fact, Columbus found, from the report of this chieftain, that the numerous Indians who had visited his ships during his cruise along the northern coast in his first voyage, had spread the story far and near of these wonderful visitors who had descended from the sky, and had filled the whole island with rumours and astonishment. The Admiral endeavoured to ascertain from this cacique and his people, whether Cuba was an island or a continent. They all replied that it was an island, but of infinite extent; for they declared that no one had ever seen the end of it. This reply, while it manifested their ignorance of the nature of a continent, left the question still in doubt and obscurity. The Indian name of this province of Cuba was Maccacar.

Resuming his course to the west on the following day, Columbus came to where the coast suddenly swept away to the north-east for many leagues, and then curved round again to the west, forming an immense bay, or rather gulf. Here he was assailed by a violent storm, accompanied by awful thunder and lightning, which in these latitudes seem to rend the very heavens. Fortunately the storm was not of long duration, or his situation would have been perilous in the extreme; for he found the navigation rendered difficult by numerous keys\* and sand-banks. These increased as he advanced, until the mariner stationed at the mast-head beheld the sea, as far as the eye could reach, completely studded with small islands. Some of them were low, naked, and sandy, others covered with verdure, and others tufted with lofty and beautiful forests. They were of various sizes, from one to four leagues, and were generally the more fertile and elevated the nearer they were to Cuba. Finding them to increase in number, so as to

\* Cura de los Palacios, c. 126.

† Keys, from Cayos, rocks which occasionally form small islands on the coast of America.

render it impossible to give a name to each, the Admiral gave the whole labyrinth of islands, which in a manner enamelled the face of the ocean with variegated verdure, the name of the Queen's Gardens. He thought at first of leaving this archipelago on his right, and standing farther out to sea; but he called to mind that Sir John Mandeville and Marco Polo had mentioned that the coast of Asia was fringed with islands to the amount of several thousand. He persuaded himself that he was among that cluster, and resolved not to lose sight of the main land, by following which, if it were really Asia, he must soon arrive at the dominions of the Grand Khan.

Entering among these islands, therefore, Columbus soon became entangled in the most perplexed navigation, in which he was exposed to continual perils and difficulties from sand-banks, counter-currents, and sunken rocks. The ships were obliged in a manner to grope their way, with men stationed at the mast-head, and the lead continually going. Sometimes they were obliged to shift their course within the hour, to all points of the compass; sometimes they were straitened in a narrow channel, where it was necessary to lower all sail and tow the vessels out, lest they should run aground; notwithstanding all which precautions, they frequently touched upon sand-banks, and were extricated with great difficulty. The variableness of the weather added to the embarrassment of the navigation; though after a little while it began to assume some method in its very caprices. In the morning the wind rose in the east with the sun, and following his course through the day, died away at sunset in the west. Heavy clouds gathered with the approach of evening, sending forth sheets of lightning, and distant peals of thunder, and menacing a furious tempest; but as the moon rose, the whole mass broke away, part melting in a shower of rain, and part dispersing by a breeze which sprang up from the land.

There was much in the character of the surrounding scenery to favour the idea of Columbus, that he was in the Asiatic archipelago. As the ships glided along the smooth and glassy canals which separated these verdant islands, the magnificence of their vegetation, the soft odours which were wafted from flowers, and blossoms, and aromatic shrubs, and the splendid plumage of the scarlet cranes or flamingoes, which abounded in the meadows, and of other tropical birds which fluttered among the groves, resembled what is described of Oriental climes.

These islands were generally uninhabited. They found a considerable village, however, on one of the largest, where they landed on the 22d of May. The houses were abandoned by their inhabitants, who appeared to depend principally on the sea for their subsistence. Large quantities of fish were found in their dwellings, and the adjacent shore was covered with the shells of tortoises. There were also domesticated parrots, and scarlet cranes, and a number of dumb dogs, which it was afterwards found they

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† Humboldt, Essai

fattened as an article of food. To this island the Admiral gave the name of Santa Marta.

In the course of his voyage among these islands, Columbus beheld one day a number of the natives in a canoe on the still surface of one of the channels, occupied in fishing, and was struck with the singular means they employed. They had a small fish, the flat head of which was furnished with numerous suckers, by which it attached itself so firmly to any object, as to be torn in pieces rather than abandon its hold. Tying a line of great length to the tail of this fish, the Indians permitted it to swim at large; it generally kept near the surface of the water until it perceived its prey, when, darting down swiftly, it attached itself by the suckers to the throat of the fish or to the under-shell of a tortoise, nor did it relinquish its prey, until both were drawn up by the fisherman and taken out of the water. In this way the Spaniards witnessed the taking of a tortoise of immense size; and Fernando Columbus affirms that he himself saw a shark caught in the same manner on the coast of Veragua. The fact has been corroborated by the accounts of various navigators; and the same mode of fishing is said to be employed on the eastern coast of Africa, at Mozambique and at Madagascar. Thus, it has been observed, savage people, who probably have never held communication with each other, offer the most striking analogies in their modes of exercising empire over animals. These fishermen came on board of the ships in a frank and fearless manner. They furnished the Spaniards with a supply of fish, and would cheerfully have given them every thing they possessed. To the Admiral's inquiries concerning the geography of those parts, they said that the sea was full of islands to the south and to the west, but as to Cuba it continued running to the westward without any termination.

Having extricated himself from this archipelago, Columbus steered for a mountainous part of the island of Cuba about fourteen leagues distant, where he landed at a large village on the 3d of June. Here he was received with that kindness and amity which distinguished the inhabitants of Cuba, whom he extolled above all the other islanders for their mild and pacific character. Their very animals, he said, were tamer, as well as larger and better, than those of the other islands. Among the various articles of food which the natives brought with joyful alacrity from all parts to the Spaniards, were stock-doves of uncommon size and flavour; perceiving something peculiar in their taste, Columbus ordered the crops of several newly killed to be opened, in which were found sweet spices—favourable indications of the productions of the country.

While the crews of the boats were procuring water and provisions, Columbus sought to gather information from the venerable cacique, and several of the old men of the village. They told him that the name

of their province was Ornofay; that further on to the westward the sea was again covered with innumerable islands, and had but little depth. As to Cuba, none of them had ever heard that it had an end to the westward—forty moons would not suffice to reach to its extremity; in fact, they considered it as interminable. They observed, however, that the Admiral would receive more ample information from the inhabitants of Mangon, an adjacent province, which lay towards the west. The quick apprehension of Columbus was struck with the sound of this name; it resembled that of Mangi, the richest province of the Grand Khan, bordering on the Ocean. He made further inquiries concerning the region of Mangon, and understood the Indians to say, that it was inhabited by people who had tails like animals, and wore garments to conceal them. He recollected that Sir John Mandeville, in his account of the remote parts of the East, had recorded a story of the same kind as current among certain naked tribes of Asia, and told by them in ridicule of the garments of their civilized neighbours, which they could only conceive useful as concealing some bodily defect. He became, therefore, more confident than ever, that, by keeping along the coast to the westward, he should eventually arrive at the civilized realms of Asia. He flattered himself with the hopes of finding, in this region of Mangon, the rich province of Mangi, and in its people with tails and garments, the long-robed inhabitants of the empire of Tartary.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### COASTING OF THE SOUTHERN SIDE OF CUBA.

[ 1494. ]

ANIMATED by one of the pleasing illusions of his ardent imagination, Columbus pursued his voyage, with a prosperous breeze, along the supposed continent of Asia. He was now opposite that part of the southern side of Cuba, where, for nearly thirty-five leagues, the navigation is unembarrassed by banks and islands. To his left was the broad and open sea, whose dark blue colour gave token of ample depth; to his right extended the richly-wooded province of Ornofay, gradually sweeping up into a range of interior mountains; the verdant coast watered by innumerable streams, and studded with Indian villages. The appearance of the ships spread wonder and joy along the sea-shore. The natives hailed with acclamations the arrival of these wonderful beings on their coast, whose fame had circulated more or less throughout the island, and who brought with them the blessings of heaven. They came off swimming, or in their canoes, to offer the fruits and productions of the land, and regarded the white men almost with adoration. After the

<sup>1</sup> Humboldt, *Essai Politique sur l'île de Cuba*, t. 1, p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> *Cura de los Palacios*, cap 127.



usual evening shower, when the breeze blew from the shore and brought off the sweetness of the land, it bore with it also the distant songs of the natives and the sound of their rude music, as they were probably celebrating with their national chants and dances the arrival of the white men. So delightful were these spicy odours and cheerful sounds to Columbus, who was at present open to all pleasurable influences, that he declared the night passed away as a single hour.\*

It is impossible to resist noticing the striking contrasts which are sometimes forced upon the mind. The coast here described as so populous and animated, rejoicing in the visit of the discoverers, is the same that extends westward of the city of Trinidad, along the Gulf of Xagua. All is now silent and deserted: civilization, which has covered some parts of Cuba with glittering cities, has rendered this a solitude. The whole race of Indians has long since passed away, pining and perishing beneath the domination of the strangers whom they welcomed so joyfully to their shores. Before me lies the account of a night recently passed on this very coast, by a celebrated traveller, but with what different feelings from those of Columbus! "I passed," says he, "a great part of the night upon the deck. What deserted coasts! not a light to announce the cabin of a fisherman. From Batabano to Trinidad, a distance of fifty leagues, there does not exist a village. Yet in the time of Columbus this land was inhabited even along the margin of the sea. When pits are dugged in the soil, or the torrents plough open the surface of the earth, there are often found hatchets of stone and vessels of copper, relics of the ancient inhabitants of the island."†

For the greater part of two days the ships swept along this open part of the coast, traversing the wide Gulf of Xagua. At length they came to where the sea became suddenly as white as milk, and perfectly turbid, as though flour had been mingled with it. This is caused by fine sand, or calcareous particles, raised from the bottom at certain depths by the agitation of the waves and currents. It spread great alarm through the ships, which was heightened by their soon finding themselves surrounded by banks and keys, and in shallow water. The further they proceeded, the more perilous became their situation. They were in a narrow channel, where they had no room to turn, and to beat out; where there was no hold for their anchors, and where they were violently tossed about by the winds, and in danger of being stranded. At length they came to a small island, where they found tolerable anchorage. Here they remained for the night in great anxiety; many were for abandoning all further prosecution of the enterprise, thinking that they might esteem themselves fortunate should they be able to return from whence they came. Columbus, however, could not consent

to relinquish his voyage, now that he thought himself in the route for a brilliant discovery. The next morning he despatched the smallest caravel to explore this new labyrinth of islands, and to penetrate to the main land in quest of fresh water, of which the ships were in great need. The caravel returned with a report that the canals and keys of this group were as numerous and intricate as those of the Gardens of the Queen: that the main-land was bordered by deep marshes and a muddy coast, where the mangrove-trees grew within the water, and so close together, that they formed, as it were, an impenetrable wall: that within, the land appeared fertile and mountainous; and columns of smoke, rising from various parts, gave signs of numerous inhabitants. Under the guidance of this caravel, Columbus now ventured to penetrate this little archipelago; working his way with great caution, toil, and peril, among the narrow channels which separated the sand-banks and islands, and frequently getting aground. At length he reached a low point of Cuba, to which he gave the name of Point Seralin; within which the coast swept off to the east, forming so deep a bay, that he could not see the land at the bottom. To the north, however, there were mountains afar off, and the intermediate space was clear and open, the islands in sight lying to the south and west; a description which agrees with that of the great bay of Batabano. Columbus now steered for these mountains, with a fair wind and three fathoms of water, and on the following day anchored on the coast near a beautiful grove of palm-trees.

Here, a party was sent on shore for wood and water; and they found two living springs in the midst of the grove. While they were employed in cutting wood, and filling their water-casks, an archer strayed into the forest with his cross-bow in search of game, but soon returned, flying with great terror, and calling loudly for aid upon his comrades. He declared that he had not proceeded far, when he suddenly espied, through an opening glade, a man in a long white dress, so like a friar of the order of St Mary of Mercy, that at first sight he took him for the chaplain of the Admiral. Two others followed, in white tunics reaching to their knees, and the three were of as fair complexions as Europeans. Behind these appeared many more to the number of thirty, armed with clubs and lances. They made no signs of hostility, but remained quiet, the man in the long white dress alone advancing to accost him; but he was so alarmed at their number, that he had fled instantly to seek the aid of his companions. The party all hurried to the ships. When Columbus heard this story he was greatly rejoiced, for he concluded that these must be the clothed inhabitants of Mangon, of whom he had recently heard, and that he had at length approached the confines of a civilized country, if not within the very borders of the rich province of Mangi. On the following day he despatched a party of armed men

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\* Cura de los Palacios.

† Humboldt, *Essai Pol. sur Cuba*, t. II, p. 25.

\* Cura de los Palacios, cap. 128.



in quest of these people clad in white, with orders to penetrate, if necessary, forty miles into the interior, until they met with some of the inhabitants; for he thought the populous and cultivated parts might be distant from the sea, and that there might be towns and cities beyond the wild woods and mountains of the coast. The party penetrated through a belt of thick forests which girdled the shore, and then entered upon a great plain or savannal, covered with rank grass and herbage as tall as ripe corn, and destitute of any road or footpath. Here they were so entangled and fettered, as it were, by matted grass and creeping vegetation, that it was with the utmost difficulty they penetrated a mile, when they had to abandon the attempt, and return weary and exhausted to the ships.

Another party was sent on the succeeding day to penetrate in a different direction. They had not proceeded far from the coast, when they beheld the foot-prints of some large animal with claws, which some supposed the tracks of a lion, others of a griffin, but which were probably made by the alligators which abound in that vicinity. Dismayed at the sight, they hastened back towards the sea-side. In their way they passed through a forest, with lawns and meadows opening in various parts of it, in which were flocks of cranes, twice the size of those of Europe. Many of the trees and shrubs sent forth those aromatic odours which were continually deceiving them with the hope of finding oriental spices. They saw also abundance of grape-vines, that beautiful feature in the vegetation of the New World. Many of these crept to the summits of the highest trees, overwhelming them with foliage, twisting themselves from branch to branch, and bearing ponderous clusters of juicy grapes. The party returned to the ships equally unsuccessful with their predecessors, and pronounced the country wild and impenetrable, though exceedingly fertile. As a proof of its abundance, they brought great clusters of the wild grapes, which Columbus afterwards transmitted to the Sovereigns, together with a specimen of the water of the White Sea through which he had passed.

As no tribe of Indians was ever discovered in Cuba wearing clothing, it is probable that the story of the men in white originated in some error of the archer, who, full of the idea of the mysterious inhabitants of Mangon, may have been startled in the course of his lonely wandering in the forest, by one of those flocks of cranes which it seems abounded in the neighbourhood. These birds, like the flamingos, fed in company, with one stationed at a distance as sentinel. When seen through the openings of the woodlands, standing in rows along a smooth savannah, or in a glassy pool of water, their height and erectness give them, at the first glance, the semblance of human figures. Whether the story originated in error or in falsehood, it made a deep impression on Columbus, who was pre-disposed to be deceived, and to believe every thing that favoured the illusion of his being in the vicinity of a civilized country. After he had ex-

plored the deep bay to the east, and ascertained that it was not an arm of the sea, he continued westward, and proceeding about nine leagues, came to an inhabited shore, where he had communications with several of the natives. They were naked, as usual; but that he attributed to their being mere fishermen inhabiting a savage coast; he presumed the civilized regions to lie in the interior. As his Lucayan interpreter did not understand the language, or rather dialect, of this part of Cuba, all the information which he could obtain from the natives was necessarily received through the erroneous medium of signs and gesticulations. Deluded by his own favourite hypothesis, he understood from them that, among certain mountains which he saw far off to the west, there was a powerful king who reigned in great state over many populous provinces; that he wore a white garment which swept the ground; that he was called a saint; that he never spoke, but communicated his orders to his subjects by signs, which were implicitly obeyed. In all this we see the busy imagination of the Admiral interpreting every thing into unison with his pre-conceived ideas. Las Casas assures us that there was no cacique ever known in the island who wore garments, or answered in other respects to this description. This king, with a saintly title, was probably nothing more than a reflected image haunting the mind of Columbus, of that mysterious potentate Prester John, who had long figured in the narrations of all eastern travellers, sometimes as a monarch, sometimes as a priest, the situation of whose empire and court was always a matter of doubt and contradiction, and had recently become again an object of curious inquiry.

The information derived from these people concerning the coast to the westward was entirely vague. They said that it continued for at least twenty days' journey, but whether it terminated there they did not know. They appeared but little informed of any thing out of their immediate neighbourhood. Taking an Indian from this place as a guide, Columbus steered for the distant mountains, said to be inhabited by this cacique in white raiment, hoping they might prove the confines of a more civilized country. He had not gone far before he was involved in the usual perplexities of keys, shelves, and sand-banks. The vessels frequently stirred up the sand and slime from the bottom of the sea; at other times they were almost imbedded in narrow channels, where there was no room to tack, and it was necessary to haul them forward by means of the capstern, to their great injury. At one time they came to where the sea was almost covered with tortoises; at another time flights of cormorants and wood-pigeons darkened the sun, and one day the whole air was filled with clouds of gaudy butterflies, until dispelled by the evening shower.

When they approached the mountainous regions,

\* Que le llamaban santo, e que traía tunica blanca que le arrastraba por el suelo. *Cura de los Palacios*, c. 128.

• Herrera, *Hist. Ind.*, decad. 1, lib. 11, c. 14.

they found the coast bordered by drowned lands or morasses, and beset by such thick forests, that it was impossible to penetrate to the interior. They were several days seeking fresh water, of which they were in great want. At length they found a spring in a grove of palm trees, and near it shells of the pearl oyster, from which Columbus thought there might be a valuable pearl-fishery in the neighbourhood. While thus cut off from all intercourse with the interior by a belt of swamp and forests, the country appeared to be well-peopled. Columns of smoke ascended from various parts, which grew more frequent as the vessels advanced, until they rose from every rock and woody height. The Spaniards were at a loss to determine whether these arose from villages and towns, or whether from signal-fires, to give notice of the approach of the ships, and to alarm the country; such as were usual on European sea-shores, when an enemy was descried hovering in the vicinity.

For several days Columbus continued exploring this perplexed and lonely coast, whose intricate channels are seldom visited, even at the present day, excepting by the solitary and lurking bark of the smuggler. As he proceeded, however, he found that the coast took a general bend to the south-west. This accorded precisely with the descriptions given by Marco Polo of the remote coast of Asia. He now became fully assured that he was on that part of the Asiatic continent which is beyond the boundaries of the Old World as laid down by Ptolemy. Let him but continue his course, he thought, and he must surely arrive at the point where this range of coast terminated in the Aurea Chersonesus of the ancients.<sup>1</sup>

The ardent imagination of Columbus was always sallying in the advance, and suggesting some splendid track of enterprise. Combining his present conjectures as to his situation with the imperfect lights of geography, he conceived a triumphant route for his return to Spain. Doubling the Aurea Chersonesus, he should emerge into the seas frequented by the ancients, and bordered by the luxurious nations of the East. Stretching across the gulf of the Ganges he might pass by Taprobana, and continuing on to the straits of Babelmandel, arrive on the shores of the Red Sea. From thence he might make his way by land to Jerusalem, take shipping at Joppa, and traverse the Mediterranean to Spain. Or should the route from Ethiopia to Jerusalem be deemed too perilous from savage and warlike tribes, or should he not chuse to separate from his vessels, he might sail round the whole coast of Africa, pass triumphantly by the Portuguese, in their midway groping along the shores of Guinea, and after having thus circumnavigated the globe, furl his adventurous sails at the Pillars of Hercules, the *neplus ultra* of the ancient world! Such was the soaring meditation of Columbus, as recorded by one of his intimate associates; nor is there any thing surprising in his igno-

rance of the real magnitude of our globe. The mechanical admeasurement of a known part of its circle has rendered its circumference a familiar fact in our day; but in his time it still remained a problem with the most profound philosophers.

## CHAPTER V.

RETURN OF COLUMBUS ALONG THE SOUTHERN COAST OF CUBA.

[ 1494. ]

THE opinion of Columbus, that he was coasting the continent of Asia, and approaching the confines of Eastern civilization, was shared by all his fellow-voyagers, among whom were several able and experienced navigators. They were far, however, from sharing his enthusiasm. They were to derive no glory from the success of the enterprise, and they shrunk from its increasing difficulties and perils. The ships were strained and crazed by the various injuries they had received, in running frequently aground. Their cables and rigging were worn, their provisions were growing scanty, a great part of the biscuit was spoiled by the sea-water, which oozed in through innumerable leaks. The crews were worn out by incessant labour, and disheartened at the appearance of the sea before them, which continued to exhibit a mere wilderness of islands. They remonstrated, therefore, against persisting any longer in this voyage. They had already followed the coast far enough to satisfy their minds that it was a continent, and though they doubted not that civilized regions lay in the route they were pursuing, yet their provisions might be exhausted, and their vessels disabled, before they could arrive at these countries.

Columbus, as his imagination cooled, was himself aware of the inadequacy of his vessels to the voyage he had contemplated; but he felt it of importance to his fame and to the popularity of his enterprises, to furnish satisfactory proofs that the land he had discovered was a continent. He therefore persisted four days longer in exploring the coast, as it bent to the south-west, until every one declared that there could no longer be a doubt on the subject, for that it was impossible so vast a continuity of land could belong to a mere island. The Admiral was determined, however, that the fact should not rest merely on his own assertion, having had recent proofs of a disposition to gainsay his statements, and depreciate his discoveries. He sent round, therefore, a public notary, Fernand Perez de Luna, to each of the vessels, accompanied by four witnesses, who demanded formally of every person on board, from the captain to the ship-boy, whether he had any doubt that the land before him was a continent, the beginning and end of the Indies, by which any one might return overland to Spain, and by pursuing the coast of which, they could soon arrive among civilized people. If

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<sup>1</sup> The present peninsula of Malacca.

<sup>2</sup> Cura de los Palacios, cap. 123. MS.

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<sup>2</sup> Navarrete, Coll.

any one entertained a doubt, he was called upon to express it, that it might be removed. On board of the vessels were several experienced navigators, and men well versed in the geographical knowledge of the times. They examined their maps and charts, and the reckonings and journals of the voyage, and after deliberating maturely, declared under oath, that they had no doubt upon the subject. They grounded their belief principally upon their having coasted for three hundred and thirty-five leagues, an extent unheard of as appertaining to an island, while the land continued to stretch forward interminably, bending towards the south, conformably to the description of the remote coasts of India.

Lest they should subsequently, out of malice or caprice, contradict the opinion thus solemnly avowed, it was proclaimed by the notary, that whoever should offend in such manner, if an officer, should pay a penalty of ten thousand maravedies; if a ship-boy, or person of like rank, he should receive a hundred lashes and have his tongue cut out. A formal statement was afterwards drawn up by the notary, including the depositions and names of every individual; which document still exists.\* This singular process took place near that deep bay called by some the Bay of Philipina, by others of Cortes. At this very time, as has been remarked, a ship-boy from the mast-head might have overlooked the groups of islands to the south, and have beheld the open sea beyond. Two or three days' farther sail would have carried Columbus round the extremity of Cuba, would have dispelled his illusion, and might have given an entirely different course to his subsequent discoveries. In his present conviction he lived and died; believing to his last hour, that Cuba was the extremity of the Asiatic continent.

Relinquishing all further investigation of the coast, he stood to the south-east on the 15th of June, and soon came in sight of a large island, with mountains rising majestically among this labyrinth of little keys. To this he gave the name of Evangelista. It is at present known as the Island of Pines, and is celebrated for its excellent mahogany.

Here he anchored, and took in a supply of wood and water. He then stood to the south, along the shores of the island, hoping, by turning its southern extremity, to find an open route eastward for Hispaniola, and intending, on his way, to run along the southern side of Jamaica. He had not proceeded far before he came to what he supposed to be a channel, opening to the south-east between Evangelista and some opposite island. After entering for some distance, however, he found himself enclosed in a deep bay, being the Lagoon of Siguanca, which penetrates far into the island.

\* This calculation evidently includes all the courses of the ships, in their various tacks along the coast. Columbus could hardly have made such an error as to have given this extent to the southern side of the island, even including the inflexions of the coast.

• Navarrete, *Collec.*, t. ii.

Observing dismay painted on the faces of all his crew at finding themselves thus land-locked and almost destitute of provisions, Columbus cheered them with encouraging words, and resolved to extricate himself from this perplexed maze, by retracing his course along Cuba. Leaving the Lagoon, therefore, he returned to his last anchoring-place, and from thence set sail on the 25th of June, navigating back through the groups of islands between Evangelista and Cuba, and across a tract of the White Sea, which had so much appalled his people. Here he experienced a repetition of the anxieties, the perils, and the toils which had beset him in his advance along the coast. The crews were alarmed by the frequent changes in the colour of the water, sometimes green, sometimes almost black, at other times as white as milk; at one time they fancied themselves surrounded by rocks, at another the sea appeared to be a vast sand-bank. On the 30th of June, the Admiral's ship ran aground with such violence as to sustain great injury. Every effort to extricate her by sending out anchors astern was ineffectual, and it was necessary to drag her over the shoal by the prow. At length they emerged from the clusters of islands called the Jardins and Jardinelles, and came to the open part of the coast of Cuba. Here they once more sailed along the beautiful and fertile province of Ornofay, and were again delighted with the fragrant and honeyed airs which were wafted from the land. Among the mingled odours, the Admiral fancied he could perceive that of storax proceeding from the smoke of fires blazing on the shores.†

Here Columbus sought some convenient harbour where he might procure wood and water, and allow his crews to enjoy repose and the recreations of the land. They were exceedingly enfeebled and emaciated by the toils and privations of the voyage. For nearly two months they had been struggling with perpetual difficulties and dangers, and suffering from a scarcity of provisions. Among these uninhabited keys and drowned shores, their supplies from the natives had been precarious and at wide intervals; nor could the fresh provisions thus furnished last above a day, from the heat and humidity of the climate. It was the same case with any fish they might chance to catch, so that they had to depend almost entirely upon their daily allowance of ship's provisions, which was reduced to a pound of mouldy bread, and a small portion of wine. With joy, therefore, they anchored on the 7th of July in the mouth of a fine river, in this genial and abundant region. The cacique of the neighbourhood, who reigned over an extensive territory, received the Admiral with demonstrations of mingled joy and reverence, and his subjects came laden with whatever their country afforded, utias, birds of various kinds, particularly large

† Humboldt (in his *Essai Politt.*, t. ii, p. 24) speaks of the delicious fragrance of flowers and honey which exhales from this same coast, and which is perceptible to a considerable distance at sea.

pigeons, cassava-bread, and fruits of a rich and aromatic flavour.

It was a custom with Columbus in all remarkable places which he visited, to erect crosses in conspicuous situations, to denote the discovery of the country, and its subjugation to the true faith. He ordered a large cross of wood, therefore, to be elevated on the bank of this river. This was done on a Sunday morning with great ceremony, and the celebration of a solemn mass. When Columbus disembarked for this purpose, he was met upon the shore by the cacique, and his principal favourite, a venerable Indian, four-score years of age, of grave and dignified deportment. The old man brought a string of a certain kind of beads, to which the Indians attached a mystic value, and a calabash of a delicate kind of fruit; these he presented to the Admiral in token of amity. He and the cacique then each took him by the hand and proceeded with him to the grove, where preparations had been made for the celebration of the mass: a multitude of the natives followed. While mass was preparing in this natural temple, the Indians looked on with awe and reverence, perceiving from the tones and gesticulations of the priest, the lighted tapers, the smoking incense, and the devotion of the Spaniards, that it must be a ceremony of a sacred and mysterious nature. When the service was ended, the old man of fourscore, who had contemplated it with profound attention, approached Columbus, and made him an oration in the Indian manner.

"This which thou hast been doing," said he, "is well, for it appears to be thy manner of giving thanks to God. I am told that thou hast lately come to these lands with a mighty force, and hast subdued many countries, spreading great fear among the people; but be not, therefore, vain-glorious. Know that, according to our belief, the souls of men have two journeys to perform after they have departed from the body. One to a place dismal and foul, and covered with darkness, prepared for those who have been unjust and cruel to their fellow-men; the other pleasant and full of delight, for such who have promoted peace on earth. If, then, thou art mortal, and dost expect to die, and dost believe that each one shall be rewarded according to his deeds, beware that thou wrongfully hurt no man, nor do harm to those who have done no harm to thee." This speech was explained to the Admiral by his Lucayan interpreter, Diego Colon. Being a man of sincere piety and tender feelings, he was greatly moved by the simple eloquence of this untutored savage. He told him in reply that he rejoiced to hear his doctrine respecting the future state of the soul, having supposed that no belief of the kind existed among the inhabitants of these countries. That he had been sent among them by his Sovereigns, to teach them the true religion; to protect them from harm and injury; and especially to subdue and punish their enemies and persecutors,

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, decad. 1, l. xi, c. 44. Hist. del Almirante, c. 57. P. Martyr, decad. 1, lib. iii. Cura de los Palacios, cap. 130.

the Cannibals. That, therefore, all innocent and peaceable men might look up to him with confidence, as an assured friend and protector.

The old man was overjoyed at these words, but was equally astonished to learn that the Admiral, whom he considered so great and powerful, was yet but a subject. His wonder increased when the interpreter told him of the riches, and splendour, and power of the Spanish Monarchs, and of the wonderful things that he had beheld on his visit to Spain. Finding himself listened to with eager curiosity by the whole multitude, the interpreter went on to describe the objects which had most struck his mind in the country of the white men. The splendid cities, the vast churches, the troops of horsemen, the great animals of various kinds, the pompous festivals and tournaments of the court, the glittering armies, and, above all, the bull-fights. The Indians all listened in mute amazement, but the old man was particularly excited. He was of a curious and wandering disposition, and had been a great voyager, having, according to his account, visited Jamaica, and Hispaniola, and the remote parts of Cuba.<sup>1</sup> A sudden desire now seized him to behold the glorious country thus described, and old as he was, he offered to embark with the Admiral. His wife and children, however, beset him with such lamentations and remonstrances, that he was obliged to abandon the intention, though he did it with great reluctance; asking repeatedly if the land they spoke of were not heaven, for it seemed to him impossible that earth could produce such wonderful beings.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER VI.

COASTING VOYAGE ALONG THE SOUTH SIDE OF JAMAICA.

[ 1494. ]

COLUMBUS remained for several days at anchor in the river, to which, from the solemn Mass performed on its banks, he gave the name of Rio de la Misa. At length, on the 16th of July, he took leave of the friendly cacique and his ancient counsellor, who beheld his departure with sorrowful countenances. He took one young Indian with him from this place, whom he afterwards sent to the Spanish Sovereigns. Leaving to the left the great cluster of islands which he had named the Queen's Gardens, he steered south for the broad open sea and deep blue water, until having a free navigation he could stand eastward for Hispaniola. He had scarcely got clear of the islands, however, when he was assailed by furious gusts of wind and rain, which for two days pelted his crazy vessels, and harassed his enfeebled crews. At length, as he approached Cape Cruz, a violent squall struck the ships, and nearly threw them on their beam-ends. Fortunately they were able to take in sail immediately,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Martyr, decad. 1, l. iii.

and, letting go the transient gain, she leaked at the weary crew, gaining on her reach Cape Cruz of July, and her hospitable success experienced or continuing contrariety, bus, on the 22nd complete the course nearly a month along its southern winds and even the shores of Cape to anchor under place from where natives no longer the ships in their visions. Columbus verdure, fresh that, had the state he would gladly prior. He spoke excellent harbour a great bay, covered by numerous villages, he was visited village, situated most fertile of numerous trained chieftain manifest concerning the from whence customary reply the benign intention Lucayan interpreter he had beheld the countries above all, their of the Caribs, received carried several counts the cacique ing in profound The next morning and standing at easy sail, when among the islands regular order; some carved in advance of tend and guard his family, consisting of five and eighteen years tenance; her s

<sup>1</sup> From the description of the land Point, at the



and, letting go their largest anchors, they rode out the transient gale. The Admiral's ship was so strained by the injuries received among the islands, that she leaked at every seam, and the utmost exertions of the weary crew could not prevent the water from gaining on her. At length they were enabled to reach Cape Cruz, where they anchored on the 18th of July, and remained three days, receiving the same hospitable succour from the natives which they had experienced on their former visit. The wind continuing contrary for the return to Hispaniola, Columbus, on the 22d of July, stood across for Jamaica, to complete the circumnavigation of that island. For nearly a month he continued beating to the eastward along its southern coast, experiencing just such variable winds and evening showers as had prevailed along the shores of Cuba. Every evening he was obliged to anchor under the land, often at nearly the same place from whence he had sailed in the morning. The natives no longer manifested hostility, but followed the ships in their canoes, bringing supplies of provisions. Columbus was so much delighted with the verdure, freshness, and fertility of this noble island, that, had the state of his vessels and crews permitted, he would gladly have remained to explore the interior. He spoke with admiration of its frequent and excellent harbours, but was particularly pleased with a great bay, containing seven islands, and surrounded by numerous villages. Anchoring here one evening, he was visited by a cacique who resided in a large village, situated on an eminence of the loftiest and most fertile of the islands. He came attended by a numerous train, bearing various refreshments. This chieftain manifested great curiosity in his inquiries concerning the Spaniards, their ships, and the region from whence they came. The Admiral made his customary reply, setting forth the great power and the benign intentions of the Spanish Sovereigns. The Lucayan interpreter again enlarged upon the wonders he had beheld in Spain, the prowess of the Spaniards, the countries they had visited and subjugated, and, above all, their having made descents on the islands of the Caribs, routed their formidable inhabitants, and carried several of them into captivity. To these accounts the cacique and his followers remained listening in profound attention until the night was advanced.

The next morning the ships were under weigh and standing along the coast with a light wind and easy sail, when they beheld three canoes issuing from among the islands of the bay. They approached in regular order; one, which was very large and handsomely carved and painted, was in the centre, a little in advance of the two others, which appeared to attend and guard it. In this was seated the cacique and his family, consisting of his wife, two daughters, two sons, and five brothers. One of the daughters was eighteen years of age, beautiful in form and countenance; her sister was somewhat younger: both

\* From the description, this must be the great bay east of Poland Point, at the bottom of which is Old Harbour.

were naked, according to the custom of these islands, but were of modest demeanour. In the prow of the canoe stood the standard-bearer of the cacique, clad in a kind of mantle of variegated feathers, with a tuft of gay plumes on his head, and bearing in his hand a fluttering white banner. Two Indians with caps or helmets of feathers of uniform shape and colour, and their faces painted in a similar manner, held upon tabors; two others, with hats curiously wrought of green feathers, held trumpets of a fine black wood, ingeniously carved; and there were six others, in large hats and white feathers, who appeared to be guests to the cacique. This gallant little armada having arrived alongside of the Admiral's ship, the cacique entered on board with all his train. He appeared in his full regalia. Around his head upon a band of small stones of various colours, but principally green, symmetrically arranged, with large white stones at intervals, and connected in front by a large jewel of gold. Two plates of gold were suspended to his ears by rings of small green stones. To a necklace of white beads, of a kind deemed precious by them, was suspended a large plate, in the form of a fleur-de-lys, of guanin, an inferior species of gold; and a girdle of variegated stones, similar to those round his head, completed his regal decorations. His wife was adorned in a similar manner, having also a very small apron of cotton, and bands of the same round her arms and legs. The daughters were without ornaments, excepting the eldest and handsomest, who had a girdle of small stones, from which was suspended a tablet, the size of an ivy leaf, composed of various coloured stones, embroidered on net-work of cotton.

When the cacique entered on board the ship, he distributed presents of the productions of his island among the officers and men. The Admiral was at this time in his cabin, engaged in his morning devotions. When he appeared on deck, the chieftain hastened to meet him with an animated countenance. "My friend," said he, "I have determined to leave my country, and to accompany thee. I have heard from these Indians who are with thee, of the irresistible power of thy Sovereigns, and of the many nations thou hast subdued in their name. Whoever refuses obedience to thee is sure to suffer. Thou hast destroyed the canoes and dwellings of the Caribs, slaying their warriors, and carrying into captivity their wives and children. All the islands are in dread of thee; for who can withstand thee, now that thou knowest the secrets of the land, and the weakness of the people? Rather, therefore, than thou shouldst take away my dominions, I will embark with all my household in thy ships, and will go to do homage to thy king and queen, and to behold their marvellous country, of which thy Indians relate such wonders." When this speech was explained to Columbus, and he beheld the wife, the sons and daughters of the cacique, and thought upon the snares to which their ignorance and simplicity would be exposed, he was touched with compassion, and determined not to take them from



their native land. He replied to the cacique, therefore, that he received him under his protection as a vassal of his Sovereigns, but having many lands yet to visit before he returned to his country, he would at some future time fulfil his desire. Then taking leave with many expressions of amity, the cacique, with his wife and daughters, and all his retinue, re-embarked in the canoes, returning reluctantly to their island, and the ships continued on their course. <sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER VII.

VOYAGE ALONG THE SOUTH SIDE OF HISPANIOLA, AND RETURN TO ISABELLA.

[ 1494. ]

On the 19th of August Columbus lost sight of the eastern extremity of Jamaica, to which he gave the name of Cape Farol, at present called Point Morant. Steering eastward, he beheld, on the following day, that long peninsula of Hispaniola known by the name of Cape Tiburon, but to which he gave the name of Cape San Miguel. He was not aware that it was a part of the island of Hayti, until, coasting along its southern side, a cacique came off on the 23d of August, and called him by his title, addressing him with several words of Castilian. The sound of these words spread joy through the ship, and the weary seamen heard with delight that they were on the southern coast of Hispaniola. They had still, however, many toilsome days before them. The weather was boisterous, the wind contrary and capricious, and the ships were separated from each other. About the end of August, Columbus anchored at a small island, or rather rock, which rises singly out of the sea opposite to a long cape, stretching southward from the centre of the island, to which he gave the name of Cape Beata. The rock at which he anchored had the appearance, at a distance, of a tall ship under sail, from which circumstance the Admiral called it "Alto Velo." Several seamen were ordered to climb to the top of the island, which commanded a great extent of ocean, and to look out for the other ships. Nothing of them was to be seen. On their return, the sailors killed eight sea-wolves, which were sleeping on the sands; they also knocked down many pigeons and other

<sup>1</sup> Hitherto, in narrating this voyage of Columbus along the coast of Cuba, I have been guided principally by the manuscript history of the Curate de los Palacios. His account is the most clear and satisfactory as to names, dates, and routes, and contains many characteristic particulars not inserted in any other history. His sources of information were of the highest kind. Columbus was his guest after his return to Spain in 1496, and left with him manuscripts, journals, and memorandums; from these he made extracts, collating them with the letters of the Doctor Chance, and other persons of note who had accompanied the Admiral.

I have examined two copies of the MS. of the Curate de los Palacios, both in the possession of Mr. O. Rich. One written in an ancient hand-writing, in the early part of the sixteenth century, varies from the other, but only in a few trivial particulars.

birds with sticks, and took others with the hand; for in this unfrequented island, the animals seemed to have none of that wildness and timidity produced by the hostility of man.

Being rejoined by the two caravels, he continued along the coast, passing the beautiful country watered by the branches of the Neyva, where a fertile plain, covered with villages and groves, extended into the interior. After proceeding some distance farther to the east, the Admiral learnt from the natives who came off to the ships, that several Spaniards from the settlement had penetrated to their province. From all that he could learn from these people, every thing appeared to be going on well in the island. Encouraged by the tranquillity of the interior, he landed nine men here, with orders to traverse the island, and give tidings of his safe arrival on the coast.

Continuing to the eastward, he sent a boat on shore for water near a large village in a plain. The inhabitants issued forth with bows and arrows to give battle, while others were provided with cords to bind prisoners. These were the natives of Higüey, the eastern province of Hispaniola. They were the most warlike people of the island, having been inured to arms from the frequent descents of the Caribs. They were said also to make use of poisoned arrows. In the present instance, their hostility was but in appearance. When the crew landed, they threw by their weapons, and brought various articles of food, and asked for the Admiral, whose fame had spread throughout the island, and in whose justice and magnanimity all the natives appeared to repose confidence. After leaving this place, the weather, which had been so long variable and adverse, began to assume a threatening appearance. A huge fish, as large as a moderate-sized whale, raised itself out of the water one day, having a shell on its neck like that of a tortoise, two great fins like wings, and a tail like that of a tunny-fish. At sight of this fish, and at the indications of the clouds and sky, Columbus anticipated an approaching storm, and sought for some secure harbour. <sup>1</sup> He found a channel opening between Hispaniola and a small island, called by the Indians Adamaney, but to which he gave the name of Saona; here he took refuge, anchoring beside a key or islet in the middle of the channel. On the night of his arrival there was an eclipse of the moon; and taking an observation, he found the difference of longitude between Saona and Cadiz to be five hours and twenty-three minutes. <sup>2</sup> This is upwards of eighteen degrees more than the true longitude; an error which must have resulted from the incorrectness of his table of eclipses. <sup>3</sup>

For eight days the Admiral's ship remained weather-bound in this channel, during which time he

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1, l. II, c. 15. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, ubi sup. Hist. del Almirante, ubi sup.

<sup>3</sup> Five hours, twenty-five minutes, are equal to 80° 45' where as the true longitude of Saona is 63° 20' west of Cadiz.

suffered great which had n sea exposed escaped, how him when the channel of September, t which Colum at present kn they stood to t Mona, or, as between Port tention of Col of the ships, complete the his physical st of his lofty spi he had suffere anxious and h secretly preyed all the hardst seaman. He allowance, and ings of wind a and trials fro When the sail watch, slept storm, the anx ful vigil throu pelting of the the sea. The watchfulness; tion, and an exp the result of hi the present voye stant hope of India, and by th to Spain, throu cumnavigating this expectation with incessant way back again moment he was held himself in ment suddenly exhausted by a very day on w struck with a su memory, of sig a deep lethargy, alarmed at this was really at ha further prosecu their sails to the they bore Colum sensibility, to th

## BOOK VIII.

## CHAPTER I.

ARRIVAL OF THE ADMIRAL AT ISABELLA. CHARACTER OF  
BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS.

[September 4, 1494.]

THE sight of the little squadron of Columbus standing once more into the harbour, was hailed with joy by such of the inhabitants of Isabella as remained faithful to him. The long time that had elapsed since his departure on this adventurous voyage, without any tidings arriving from him, had given rise to the most serious apprehensions for his safety, and it began to be feared that he had fallen a victim to his enterprising spirit in some remote part of these unknown seas. A joyful and heartfelt surprise awaited the Admiral on his arrival, in finding at his bed-side his brother Bartholomew, the companion of his youth, his confidential coadjutor, and, in a manner, his second self, from whom he had been separated for several years. It will be recollected that about the time of the Admiral's departure from Portugal he had commissioned Bartholomew to repair to England, and propose his project of discovery to King Henry VII. Of this application to the English court no precise particulars are known. Fernando Columbus states that his uncle, in the course of his voyage, was captured and plundered by a corsair, and reduced to such poverty, that he had for a long time to struggle for a mere subsistence by making sea-charts; so that some years elapsed before he made his application to the English monarch. Las Casas thinks that he did not immediately proceed to England, having found a memorandum in his hand-writing, by which it would appear that he accompanied Bartholomew Diaz, in 1486, in his voyage along the coast of Africa, in the service of the King of Portugal, in the course of which was discovered the Cape of Good Hope.\*

\* The memorandum cited by Las Casas (Hist. Ind., l. i, c. 7), is curious, though not conclusive. He says that he found it in an old book belonging to Christopher Columbus, containing the works of Pedro de Allaco, a learned astronomer and geographer. It was written in the margin of a treatise on the form of the globe, in the hand-writing of Bartholomew Columbus, which was well-known to Las Casas, as he had many letters in his possession. The memorandum was in a barbarous mixture of Latin and Spanish, and to the following effect:—

"In the year 1488, in December, arrived at Lisbon, Bartholomew Diaz, captain of three caravels, which the King of Portugal sent to discover Guinea, and brought accounts that he had discovered six hundred leagues of territory, 450 to the south, and 150 north, to a cape named by him the Cape of Good Hope; and that by the astrolabe he found the Cape forty-five degrees beyond the equinoctial line. This Cape was 3,100 leagues distant from Lisbon; the which the said captain says he set down, league by league, in a chart of navigation presented to the King of Portugal, in all which," adds the writer, "I was present." Las Casas expresses a doubt whether Bartholomew wrote this note for himself, or on the part of his brother, but infers that one, or both, were in this expe-

suffered great anxiety for the fate of the other vessels, which had not been able to enter, but remained at sea exposed to the violence of the storm. They escaped, however, uninjured, and once more rejoined him when the weather had moderated. Leaving the channel of Saona, they reached, on the 24th of September, the eastern extremity of Hispaniola, to which Columbus gave the name of Cape San Rafael, at present known as Cape Engano. From hence they stood to the south-east, touching at the island of Mona, or, as the Indians called it, Amona, situated between Porto Rico and Hispaniola. It was the intention of Columbus, notwithstanding the condition of the ships, to continue farther eastward, and to complete the discovery of the Caribbee islands, but his physical strength did not correspond to the efforts of his lofty spirit. The extraordinary fatigues which he had suffered, both in mind and body, during an anxious and harassing voyage of five months, had secretly preyed upon his frame. He had shared in all the hardships and privations of the commonest seaman. He had put himself upon the same scanty allowance, and exposed himself to the same buffetings of wind and weather. But he had other cares and trials from which his people were exempt. When the sailor, worn out with the labours of his watch, slept soundly amidst the howling of the storm, the anxious commander maintained his painful vigil through long sleepless nights, amidst the pelting of the tempest, and the drenching surges of the sea. The safety of his ships depended upon his watchfulness; but above all, he felt that a jealous nation, and an expecting world were anxiously awaiting the result of his enterprise. During a great part of the present voyage, he had been excited by the constant hope of soon arriving at the known parts of India, and by the anticipation of a triumphant return to Spain, through the regions of the East, after circumnavigating the globe. When disappointed in this expectation, he was yet stimulated by a conflict with incessant hardships and perils, as he made his way back against contrary winds and storms. The moment he was relieved from all solicitude, and beheld himself in a known and tranquil sea, the excitement suddenly ceased, and mind and body sunk exhausted by almost superhuman exertions. The very day on which he sailed from Mona, he was struck with a sudden malady which deprived him of memory, of sight, and all his faculties. He fell into a deep lethargy, resembling death itself. His crew, alarmed at this profound torpor, feared that death was really at hand. They abandoned, therefore, all further prosecution of the voyage; and spreading their sails to the east wind, so prevalent in those seas, they bore Columbus back, in a state of complete insensibility, to the harbour of Isabella.

\* Muñoz, Hist. N. Mundo, l. v, sec. 22.

It is but justice to the memory of Henry VII to say, that when the proposition was eventually made to him, it met with a more ready attention than from any other sovereign. An agreement was actually made with Bartholomew for the prosecution of the enterprise, and the latter departed for Spain in search of his brother. On reaching Paris, he first received the joyful intelligence that the discovery was already made, that his brother had returned to Spain in triumph, and was actually at the Spanish court, honoured by the Sovereigns, caressed by the nobility, and idolized by the people.

The glory of Columbus already shed its rays upon his family, and Bartholomew found himself immediately a person of importance. He was noticed by the French monarch, Charles VIII, who understanding that he was low in purse, furnished him with one hundred crowns to defray the expenses of his journey to Spain. He reached Seville just as his brother had departed on his second voyage. Bartholomew immediately repaired to the court, then at Valladolid, taking with him his two nephews Diego and Fernando, who were to serve in quality of pages to Prince Juan. He was received with distinguished favour by the Sovereigns, who, finding him to be an able and accomplished navigator, gave him the command of three ships freighted with supplies for the colony, and sent him to aid his brother in his enterprises. He had again arrived too late, reaching Isabella just after the departure of the Admiral for the coast of Cuba.

The sight of this brother was an inexpressible relief to Columbus, overwhelmed as he was by cares, and surrounded by strangers. His chief dependence for sympathy and assistance hitherto had been on his brother Don Diego, but his mild and peaceable disposition rendered him little capable of managing the concerns of a factious colony. Bartholomew was of a different and more efficient character; he was prompt, active, decided, and of a fearless spirit; whatever he determined he carried into immediate execution, without regard to difficulty or danger. His person corresponded to his mind; it was tall, muscular, vigorous, and commanding. He had an air of great authority, but somewhat stern, wanting that sweetness and benignity which tempered the authoritative demeanour of the Admiral. Indeed there was a certain asperity in his temper, and a dryness and abruptness in his manners, which made him many enemies; yet notwithstanding these external defects, he was of a generous disposition, free from

dition. The inference may be correct with respect to Bartholomew, but Christopher at the time specified was at the Spanish court.

Las Casas accounts for a difference in date between the foregoing memorandum and the chronicles of the voyage; the former making the return of Diaz in the year 88, the latter, 87. This, he observes, might be because some begin to count the year after Christmas, others at the 1st of January; and the expedition sailed about the end of August, 86, and returned in December, 87, after an absence of seventeen months.

\* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 60.

all arrogance or malevolence, and as placable as he was brave.

He was a thorough seaman, understanding both the theory and practice of his profession, having been formed in a great measure under the eye of the Admiral, and being but little inferior to him in science. He was superior to him in the exercise of the pen, according to Las Casas, who had letters and manuscripts of both in his possession. He was acquainted with Latin, but does not appear to have been highly educated, his knowledge, like that of his brother, being chiefly derived from a long course of varied experience and attentive observation. Equally vigorous and penetrating in intellect with the Admiral, but less enthusiastic in spirit and soaring in imagination, and with less simplicity of heart, he surpassed him in the subtle and adroit management of business, was more attentive to his interests, and had more of that worldly wisdom which is so important in the ordinary concerns of life. His genius might never have excited him to the sublime speculation which ended in the discovery of a world, but his practical sagacity was calculated to turn that discovery to advantage. Such is the description of Bartholomew Columbus, as furnished by the venerable Las Casas from personal observation, and it will be found to accord with his actions throughout the remaining history of the Admiral, in the events of which he takes a conspicuous part.

Anxious to relieve himself from the pressure of public business, which weighed heavily upon him during his present malady, Columbus immediately invested his brother Bartholomew with the title and authority of Adelantado, an office equivalent to that of lieutenant-governor. He considered himself entitled to do so from the articles of his arrangement with the Sovereigns, but it was looked upon by King Ferdinand as an undue assumption of power, and gave great offence to that jealous monarch, who was exceedingly tenacious of the prerogatives of the crown, and considered dignities of this rank and importance as only to be conferred by royal mandate. Columbus, however, was not actuated in this appointment by a mere desire to aggrandize his family. He felt the importance of his brother's assistance in the present critical state of the colony, but that this co-operation would be inefficient unless it bore the stamp of high official authority. In fact, during the few months that he had been absent, the whole island had become a scene of discord and violence, in consequence of the neglect, or rather the flagrant violation, of those rules which he had prescribed for the maintenance of its tranquillity. A brief retrospect of the recent affairs of the colony is here necessary to explain their present confusion. It will exhibit one of the many instances in which Columbus was doomed to reap the fruits of the evil seed which had been sown by his adversaries.

\* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. c. 29.

\* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. c. 101.

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## CHAPTER II.

## MISCONDUCT OF DON PEDRO MARGARITE, AND HIS DEPARTURE FROM THE ISLAND.

[ 1494. ]

It will be recollected, that before departing on his voyage, Columbus had given the command of the army to Don Pedro Margarite, with orders to make a military tour of the island, and, while he awed the natives by a display of military force, to conciliate their good will by the most equitable and amicable treatment.

The island was at this time divided into five domains, each governed by a sovereign cacique, of absolute and hereditary power, to whom a great number of inferior caciques yielded tributary allegiance. The first or most important domain comprised the middle part of the royal Vega. It was a rich, lovely country, partly cultivated after the imperfect manner of the natives, partly covered with noble forests, studded with Indian towns, and watered by numerous rivers, many of which, rolling down from the mountains of Cibao, on its western frontier, had gold dust mingled with their sands. The name of the cacique was Guarionex, whose ancestors had long ruled over the province.

The second, called Marien, was under the sway of Guacanagari, on whose coast Columbus had been wrecked in his first voyage. It was a large and fertile territory, extending along the northern coast from Cape St Nicholas at the western extremity of the island, to the great river Yagui, afterwards called Monte Christi, and including the northern part of the royal Vega, since called the plain of Cape François.

The third bore the name of Magnana, and was under the domination of the Carib cacique Caonabo, the most fierce and puissant of the savage chieftains, and the inveterate enemy of the white men. In this domain was included the gold mines of Cibao.

The fourth took its name from Xaragua, a large lake, and was the most populous and extensive of all. It comprised the whole western coast, including the long promontory of Cape Tiburon, and extended for a considerable distance along the southern side of the island. The inhabitants were finely formed, had a noble air, a more agreeable elocution, and more soft and graceful manners than the natives of the other parts of the island. The sovereign was named Behelchio; his sister Anacaona, celebrated throughout the island for her beauty, was the favourite wife of the neighbouring cacique Caonabo.

The fifth domain was Higüey, and occupied the whole eastern part of the island, being bounded on the north by the river Yagui, and on the south by the Ozema. The inhabitants were the most active and warlike people of this island, having learnt the use of the bow and arrow from the Caribs, who made frequent descents upon their coasts; they were said also to make use of poisoned weapons. Their bravery,

however, was but comparative, and was found eventually of little avail against the terror of European arms. They were governed by a cacique named Cotabanama.

Such were the five territorial divisions of the island at the time of its discovery. The amount of its population has never been clearly ascertained; some have stated it at a million of souls, though this is considered an exaggeration. It must, however, have been very numerous, and sufficient, in case of any general hostility, to endanger the safety of a handful of Europeans. Columbus trusted for safety partly to the awe inspired by the weapons and horses of the Spaniards, and the idea of their superhuman nature, but chiefly to the measures he had taken to conciliate the good will of the Indians by gentle and beneficent treatment.

Margarite set forth on his expedition with the greater part of the forces, leaving Alonso de Ojeda in command of the fortress of St Thomas. Instead, however, of commencing by exploring the rough mountains of Cibao, as he had been commanded, he descended into the rich plains of the Vega. Here he lingered among the populous and hospitable Indian villages, forgetful of the object of his command, and of the instruction left him by the Admiral. A commander who lapses from duty himself, and yields to the incitements of his passions, is but little calculated to enforce discipline on others. The sensual indulgences of Margarite were imitated by his followers, and his army soon became little better than a crew of riotous marauders. The Indians, for a time, supplied them with provisions with their wonted hospitality, but the scanty stores of those abstemious yet improvident people were soon exhausted by the Spaniards; one of whom they declared would consume more in a day than would support an Indian for a month. If provisions were withheld, or scantily furnished, they were taken with violence; nor was any compensation given to the natives, nor means taken to soothe their irritation. The avidity for gold also led to a thousand acts of injustice and oppression; but above all the Spaniards outraged the dearest feelings of the natives, by their licentious conduct with respect to the women. In fact, instead of guests, they soon assumed the tone of imperious masters; instead of enlightened benefactors, they became sordid and sensual oppressors.

Tidings of these excesses, and of the disgust and impatience that they were awakening among the natives, soon reached Don Diego Columbus. With the concurrence of the council, he wrote to Margarite reprehending his conduct, and requesting him to proceed on the military tour, according to the commands of the Admiral. The pride of Margarite took fire at this reproof; he considered, or rather pretended to consider himself, independent in his command, and above all responsibility to the council for his conduct. Being of an ancient family, also, and a favourite of

Charlevoix, Hist. St Domingo, l. 1, p. 69.

the King, he affected to look down with contempt upon the newly-coined nobility of Diego Columbus. His letters, in reply to the orders of the president and council, were couched in a tone either of haughty contumely or of military defiance. He continued, with his followers, quartered in the Vega, persisting in a course of outrages and oppressions fatal to the tranquillity of the island.

He was supported in his arrogant defiance of authority by the cavaliers and adventurers of noble birth who were in the colony, and who had been deeply wounded in the proud punctilio so jealously guarded by a Spaniard. They could not forget nor forgive the stern equity exercised by the Admiral in a time of emergency, in making them submit to the privations and share the labours of the vulgar. Still less could they brook the authority of his brother Diego, destitute of his high personal claims to distinction. They formed, therefore, a kind of aristocratical faction in the colony; affecting to consider Columbus and his family as mere mercenary and upstart foreigners, building up their own fortunes at the expense of the toils and sufferings of the community, and the degradation of Spanish hidalgos and cavaliers.

In addition to these partisans, Margarite had a powerful ally in his fellow-countryman, Friar Boyle, the head of the religious fraternity, one of the members of the council, and apostolical vicar for the New World. It is not easy to ascertain the original cause of the hostility of this holy friar to the Admiral, who was never wanting in respect to the clergy. Various altercations, however, had taken place between them. Some say that the friar interfered in respect to the strict measures deemed necessary by the Admiral for the security of the colony; others that he resented the fancied indignity offered to himself and his household in putting them on the same short allowance with the common people. He appears, however, to have been generally disappointed and disgusted with the sphere of action afforded by the colony, and to have looked back with regret to the Old World. He had none of that enthusiastic zeal, and persevering self-devotion, which induced so many of the Spanish missionaries to brave all the hardships and privations of the New World, in the hope of converting its pagan inhabitants.

Encouraged and fortified by such powerful partisans, Margarite really began to consider himself above the temporary authorities of the island. Whenever he came to Isabella, he took no notice of Don Diego Columbus, nor paid any respect to the council, but acted as if he had paramount command. He formed a cabal of most of those who were disaffected to Columbus, and discontented with their abode in the colony. Among these, the leading agitator was Friar Boyle. It was concerted among them to take possession of the ships which had brought out Don Bartholomew Columbus, and to return in them to Spain. Both Margarite and Boyle possessed the favour of the King, and they deemed it would be

an easy matter to justify their abandonment of their military and religious commands by a pretended zeal for the public good; hurrying home to represent the disastrous state of the country, through the tyranny and oppression of its rulers. Some have ascribed the abrupt departure of Margarite to his fear of a severe military investigation of his conduct on the return of the Admiral; others to his having contracted a malady in the course of his licentious amours, which was unknown at that time to Europeans, and which he attributed to the climate, and hoped to cure by medical assistance in Spain. Whatever may have been the cause, his measures were taken with great precipitancy, without any consultation of the proper authorities, or any regard to the consequences of his departure. Accompanied by a band of malcontents, he and Friar Boyle took possession of some ships in the harbour and set sail for Spain; the first general and apostle of the New World, thus setting the flagrant example of unauthorized abandonment of their posts.

### CHAPTER III.

TROUBLES WITH THE NATIVES. ALONSO DE OJEDA BESIEGED BY CAONABO.

[ 1494. ]

THE departure of Pedro Margarite left the army without a head, and put an end to what little restraint or discipline remained. There is no rabble so licentious as soldiery left to their own direction in a defenceless country. They now roved about in bands, or singly, according to their caprice, scattering themselves among the Indian villages, and indulging in all kinds of excesses, either as prompted by avarice or sensuality. The natives, indignant at having their hospitality thus requited, refused any longer to furnish them with food. In a little while the Spaniards began to experience the pressure of hunger, and seized upon provisions wherever they could be found, accompanying these seizures with acts of wanton violence. At length, by a series of flagrant outrages, the gentle and pacific nature of this people was roused to resentment, and from confiding and hospitable hosts, they were converted into vindictive enemies. All the precautions enjoined by Columbus having been neglected, the evils he had apprehended came to pass. Though the Indians, naturally timid, dared not contend with the Spaniards while they kept up any combined and disciplined force, yet they took sanguinary vengeance on them whenever they met with small parties or scattered individuals, roving about in quest of food. Encouraged by these petty triumphs, and the impunity that seemed to attend them, their hostilities grew more and more alarming. Guatiguana, cacique of a large town on the banks of the Grand River, in the dominions of Guarionex,

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sovereign of the Vega, put to death ten Spaniards, who had quartered themselves in his town, and humiliated the natives by their debaucheries. He followed up this massacre by setting fire to a house in which forty sick Spaniards were lodged.<sup>1</sup> Flushed by this success, he threatened to attack a small fortress called Magdalena, which had recently been built in his neighbourhood in the Vega, so that the commander, Luis de Arriaga, having but a feeble garrison, was obliged to remain shut up within its walls until relief should arrive from Isabella.

The most formidable enemy of the Spaniards, however, was Caonabo, the Carib cacique of Maguano; the same who had surprised and massacred the garrison of the fortress at La Navidad. He had natural talents for war, and intelligence superior to the ordinary range of savage intellect. He had a proud and daring spirit to urge him on, three valiant brothers to assist him, and a numerous tribe at his command.<sup>2</sup> He had always felt jealous of the intrusion of the white men into the island; but when he beheld the fortress of St Thomas erected in the very centre of his dominions, he was roused to indignation. As long as the army lay within call in the Vega, he was deterred from any attack; but when, on the departure of Margarite, the army became dismembered and dispersed, the time for striking a signal blow seemed arrived. The fortress remained isolated, with a garrison of only fifty men. By a sudden and secret movement, he might overwhelm it with his forces, and repeat the horrors which he had wreaked upon La Navidad.

The wily cacique, however, had a different kind of enemy to deal with in the commander of St Thomas. Alonso de Ojeda had been schooled in Moorish warfare. He was versed in all kinds of feints, stratagems, lurking ambuscades, and wild assaults. No man was more fitted, therefore, to cope with Indian warriors. He had a vehement and headlong courage, arising partly from the natural heat and violence of his disposition, and, in a great measure, from religious superstition. He had been engaged in wars with Moors and Indians, in public battles and private combats, in fights, feuds, and encounters of all kinds, to which he had been prompted by a rash and fiery spirit, and a love of adventure; yet he had never been wounded, or harmed. He began to doubt whether any weapon had power to harm him, and to consider himself under the special protection of the Holy Virgin. As a kind of religious talisman, he had a small Flemish painting of the Virgin, which had been given him by his patron, Fonseca, Bishop of Badajoz. This he constantly carried with him, in city, camp, or field, making it the object of his frequent orisons and invocations. In garrison or encampment, it was suspended in his chamber or his tent; in his rough expeditions in the wilderness, he carried it in his knapsack, and whenever leisure per-

mitted, would take it out, fix it against a tree, and address his prayers to this military patroness.<sup>1</sup> In a word, he swore by the Virgin, he invoked the Virgin whether in brawl or battle, and, under the favour of the Virgin, he was ready for any enterprise or adventure. Such was this Alonso de Ojeda, bigoted in his devotion, reckless in his life, fearless in his spirit, like many of the roving Spanish cavaliers of those days. Though diminutive in size, he was a prodigy of strength and prowess; and the chroniclers of the early discoveries relate marvels of his valour and exploits.

Having reconnoitred the fortress, Caonabo assembled ten thousand warriors, armed with war-clubs, bows and arrows, and lances hardened in the fire; and making his way secretly through the forests, came suddenly in the neighbourhood, expecting to surprise the garrison in a state of careless security. He found Ojeda's forces, however, drawn up warily within his tower, which, being built upon an almost insulated height, with a river nearly surrounding it, and the remaining space traversed by a deep ditch, set at defiance an attack by naked warriors.

Foiled in his attempt, Caonabo now hoped to reduce it by famine. For this purpose, he spread his army through the adjacent forests; and waylaid every pass, so as to intercept any supplies brought by the natives, and to cut off any foraging party from the fortress. This siege, or investment, lasted for thirty days, during which time the garrison was reduced to great distress. There is a traditional anecdote, which Oviedo relates of Pedro Margarite, the former commander of this fortress, but which may with more probability be ascribed to Alonso de Ojeda, as having occurred during this siege. At a time when the garrison was sore pressed by famine, an Indian gained access to the fort, bringing a couple of wood-pigeons for the table of the commander. The latter was in an apartment of the tower surrounded by several of his officers. Seeing them regard the birds with the wistful eyes of famishing men, "It is a pity," said he, "that here is not enough to give us all a meal; I cannot consent to feast while the rest of you are starving,"—so saying, he turned loose the pigeons from a window of the tower.

During the siege, Ojeda displayed the greatest activity of spirit and fertility of resource. He baffled all the arts of the Carib chieftain, concerting stratagems of various kinds to relieve the garrison and annoy the foe. He made desperate sallies whenever the enemy appeared in any force, always leading the van with that headlong valour for which he was noted; making great slaughter with a single arm, and, as usual, escaping unhurt from amidst showers of darts and arrows.

Caonabo saw many of his bravest warriors slain. His forces were daily diminishing, for the Indians, unused to any protracted operations of war, grew

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1, l. ii, c. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1, l. viii, c. 4. Pizarro, Varones Ilustres, cap. 8.

<sup>2</sup> P. Martyr, decad. 1, lib. iv.

weariness of this siege, and began to disperse, returning daily in numbers to their homes. He gave up all further attempt, therefore, on the fortress, and retired, filled with admiration of the prowess and achievements of Ojeda.

The restless chieftain was not discouraged by the failure of this enterprise, but meditated schemes of a bolder and more extensive nature. Prowling in secret in the vicinity of Isabella, he noted the enfeebled state of the settlement.<sup>2</sup> Many of the inhabitants were suffering under various maladies, and most of the men capable of bearing arms were distributed about the country. He now conceived the project of a general league among the caciques, to assemble their forces, and surprise and overwhelm the settlement, and to massacre the Spaniards wherever they could be found. This handful of intruders once exterminated, he trusted that the island would be delivered from all further molestation of the kind; little dreaming of the hopeless nature of the contest, and that where the civilized man once plants his foot, the power of the savage is gone for ever.

Reports of the profligate conduct of the Spaniards had spread throughout the island, and inspired hatred and hostility even among tribes who had never beheld them, nor suffered from their misdeeds. Caonabo found three of the sovereign caciques inclined to co-operate with him, though impressed with deep awe of the supernatural power of the Spaniards, and of their terrific arms and animals. The league, however, met with unexpected opposition in the fifth cacique, Guacanagari, the sovereign of Marien. His conduct in this time of danger, completely manifested the injustice of those suspicions which had been entertained of him by the Spaniards. He refused to join the other caciques with his forces, or to violate those laws of hospitality by which he had considered himself bound to protect and aid the white men, ever since they had been shipwrecked on his coast. He remained quietly in his dominions, entertaining at his own expense a hundred of the suffering soldiery, and supplying all their wants with his accustomed generosity. This conduct drew upon him the odium and hostility of his fellow caciques, particularly of the fierce Carib, Caonabo, and his brother-in-law, Behechio. They made irruptions into his territories, and inflicted on him various injuries and indignities. Behechio killed one of his wives, and Caonabo carried another away captive.<sup>3</sup> Nothing, however, could shake the devotion of Guacanagari to the Spaniards; and as his dominions lay immediately adjacent to the settlement, and those of some of the other caciques were very remote, the want of his co-operation impeded for some time the hostile designs of his confederates.<sup>4</sup>

Such was the critical state to which the affairs of the colony had been reduced, and such the bitter hos-

tility engendered among the kind and gentle people of the island, during the absence of Columbus, and merely in consequence of violating all his regulations. Margarite and Friar Boyle had hastened to Spain to make false representations of the miseries of the island. Had they remained faithfully at their posts, and discharged zealously the trust confided to them, those miseries might have been easily remedied, if not entirely prevented.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### MEASURES OF COLUMBUS TO RESTORE THE QUIET OF THE ISLAND. EXPEDITION OF OJEDA TO SURPRISE CAONABO.

[ 1494. ]

IMMEDIATELY after the return of Columbus from Cuba, while he was yet confined to his bed by indisposition, he was gratified by a voluntary visit from Guacanagari. This kind-hearted chieftain manifested the greatest concern at his illness, for he appears to have always entertained an affectionate reverence for the Admiral. He again spoke with tears of the massacre at Fort Nativity, dwelling on the exertions he had made in defence of the Spaniards. He now informed Columbus of the secret league forming among the caciques, of his opposition to it, and the consequent persecution he had suffered, of the murder of one of his wives, and the capture of another. He urged the Admiral to be on his guard against the designs of Caonabo, and offered to lead his subjects to the field, to fight by the side of the Spaniards, as well out of friendship for them as in revenge of his own injuries.

Columbus had always retained a deep sense of the ancient kindness of Guacanagari, and had been unwilling to doubt his faith and friendship; he was rejoiced, therefore, to have all suspicion thus effectually dispelled. Their former amicable intercourse was renewed, with this difference, that the man whom Guacanagari had once relieved and succoured when a shipwrecked stranger on his shores, had suddenly become the arbiter of the fate of himself and all his countrymen.

The manner in which this peaceful island had been exasperated and embroiled by the licentious conduct of the Europeans, was a matter of deep concern to Columbus. He saw all his plans of deriving an immediate revenue to the Sovereigns completely impeded. To restore the island to tranquillity required skilful management. His forces were but small, and the awe in which the natives had stood of the white men, as supernatural beings, had been in some degree dispelled. He was too ill to take a personal share in any warlike enterprise; his brother Diego was not of a military character, and Bartholomew was yet a stranger among the Spaniards, and regarded by the

<sup>1</sup> Oviedo, *Cronica de las Indias*, lib. iii, c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. del Almirante*, cap. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. del Almirante*, cap. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Herrera, *Hist. Ind.*, decad. i, l. ii, c. 16.

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, *Hist. Ind.*, decad. i, l. ii, c. 16.

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leading men with jealousy. Still Columbus considered the threatened combination of the caciques as but imperfectly formed; he trusted to their want of skill and experience in warfare, and conceived that by prompt measures, by proceeding in detail, punishing some, conciliating others, and uniting force, gentleness, and stratagem, he might succeed in dispelling the threatened storm.

His first care was to send a body of armed men to the relief of Fort Magdalena, menaced with destruction by Guatiguana, the cacique of the Grand River, who had massacred the Spaniards quartered in his town. Having relieved the fortress, the troops overran the territory of Guatiguana, killing many of his warriors and carrying others off captives; the chieftain himself made his escape.<sup>1</sup> He was tributary to Guarionex, sovereign cacique of the Royal Vega. As this Indian prince reigned over a great and populous extent of country, his friendship was highly important to the prosperity of the colony; while there was imminent risk of his hostility, from the unbridled excesses of the Spaniards who had been quartered in different parts of his dominions. Columbus sent for him, therefore, and explained to him that these excesses had been in violation of his orders, and contrary to his good intentions towards the natives, whom it was his wish in every way to please and benefit. He explained, likewise, that the expedition against Guatiguana was an act of mere individual punishment, not of hostility against the territories of Guarionex. The cacique was of a quiet and placable disposition, and whatever anger he might have felt was easily soothed. To link him in some degree to the Spanish interest, Columbus prevailed on him to give his daughter in marriage to an Indian interpreter, a native of the Lucayan islands, who had been to Spain, and had been baptized in Barcelona by the name of Diego Colon.<sup>2</sup> He took a still stronger precaution to guard against any hostility on the part of the cacique, and to ensure tranquillity in the important region of the Vega. He ordered a fortress to be erected in the midst of his territories, which he named Fort Conception. The easy cacique agreed without hesitation to a measure fraught with ruin to himself, and future slavery to his subjects.

The most formidable enemy remained to be disposed of,—Caonabo, the warlike spirit of the island, the active and daring enemy of the white men; who, from superior notions of policy, was capable of forming dangerous leagues and conspiracies. His territories lay in the central and mountainous parts of the island, rendered difficult of access by rugged rocks, entangled forests, and frequent rivers. To make war upon this subtle and ferocious chieftain, in the depths of his wild woodland territory, and among the fastnesses of his

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, decad. i. l. ii. c. 16.

<sup>2</sup> P. Martyr, decad. i. l. iv. Glo. Battista Spotorno, in his Memoir of Columbus, has been led into an error by the name of this Indian, and observes that Columbus had a brother named Diego, of whom he seemed to be ashamed, and whom he married to the daughter of an Indian chief.

mountains, where, at every step, there would be danger of falling into some sudden ambush, would be a work of time, peril, and uncertain issue. In the meanwhile the settlements would never be secure from his secret and daring enterprises, and the working of the mines would be subject to frequent interruption. While perplexed on this subject, Columbus was relieved by a bold proposition on the part of Alonso de Ojeda, who offered to take the Carib chieftain by stratagem, and deliver him alive into his hands. The project was wild, hazardous, and romantic, characteristic of the fearless and adventurous spirit of Ojeda, who was fond of distinguishing himself by the most extravagant exploits and feats of desperate bravery.

Choosing ten bold and hardy followers, well armed and well mounted, and invoking the protection of his patroness the Virgin, whose image as usual he bore with him as a safeguard, Ojeda plunged into the forest, and made his way above sixty leagues, at the head of his followers, into the wild territories of Caonabo, where he found the cacique in one of his most populous towns. Ojeda approached Caonabo with great deference and respect, treating him as a sovereign prince. He informed him that he had come on a friendly embassy from the Admiral, who was Guamiquina, or chief of the Spaniards, and who had sent him an invaluable present.

Caonabo had tried Ojeda in battle; he had witnessed his fiery prowess, and had conceived a warrior's admiration of him. He received him with a degree of chivalrous courtesy, if such a phrase may apply to the savage state and rude hospitality of a wild warrior of the forest. The free, fearless deportment, the great personal strength, and the surprising agility and adroitness of Ojeda in all manly exercises, and in the use of all kinds of weapons, were calculated to delight a savage, and he soon became a great favourite with Caonabo.

Ojeda now used all his influence to prevail upon the cacique to repair to Isabella, for the purpose of making a treaty with Columbus, and becoming the ally and friend of the Spaniards. It is said, that he offered him, as a lure, the bell of the chapel of Isabella. This bell was the wonder of the island. When the Indians heard its melody sounding through the forests as it rung for mass, and beheld the Spaniards hastening towards the chapel, they imagined that it talked, and that the white men obeyed it. With that feeling of superstition with which they regarded all things connected with the Spaniards, they looked upon this bell as something supernatural, and in their usual phrase, said it had come from "Turey," or the skies. Caonabo had heard this wonderful instrument at a distance, in the course of his prowlings about the settlement, and had longed to see it; but when it was proffered to him as a present of peace, he found it impossible to resist the temptation.

The cacique agreed, therefore, to set out for Isabella; but when the time came to depart, Ojeda be-

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held with surprise a powerful force of warriors assembled and ready to march. He asked the meaning of taking such an army on a mere friendly visit, to which the cacique proudly replied, that it was not belittling a great prince like him to go forth scantily attended. Ojeda was little satisfied with this reply; he knew the warlike character of Caonabo, and his deep subtlety, which is the soul of Indian warfare; he feared some sinister design, and that the chieftain might meditate some surprise of the fortress of Isabella, or some attempt upon the person of the Admiral. He knew also that it was the wish of Columbus either to make peace with the cacique, or to get possession of his person without the alternative of open warfare. He had recourse to a stratagem, therefore, which has an air of fable and romance, but which is recorded by all the contemporary historians with trivial variations, and which, Las Casas assures us, was in current circulation in the island when he arrived there, about six years after the event. It accords too with the adventurous and extravagant character of the man, and with the wild stratagems and vaunting exploits incident to Indian warfare.

In the course of their march, having halted near the river Yegua, Ojeda one day produced a set of manacles of polished steel so highly burnished that they looked like silver. These he assured Caonabo were royal ornaments which had come from heaven, or the "Turey" of Biscay; that they were worn by the monarchs of Castile on solemn dances, and other high festivities, and were intended as presents to the cacique. He proposed that Caonabo should go to the river and bathe, after which he should be decorated with these ornaments, mounted on the horse of Ojeda, and should return in the state of a Spanish monarch, to astonish his subjects. The cacique, with that fondness for glittering ornaments common to savages, was dazzled with the sight; his proud military spirit, also, was flattered with the idea of bestriding one of those tremendous animals so dreaded by his countrymen. He accompanied Ojeda and his followers to the river, with but few attendants, dreading nothing from nine or ten strangers when thus surrounded by his army. After the cacique had bathed in the river, he was assisted to mount behind Ojeda, and the shackles were then adjusted. This done they pranced round among the savages, who were astonished to behold their cacique in glittering array, and mounted on one of these fearful animals. Ojeda made several circuits to gain space, followed by his little band of horsemen, the Indians shrinking back with affright from the prancing steeds. At length he made a wide sweep into the forest, until the trees concealed him from the sight of the army. His followers then closed round him, and drawing their swords, threatened Caonabo with instant death if he made the least noise or resistance, though indeed his manacles and shackles effectually prevented the latter. They bound him

<sup>1</sup> The principal iron manufactures of Spain are established in Biscay, where the ore is found in abundance.

with cords to Ojeda to prevent his falling, or effecting an escape, then putting spurs to their horses, dashed across the Yegua, and made off through the woods with their prize.

They had now fifty or sixty leagues of wilderness to traverse on their way homewards, with here and there large Indian towns. They had borne off their captive far beyond the pursuit of his subjects; but the utmost vigilance was requisite to prevent his escape during this long and toilsome journey, and to avoid exciting the hostilities of any confederate cacique. They had to shun the populous parts of the country, therefore, or to pass through the Indian towns at full gallop. They suffered greatly from fatigue, hunger, and watchfulness; encountering many perils, fording and swimming the numerous rivers of the plains, toiling through the deep tangled forests, and clambering over the high and rocky mountains. They accomplished all in safety, and Ojeda entered Isabella in triumph from this most wild and characteristic enterprise, with his savage Indian warrior bound behind him a captive.

Columbus could not refrain from expressing his great satisfaction when this dangerous foe was delivered into his hands. The haughty Carib met him with a lofty and unsubdued air, disdainful to conciliate him by submission, or to deprecate his vengeance for the blood of white men which he had shed. He never bowed his spirit to captivity; on the contrary, though completely at the mercy of the Spaniards, he displayed that boasting defiance which is a part of Indian heroism, and which the savage maintains towards his tormentors, even amidst the agonies of the faggot and the stake. He vaunted his achievement in surprising and burning the fortress of Nativity, and slaughtering its garrison, and declared that he had secretly reconnoitred Isabella, with an intention of wreaking upon it the same desolation.

Columbus, though struck with the wild heroism of this fierce chieftain, considered him a dangerous enemy, whom, for the peace of the island, it was necessary carefully to guard. He determined to send him to Spain; in the mean time he ordered that he should be treated with kindness and respect, and lodged him in a part of his own dwelling-house, where, however, he kept him a close prisoner in chains; probably in the splendid shackles which had ensnared him. This precaution must have been necessary, from the insecurity of his prison; for Las Casas observes, that the Admiral's house not being spacious, nor having many chambers, the captive chieftain could be seen from the portal.

Caonabo always maintained a haughty deportment towards Columbus, while he never evinced the least

<sup>1</sup> This romantic exploit of Ojeda is recorded at large by Las Casas; by his copyist Herrera (dec. i. l. ii. c. 16); by Fernando Pizarro, in his *Varones Ilustres del Nuevo Mundo*; and by Charlevoix in his *History of St Domingo*. Peter Martyr and others have given it more concisely, alluding to, but not inserting its romantic details.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, l. i. c. 102.

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<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, ubi  
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## CHAPTER V.

ARRIVAL OF ANTONIO DE TORRES WITH FOUR SHIPS FROM SPAIN. HIS RETURN WITH INDIAN SLAVES.

[ 1494. ]

THE colony was still suffering greatly from want of provisions; the European stock was nearly exhausted, and such was the idleness and improvidence of the colonists, or the confusion into which they had been thrown by the hostilities of the natives, or such was their exclusive eagerness after the precious metals, that they seem to have neglected the true wealth of the island, its quick and productive soil, and to have been in constant danger of famine, in the midst of fertility.

At length their sufferings were relieved by the arrival of four ships, commanded by Antonio Torres. They brought an ample supply of provisions, which diffused universal joy. There were also a physician and an apothecary, whose aid was greatly needed in the sickly state of the colony; but above all, there were mechanics, millers, fishermen, gardeners, and husbandmen,—the true wholesome kind of population for a colony, calculated to bring out its best resources, and to produce that interchange of useful labour and of the necessaries of life, which renders a community thriving and self-dependent.

The letters from the Sovereigns, brought by Torres (dated August 16, 1494), were of the most gratifying kind, expressing the highest satisfaction at the accounts sent home by the Admiral, and acknowledging that everything in the course of his discoveries had turned out as he had predicted. They evinced the liveliest interest in the affairs of the colony, and a desire of receiving frequent despatches as to its situation, proposing that a caravel should sail each month from Isabella and Spain. They informed him that all differences with Portugal were amicably adjusted, and acquainted him with the conventional agreement with that power relative to a geographical line, separating their newly-discovered possessions, requesting him to respect this agreement in the course of his discoveries. As in adjusting the arrangement with Portugal, and in drawing the proposed line, it was important to have the best advice, the Sovereigns requested Columbus to return and be present at the convention, or, in case that should be inconvenient, to send his brother Bartholomew, or any other person whom he should consider fully competent, furnished with such maps, charts, and designs as might be of service in the negotiation.\*

There was another letter, addressed generally to the inhabitants of the colony, and to all who should proceed on voyages of discovery, commanding them to obey Columbus as implicitly as they would the Sovereigns themselves, under pain of their high displeasure, and a fine of ten thousand maravedies for each offence.

\* Herrera, decad. 1, lib. ii, c. 17.

animosity against Ojeda for the artifice to which he had fallen a victim. It rather increased his admiration of him, as a consummate warrior, looking upon it as the exploit of a master-spirit to have pounced upon him, and borne him off in this hawk-like manner, from the very midst of his fighting-men. There is nothing that an Indian more admires in warfare, than a deep well-executed stratagem.

Columbus was accustomed to bear himself with an air of dignity and authority as admiral and viceroy, and exacted great personal respect. When he entered the apartment therefore where Caonabo was confined, all present rose, according to custom, and paid him reverence. The cacique alone neither moved, nor took any notice of him. On the contrary when Ojeda entered, though small in person and without external state, Caonabo immediately rose and saluted him with profound respect. On being asked the reason of this, Columbus being Guaminquina, or great chief over all, and Ojeda but one of his subjects, the proud Carib replied, that the Admiral had never dared to come personally to his house and seize him; it was only through the valour of Ojeda he was his prisoner; to Ojeda, therefore, he owed reverence, not to the Admiral.\*

The captivity of Caonabo was deeply felt by his subjects, for the natives of this island seem generally to have been extremely loyal, and strongly attached to their caciques. One of the brothers of Caonabo, a warrior of great courage and address, and very popular among the Indians, assembled an army of more than seven thousand men, and led them secretly to the neighbourhood of St Thomas, where Ojeda was again in command. His intention was to surprise a number of Spaniards, in hopes of obtaining his brother in exchange for them. Ojeda, as usual, had notice of the design, but was not to be again shut up in his fortress. Having been reinforced by a detachment sent by the Adelantado, he left a sufficient force in garrison, and with the remainder, and his little troop of horse, set off boldly to meet the savages. The brother of Caonabo, when he saw the Spaniards approaching, showed some military skill, disposing of his army in five battalions. The impetuous attack of Ojeda, however, who, according to his custom, rushed on furiously in the advance with his handful of horsemen, threw the Indian warriors into sudden panic. They could not withstand the terrible appearance of these glittering steel-clad beings, wielding their flashing weapons and bestriding animals which appeared to be ferocious beasts of prey. They threw down their weapons and took to flight: many were slain, more were taken prisoners, and among the latter was the brother of Caonabo, bravely fighting in a noble yet desperate cause.†

\* Las Casas, ubi sup., c. 402.

† Oviedo, Cronica de las Indias, l. iii, c. 1. Charlevoix, Hist. St Domingo, t. ii, p. 131.



Such was the well-merited confidence reposed at this moment by the Sovereigns in Columbus, but which was soon to be blighted by the insidious reports of worthless men. He was already aware of the complaints and misrepresentations which had been sent home from the colony, and which would be enforced by Margarite and Friar Boyle. He was aware that he had only that uncertain footing which a stranger always possesses in the service of a foreign country, where he has no friends or connexions to support him, and where even his very merits increase the eagerness of envy to cast him down. His efforts to promote the working of the mines, and to explore the resources of the island, had been impeded by the misconduct of Margarite and the disorderly life of the Spaniards in general, yet he apprehended that the very evils which they had produced would be alleged against him, and the want of profitable returns be cited to discredit and embarrass his expeditions.

To counteract any misrepresentations of the kind, Columbus hastened the return of the ships, and would have returned with them, not merely to comply with the wishes of the Sovereigns in being present at the settlement of the geographical line, but to vindicate himself and his enterprises from the aspersions of his enemies. The malady, however, which confined him to his bed, prevented his departure; and his brother Bartholomew was required to aid, with his practical good sense, and his resolute spirit, in regulating the disordered affairs of the island. It was determined, therefore, to send home his brother Diego, to attend to the wishes of the Sovereigns, and to take care of his interests at court. At the same time he exerted himself to the utmost to send by the ships satisfactory proofs of the value of his discoveries. He remitted by them all the gold that he could collect, with specimens of other metals, and of various fruits and valuable plants, which he had collected either in Hispaniola or in the course of his voyage. In his eagerness to produce immediate profit, and to indemnify the Sovereigns for those expenses which bore hard upon the royal treasury, he sent, likewise, above five hundred Indian prisoners, who, he suggested, might be sold as slaves at Seville.

It is painful to find the brilliant renown of Columbus sullied by so foul a stain, and the glory of his enterprises degraded by such flagrant violations of humanity. The customs of the times, however, must be pleaded in his apology. The precedent had been given long before, by both Spaniards and Portuguese, in their African discoveries, wherein the traffic in slaves had formed one of the greatest sources of profit. In fact the practice had been sanctioned by the highest authority, by that of the church itself, and the most learned theologians had pronounced all barbarous and infidel nations, who shut their ears to the truths of Christianity, as fair objects of war and rapine, of captivity and slavery. If Columbus needed any practical illustration of this doctrine, he had it in the conduct of Ferdinand himself, in his late wars

with the Moors of Granada, in which he had always been surrounded by a crowd of ghostly advisers, and had professed to do every thing for the glory and advancement of the faith. In this holy war, as it was termed, it was a common practice to make inroads into the Moorish territories and carry off *cavalgadas*, not merely of flocks and herds, but of human beings, and those not warriors taken with weapons in their hands, but quiet villagers, labouring peasantry, and helpless women and children. These were carried to the mart at Seville, or to other populous towns, and sold into slavery. The capture of Malaga was a memorable instance, where, as a punishment for an obstinate and brave defence, which should have excited admiration rather than revenge, eleven thousand people of both sexes, and of all ranks and ages, many of them highly cultivated and delicately reared, were suddenly torn from their homes, severed from each other, and swept into menial slavery, even though half of their ransoms had been paid. These circumstances are not advanced to vindicate, but to palliate the conduct of Columbus. He acted but in conformity to the customs of the times, and was sanctioned by the example of the Sovereign under whom he served. Las Casas, the zealous and enthusiastic advocate of the Indians, who suffers no opportunity to escape him of exclaiming in vehement terms against their slavery, speaks with indulgence of Columbus on this head. "If those pious and learned men," he observes, "whom the Sovereigns took for guides and instructors, were so ignorant of the injustice of this practice, it is no wonder that the unlettered Admiral should not be conscious of its impropriety."

#### CHAPTER VI.

##### EXPEDITION OF COLUMBUS AGAINST THE INDIANS OF THE VEGA. BATTLE.

[ 1494. ]

NOTWITHSTANDING the defeat of the Indians by Ojeda, they still retained hostile intentions against the Spaniards. The idea of their cacique being a prisoner and in chains, enraged the natives of Magana; and the general sympathy manifested by other tribes of the island, show how widely that intelligent savage had extended his influence, and how greatly he was admired. He had still active and powerful relatives remaining to attempt his rescue, or revenge his fall. One of his brothers, Manicacotex by name, a Carib, bold and warlike as himself, succeeded to the sway over his subjects. His favourite wife also, Anacaona, so famous for her charms, had great influence over her brother Behechio, cacique of the populous province of Xaragua. Through these means a violent and general hostility to the Spaniards was excited throughout the island; and the formidable

\* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i, cap. 122. MS.

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league of the caciques, which Caonabo had in vain attempted to accomplish when at large, was produced by his captivity. Guacanagari, the cacique of Marien, alone remained friendly to the Spaniards, giving them timely information of the gathering storm, and offering to take the field with them as a faithful ally.

The protracted illness of Columbus, the scantiness of his military force, and the wretched state of the colonists in general, reduced by sickness and scarcity to great bodily weakness, had hitherto induced him to try every means of conciliation and stratagem to avert and dissolve the confederacy. He had at length recovered his health, and his followers were in some degree refreshed and invigorated by the supplies brought by the ships. At this time, he received intelligence that the allied caciques were actually assembled in great force in the Vega, within two days' march of Isabella, with an intention of making a general assault upon the settlement, and overwhelming it by numbers. Columbus resolved to take the field at once, and to carry the war into the territories of the enemy, rather than suffer it to be brought into his own dominions.

The whole sound and effective force that he could muster in the present infirm state of the colony, did not exceed two hundred infantry and twenty horse. They were armed with cross-bows, swords, lances, and espingardas, or heavy arquebusses, 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 any thing compel them to relinquish their hold. The naked bodies of the Indians offered no defence against their attacks. They sprang on them, dragged them to the earth, and tore them to pieces.

The Admiral was accompanied in the expedition by his brother Bartholomew, whose counsel and aid he sought on all occasions, and had not merely great personal force and undaunted courage, but also a decidedly military turn of mind. Guacanagari also brought his people into the field: neither he nor his subjects, however, were of a warlike character, nor calculated to render much assistance. The chief advantage of his co-operation was, that it completely severed him from the other caciques, and ensured the dependence of himself and his subjects upon the Spaniards. In the present infant state of the colony, its chief security depended upon jealousies and dissensions sown among the native powers of the island.

It was on the 27th of March, 1493, that Columbus issued forth from Isabella with his little army, and advanced by marches of ten leagues a day in quest

of the enemy. He ascended again to the mountain-pass of the Cavaliers, from whence he had first looked down upon the Vega. With what different feelings did he now contemplate it! The vile passions of the white men had already converted this smiling, beautiful, and once peaceful and hospitable region, into a land of wrath and hostility. Wherever the smoke of an Indian town rose from among the trees, and dimmed the clear atmosphere, it marked a horde of exasperated enemies, and the deep rich forests below him swarmed with lurking warriors. In the picture which his imagination had drawn of the peaceful and inoffensive nature of this people, he had flattered himself with the idea of ruling over them as a patron and benefactor, but now he found the character of a conqueror forced upon him.

The Indians had notice, by their scouts, of his approach, but though they had already had some slight experience of the warfare of the white men, they were filled with confidence by the vast superiority of their numbers, which, it is said, amounted to one hundred thousand men.<sup>1</sup> This is probably an exaggeration, for as Indians never draw out into the open field in order of battle, but lurk among the forests, it is difficult to ascertain their force. Their rapid movements also, and their sudden sallies and retreats from various parts, together with the wild shouts and yells from opposite quarters of the woodlands, are calculated to give an exaggerated idea of their number. The army, however, must have been great, as it consisted of the combined forces of several caciques of this populous island. It was commanded by Manicootex, the brother of Caonabo. The Indians, who were little skilled in numeration and incapable of reckoning beyond ten, had a simple mode of ascertaining and describing the force of an enemy, by counting out a grain of maize or Indian corn for every warrior. When, therefore, the spies, who had watched from rocks and thickets the march of Columbus, came back with a mere handful of corn as the amount of his army, the caciques scoffed at the idea of so scanty a number making head against their countless multitude.<sup>2</sup>

Columbus drew near to the enemy about the place where the town of St Jago has since been built. Having ascertained the great force of the Indians, Don Bartholomew advised that their little army should be divided into detachments, and attack at the same moment, from several quarters: this plan was adopted. The infantry, separating into different bodies, advanced suddenly from various directions with great din of drums and trumpets, and a destructive discharge of fire-arms from the covert of the trees. The Indians were struck with panic, and thrown into complete confusion. An army seemed pressing upon them from every quarter, their fellow-warriors were laid low by the balls of the arquebusses, which seemed to burst with thunder and lightning from the

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. c. 104. MS.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, *ubi sup.*

forests. While driven together and confounded by these attacks, Alonso de Ojeda charged impetuously on their main body with his troop of cavalry, cutting his way into the centre with lance and sabre. The horses bore down the terrified Indians, while their riders dealt their blows on all sides unopposed. The blood-hounds were at the same time let loose, and rushed with sanguinary fury upon the naked savages, seizing them by the throat, dragging them to the earth, and tearing out their bowels. The Indians, unaccustomed to large and fierce quadrupeds of any kind, were struck with horror when assailed by these ferocious animals. They thought the horses equally fierce and devouring. The contest, if such it might be called, was of short duration. What resistance could a multitude of naked, unwarlike, and undisciplined savages make, with no other arms than clubs and arrows, and darts hardened in the fire, against soldiers clad in iron, wielding weapons of steel and tremendous fire-arms, and aided by ferocious monsters, whose very aspect struck terror to the heart of the stoutest warrior!

The Indians fled in every direction with yells and howlings; some clambered to the top of rocks and precipices, from whence they made piteous supplications, and offers of complete submission; many were killed, many made prisoners, and the confederacy was for the time completely broken up and dispersed.

Guacanagari had accompanied the Spaniards into the field according to his promise, but he was little more than a spectator of this battle, or rather onlooker. He was not of a martial spirit, and both he and his subjects must have shrunk with awe at this unusual and terrific burst of war, even though on the part of their allies. His participation in the hostilities of the white men was never forgiven by the other caciques, and he returned to his dominions followed by the hatred and execrations of all the islanders.

#### CHAPTER VII.

##### SUBJUGATION OF THE NATIVES. IMPOSITION OF TRIBUTE.

[ 1495. ]

COLUMBUS followed up his victory by making a military tour through various parts of the island, and reducing it to obedience. The natives made occasional attempts at opposition, but they were easily checked. The troop of cavalry headed by Ojeda was found of great efficacy in this service, from the rapidity of its movements, the active intrepidity of its commander, and especially from the great awe and terror inspired by the horses. There was no service too wild and hazardous for Ojeda. If any appearance of war arose in a distant part of the country, he would penetrate with his little squadron of cavalry through the depths of the forests, and fall suddenly

like a thunder-bolt upon the enemy, disconcerting all their combinations and enforcing implicit submission.

The Royal Vega was soon brought into subjection. Being an immense plain, perfectly level, it was easily overrun by the horsemen, whose appearance struck terror into its most populous villages. Guarionex, its sovereign cacique, was of a mild and placable character, and though he had been roused to war by the instigation of the neighbouring chieftains, he readily submitted to the domination of the Spaniards. Manicacotex, the brother of Caonabo, was also obliged to sue for peace, and being the prime mover of the confederacy, the other caciques followed his example. Behechio alone, the cacique of Xaragua, and brother-in-law of Caonabo, made no overtures of submission. His territories lay remote from Isabella, at the western extremity of the island, around the deep bay called the Bight of Leogan, and the long peninsula called Cape Tiburon. They were difficult of access, and had not as yet been visited by the white men. He retired into his domains, taking with him his sister, the lovely Anacaona, wife of Caonabo, whom he cherished with fraternal affection under her misfortunes, who soon acquired almost equal sway over his subjects with himself, and was destined subsequently to make some figure in the events of the island.

Having been forced to take the field by the confederacy of the caciques, Columbus now asserted the right of a conqueror, and considered how he might turn his conquest to most profit. His constant anxiety was to make wealthy returns to Spain, for the purpose of indemnifying the Sovereigns for their great expenses; of meeting the public expectations, so extravagantly excited; and above all, of silencing the calumnies of those who he knew had gone home determined to make the most discouraging representations of his discoveries. He endeavoured, therefore, to raise a large and immediate revenue from the island, by imposing heavy tributes on the subjected provinces. In those of the Vega, Cibao, and all the region of the mines, each individual above the age of fourteen years was required to pay, every three months, the measure of a Flemish hawk's-bell of gold dust.\* The caciques had to pay a much larger amount for their personal tribute. Manicacotex, the brother of Caonabo, was obliged individually to render in, every three months, half a calabash of gold, amounting to one hundred and fifty pesos. On those districts which were distant from the mines, and produced no gold, each individual was required to furnish an arroba (twenty-five pounds) of cotton every three months. Each Indian, on rendering this tribute, received a copper medal as a certificate of payment, which he was to wear suspended round

\* A hawk's-bell, according to Las Casas (Hist. Ind., l. 1, c. 105), contains about three castellanos' worth of gold dust, equal to five dollars, and in estimating the superior value of gold in those days, equivalent to fifteen dollars of our time. A quantity of gold worth one hundred and fifty castellanos, was equivalent to seven hundred and ninety-eight dollars of the present day.

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his neck; those who were found without such documents were liable to arrest and punishment.

The taxes and tributes thus imposed bore hard upon the spirit of the natives, accustomed to be but lightly tasked by their caciques; and the caciques themselves found the exactions intolerably grievous. Guarionex, the sovereign of the Royal Vega, represented to Columbus the difficulty he had in complying with the terms of his tribute. His richly fertile plain yielded no gold; and though the mountains on his borders contained mines, and their brooks and torrents washed down gold dust into the sands of the rivers, yet his subjects were not skilled in the art of collecting it. He proffered, therefore, instead of the tribute required, to cultivate with grain a band of country stretching across the island from sea to sea, enough, says Las Casas, to have furnished all Castile with bread for ten years.\*

His offer was rejected. Columbus knew that gold alone would satisfy the avaricious dreams excited in Spain, and ensure the popularity and success of his enterprises. Seeing, however, the difficulty that many of the Indians had in furnishing the amount of gold dust required of them, he lowered the demand to the measure of one half of a hawk's-bell. It is a curious circumstance, and might furnish some poetical conceits, that the miseries of the poor natives should thus be measured out, as it were, by the very baubles which first fascinated them.

To enforce the payment of these tributes, and to maintain the subjection of the island, Columbus put the fortress already built in a strong state of defence, and erected others. Besides those of Isabella, and of St Thomas in the mountains of Cibao, there were now the fortress of Magdalena, in the Royal Vega, three or four leagues from the place where the town of Santiago was afterwards built; another called Catalina, the site of which is forgotten; another called Esperanza, on the banks of the river Yagua, in Cibao; but the most important of those recently erected, was Fort Conception, in one of the most fruitful and beautiful parts of the Vega, about fifteen leagues to the east of Magdalena, controlling the extensive and populous domains of Guarionex.\*

In this way was the yoke of servitude fixed upon the island, and its thralldom effectually ensured. Deep despair now fell upon the natives when they found a perpetual task inflicted upon them, enforced at stated and frequently recurring periods. Weak and indolent by nature, unused to labour of any kind, and brought up in the untasked idleness of their soft climate and their fruitful groves, death itself seemed preferable to a life of toil and anxiety. They saw no end to this harassing evil, which had so suddenly fallen upon them; no escape from its all-pervading influence; no prospect of return to that roving independence and ample leisure, so dear to the wild inhabitants of the forest. The pleasant

life of the island was at an end; the dream in the shade by day; the slumber during the sultry noon-tide heat by the fountain or the stream, or under the spreading palm-tree; and the song, the dance, and the game in the mellow evening, when summoned to their simple amusements by the rude Indian drum. They were now obliged to grope day by day, with bending body and anxious eye, along the borders of their rivers, sifting the sands for the grains of gold which every day grew more scanty; or to labour in their fields beneath the fervour of a tropical sun, to raise food for their task-masters, or to produce the vegetable tribute imposed upon them. They sunk to sleep weary and exhausted at night, with the certainty that the next day was but to be a repetition of the same toil and suffering. Or if they occasionally indulged in their national dances, the ballads to which they kept time were of a melancholy and plaintive character. They spoke of the times that were past before the white men had introduced sorrow and slavery, and weary labour among them; and they rehearsed pretended prophecies, handed down from their ancestors, foretelling the invasion of the Spaniards; that strangers should come into their island, clothed in apparel, with swords capable of cleaving a man asunder at a blow, under whose yoke their posterity should be subdued. These ballads, or areytos, they sang with mournful tunes and doleful voices, bewailing the loss of their liberty and their painful servitude.†

They had flattered themselves, for a time, that the visit of the strangers would be but temporary, and that, spreading their ample sails, their ships would once more bear them back to their home in the sky. In their simplicity, they had repeatedly inquired when they intended to return to Turey, or the heavens. They now beheld them taking root, as it were, in the island. They beheld their vessels lying idle and rotting in the harbour, while the crews, scattered about the country, were building habitations and fortresses, the solid construction of which, unlike their own slight cabins, gave evidence of permanent residence.‡

Finding how vain was all attempt to deliver themselves by warlike means, from these invincible intruders, they now concerted a forlorn and desperate mode of annoyance. They perceived that the settlement suffered greatly from shortness of provisions, and depended, in a considerable degree, upon the supplies furnished by the natives. The fortresses in the interior also, and the Spaniards quartered in the villages, looked almost entirely to them for subsistence. They agreed, therefore, among themselves, not to cultivate the fruits, the roots, and maize, which formed their chief articles of food, and to destroy those already growing; hoping that thus, by producing a famine, they might starve the strangers from the island. They little knew, observes Las Casas,

\* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i, c. 105.

† Las Casas, ubi sup., c. 110.

‡ Peter Martyr, decad. 3. l. ix.

§ Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i, c. 106.

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one of the characteristics of the Spaniards, who the more hungry they are, the more inflexible they become, and the more hardened to endure suffering. They carried their plan generally into effect, abandoning their habitations, laying waste the produce of their fields and groves, and retiring to the mountains, where there were roots and herbs on which they could subsist, and abundance of those kinds of rabbits called *utias*.

This measure did indeed produce much distress among the Spaniards, but they had foreign resources, and were enabled to endure it by husbanding the partial supplies brought by their ships; the most disastrous effects fell upon the natives themselves. The Spaniards stationed in the various fortresses, finding that there was not only no hope of tribute, but a danger of famine from this wanton waste and sudden desertion, pursued the natives to their retreats, to compel them to return to labour. The Indians took refuge in the most sterile and dreary heights; flying from one wild retreat to another, the women with their children in their arms or at their backs, and all worn out with fatigue and hunger, and harassed by perpetual alarms. In every noise of the forest or the mountain they fancied they heard the sound of their pursuers; they hid themselves in damp and dismal caverns, or in the rocky banks and margins of the torrents; and not daring to hunt or fish, or even to venture forth in quest of nourishing roots and vegetables, they had to satisfy their raging hunger with unwholesome food. In this way, many thousands of them perished miserably, through famine, fatigue, terror, and various contagious maladies engendered by their sufferings. All spirit of opposition was at length completely quelled. The surviving Indians returned in despair to their habitations, and submitted humbly to the yoke. So deep an awe did they conceive of their conquerors, that it is said a Spaniard might go singly and securely all over the island, and the natives would even transport him from place to place on their shoulders.\*

Before passing on to other events, it may be proper here to notice the fate of Guacanagari, as he makes no further appearance in the course of this history. His friendship for the Spaniards had severed him from his countrymen, but it did not exonerate him from the general woes of the island. His territories, like those of the other caciques, were subjected to a tribute, which his people, with the common repugnance to labour, found it difficult to pay. Columbus, who knew his worth, and could have protected him, was long absent, either in the interior of the island, or detained in Europe by his own wrongs. In the interval, the Spaniards forgot the hospitality and services of Guacanagari, and his tribute was harshly exacted.

\* No conociendo la propiedad de los Españoles, los cuales quanto mas hambrientos, tanto mayor tesoro tienen y mas duros son do sufrir, y para sufrir. Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. c. 106.

† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i, cap. 106. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 60.

He found himself overwhelmed with opprobrium from his countrymen at large, and assailed by the clamours and lamentations of his suffering subjects. The strangers whom he had succoured in distress, and taken as it were to the bosom of his native island, had become its tyrants and oppressors. Care, and toil, and poverty, and strong-handed violence, had spread their curses over the land, and he felt as if he had invoked them on his race. Unable to bear the hostilities of his fellow caciques, the woes of his subjects, and the extortions of his ungrateful allies, he took refuge at last in the mountains, where he died obscurely and in misery.†

An attempt has been made by Oviedo to defame the character of this Indian prince: it is not for Spaniards, however, to excuse their own ingratitude by casting a stigma upon his name. He appears to have always manifested towards them that true friendship which shines brightest in the dark days of adversity. He might have played a nobler part, in making a stand, with his brother caciques, to drive these intruders from his native soil; but he appears to have been fascinated by his admiration of the strangers, and his personal attachment to Columbus. He was bountiful, hospitable, affectionate, and kind-hearted; competent to rule a gentle and unwarlike people in the happier days of the island, but unfitted, through the softness of his nature, for the stern turmoil which followed the arrival of the white men.

#### CHAPTER VIII.

INTRIGUES AGAINST COLUMBUS IN THE COURT OF SPAIN.  
AGUADO SENT TO INVESTIGATE THE AFFAIRS OF HISPANIOLA.

[ 1493. ]

WHILE Columbus was endeavouring to remedy the evils produced by the misconduct of Margarite and his followers, that recreant commander, and his politic coadjutor Friar Boyle, were busily undermining his reputation in the court of Castile. They accused him of deceiving the Sovereigns and the public by extravagant descriptions of the countries he had discovered; they pronounced the island of Hispaniola a source of expense rather than profit, and they drew a dismal picture of the sufferings of the colony, occasioned, as they said, by the oppressions of Columbus and his brothers. They charged him with tasking the community with excessive labour during a time of general sickness and debility; with stopping the rations of individuals on the most trifling pretext, to the great detriment of their healths; with wantonly inflicting severe corporal punishments on the common people, and with heaping indignities on Spanish gentlemen of rank. They said nothing, however, of the exigencies which had called for unusual labour; nor of the idleness and profligacy

† Charlevoix, Hist. de St Doming., l. ii.

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of the commonalty, which required coercion and chastisement; nor of the seditious cabals of the Spanish cavaliers, who had been treated with indulgence rather than severity. In addition to these complaints, they represented the state of confusion of the island, in consequence of the absence of the Admiral, and the uncertainty which prevailed concerning his fate, intimating the probability of his having perished in his fool-hardy attempts to explore unknown seas, and discover unprofitable lands.

These prejudiced and exaggerated representations derived much weight from the official situations of Margarite and Friar Boyle. They were supported by the testimony of many individuals, the discontented and facious idlers of the colony, who had returned with them to Spain. Some of these had connexions of rank who were ready to resent, with Spanish haughtiness, what they considered the arrogant assumptions of an ignoble foreigner. Thus the popularity of Columbus received a vital blow, and immediately began to decline. The confidence of the Sovereigns also was impaired, and precautions were adopted which savour strongly of the cautious and suspicious policy of Ferdinand.

It was determined to send some person of trust and confidence, who should take upon himself the government of the island in case of the continued absence of the Admiral, and who, even in the event of his return, should inquire into the alleged evils and abuses, and remedy such as should appear really in existence. The person proposed for this difficult office was Diego Carillo, a commander of a military order; but as he was not immediately prepared to sail with the fleet of caravels about to depart with supplies, the Sovereigns wrote to Fonseca, the superintendent of India affairs, to send some trusty person with the vessels, to take charge of the provisions with which they were freighted. These he was to distribute among the colonists, under the supervision of the Admiral, or, in his absence, in presence of those in authority. He was also to collect information concerning the manner in which the island had been governed, the conduct of persons in office, the causes and authors of existing grievances, and the measures by which they were to be remedied. Having collected such information, he was to return and make report to the Sovereigns; but in case he should find the Admiral at the island, every thing was to remain subject to his control. There was another measure adopted by the Sovereigns about this time, which likewise shows the declining favour of Columbus. On the 40th of April, 1493, a proclamation was issued, giving general permission to native-born subjects to settle in the island of Hispaniola, and to go on private voyages of discovery and traffic to the New World. This was granted, subject to certain conditions.

All vessels were to sail exclusively from the port of Cadiz, and under the inspection of officers appointed by the crown. Those who embarked for

Hispaniola without pay, and at their own expense, were to have lands assigned to them, and to be provisioned for one year, with a right to retain such lands, and all houses they might erect upon them. Of all gold which they might collect they were to retain one-third for themselves, and pay the remaining two-thirds to the crown. Of all other articles of merchandize, the produce of the island, they were to pay merely one-tenth to the crown. Their purchases were to be made in the presence of officers appointed by the Sovereigns, and the royal dues paid into the hands of the King's receiver.

Each ship sailing on private enterprise, was to take one or two persons named by the royal officers at Cadiz. One-tenth of the tonnage of the ship was to be at the service of the crown, free of charge. One-tenth of whatever such ships should procure in the newly-discovered countries, was to be paid to the crown on their return. These regulations included private ships trading to Hispaniola with provisions.

For every vessel thus fitted out on private adventure, Columbus, in consideration of his privilege of an eighth of tonnage, was to have the right to freight one on his own account.

This general license for voyages of discovery was made in consequence of the earnest applications of Vincent Yañes Pinzon, and other able and intrepid navigators, most of whom had sailed with Columbus. They offered to make voyages at their own cost and hazard. The offer was tempting and well-timed. The government was poor, the expeditions of Columbus were expensive, yet their object was too important to be neglected. Here was an opportunity of attaining all the ends proposed, not merely without expense, but with a certainty of gain. The permission, therefore, was granted, without consulting the opinion or the wishes of the Admiral. It was loudly complained of by him as an infringement of his privileges, and as disturbing the career of regular and well-organized discovery, by the licentious and sometimes predatory enterprises of reckless adventurers. Doubtless, much of the odium that has attached itself to the Spanish discoveries in the New World, has arisen from the grasping avidity of private individuals.

Just at this juncture, in the early part of April, while the interests of Columbus were in such a critical situation, the ships commanded by Torres arrived in Spain. They brought intelligence of the safe return of the Admiral to Hispaniola, from his voyage along the southern coast of Cuba, with the evidence which he had collected to prove that it was the extremity of the Asiatic continent, and that he had penetrated to the borders of the wealthiest countries of the East. Specimens were likewise brought of the gold, and the various animal and vegetable curiosities, which he had procured in the course of this voyage. No arrival could have been more timely. It at once removed all doubts respecting his safety, and obviated the necessity of part of the precautionary measures then on

the point of being taken. The supposed discovery of the rich coast of Asia, also, threw a temporary splendour about his expedition, and again awakened the gratitude of the Sovereigns. The effect was immediately apparent in their measures. Instead of leaving it to the discretion of Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca to appoint whom he pleased to the commission of inquiry about to be sent out, they retracted that power, and nominated Juan Aguado.

He was chosen, because, on returning from Hispaniola, he had been strongly recommended to royal favour by Columbus. It was intended, therefore, as a mark of consideration to the latter, to appoint as commissioner a person of whom he had expressed so high an opinion, and who, it was to be presumed, entertained for him a grateful regard.

Fonseca, in virtue of his official station as superintendent of the affairs of the Indies, and probably to gratify his growing animosity for Columbus, had detained a quantity of gold which Don Diego, brother to the Admiral, had brought on his own private account. The Sovereigns wrote to him repeatedly, ordering him not to demand the gold, or if he had seized it, to return it immediately, with satisfactory explanations, and to write to Columbus in terms calculated to soothe any angry feelings which he might have excited. He was ordered, also, to consult the persons recently arrived from Hispaniola, in what manner he could yield satisfaction to the Admiral, and to act accordingly. Fonseca thus suffered one of the severest humiliations of an arrogant spirit, that of being obliged to make atonement for its arrogance. It quickened, however, the malice which he had conceived against the Admiral and his family. Unfortunately his official situation, and the royal confidence which he enjoyed, gave him opportunities of gratifying it subsequently in a thousand insidious ways.

While the Sovereigns thus endeavoured to avoid any act which might give umbrage to Columbus, they took certain measures to provide for the tranquillity of the colony. In a letter to the Admiral, they directed that the number of persons in the settlement should be limited to five hundred, a greater number being considered unnecessary for the service of the island, and a barthensome expense to the crown. To prevent further discontents about provisions, they ordered that the rations of individuals should be dealt out in portions every fifteen days; and that all punishment by short allowance, or the stoppage of rations, should be discontinued, as tending to injure the healths of the colonists, who required every assistance of nourishing diet, to fortify them against the maladies incident to a strange climate.

An able and experienced metallurgist, named Pablo Belvis, was sent out in place of the wrong-headed Fermin Zedo. He was furnished with all the necessary engines and implements for mining, and assaying, and purifying the precious metals, and with liberal pay and privileges. Ecclesiastics were also sent to supply the place of Friar Boyle, and of certain

of his brethren, who desired to leave the island. The instruction and conversion of the natives continued to awaken more and more the generous solicitude of the Queen. In the ships of Torres a large number of Indians arrived, who had been captured in the recent wars with the caciques. Royal orders had been issued, that they should be sold as slaves in the markets of Andalusia, as had been the custom with respect to negroes taken on the coast of Africa, and to Moorish prisoners captured in the war with Granada. Isabella, however, had been deeply interested by the accounts given of the gentle and hospitable character of these islanders, and of their great docility. The discovery had been made under her immediate auspices; she looked upon these people as under her peculiar care, and she anticipated, with pious enthusiasm, the glory of leading them from darkness into the paths of light. Her compassionate spirit revolted at the idea of treating them as slaves, even though sanctioned by the customs of the time. Within five days after the royal order for the sale, a letter was written by the Sovereigns to Bishop Fonseca, suspending that order, until they could inquire into the cause for which the Indians had been made prisoners, and consult learned and pious theologians, whether their sale would be justifiable in the eyes of God.\* Much difference of opinion took place among divines, on this important question; the Queen eventually decided it according to the dictates of her own pure conscience and charitable heart. She ordered that the Indians should be sent back to their native country, and enjoined that the islanders should be conciliated by the gentlest means, instead of being treated with severity. Unfortunately her orders came too late to Hispaniola, to have the desired effect. The scenes of warfare and violence, produced by the bad passions of the colonists and the vengeance of the natives, were not to be forgotten. Mutual distrust and rankling animosity had grown up between them, which no after exertions could eradicate.

#### CHAPTER IX.

ARRIVAL OF AGUADO AT ISABELLA. HIS ARROGANT CONDUCT.  
TEMPEST IN THE HARBOUR.

[ 1495. ]

JUAN AGUADO set sail from Spain towards the end of August, with four caravels, well freighted with supplies of all kinds for the colony. Don Diego Columbus returned in this squadron to Hispaniola. He arrived at Isabella in the month of October, while the Admiral was absent, occupied in re-establishing the tranquillity of the interior. Aguado, as has already been shown, was under obligations to Columbus, who had distinguished him from among his

\* Letter of the Sovereigns to Fonseca. Navarrete, *Collecion de los Viajes*, l. 11, doc. 92.

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companions, and had recommended him to the favour of the Sovereigns. He was, however, one of those weak men, whose heads are turned by the least elevation. Puffed up by a little temporary power, he lost sight, not merely of the respect and gratitude due to Columbus, but of the nature and extent of his own commission. Instead of acting as an agent employed to collect information, he assumed a tone of authority, as though the reins of government had been transferred into his hands. He interfered in public affairs; ordered various persons to be arrested; called to account the officers employed by the Admiral; and paid no respect to Don Bartholomew Columbus, who remained in command during the absence of his brother. The Adelantado, astonished at this presumption, demanded a sight of the commission under which he acted; but Aguado treated him with great haughtiness, replying that he would show it only to the Admiral. On second thoughts, however, lest there should be doubts in the public mind of his right to interfere in the affairs of the colony, he ordered his letter of credence from the Sovereigns to be pompously proclaimed by sound of trumpet. It was brief but comprehensive, to the following purport:—"Cavaliers, Esquires, and other persons, who by our orders are in the Indies, we send to you Juan Aguado, our groom of the chambers, who will speak to you on our part. We command you to give him faith and credit."

The report now circulated, that the downfall of Columbus and his family was at hand, and that an auditor had arrived, empowered to hear and to redress the grievances of the public. This rumour originated with Aguado himself, who threw out menaces of rigid investigations and signal punishments. It was a time of jubilee for offenders. Every culprit started up into an accuser; every one, who by negligence or crime had incurred the wholesome penalties of the laws, was loud in his clamours against the oppression of Columbus. There were ills enough in the colony, some incident to its situation, others produced by the misdeeds of the colonists—all were ascribed to the maladministration of the Admiral. He was made responsible alike for the evils produced by others, and for his own stern remedies. All the old complaints were reiterated against him and his brothers, and the usual and illiberal cause given for their oppressions, that they were foreigners, who sought merely their own interest and aggrandisement, at the expense of the sufferings and the indignities of Spaniards.

Destitute of discrimination to perceive what was true and what false in these complaints, and anxious only to condemn, Aguado saw in every thing conclusive testimony of the culpability of Columbus. He intimated, and perhaps thought, that the Admiral was keeping at a distance from Isabella, through fear of encountering his investigations. In the fulness of his presumption, he even set out with a body of horse to go in quest of him. A vain and weak man in power is prone to employ satellites of his own descrip-

tion. The arrogant and boasting followers of Aguado, wherever they went, spread rumours among the natives of the might and importance of their chief, and of the punishment he intended to inflict upon Columbus. In a little while the report circulated through the island, that a new Admiral had arrived to administer the government, and that the former governor was to be put to death.

The news of the arrival and of the insolent conduct of Aguado had reached Columbus in the interior of the island; he immediately hastened to Isabella to give him a meeting. Aguado, hearing of his approach, also returned there. As every one knew the lofty spirit of Columbus, his high sense of his services, and his jealous maintenance of his official dignity, a violent explosion was anticipated at the impending interview. Aguado also expected something of the kind, but, secure in his royal letter of credence, he looked forward with the ignorant audacity of a little mind to the result. The sequel showed how difficult it is for petty spirits to anticipate the conduct of a man like Columbus in a difficult situation. His natural heat and impetuosity had been subdued by a life of trials; he had learned to bring his passions into subjection to his judgment; he had too true an estimate of his own dignity to enter into a contest with a shallow boaster like Aguado: above all, he had a profound reverence for the authority of his Sovereigns; for in his enthusiastic spirit, prone to deep feelings of reverence, his loyalty was inferior only to his religion. He received Aguado, therefore, with the most grave and punctilious courtesy. The latter repeated his own ostentatious ceremonial, ordering that the letter of credence should be again proclaimed by sound of trumpet in presence of the populace. Columbus listened to it with solemn deference, and assured Aguado of his readiness to acquiesce in whatever might be the pleasure of his Sovereigns.

This unexpected moderation, while it astonished the beholders, foiled and disappointed Aguado. He had come prepared for a scene of altercation, and had hoped that Columbus, in the heat and impatience of the moment, would have said or done something that might have been construed into disrespect for the authority of the Sovereigns. He endeavoured, in fact, some months afterwards, to procure from the public notaries present, a prejudicial statement of the interview; but the deference of the Admiral for the royal letter of credence had been too marked to be disputed, and all the testimonials were highly in his favour. Aguado continued to intermeddle in public affairs, and the respect and forbearance with which he was uniformly treated by Columbus, and the mildness of the latter in all his measures to appease the discontents of the colony, were regarded as proofs of his loss of moral courage. He was looked upon as a declining man, and Aguado hailed as the lord of the ascendant. Every dastard spirit who had any lurking ill-will, any real or imaginary cause of complaint, now has-

tened to give it utterance; perceiving that, in gratifying his malice, he was promoting his interest, and that in villifying the Admiral he was gaining the friendship of Aguado.

The poor Indians, too, harassed by the domination of the white men, rejoiced in the prospect of a change of rulers, vainly hoping that it might produce a mitigation of their sufferings. Many of the caciques who had promised allegiance to the Admiral after their defeat in the Vega, now assembled at the house of Manicaotex, the brother of Caonabo, near the river Yagui, where they joined in a formal complaint against Columbus, whom they considered the cause of all the evils which had sprung from the disobedience and the vices of his followers.

Aguado now considered the great object of his mission fulfilled. He had collected information sufficient, as he thought, to ensure the ruin of the Admiral and his brothers, and prepared to return to Spain. Columbus resolved to do the same. He felt that it was time to appear at Court, and dispel the cloud of calumny that was gathering against him. He had active enemies, of standing and influence, who were seeking every occasion to throw discredit upon himself and his enterprises. Stranger and foreigner as he was, he had no active friends at court to oppose their machinations. He feared that they might eventually produce an effect upon the royal mind, fatal to the progress of discovery: he was anxious to return, therefore, and explain the real causes of the repeated disappointments with respect to profits anticipated from his enterprises. It is not one of the least singular traits in his history, that after having been so many years in persuading mankind that there was a new world to be discovered, he had almost equal trouble in proving to them the advantage of its discovery.

When the ships were ready to depart, a terrible storm swept the island. It was one of those awful whirlwinds which occasionally rage within the tropics, and which were called by the Indians "hurricanes," or "uricans," a name which they still retain with trifling variation. About mid-day a furious wind sprang up from the east, driving before it dense volumes of cloud and vapour. Encountering another tempest of wind from the west, it appeared as if a violent conflict ensued. The clouds were rent by incessant flashes, or rather streams of lightning. At one time they were piled up high in the sky, at another they descended to the earth, filling the air with a baleful darkness more impenetrable than the obscurity of midnight. Wherever the whirlwind passed, whole tracts of forests were shivered and stripped of their leaves and branches: those of gigantic size, which resisted the blast, were torn up by the roots, and hurled to a great distance. Groves were torn from the mountain precipices; and vast masses of earth and rock precipitated into the valleys with terrific noise, choking the course of rivers. The fearful sounds in the air and on the earth, the pealing

thunder, the vivid lightning, the howling of the wind, the crash of falling trees and rocks, filled every one with affright; and many thought that the end of the world was at hand. Some fled to caverns for safety, for their frail houses were blown down, and the air was filled with the trunks and branches of trees, and even with fragments of rocks, carried along by the fury of the tempest. When the hurricane reached the harbour, it whirled the ships round as they lay at anchor, snapped their cables, and sank three of them to the bottom, with all who were on board: others were driven about, dashed against each other, and tossed mere wrecks upon the shore by the swelling surges of the sea, which in some places rolled for three or four miles upon the land. The tempest lasted for three hours. When it had passed away, and the sun again appeared, the Indians regarded each other in mute astonishment and dismay. Never in their memory, nor in the traditions of their ancestors, had their island been visited by such a tremendous storm. They believed that the Deity had sent this fearful ruin to punish the cruelties and crimes of the white men; and declared that this people had moved the very air, the water, and the earth, to disturb their tranquil life, and to desolate their island.

## CHAPTER X.

### DISCOVERY OF THE MINES OF HAYNA.

[ 1496. ]

In the recent hurricane, the four caravels of Aguado were destroyed, together with two others which were in the harbour. The only vessel which survived was the Niña, and that in a very shattered condition. Columbus gave orders to have her immediately repaired, and another caravel constructed out of the wreck of those which had been destroyed. While waiting until they should be ready for sea, he was cheered by tidings of rich mines in the interior of the island, the discovery of which is attributed to an incident of a somewhat romantic nature.<sup>1</sup> A young Aragonian, named Miguel Diaz, in the service of the Adelantado, having a quarrel with another Spaniard, fought with him, and wounded him dangerously. Fearful of the consequences, he fled from the settlement, accompanied by five or six comrades, who had either been engaged in the affray or were personally attached to him. Wandering about the island, they at length came to an Indian village on the southern coast, near the mouth of the river Ozema, where the city of San Domingo is at present situated. They were received with kindness by the natives, and resided for some time among them. The village was governed by a female cacique, who soon

<sup>1</sup> Ramusio, t. viii, p. 7. Peter Martyr, decad. i, l. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ovieto, Cronica de las Indias, l. ii, c. 15.

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conceived a strong attachment for the young Aragonian. Diaz was not insensible to her tenderness; a connexion was formed between them, and they lived for some time very happily together.

The recollection of his country and his friends began at length to steal upon the thoughts of the young Spaniard. It was a melancholy lot to be exiled from civilized life, and an outcast from among his countrymen! He longed to return to the settlement, but dreaded the punishment that awaited him, from the austere justice of the Adelantado. His Indian bride, observing him frequently melancholy and lost in thought, penetrated into the cause with the quick intelligence of female affection. Fearful that he would abandon her, and once more return to his countrymen, she endeavoured to devise some means of drawing the Spaniards to that part of the island. Knowing that gold was the great attraction of white men, she informed Diaz of certain rich mines in the neighbourhood. She urged him to persuade his countrymen to abandon the comparatively sterile and unhealthy vicinity of Isabella, and to settle upon the fertile banks of the Ozema, promising that they should be received with the utmost kindness and hospitality by her nation.

Diaz was struck with the suggestion. He made particular inquiries about the mines, and was convinced that they abounded in gold. He noticed the superior fruitfulness and beauty of the country, the excellence of the river, and the security of the harbour at its entrance. He flattered himself that the communication of such valuable intelligence would make his peace at Isabella, and obtain his pardon from the Adelantado. Full of these hopes, he procured guides from among the natives, and taking a temporary leave of his Indian bride, set out with his comrades through the wilderness for the settlement, which was about fifty leagues distant. Arriving there secretly, he learnt, to his great joy, that the man whom he had wounded had recovered. He now presented himself boldly before the Adelantado, relying that his tidings would earn his forgiveness. He was not mistaken. No news could have come more opportunely. The Admiral had been anxious to remove the settlement to a more healthy and advantageous situation. He was desirous also of carrying home some conclusive proof of the riches of the island, as the most effectual means of silencing the cavils of his enemies. If the representations of Miguel Diaz were correct, here was a means of effecting both these purposes. Measures were immediately taken to ascertain the truth. The Adelantado set forth in person to visit the river Ozema, accompanied by Miguel Diaz, Francisco de Garay, and the Indian guides, and attended by a number of men well armed. They proceeded from Isabella to Magdalena, from thence across the Royal Vega to the fortress of Concepcion. Continuing on to the south, they came to a range of mountains; which they traversed by a defile two leagues in length, and descended into an-

other beautiful plain, which was called Bona. From hence, proceeding for some distance, they came to a great river called Hayna, running through a fertile country, all the streams of which abounded in gold. On the western bank of this river, and about eight leagues from its mouth, they found gold in greater quantities and in larger particles than had yet been met with in any part of the island, not even excepting the province of Cibao. They made experiments in various places within the compass of six miles, and always with success. The soil seemed to be generally impregnated with that metal, so that a common labourer, with little trouble, might find the amount of three drachms in the course of a day.<sup>1</sup> In several places they observed deep excavations in the form of pits, which looked as if the mines had been worked in ancient times; a circumstance which caused much speculation among the Spaniards, the natives having no idea of mining, but contenting themselves with the particles found on the surface of the soil, or in the beds of the rivers.

The Indians of the neighbourhood received the white men with their promised friendship, and in every respect the representations of Miguel Diaz were fully justified. He was not only pardoned, but received into great favour, and was subsequently employed in various capacities in the island, in all which he acquitted himself with great fidelity. He kept his faith with his Indian bride, by whom, according to Oviedo, he had two children. Charlevoix supposes that they were regularly married, as the female cacique appears to have been baptized, being always mentioned by the Christian name of Catalina.<sup>2</sup>

When the Adelantado returned with his favourable report, and with the specimens of ore which he had collected, the anxious heart of the Admiral was greatly elated. He gave orders that a fortress should be immediately erected on the banks of the Hayna, in the vicinity of the mines, and that they should be diligently worked. The fancied traces of ancient excavations gave rise to one of his usual veins of golden conjectures. He had already surmised that Hispaniola might be the ancient Ophir. He now flattered himself that he had discovered the identical mines, from whence King Solomon had procured his great supplies of gold for the building of the temple of Jerusalem. He supposed that his ships must have sailed by the Gulf of Persia, and round Taproban to this island,<sup>3</sup> which, according to his idea, lay opposite to the extreme end of Asia, for such he firmly believed the island of Cuba.

It is probable that Columbus gave free license to his imagination in these conjectures, which tended to throw a splendour about his enterprises, and to revive the languishing interest of the public. Granting, how-

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1, l. ii, c. 18. Peter Martyr, dec. 1, l. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Oviedo, Cronica de Ind., l. ii, c. 45. Charlevoix, Hist. St Domingo, l. ii, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Martyr, decad. 1, lib. iv.



ever, the correctness of his opinion, that he was in the vicinity of Asia, an error by no means surprising in the imperfect state of geographical knowledge, all his consequent suppositions were far from extravagant. The ancient Ophir was believed to lie somewhere in the East, but its situation was a matter of controversy among the learned, and remains one of those conjectural questions about which too much has been written for it ever to be satisfactorily decided.

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## BOOK IX.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### RETURN OF COLUMBUS TO SPAIN WITH AGUADO.

[ 1496. ]

THE new caravel, the Santa Cruz, being finished, and the Niña repaired, Columbus made every arrangement for immediate departure, anxious to be freed from the growing arrogance of Aguado, and to relieve the colony from a crew of factious and discontented men. He appointed his brother, Don Bartholomew, to the command of the island, with the title, which he had already given him, of Adelantado: in case of his death he was to be succeeded by his brother Don Diego. On the 40th of March the two caravels set sail for Spain, in one of which Columbus embarked, and in the other Aguado. In consequence of the orders of the Sovereigns, all those who could be spared from the island, and some who had wives and relations in Spain whom they wished to visit, returned in these caravels, which were crowded with two hundred and twenty-five passengers, the sick, the idle, the profligate, and factious of the colony. Never did a more miserable and disappointed crew return from a land of promise.

There were thirty Indians also on board of the caravels, among whom were the once redoubtable cacique Caonabo, one of his brothers, and a nephew. The curate of Los Palacios observes that Columbus had promised the cacique and his brother to restore them to their country and their power, after he had taken them to visit the King and Queen of Castile. It is probable that he hoped by a display of the wonders of Spain, the grandeur and might of its Sovereigns, and by a course of kind treatment, to conquer their enmity to the Spaniards, and convert them into important instruments towards obtaining a secure and peaceable dominion over the island. Caonabo, however, was of that proud nature, of wild but vigorous growth, which can never be tamed. He remained a moody and dejected captive. He had too much intelligence not to perceive that his power was for ever blasted, but he retained his haughtiness, even in the midst of his despair.

• *Cura de los Palacios, cap. 451.*

Being, as yet, but little experienced in the navigation of these seas, Columbus, instead of working up to the northward, so as to fall in with the track of westerly winds, took an easterly course on leaving the island. The consequence was, that almost the whole of his voyage was a toilsome and tedious struggle against the trade winds and calms which prevail between the tropics. On the 6th of April he found himself still in the vicinity of the Caribbee Islands, with his crews fatigued and sickly, and his provisions rapidly diminishing. He bore away to the southward, therefore, to touch at the most important of those islands, in search of supplies.

On Saturday the 9th, he anchored at Marigalante, from whence, on the following day, he made sail for Guadaloupe. It was contrary to the custom of Columbus to weigh anchor on Sunday when in port, but the people murmured, and observed, that when in quest of food, it was no time to stand on scruples as to holidays.\*

Anchoring off the island of Guadaloupe, the boat was sent on shore well armed, to guard against any assault of these warlike people. Before it could reach the land, a large number of resolute females issued from the woods, armed with bows and arrows, and decorated with tufts of feathers, preparing to oppose any descent upon their shores. As the sea was somewhat rough, and a surf broke upon the beach, the boats remained at a distance, and two of the Indians from Hispaniola swam to shore. Having explained to these Amazons that the Spaniards only sought provisions, in exchange for which they would give articles of great value, the women referred them to their husbands, who were at the northern end of the island. As the boats proceeded thither, numbers of the natives were seen on the beach, who manifested great ferocity, shouting, and yelling, and discharging flights of arrows, which, however, fell far short in the water. Seeing the boats approach the land, they hid themselves in the adjacent forest, and rushed forth with hideous cries as the Spaniards were landing. A discharge of fire-arms drove them terrified to the woods and mountains, and the boats met with no further opposition. Entering the deserted habitations, the Spaniards began to plunder and destroy, contrary to the invariable injunctions of the Admiral. Among other articles found in these houses were honey and wax, which Herrera supposes had been brought from Terra Firma, as these roving people collected the productions of distant regions in the course of their expeditions. Fernando Columbus mentions likewise that there were hatchets of iron in their houses: these, however, must have been made of a species of hard and heavy stone, already mentioned, which resembled iron; or they must have been procured, from places which the Spaniards had previously visited, as it is fully admitted that no iron was in use among the natives prior to the discovery. The sailors also reported that in one of the houses they

• *Hist. del Almirante, cap. 62.*

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found the arm of a man roasting on a spit before a fire—another of those facts repugnant to humanity, and requiring more solid authority to be credited: the sailors had committed wanton devastations in these dwellings, and may have sought a pretext with which to justify their maraudings to the Admiral.

While some of the people were employed on shore, getting wood and water, and making cassava-bread, Columbus despatched forty men, well armed, to explore the interior of the island. They returned on the following day with ten women and three boys whom they had captured. The women were of large and powerful form, yet of great agility. They were naked, and wore their hair long and loose-flowing upon their shoulders; some decorated their heads with plumes of various colours. Among them was the wife of a cacique, a woman of great strength and proud spirit. On the approach of the Spaniards, she had fled with an agility which soon left all her pursuers far behind, excepting a native of the Canary Islands remarkable for swiftness of foot. She would have escaped even from him, but, perceiving that he was alone, and far from his companions, she turned suddenly upon him, seized him with astonishing force, and would have strangled him, had not the Spaniards arrived and taken her entangled, like a hawk with her prey. The warlike spirit of these Carib women, and the circumstance of finding them in armed bands, defending their shores, during the absence of their husbands, led Columbus repeatedly into the erroneous idea, that certain of these islands were inhabited entirely by women; an error for which, as has already been observed, he was prepared by the stories of Marco Polo concerning an island of Amazons near the coast of Asia.

Having remained several days at the islands and prepared three weeks' supply of bread, Columbus prepared to make sail. As Guadaloupe was the most important of the Caribbee Islands, and in a manner the portal or entrance to all the rest, he wished to secure the friendship of the inhabitants. He dismissed, therefore, all the prisoners, with many presents, to compensate for the spoil and injury which had been done. The female cacique, however, declined going on shore, preferring to remain and accompany the natives of Hispaniola who were on board, keeping with her also a young daughter. She had conceived a passion for Caonabo, having found out that he was a native of the Caribbee Islands. His character and story, gathered from the other Indians, had won the sympathy and admiration of this intrepid woman.<sup>1</sup>

Leaving Guadaloupe on the 20th of April, and keeping in about the twenty-second degree of latitude, the caravels again worked their way against the whole current of the trade-winds, insomuch that, on the 20th of May, after a month of great fatigue and toil, they had yet a great part of their voyage to make.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 65.

The provisions were already so reduced, that Columbus had to put every one on a daily allowance of six ounces of bread and a pint and a half of water: as they advanced, the scarcity grew more and more severe, and was rendered more appalling from the uncertainty which prevailed on board the vessels as to their situation. There were several pilots in the caravels; but being chiefly accustomed to the navigation of the Mediterranean, or the Atlantic coasts, they were utterly confounded, and lost all reckoning when traversing the broad ocean. Every one had a separate opinion, and none heeded the directions of the Admiral. By the beginning of June there was an absolute famine on board of the ships. In the extremity of their sufferings, while death stared them in the face, it was proposed by some of the Spaniards, as a desperate alternative, that they should kill and eat their Indian prisoners; others suggested that they should throw them into the sea, as so many expensive and useless mouths. Nothing but the absolute authority of Columbus prevented this last counsel from being adopted. He represented that the Indians were their fellow-beings, some of them Christians like themselves, and all entitled to similar treatment. He exhorted them to a little patience, assuring them that they would soon make land, for that, according to his reckoning, they were not far from Cape St Vincent. At this all scoffed, for they believed themselves yet far from their desired haven; some affirming that they were in the English Channel, others that they were approaching Galicia; when Columbus, therefore, confident in his opinion, ordered that sail should be taken in at night, lest they should come upon the land in the dark, there was a general murmur; the men exclaiming that it was better to be cast on shore, than to starve at sea. The next morning, however, to their great joy, they came in sight of the very land which Columbus had predicted. From this time, he was regarded by the seamen as almost oracular in matters of navigation, and as deeply versed in the mysteries of the ocean.<sup>2</sup>

On the 4th of June, the vessels anchored in the bay of Cadiz, after a weary voyage of about eight months. In the course of this voyage the unfortunate Caonabo expired. It is by the mere casual mention of contemporary writers, that we have any notice of this circumstance, which appears to have been passed over as a matter of but little moment. He maintained his haughty nature to the last, for his death is principally ascribed to the morbid melancholy of a proud but broken spirit.<sup>3</sup> He was an extraordinary character in savage life. From being a simple Carib warrior, he had risen, by his enterprise and courage, to be the most powerful cacique,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Cura de los Palacios, cap. 151 Peter Martyr, decad. 1. lib. iv. Some have affirmed that Caonabo perished in one of the caravels which foundered in the harbour of Isabella during the hurricane, but the united testimony of the curate of Los Palacios, Peter Martyr, and Fernando Columbus prove that he sailed with the Admiral in his return voyage.

and the ruling potentate of the populous island of Hayti. He was the only chieftain that appeared to have had sagacity sufficient to foresee the fatal effects of Spanish ascendancy, or military talent to combine any resistance to its inroads. Had his warriors been of his own intrepid nature, the war which he raised would have been formidable in the extreme. His fate furnishes, on a narrow scale, a lesson to human greatness. When the Spaniards first arrived on the coast of Hayti, their imaginations were inflamed with rumours of a magnificent prince in the interior, the lord of the Golden House, the Sovereign of the mines of Cibao, who reigned in splendid state among the mountains; but a short time had elapsed, and he was a naked and dejected prisoner on the deck of one of their caravels, with none but one of his own wild native heroines to sympathize in his misfortunes. All his importance vanished with his freedom; scarce any mention is made of him during his captivity, and with innate qualities of a high and heroic nature, he perished with the obscurity of one of the vulgar.

## CHAPTER II.

DECLINE OF THE POPULARITY OF COLUMBUS IN SPAIN. HIS RECEPTION BY THE SOVEREIGNS AT BURGOS. HE PROPOSES A THIRD VOYAGE.

ENVY and malice had been but too successful in undermining the popularity of Columbus. It is impossible to keep up a state of excitement for any length of time, even by miracles. The world, at first, is prompt and lavish in its admiration, but soon grows cool, distrusts its late enthusiasm, and fancies it has been defrauded of what it bestowed with such prodigality. It is then that the caviller who had been silenced by the general applause, puts in his insidious suggestion, detracts from the merit of the declining favourite, and succeeds in rendering him an object of doubt and censure, if not of absolute aversion. In three short years the public had become familiar with the stupendous wonder of a newly-discovered world, and was now open to every insinuation derogatory to the fame of the discoverer and his enterprises.

The circumstances which attended the present arrival of Columbus were little calculated to diminish the growing prejudices of the populace. When the motley crowd of mariners and adventurers who had embarked with such sanguine and extravagant expectations disembarked from the vessels, instead of a joyous crew, bounding on shore, flushed with success, and laden with the spoils of the golden Indies, a feeble train of wretched men crawled forth, emaciated by the diseases of the colony and the hardships of the voyage, who carried in their yellow countenances, says an old writer, a mockery of that gold which had

been the object of their search, and who had nothing to relate of the New World, but tales of sickness, poverty, and disappointment.

Columbus endeavoured, as much as possible, to counteract these unfavourable appearances, and to revive the languishing enthusiasm of the public. He dwelt upon the importance of his recent discoveries along the coast of Cuba, where, as he supposed, he had arrived nearly to the Aurea Chersonesus of the ancients, bordering on some of the richest provinces of Asia. And, above all, he boasted of his discovery of the abundant mines in the south side of Hispaniola, which he persuaded himself were those of the ancient Ophir. The public listened to these accounts with sneering incredulity; or if for a moment a little excitement was occasioned, it was quickly destroyed by gloomy pictures drawn by disappointed adventurers.

In the harbour of Calliz, Columbus found three caravels, commanded by Pedro Alonso Niño, on the point of sailing with supplies for the colony. Nearly a year had elapsed without any relief of the kind, four caravels which had sailed in the preceding January having been lost on the coast of the Peninsula. Having read the royal letters and despatches of which Niño was the bearer, and being informed of the wishes of the Sovereigns, as well as the state of the public mind, Columbus wrote by this opportunity, urging the Adelantado to endeavour, by every means, to bring the island into a peaceful and productive state, appeasing all discontents and commotions, and seizing and sending to Spain all caciques, or their subjects, who should be concerned in the deaths of any of the colonists. He recommended the most unremitting diligence in exploring and working the mines recently discovered on the river Hayna, and that a place should be chosen in the neighbourhood, and a sea-port founded. Pedro Alonso Niño set sail with the three caravels on the 17th of June.

Tidings of the arrival of Columbus having reached the Sovereigns, he received a gracious letter from them, dated at Almazan, 12th July, 1490; congratulating him on his safe return, and inviting him to court when he should have recovered from the fatigues of his voyage. The kind terms in which this letter was couched were calculated to reassure the heart of Columbus, who, ever since the mission of the arrogant Aguado, had considered himself out of favour with the Sovereigns, and fallen into disgrace. As a proof of the dejection of his spirits, we are told that when he made his appearance this time in Spain, he was clad in a humble garb, resembling in form and colour the habit of a Franciscan monk, simply girded with a cord,<sup>1</sup> and that he suffered his beard to grow like the brethren of that order.<sup>2</sup> This was probably in fulfilment of some penitential vow

<sup>1</sup> Muñoz, Hist. Nvo Mundo, l. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Cura de los Palacios, cap. 151.

<sup>3</sup> Oviedo, lib. II, c. 15.

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<sup>1</sup> Equivalent to  
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which he had made in a moment of danger or despondency,—a custom prevalent in those days, and frequently observed by Columbus. It betokened, however, much humility and depression of spirit, and afforded a striking contrast to his appearance on his former triumphant return. He was doomed, in fact, to yield repeated examples of the reverses to which those are subject who have once launched from the safe shores of obscurity on the fluctuating waves of popular opinion. However indifferent Columbus might be to his own personal appearance, he was anxious to keep alive the interest in his discoveries, fearing continually that the indifference that was awakening towards him might impede their accomplishment. On his way to Burgos, therefore, where the Sovereigns were expected, he made a studious display of the curiosities and treasures which he had brought from the New World. Among these were collars, bracelets, amulets, and coronets of gold, the spoils of various caciques, and which were considered as trophies won from barbaric princes of the rich coasts of Asia, or the islands of the Indian seas. It is a proof of the petty standard by which the sublime discovery of Columbus was already estimated, that he had to resort to this management to dazzle the gross perceptions of the multitude by the mere glare of gold.

He carried with him several Indians also, decorated after their savage fashion, and glittering with golden ornaments: among these were the brother and nephew of Caonabo, the former about thirty years of age, the latter only ten. They were brought merely to visit the King and Queen, that they might be impressed with an idea of the grandeur and power of the Spanish Sovereigns, after which they were to be restored in safety to their country. Whenever they passed through any principal place, Columbus put a massive collar and chain of gold upon the brother of Caonabo, as being cacique of the golden country of Cibao. The curate of Los Palacios, who entertained the discoverer and his Indian captives for several days in his house, says that he had this chain of gold in his hands, and that it weighed six hundred castellanos.<sup>1</sup> The worthy curate likewise makes mention of various Indian masks and images of wood or cotton, wrought with fantastic faces of animals, all of which he supposed were representations of the devil, who he concludes must be the object of adoration of these islanders.<sup>2</sup>

The reception of Columbus by the Sovereigns was different from what he had anticipated; for he was treated with distinguished favour, nor was any mention made either of the complaints of Margarite and Boyle, or the judicial inquiries conducted by Aguado. However these may have had a transient effect on the minds of the Sovereigns, they were too conscious of the great deserts of Columbus, and the extraordinary

difficulties of his situation, not to tolerate what they may have considered errors on his part.

Encouraged by the favourable countenance he experienced, and the interest with which the Sovereigns listened to his account of his recent voyage along the coast of Cuba, and the discovery of the mines of Hayna, which he failed not to represent as the Ophir of the ancients; Columbus now proposed a further enterprise, by which he promised to make yet more extensive discoveries, and to annex Terra Firma to their dominions, for he supposed Cuba to be but a part of a rich and splendid continent. For this purpose he asked eight ships; two to be despatched to the island of Hispaniola with supplies, the remaining six to be put under his command for a voyage of discovery. The Sovereigns readily promised to comply with his request, and were probably sincere in their intentions to do so, but in the performance of their request Columbus was doomed to meet with intolerable delay; partly in consequence of the operation of public events, partly in consequence of the intrigues of men of office, the two great influences which are continually diverting and defeating the designs of princes.

The resources of Spain were, at this moment, tasked to the utmost by the ambition of Ferdinand, who lavished all his revenues in warlike expenses and in subsidies. While maintaining a contest of deep and artful policy with France, with the ultimate aim of grasping the sceptre of Naples, he was laying the foundation of a wide and powerful connexion by the marriages of the royal children, who were now maturing in years. At this time arose that family alliance, which afterwards consolidated such an immense empire under his grandson and successor, Charles V.

While a large army was maintained in Italy, under Gonsalvo of Cordova, to assist the King of Naples in recovering his throne, of which he had been suddenly dispossessed by Charles VIII of France, other armies were required on the frontiers of Spain. Menaced with a French invasion, squadrons also had to be employed, for the safeguard of the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts of Spain; while a magnificent armada of upwards of a hundred ships, having on board twenty thousand persons, many of them of the first nobility, was despatched to convoy the Princess Juana to Flanders, to be married to Philip, Archduke of Austria, and to bring back his sister Margarita, the destined bride of Prince Juan.

These widely-extended operations, both of war and amity, put all the land and naval forces into requisition. They drained the royal treasury, and engrossed the thoughts of the Sovereigns, obliging them also to journey from place to place in their dominions. With such cares of an immediate and important nature pressing upon their minds, the enterprises of Columbus were easily neglected or postponed. They had hitherto been sources of expense instead of profit; and there were artful councillors ever ready to whisper in the royal ear, that they were

<sup>1</sup> Equivalent to the value of three thousand one hundred and ninety-five dollars of the present time.

<sup>2</sup> Cura de los Palacios, chap. 151.



likely to continue so. What, in the ambitious eyes of Ferdinand, was the acquisition of a number of wild, uncultivated, and distant islands, to that of the brilliant domain of Naples; or the intercourse with naked and barbaric princes, to that of an alliance with the most potent Sovereigns of Christendom? Columbus had the mortification, therefore, to see armies levied and squadrons employed in idle contests about a little point of territory in Europe, and a vast armada of upwards of a hundred sail destined to the ostentatious service of conveying a royal bride; while he vainly solicited a few caravels to prosecute his discovery of a world.

At length, in the autumn, six millions of maravedies<sup>1</sup> were ordered to be advanced to Columbus for equipment of his promised squadron. Just as the sum was about to be delivered, a letter was received from Pedro Alonso Niño, who had arrived at Cadiz with his three caravels, on his return from the island of Hispaniola. Instead of proceeding to court in person, or forwarding the despatches of the Adelantado, he had gone to visit his family at Huelva, taking the despatches with him, and merely writing in a vaunting style, that he had a great amount of gold on board of his ships.<sup>2</sup>

This was triumphant intelligence to Columbus, who immediately concluded that the new mines were in operation, and the treasures of Ophir about to be realized. The letter of Niño, however, was fated to have a most injurious effect on his concerns.

The King at that moment was in immediate want of money, to repair the fortress of Salza, in Roussillon, which had been sacked by the French; the six millions of maravedies, about to be advanced to Columbus, were forthwith appropriated to patch up the shattered castle, and an order was given for the amount to be paid out of the gold brought by Niño. It was not until the end of December, when Niño arrived at court, and delivered the despatches of the Adelantado, that his boast of gold was discovered to be a mere figure of speech, and that his caravels were, in fact, freighted with Indian prisoners, from the sale of whom the vaunted gold was to arise.

It is difficult to describe the vexatious effects of this absurd hyperbole. The hopes of Columbus, of great and immediate profit from the mines, were suddenly cast down; the zeal of his few advocates was cooled; an air of empty exaggeration was given to his enterprises; and his enemies pointed with scorn and ridicule to the wretched cargoes of the caravels, as the boasted treasures of the New World. The report brought by Niño and his crew represented the colony as in a disastrous condition, and the despatches of the Adelantado pointed out the importance of immediate supplies; but in proportion as the necessity of the case was urgent, the measure of relief was scanty. All the unfavourable representations that had been hitherto made seemed corroborated, and the invidious

cry of "great cost and little gain" was revived by those politicians of petty sagacity and microscopic eye, who, in all great undertakings, can discern the immediate expense, without having scope of vision to embrace the future profit.

### CHAPTER III.

#### PREPARATIONS FOR A THIRD VOYAGE. DISAPPOINTMENTS AND DELAYS.

[ 1497. ]

It was not until the following spring of 1497, that the concerns of Columbus and of the New World began to receive serious attention from the Sovereigns. The fleet had returned from Flanders with the Princess Margarita of Austria. Her nuptials with Prince Juan, the heir-apparent, had been celebrated at Burgos, the capital of Old Castile, with extraordinary splendour. All the grandees, the dignitaries, and chivalry of Spain, together with ambassadors from the principal potentates of Christendom, were assembled on the occasion. Burgos was for some time a scene of chivalrous pageant and courtly revel, and the whole kingdom celebrated with great rejoicings this powerful alliance, which seemed to ensure to the Spanish Sovereigns a continuance of their extraordinary prosperity.

In the midst of these festivities, Isabella, whose maternal heart had recently been engrossed by the marriages of her children, now that she was relieved from these concerns of a tender and domestic nature, entered into the affairs of the New World with a spirit that showed she was determined to place them upon a substantial foundation, as well as clearly to define the powers, and reward the services of Columbus. To her protecting zeal all the provisions in favour of Columbus must be attributed; for the King began to look coldly on him, and the royal councillors, who had most influence in the affairs of the Indies, were his enemies.

Various royal ordinances dated about this time manifest the generous and considerate disposition of the Queen. The rights, privileges, and dignities granted to Columbus at Santa Fé, were again confirmed; a tract of land in Hispaniola, fifty leagues in length, and twenty-five in breadth, was offered to him, with the title of duke or marquess. This, however, Columbus had the forbearance to decline; he observed that it would only increase the envy which was already so virulent against him, and would cause new misrepresentations; as he should be accused of paying more attention to the settlement and improvement of his own possessions, than of any other part of the island.<sup>1</sup>

As the expenses of the expeditions had hitherto far exceeded the returns, Columbus had incurred debt

<sup>1</sup> Equivalent to 88,836 dollars of the present day.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. 1, c. 125. MS.

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rather than reaped profit from the share he had been permitted to take in them; he was relieved, therefore, from his obligation to bear an eighth part of the cost of the past enterprises, excepting the sum which he had advanced towards the first voyage; at the same time, however, he was not to claim any share of what had hitherto been brought from the island. For three ensuing years he was to be allowed an eighth of the gross proceeds of every voyage, and an additional tenth after the costs had been deducted. After the expiration of the three years, the original terms of agreement were to be resumed.

To gratify the honourable ambition of Columbus also, and to perpetuate in his family the distinction gained by his illustrious deeds, he was allowed the right of establishing a mayorazgo, or perpetual entail of his estates, so that they might always descend with his titles of nobility. This he shortly after exercised in a solemn testament which he executed at Seville, in the early part of 1498. By this testament he devised his estates to his own male descendants, and on their failure to the male descendants of his brothers, and, in default of male heirs, to the females of his lineage.

The heir was always to bear the arms of the Admiral, to seal with them, to sign with his signature, and in signing, never to use any other title than simply "The Admiral," whatever other titles might be given him by the King, and used by him on other occasions. Such was the noble pride with which he valued this title of his real greatness. In this testament he made ample provision for his brother, the Adelantado, his son Fernando, and his brother Don Diego, the last of whom, he intimates, had a desire to enter into ecclesiastical life. He ordered that a tenth part of the revenues arising from the mayorazgo should be devoted to pious and charitable purposes, and in relieving all poor persons of his lineage. He made provisions for the giving of marriage-portions to the poor females of his family. He ordered that a married person of his kindred who had been born in his native city of Genoa, should be maintained there in competence and respectability, by way of keeping a domicile for the family there; and he commanded whoever should inherit the mayorazgo, always to do every thing in his power for the honour, prosperity, and increase of the city of Genoa, provided it should not be contrary to the service of the church, and the interests of the Spanish crown. Among various other provisions in this will, he solemnly provides for his favourite scheme, the recovery of the holy sepulchre. He orders his son Diego, or whoever else may inherit his estate, to invest from time to time as much money as he can spare, in stock in the bank of St George at Genoa, to form a permanent fund, with which he is to stand ready at any time to follow and serve the King in the conquest of Jerusalem. Or, should the King not undertake such enterprise, then, when the funds have accumulated to sufficient amount, to set on foot a crusade at his own charge

and risk, in hopes that, seeing his determination, the Sovereigns may be induced either to adopt the undertaking, or to authorise him to pursue it in their name.

Besides this special undertaking for the catholic faith, he charges his heir that in case there should arise any schism in the church, or any violence that should menace its prosperity, to throw himself at the feet of the pope, and devote his person and property to defend the church from all insult and spoliation. Next to the service of God, he enjoins loyalty to the throne, commanding him at all times to stand ready to serve the Sovereigns and their heirs, faithfully and zealously, even to the loss of life and estate. To ensure the constant remembrance of this testament, he orders his heir that, before he confesses, he shall give it to his father confessor to read, who is to examine him upon his faithful fulfilment of its conditions.

As Columbus had felt aggrieved by the general license granted in April, 1495, to make discoveries in the New World, considering it as interfering with his prerogatives, a royal edict was issued on the 2nd of June, 1497, retracting whatever might be prejudicial to his interests, or to the previous grants made him by the crown. "It never was our intention," said the Sovereigns in their edict, "in any way to affect the rights of the said Don Christopher Columbus, nor to allow the conventions, privileges, and favours which we have granted to him to be encroached upon or violated; but, on the contrary, in consequence of the services which he has rendered us, we intend to confer still further favours on him." Such, there is every reason to believe, was the sincere intention of the magnanimous Isabella; but the stream of her royal bounty was poisoned or diverted by the base channels through which it flowed. The favour shown to Columbus was extended likewise to his family. The titles and prerogatives of Adelantado with which he had invested his brother Don Bartholomew, had at first awakened the displeasure of the King, who jealously reserved all high dignities of the kind to be granted exclusively by the crown. By a royal letter, the office was now conferred upon Don Bartholomew, as if through spontaneous favour of the Sovereigns, no allusion being made to his having previously enjoyed it.

While all these measures were taken for the immediate gratification of Columbus, others were adopted for the interests of the colony. Permission was granted him to take out three hundred and thirty persons in royal pay, of whom forty were to be esquires or gentlemen, one hundred foot-soldiers, thirty sailors, thirty ship-boys, twenty miners, fifty husbandmen, ten gardeners, twenty mechanics of various kinds, and thirty females. He was subsequently permitted to increase the number, if he thought proper, to five hundred; but the additional individuals were to be paid out of the produce and merchandise of the colony. He was likewise authorised to grant lands to all such as were disposed to cultivate vineyards, orchards, sugar-plantations, or other rural establishments, on condition that they should reside on the

island for four years after such grant; and that all the brasil-wood and precious metals which might be found on their lands, should be reserved to the crown.

Nor were the interests of the unhappy natives forgotten by the compassionate heart of Isabella. In spite of the sophisms by which their subjection and servitude were made matters of civil and divine right, and sanctioned by the political prelates of the day, Isabella always consented with the greatest reluctance to the slavery even of those who were taken in open warfare; while her utmost solicitude was exerted to protect the offending part of this helpless and devoted race. She ordered that the greatest care should be taken of their religious instruction, and the greatest leniency shown in collecting the tributes imposed upon them, with all possible indulgence to defalcators. In fact, the injunctions given with respect to the treatment both of Indians and Spaniards are the only indications, in the royal edicts, of any impression having been made by the complaints against Columbus of severity in his government. It was generally recommended by the Sovereigns, that, whenever the public safety did not require stern measures, there should be manifested a disposition to lenity and easy rule.

When every intention was thus shown on the part of the crown to despatch the expedition to the colony, unexpected difficulties arose on the part of the public. The charm was dispelled which in the preceding voyage had made every adventurer crowd into the service of Columbus. An odium had been industriously thrown upon his enterprises; and his new-found world, instead of a region of wealth and wonder, was considered a land of poverty and disaster. There was a difficulty in procuring either ships or men for the voyage. To remedy the first of these deficiencies, one of those arbitrary orders was issued, so opposite to our present ideas of commercial policy, empowering the officers of the crown to press into the service whatever ships they might judge suitable for the purposed expedition, together with their masters and pilots; and to fix such price for their remuneration, as the officers should deem just and reasonable. To supply the want of voluntary recruits, a measure was adopted at the suggestion of Columbus, which shows the desperate alternatives to which he was reduced by the great reaction of public sentiment. This was, to commute the sentences of criminals condemned to banishment, to the galleys, or to the mines, into transportation to the new settlements, where they were to labour in the public service without pay. Those whose sentence was banishment for life, to be transported for ten years; those banished for a specific term, to be transported for half that time. A general pardon was published for all malefactors at large, who within a certain time should surrender themselves to the Admiral, and embark for the colonies; those who had

committed offences meriting death, to serve for two years; those whose misdeeds were of a lighter nature, to serve for one year. Those only were excepted from this indulgence who had committed certain specific crimes, such as heresy, treason, coinage, murder, etc. etc. This pernicious measure, calculated to poison the population of an infant community at its very source, was a fruitful cause of trouble to Columbus, and misery and detriment to the colony. It has been frequently adopted by various nations, whose superior experience should have taught them better, and has proved the bane of many a rising settlement.

It is assuredly as unnatural for a metropolis to cast forth its crimes and vices upon its colonies, as it would be for a parent wilfully to ingraft disease upon his children: nor can it be matter of surprise, if the seeds of evil which are thus sown, should bring forth bitter retribution.

Notwithstanding all these violent expedients, there was still a ruinous delay in fitting out the proposed expedition. This is partly accounted for by changes which took place in the persons appointed to superintend the affairs of the Indies. These concerns had for a time been consigned to Antonio de Torres, in whose name, conjointly with that of Columbus, many of the official documents had been made out. In consequence of high and unreasonable demands on the part of Torres, he was removed from office, and Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Badajoz, reinstated. The papers had, therefore, to be made out anew, and fresh contracts formed. While these concerns were tardily attended to, the Queen was suddenly overwhelmed with affliction by the death of her only son Prince Juan, whose nuptials had been celebrated with such splendour in the spring. It was the first of a series of domestic calamities which assailed her affectionate heart, and overwhelmed her with affliction for the remainder of her days. In the midst of her distress, however, she still thought on Columbus. In consequence of his urgent representations of the misery to which the colony must be reduced, two ships were despatched in the beginning of 1498, under the command of Pedro Fernandez Coronel, freighted with supplies. The necessary funds were advanced by the Queen herself, out of the funds intended to form the endowment of her daughter Isabella, then betrothed to Emmanuel, King of Portugal. An instance of her kind feeling towards Columbus was also evinced in the time of her affliction: his two sons, Niago and Fernando, had been pages to the deceased prince; the Queen now took them, in the same capacity, into her own service.

With all this zealous disposition on the part of the Queen, Columbus still met with the most injurious and discouraging delays in preparing the six remaining vessels for his voyage. His cold-blooded enemy Fonseca, having the superintendance of Indian affairs,

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. c. 12. MS.

<sup>2</sup> Muñoz, lib. vi, § 19.

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was enabled to impede and retard all his plans. The various petty officers and agents employed in the concerns of the armament, were many of them dependants and minions of the bishop, and knew that they were gratifying him in annoying Columbus. They looked upon the latter as a man declining in popularity, who might be offended with impunity; they scrupled not, therefore, to throw all kinds of difficulties in his path, and to treat him occasionally with that arrogance which petty and ignoble men in place are prone to exercise.

It seems almost incredible at the present day that such important and glorious enterprises should have been subject to such despicable molestations. Columbus bore them all with silent indignation. He was a stranger in the land he was benefiting; he felt that the popular tide was setting against him, and that it was necessary to tolerate many present grievances for the sake of effecting his great purposes. So wearied and disheartened, however, did he become by the impediments artfully thrown in his way, and so disgusted by the prejudices of the fickle public, that he at one time thought of abandoning his discoveries altogether. He was chiefly induced to persevere by his grateful attachment to the Queen, and his desire to achieve something that might cheer and animate her under her afflictions. At length, after all kinds of irritating delays, the six vessels were fitted for sea, though it was impossible to conquer the popular repugnance to the service, sufficiently to enlist the allotted number of men. In addition to the persons in employ already enumerated, a physician, surgeon, and apothecary were likewise sent out for the relief of the colony, and several priests to replace Friar Boyle and certain of his discontented brethren; while a number of musicians was embarked by the Admiral for the purpose of cheering and enlivening the spirits of the colonists.

The insolence which Columbus had suffered from the minions of Fonseca throughout this long protracted time of preparation, harassed him to the last moment of his sojourn in Spain, and followed him to the water's edge. Among the worthless hirelings who had annoyed him, the most noisy and presuming was one Ximeno de Breviesca, treasurer or accountant of Fonseca. He was not an old Christian, observes the venerable Las Casas, by which it is to be understood that he was either a Jew or a Moor converted to the Catholic faith. He had an impudent countenance and an unbridled tongue, and, echoing the sentiments of his patron the bishop, had been loud in his abuse of the Admiral and his enterprises. The very day when the squadron was on the point of weighing anchor, Columbus was assailed by the insolence of this Ximeno, either on the shore when about to embark, or on board of his ship where he had just entered. In the hurry of the moment he forgot his usual self-command; his indignation, hitherto repressed, suddenly burst forth; he struck the despicable minion to the ground and spared him re-

peatedly with his foot, venting in this unguarded paroxysm the accumulated griefs and vexations which had long rankled in his mind.\*

Nothing could demonstrate more strongly what Columbus had previously suffered from the machinations of unworthy men, than this transport of passion, so unusual in his well-governed temper. He deeply regretted it; and in a letter written some time afterwards to the Sovereigns, he entreated that it might not be allowed to injure him in their opinion, he being "absent, envied, and a stranger." The apprehensions evinced in this simple but affecting appeal were not ill-founded, for Las Casas attributes the humiliating measures shortly after adopted by the Sovereigns towards Columbus, to the unfavourable impression produced by this affair. It had happened near at home, as it were, under the very eye of the Sovereigns; it spoke, therefore, more quickly to their feelings than more important allegations from a distance. The personal castigation of a public officer was represented as a flagrant instance of the vindictive temper of Columbus, and a corroboration of the charges of cruelty and oppression sent from the colony. As Ximeno was a creature of the invidious Fonseca, the affair was represented to the Sovereigns in the most odious point of view. Thus the generous intentions of princes, and the exalted services of their subjects, are apt to be defeated by the intervention of cold and crafty men in place. By his implacable hostility to Columbus, and the secret obstructions which he threw in the way of the most illustrious of human enterprises, Fonseca has ensured perpetuity to his name, coupled with the contempt of every generous mind.

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## BOOK X.

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### CHAPTER L

DEPARTURE OF COLUMBUS FROM SPAIN ON HIS THIRD VOYAGE,  
DISCOVERY OF TRINIDAD.

[1498.]

ON the 30th of May, 1498, Columbus set sail from the port of San Lucar de Barrameda, with his squadron of six vessels, on his third voyage of discovery. The route he proposed to take was different from that pursued in his former voyages. He intended to depart from the Cape de Verde Islands, sailing to the south-west until he should come under the equinoctial line, then to steer directly westward with the favour of the trade winds, until he should arrive at land, or find himself in the longitude of Hispaniola. Various considerations had induced him to adopt this course. In his preceding voyage, when he coasted the southern side of Cuba, under the belief that it was

\* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i, cap. 126. MS.

the continent of Asia, he had observed that it swept off toward the south. From this circumstance, and from information gathered among the natives of the Caribbee Islands, he was induced to believe, that a great tract of the main land lay to the south of the countries he had already discovered. King John II, of Portugal, appears to have entertained a similar idea; as Herrera records an opinion expressed by that monarch, that there was a continent in the southern ocean.<sup>1</sup> If this were the case, it was supposed by Columbus, that, in proportion as he approached the equator, and extended his discoveries to climates more and more under the torrid influence of the sun, he should find the productions of nature sublimated by its rays to more perfect and precious qualities. He was strengthened in this belief by a letter written to him at the command of the Queen, by one Jayme Ferrer, an eminent and learned lapidary, who in the course of his trading for precious stones and metals had been in the Levant and in various parts of the East; had conversed with the merchants of the remote parts of Asia and Africa, and the natives of India, Arabia, and Ethiopia, and was considered deeply versed in geography generally, but especially in the nature of those countries from whence the valuable merchandise in which he dealt was procured. In this letter Ferrer assured Columbus, that, according to his experience, the rarest objects of commerce, such as gold, precious stones, drugs, and spices, were chiefly to be found in the regions about the equinoctial line, where the inhabitants were black, or darkly coloured; and that until the Admiral should arrive among people of such complexions, he did not think he would find those articles in great abundance.<sup>2</sup>

Columbus expected to find such people more to the south. He recollected that the natives of Hispaniola had spoken of black men who had once come to their island from the south and south-east, the heads of whose javelins were of a sort of metal which they called guanin. They had given the Admiral specimens of this metal, which on being assayed in Spain, proved to be a mixture of eighteen parts gold, six silver, and eight copper, a proof of valuable mines in the country from whence they came. Charlevoix conjectures that these black people may have come from the Canaries, or the western coast of Africa, and been driven by tempest to the shores of Hispaniola.<sup>3</sup> It is probable, however, that Columbus had been misinformed as to their colour, or had misunderstood his informants. It is difficult to believe that the natives of Africa or the Canaries could have performed a voyage of such magnitude, in the frail and scantily provided barks they were accustomed to use.

It was to ascertain the truth of all these suppositions, and, if correct, to arrive at the favoured and opulent countries about the equator, inhabited by people of similar complexions with those of the Afri-

cans under the line, that Columbus in his present voyage to the New World took a course much further to the south than that which he had hitherto pursued.

Having heard that a French squadron was cruising off Cape St Vincent, he stood to the south-west after leaving St Lucar, touching at the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira, where he remained a few days taking in wood and water and other supplies, and then continued his course to the Canary Islands. On the 19th of June, he arrived at Gomara, where there lay at anchor a French cruiser with two Spanish prizes. On seeing the squadron of Columbus standing into the harbour, the captain of the privateer put to sea in all haste, followed by his prizes; one of which in the hurry of the moment left part of her crew on shore, making sail with only four of her armament, and six Spanish prisoners. The Admiral at first mistook them for merchant-ships alarmed by his warlike appearance; when informed of the truth, however, he sent three of his vessels in pursuit, but they were too distant to be overtaken. The six Spaniards, however, on board of one of the prizes, seeing assistance at hand, rose on their captors, and the Admiral's vessel coming up, the prize was retaken and brought back in triumph to the port. The Admiral relinquished the ship to the captain, and gave up the prisoners to the governor of the island, to be exchanged for six Spaniards carried off by the cruiser.<sup>4</sup>

Leaving Gomara on the 21st of June, Columbus divided his squadron off the island of Ferro: three of the ships he despatched direct for Hispaniola, to carry supplies to the colony. One of these ships was commanded by Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal, native of Baeza, a man of much worth and intrepidity; the second by Pedro de Arana de Cordova, brother of Doña Beatrix de Henriquez, the mother of the Admiral's second son Fernando. He was cousin also of the unfortunate officer who commanded the fortress of La Navidad at the time of the massacre. The third was commanded by Juan Antonio Columbus (or Colombo) a Genoese, related to the Admiral, and a man of much judgment and capacity. These captains were alternately to have the command, and bear the signal-light a week at a time. The Admiral carefully pointed out their course. When they came in sight of Hispaniola, they were to steer for the south side, for the new port and town, which he supposed to be by this time established in the mouth of the Ozema, according to royal orders sent out by Coronel. With the three remaining vessels, the Admiral prosecuted his voyage towards the Cape de Verde Islands. The ship in which he sailed was decked, the other two were merchant caravels.<sup>5</sup> As he advanced within the tropics, the change of climate, and the close and sultry weather which prevailed, brought on a severe attack of the gout, followed by a violent fever. Notwithstanding his painful illness, however, he enjoyed

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i. l. iii, c. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Navarrete, Collec., t. ii. document 66.

<sup>3</sup> Charlevoix, Hist. St Doming., l. iii, p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 68.

<sup>5</sup> P. Martyr, decad. i. l. 6.

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On the 27th of June, he arrived among the Cape de Verde Islands, which, instead of the freshness and verdure which their name would betoken, presented an aspect of the most cheerless sterility. He remained among these islands but a very few days, being disappointed in his expectation of obtaining goat's flesh for ship's provisions, and cattle for stock for the island of Hispaniola. To procure them would require some delay; in the mean time the health of himself and of his people suffered under the influence of the weather. The atmosphere was loaded with clouds and vapours; neither sun nor star was to be seen; a sultry depressing temperature prevailed; and the livid looks of the inhabitants bore witness to the insalubrity of the climate.

Leaving the island of Buena Vista on the 5th of July, Columbus stood to the south-west, intending to continue on until he found himself under the equinoctial line. The currents, however, which ran to the north and north-west among these islands, impeded his progress, and kept him for two days in sight of the Island del Fuego. The volcanic summit of this island, which, seen at a distance, resembled a church with a lofty steeple, and which was said at times to emit smoke and flames, was the last point discerned of the Old World.

Continuing to the south-west, about one hundred and twenty leagues, he found himself, on the 15th of July, according to his observations, in the fifth degree of north latitude. He had entered that region which extends for eight or ten degrees on each side of the line, and is known among seamen by the name of the calm latitudes. The trade winds, from the south-east and north-east, meeting in the neighbourhood of the equator, neutralize each other, and a steady calmness of the elements is produced. The whole sea is like a mirror, and vessels remain almost motionless, with flapping sails; the crews panting under the heat of a vertical sun, unmitigated by any refreshing breeze. Weeks are sometimes employed in crossing this lifeless tract of the ocean.

The weather for some time past had been cloudy and oppressive; but on the 15th there was a bright and burning sun. The wind suddenly fell, and a dead sultry calm commenced, which lasted for eight days. The air was like a furnace; the tar melted, the seams of the ships yawned; the salt meat became putrid; the wheat was parched as if with fire; the hoops shrank from the wine and water-casks, some of which leaked, and others burst; while the heat in the hold of the vessels was so suffocating, that no one could remain below a sufficient time to prevent the damage that was taking place. The mariners lost all strength and spirits, and sunk under the oppressive heat. It seemed as if the old fable of the torrid zone was about to be realized; and that they

were approaching a fiery region, where it would be impossible to exist. It is true the heavens were, for a great part of the time, overcast, and there were drizzling showers; but the atmosphere was close and stifling, and there was that combination of heat and moisture which relaxes all the energies of the human frame.

During this time the Admiral suffered extremely from the gout, but, as usual, the activity of his mind, heightened by his anxiety, allowed him no indulgence or repose. He was in an unknown part of the ocean, where everything depended upon his vigilance and sagacity; and was continually watching the phenomena of the elements, and looking out for signs of land. Finding the heat so intolerable, he altered his course, and steered to the south-west, hoping to find a milder temperature farther on, even under the same parallel. He had observed, in his previous voyages, that after sailing westward a hundred leagues from the Azores, a wonderful change took place in the sea and sky, both becoming serene and bland, and the air temperate and refreshing. He imagined that a peculiar mildness and suavity prevailed over a great tract of ocean extending from north to south, into which the navigator, sailing from east to west, would suddenly enter, as if crossing a line. The event seemed to justify his theory, for after making their way slowly for some time to the westward, through an ordeal of heats and calms, with a murky stifling atmosphere, the ships all at once emerged into a genial region, a pleasant cooling breeze played over the surface of the sea, and gently filled their sails, the close and drizzling clouds broke away, the sky became serene and clear, and the sun shone forth with all its splendour, but no longer with a burning heat.

Columbus had intended, on reaching this temperate tract, to have stood once more to the south and then westward; but he found his ships so damaged by the late parching weather, which had opened their seams and caused them to leak excessively, that it was necessary to seek some convenient harbour as soon as possible, where they might be refitted. Much of the provisions also was spoiled, and the water was nearly exhausted. He kept on therefore directly to the west, trusting, from the flights of birds and other favourable indications, that he should soon arrive at land. Day after day passed away without his expectations being realized. The distresses of his men became continually more urgent; wherefore, supposing himself in the longitude of the Caribbee Islands, he bore away towards the northward in search of them, intending to touch among them for refreshments and repairs, and then to proceed to Hispaniola.

On the 31st of July, there was not above one cask of water remaining in each ship, and the Admiral experienced great anxiety. About mid-day, a mariner named Alonso Perez, being accidentally at the

• Hist. del Almirante, c. 63.

• Hist. del Almirante, c. 67.



mast-head, beheld the summits of three mountains rising above the horizon. He immediately gave the cry of land, to the great joy of the crew. As the ships drew nearer, it was observed that these mountains were united at the base. Columbus had determined to consecrate the first land he should behold, by giving it the name of the Trinity. The appearance of these three mountains united into one, struck him as a singular and almost mysterious coincidence with a solemn feeling of devotion; therefore he gave to this newly-discovered island the name of La Trinidad, which it continues to bear at the present day.\*

## CHAPTER II.

## VOYAGE THROUGH THE GULF OF PARIA.

[ 498. ]

SHAPING his course for the island, Columbus approached its eastern extremity, to which he gave the name of Punta de la Galera, from the form of a rock in the sea, which resembled a galley under sail. He had to coast for five leagues along the southern shore, before he could find safe anchorage. On the following day (August 4), he continued coasting westward, in search of water, and a convenient harbour where the vessels might be careened. He was surprised at the verdure and fertility of the country, having expected to find it more parched and sterile as he approached the equator; whereas he beheld stately groves of palm-trees, and luxuriant forests, which swept down to the sea-side, with fountains and running streams beneath their shade. The shores were low and uninhabited, but the country rose in the interior, was cultivated in many places, and enlivened by hamlets and scattered habitations. In a word, the softness and purity of the climate, and the verdure, freshness, and sweetness of the country, appeared to Columbus to equal the delights of early spring in the beautiful province of Valentia in Spain.†

Anchoring at a point to which he gave the name of Punta de la Playa, he sent the boats on shore for water. Here, to their great joy, the seamen found an abundant and limpid brook, at which they filled their casks. There was no safe harbour, however, for the vessels, nor could they meet with any of the islanders, though they found traces of their footsteps, and various fishing-implements, which they had left behind, in the hurry of their flight. There were tracks also of animals, which the seamen supposed to be goats, but which must have been deer, with which, as it was afterwards ascertained, the island abounded.

While thus coasting the island on the 4th of August, Columbus beheld land to the south, stretching

to the distance of more than twenty leagues. It was that low tract of coast intersected by the numerous branches of the Oronoco, but the Admiral, supposing it to be an island, gave it the name of La Isla Santa; little imagining that he now, for the first time, beheld that main continent, that Terra Firma, which had been the object of his earnest search.

On the 2d of August he continued on to the southwest point of Trinidad, which he called Point Arenal. It stretched towards a corresponding point of Terra Firma, making a narrow pass, with a high rock in the centre, to which he gave the name of El Gallo. Near this pass the ships cast anchor. As they were approaching this place, a large canoe, in which were five-and-twenty Indians, put off from the shore, and, coming within bow-shot, paused, and hailed the ships in a language which no one on board understood. Being extremely desirous of obtaining a near view of these people, and of making inquiries concerning their country, Columbus tried to allure them on board, by friendly signs, by the display of looking-glasses, basins of polished metal, and various glittering trinkets, but all in vain. They remained gazing in mute wonder for above two hours, but with their paddles in their hands, ready to take to flight on the least attempt to approach them. They were near enough, however, for him to have a full view of them. They were all young men, well formed, with long hair, and fairer complexions than the Indians he had hitherto seen. They were naked, excepting bands and fillets of cotton about their heads, and coloured cloths of the same about their loins. They were armed with bows and arrows, the latter feathered and tipped with bone, and they had bucklers, an article of armour which had never before been seen among the inhabitants of the New World.

Having found all other means to attract them ineffectual, Columbus now tried the power of music. He knew the fondness of the Indians for dances performed to the sound of their rude drums, and the chant of their traditional ballads. He ordered something similar to be executed on the deck of his ship, where, while one man sang to the beat of the tabor, and the sound of other musical instruments, the ship-boys danced, after the popular Spanish fashion. No sooner, however, did this symphony strike up, than the Indians, mistaking it for a signal of hostilities, put their bucklers on their arms, seized their bows, and let fly a shower of arrows. This rude salutation was immediately answered by the discharge of a couple of cross-bows, which put the auditors to flight, and concluded this singular entertainment.

Though thus shy of the Admiral's vessel, they approached one of the caravels without fear or hesitation, and, running under the stern, had a parley with the pilot, who gave a cap and a mantle to the one who appeared to be the chieftain. He received the presents with great delight, inviting the pilot by signs to come to land, where he should be well entertained, and receive great presents in return. On

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\* Hist. del Almirante, ubi sup.

† Letter of Columbus to the Sovereigns from Hispaniola, Navarrete, Collec., t. 1.

\* Hist. del Almirante, ubi sup. Cassa, Hist. Ind., l. 1. Milan Sovereigns, N.

his appearing to consent, they went on shore to wait for him. The pilot put off in the boat of the caravel to ask permission of the Admiral; but the Indians, seeing him go on board of the hostile ship, suspected some treachery, and springing into their canoe, darted away with the swiftness of the wind, nor was any thing more seen of them.\*

The complexion and other physical characteristics of these savages caused much surprise and speculation in the mind of Columbus. Supposing himself in the seventh degree of latitude, though actually in the tenth, he had expected to find the inhabitants similar to the natives of Africa under the same parallel, who were black, ill-shaped, and with crisped hair, or rather wool; whereas these Indians were well formed, had long hair, and were even fairer than those more distant from the equator. The climate, also, instead of being hotter as he approached the equinoctial line, appeared more temperate. He was now in the dog-days, yet the nights and mornings were so cool that it was necessary to use covering as in winter. This is the case in many parts of the torrid zone, especially in calm weather, when there is no wind. Nature, by heavy dews, in the long nights of those latitudes, cools and refreshes the earth after the great heats of the day. Columbus was at first greatly perplexed by these contradictions to the course of nature, as observed in the Old World; they were in opposition also to the expectations he had founded on the theory of Ferrer the lapidary, but they gradually contributed to the formation of a theory which was springing up in his active imagination, and which will be presently shown.

After anchoring at Point Arenal, the crews were permitted to land and refresh themselves among the shady woods and green lawns of the island. There were no runs of water, but by sinking pits in the sand they soon obtained sufficient to fill the casks. Columbus, however, found his anchorage at this place extremely insecure. A rapid current set from the eastward through the strait formed by the main land and the island of Trinidad, flowing, as he observed, night and day, with as much fury as the Guadalquivir when swollen by floods. In the pass between Point Arenal and its correspondent point, the current, being confined, boiled and raged to such a degree, that Columbus thought it was crossed by a reef of rocks and shoals, preventing all entrance, with others extending beyond, over which the waters roared like breakers on a rocky shore. To this pass, from its angry and dangerous appearance, he gave the name of Boca del Sierpe (the mouth of the serpent). He thus found himself placed between two difficulties. The continual current from the east seemed to prevent all return, while the rocks which appeared to beset the pass threatened destruction if he should attempt to proceed. Being on board of his

ship, late at night, kept awake by painful illness and an anxious and watchful spirit, he heard a terrible roaring from the south. On looking out in that direction, he beheld the sea heaped up, as it were, into a great ridge or hill, the height of the ship, covered with foam, and rolling towards him with a tremendous uproar. As this furious surge approached, rendered more terrible in appearance by the obscurity of night, he trembled for the safety of his vessels. His own ship was suddenly lifted up with violence, to such a height that he dreaded lest it should be overturned or cast upon the rocks, while another of the ships was torn violently from her anchorage, and exposed to imminent peril. The crews were for a time in great consternation, and feared they should be swallowed up in the commotion of the waters: but this mountainous surge passed on, and gradually subsided, after a violent contest with the counter-current of the strait.\* This sudden rush of water, it is supposed, was caused by the swelling of one of the rivers which flow into the Gulf of Paria, and which was as yet unknown to Columbus.

Anxious to extricate himself from this dangerous neighbourhood, he sent the boats on the following morning to sound the depth of water at the Boca del Sierpe, and to ascertain whether it was possible for the ships to pass through there to the northward. To his great joy, they returned with a report that there were several fathoms of water, and currents and eddies setting both ways, either to enter or return. A favourable breeze prevailing, he immediately made sail, and passing through the formidable strait in safety, found himself in a tranquil expanse beyond. He was now on the inner side of Trinidad. To his left spread that broad gulf since known by the name of Paria, which he supposed to be the open sea, but was surprised, on tasting it, to find the water fresh. He continued to navigate northward, towards a mountain at the north-west point of the island, about fourteen leagues from Point Arenal. Here he beheld two lofty capes of land opposite to each other, one on the island of Trinidad, the other to the west, on the long promontory of Paria, which stretches from the main land and forms the northern side of the Gulf, but which Columbus mistook for an island, and gave it the name of Isla de Gracia.

Between these capes there was another pass, which appeared even more dangerous than the Boca del Sierpe, being beset with rocks, among which the current forced its way with roaring turbulence. To this pass Columbus gave the name of Boca del Drago. Not chusing to encounter its apparent dangers, he turned northward, on Sunday, the 5th of August, and steered along the inner side of the supposed island of Gracia, intending to keep on until he came to the end of it, and then to strike northward into the free and open ocean, and shape his course for Hispaniola.

\* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 88. P. Martyr, decad. i. l. 6. Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. c. 138. MS. Letter of Columbus to the Castilian Sovereigns, Navarrete, Collect., t. i.

\* Letter of Columbus to the Castilian Sovereigns, Navarrete, Collect., t. i. Ferrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i. l. iii. c. 40. Hist. del Almirante, c. 89.

It was a fair and beautiful coast, indented with fine harbours lying close to each other; the country cultivated in many places, in others covered with fruit trees and stately forests, and watered by frequent streams. What greatly astonished Columbus, was still to find the water fresh, and that it grew more and more so the farther he proceeded; it being that season of the year when the various rivers which empty themselves into this gulf are swollen by rains, and pour forth such quantities of fresh water as to conquer the saltness of the ocean. He was also surprised at the smooth placidity of the sea, which appeared as tranquil and safe as one vast harbour, so that there was no need of seeking a port to anchor in.

As yet he had not been able to hold any communication with the people of this part of the New World. The shores which he had visited, though occasionally cultivated by the hand of man, were silent and deserted, and, excepting the fugitive party in the canoe at Point Arenal, he had seen nothing of the natives. He was extremely anxious to meet with some human being who could break this silence, and give him some information concerning the country. After sailing several leagues along the coast, therefore, he anchored on Monday, the 6th of August, at a place where there appeared signs of cultivation, and sent the boats on shore. They found traces of men—fires which they had kindled, the remains of fish which they had cooked, and foot-prints where they had recently passed; there was likewise a roofless house, but not an individual to be seen. The coast was hilly, covered with beautiful and fruitful groves, and abounding with monkeys. Continuing farther westward, to where the country was more level, Columbus anchored in a river.

Immediately a canoe, with three or four Indians, came off to the caravel nearest to the shore, the captain of which pretending a desire to accompany them to land, sprang into their canoe, overturned it, and with the assistance of his seamen, secured the Indians as they were swimming. When they were brought to the Admiral, he soon dissipated their alarm by his usual benignity; he gave them beads, hawks'-bells, and sugar, and sent them highly gratified on shore, where many of their countrymen were assembled. This kind treatment, as usual, had the most favourable effect. Such of the natives as had canoes, came off to the ships with the fullest confidence. They were tall of stature, finely formed, and free and graceful in their movements. Their hair was long and straight; some wore it cut short, but none of them braided it, as was the custom among the natives of Hispaniola. They were armed with bows, arrows, and targets; the men wore cotton cloths about their heads and loins, beautifully wrought with various colours, so as at a distance to look like silk, but the women were entirely naked. They brought bread, maize, and other eatables, with different kinds of beverage, some white, made from maize, and resembling beer, and others green, of a vinous flavour,

and expressed from various fruits. They appeared to judge of everything by the sense of smell, as others examine objects by the sight or touch. When they approached a boat, they smelt to it, and then to the people. In like manner everything that was given them was tried. They set but little value upon beads, but were extravagantly delighted with hawks'-bells. Brass also was held in high estimation; they appeared to find something extremely grateful in the smell of it, and called it "Turey," signifying that it was from the skies.

From these Indians Columbus understood that the name of their country was Paria, and that farther to the west he would find it more populous. Taking several of them to serve as guides and mediators, he proceeded eight leagues westward to a point which he called *Aguja*, or the Needle. Here he arrived at three o'clock in the morning. When the day dawned he was delighted with the beauty of the country. It was cultivated in many places, highly populous, and adorned with magnificent vegetation. The habitations of the natives were interspersed among groves laden with fruits and flowers. The grape-vines entwined themselves among the trees, and birds of brilliant plumage fluttered from branch to branch. The air was temperate and bland, and sweetened by the fragrance of flowers and blossoms; and numerous fountains and limpid streams kept up a universal verdure and freshness. Columbus was so much charmed with the beauty and amenity of this favoured part of the coast, that he gave it the name of *The Gardens*.

The natives came off in great numbers, in canoes, which were superior in construction to those hitherto seen, being very large and light, and having a cabin in the centre for the accommodation of the owner and his family. They invited Columbus, in the name of their king, to come to land. Many of them had collars and burnished plates about their necks, of that inferior kind of gold called by the Indians *guanin*. They said that it came from a high land which they pointed out, at no great distance, to the west, but intimated that it was dangerous to go there, either because the inhabitants were cannibals, or the place infested by venomous animals.<sup>2</sup> But what suddenly aroused the attention, and awakened the cupidity of the Spaniards, was to behold strings of pearls round the arms of some of the natives. They informed Columbus that they were procured on the sea-coast on the northern side of Paria, which he still supposed to be an island; and they showed the mother-of-pearl shells from whence they had been taken. Anxious to acquire further information, and to procure specimens of these pearls to send to Spain, he despatched the boats to shore. The moment the Spaniards landed, a multitude of the natives came to the beach to receive them, headed by their chief *cacique* and his

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, *Hist. Ind.*, dec. 1, l. iii. c. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Columbus to the Castilian Sovereigns, Navarrete, *Collec.*, t. i. p. 202.

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<sup>1</sup> Letter of Columbus to the Castilian Sovereigns, Navarrete, *Hist. del Almirante*.

son. They treated them with profound reverence, as beings descended from heaven, and conducted them to a spacious house, the residence of the cacique, where they were feasted in a simple and hospitable manner; their banquet consisting of bread and various fruits of excellent flavour, and the different kinds of beverage which have been already mentioned. While they were in the house, the men remained together at one end of it, and the women at the other. After they had finished their collation at the house of the cacique, they were taken to that of his son, where a like repast was set before them. These people were remarkably affable, though, at the same time, they possessed a more intrepid and martial air and spirit than the natives of Cuba and Hispaniola. They were fairer, Columbus observes, than any he had yet seen, though so near to the equinoctial line, where he had expected to find them of the colour of Ethiopians. Many ornaments of gold were seen among them, but all of an inferior quality: one Indian had a piece of the size of an apple. They had various kinds of domesticated parrots, one of a light green colour, with a yellow neck, and the tips of the wings of a bright red; others of the size of domestic fowls, and of a vivid scarlet, excepting some azure feathers in the wings. These they readily gave to the Spaniards; but what the latter most coveted were the pearls, of which they saw many necklaces and bracelets among the Indian women. The latter gladly gave them in exchange for hawks'-bells or any article of brass, and several specimens of fine pearls were procured for the Admiral to send to the Sovereigns.

The kindness and amity of this people was heightened by an intelligent demeanour and a martial frankness. They seemed worthy of the beautiful country they inhabited. It was a cause of great concern both to them and the Spaniards, that they could not understand each other's language. They conversed, however, by signs; mutual good-will made their intercourse easy and pleasant; and at the hour of vespers the Spaniards returned on board of their ships, highly gratified with their entertainment.

### CHAPTER III.

CONTINUATION OF THE VOYAGE THROUGH THE GULF OF PARIÁ.  
RETURN TO HISPANIOLA.

[ 498. ]

THE quantity of fine pearls found among the natives of Paria was sufficient to arouse the sanguine anticipations of Columbus. It appeared to corroborate the theory of Ferrer, the learned jeweller, that, as he approached the equator, he would find the most rare and precious productions of nature. His active ima-

gination, with its intuitive rapidity, seized upon every surrounding circumstance that appeared to favour his wishes, and combining them, drew thence the most brilliant inferences. He had read in Pliny that pearls are generated from drops of dew which fall into the mouths of oysters: if so, what place could be more propitious to their growth and multiplication than the coast of Paria? The dew in these parts was heavy and abundant, and the oysters were so plentiful that they clustered about the roots and pendant branches of the mangrove-trees, which grew upon the very margin of the tranquil sea. When a branch which had drooped for a time in the water was drawn forth, it was found covered with oysters. Las Casas, noticing this sanguine conclusion of Columbus, observes, that the shell-fish here spoken of are not of the kind which produce pearl, for that those, by a natural instinct, as if conscious of their precious charge, hide themselves in the deepest water.

Still imagining the coast of Paria to be an island, and anxious to circumnavigate it and arrive at the place where these pearls were said by the Indians to abound, Columbus left the Gardens on the 10th of August, and continued coasting westward within the gulf, in search of an outlet to the north. He observed portions of Terra Firma appearing towards the bottom of the gulf, which he supposed to be islands, and called them Isabeta and Tramontana, and fancied that the desired outlet to the sea must lie between them. As he advanced, however, he found the water continually growing shallower and fresher, until he did not dare to venture any farther with his ship, which, he observed, was of too great a size for expeditions of this kind, being of an hundred tons burden, and requiring three fathoms of water. He came to anchor, therefore, and sent a light caravel called the *Correo*, to ascertain whether there was an outlet to the ocean between the supposed islands. The caravel returned on the following day, reporting that at the western end of the gulf there was an opening of two leagues, which led into an inner and circular gulf, surrounded by four openings, apparently smaller gulfs, or rather mouths of rivers, from which flowed the great quantity of fresh water that sweetened the neighbouring sea. In fact, from one of these mouths issued the great river the *Cuparipari*, or, as it is now called, the *Paria*. To this inner and circular gulf Columbus gave the name of the *Gulf of Pearls*, through a mistaken idea that they abounded in its waters, though none, in fact, are found there. He still imagined that the four openings of which the mariners spoke, might be intervals between islands, though they affirmed that all the land he saw was one connected continent. As it was impossible to proceed further westward with his ships, he had no alternative but to retrace his course, and seek an exit to the north by the *Boca del Drago*. He would gladly have continued for some time to explore this coast, for he considered him-

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Columbus. Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1, l. iii, c. 11. Hist. del Almirante, c. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., c. 156.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 78.



self in one of those opulent regions described as the most favoured upon earth, and which increase in riches towards the equator. Imperious considerations, however, compelled him to shorten his voyage and hasten to San Domingo. The sea-stores of his ships were almost exhausted, and the various supplies for the colony, with which they were freighted, were in danger of spoiling. He was suffering, also, extremely in his health. Besides the gout, which had rendered him a cripple for the greater part of the voyage, he was afflicted by a complaint in his eyes, caused by fatigue and over-watching, which almost deprived him of sight. Even the voyage along the coast of Cuba, he observes, in which he was three-and-thirty days almost without sleep, had not so injured his eyes and disordered his frame, or caused him so much painful suffering as the present.\*

On the 14th of August, therefore, he set sail eastward for the Boca del Drago, and was borne along with great velocity by the currents, which, however, prevented him from landing again at his favourite spot, the Gardens. On Sunday the 15th, he anchored near to the Boca, in a fine harbour, to which he gave the name of Puerto de Gatos, from a species of monkey called Gato Paulo, with which the neighbourhood abounded. On the margin of the sea he perceived many trees which, as he thought, produced the mirabolane, a fruit only found in the countries of the East. There were great numbers also of mangroves growing within the water, with oysters clinging to their branches, their mouths open, as he supposed, to receive the dew, which was afterwards to be transformed to pearls.†

On the following morning, the 14th of August, towards noon, the ships approached the Boca del Drago, and prepared to venture through that formidable pass. The distance from Cape Boto at the end of Paria, and Cape Lapa the extremity of Trinidad, is about five leagues; but in the interval there were two islands, which Columbus named Caracol and Delphin. The impetuous body of fresh water which flows through the gulf, particularly in the rainy months of July and August, is confined at the narrow outlets between these islands, where it causes a turbulent sea, foaming and roaring as if breaking over rocks, and rendering the entrance and exit of the gulf extremely dangerous. The horrors and perils of such places are always tenfold to discoverers, who have no chart, or pilot, or advice of previous voyager, to guide them. Columbus, at first, apprehended sunken rocks and shoals; but on attentively considering the commotion of the strait, he attributed it to the conflict between the prodigious body of fresh water setting through the gulf and struggling for an outlet, and the tide of salt water struggling to enter. The ships had scarcely ventured into the fearful channel when the wind died away, and they were in danger every moment of

being thrown upon the rocks or sands. The current of fresh water, however, gained the victory, and carried them safely through. The Admiral, when once more safe in the open sea, congratulated himself upon his escape from this perilous strait, which, he observes, might well be called the Mouth of the Dragon.‡

He now stood to the westward, running along the outer coast of Paria, still supposing it an island, and intending to visit the Gulf of Pearls, which he imagined to be at the end of it, opening to the sea. He wished to ascertain whether this great body of fresh water proceeded from rivers, as the crew of the *caravel* *Correo* had affirmed; for it appeared to him impossible that the streams of mere islands, as he supposed the surrounding lands, could furnish such a prodigious volume of water.

On leaving the Boca del Drago, he saw to the north-east, many leagues distant, two islands, which he called Assumption and Conception; probably those now known as Tobago and Granada. In his course along the northern coast of Paria he saw several other small islands, and many fine harbours, to some of which he gave names, but they have ceased to be known by them. On the 15th he discovered the islands of Margarita and Cubagua, afterwards famous for their pearl fishery. The island of Margarita, about fifteen leagues in length, and six in breadth, was well peopled. The little island of Cubagua, lying between it and the main land, and only about four leagues from the latter, was dry and sterile, without either wood or fresh water, but possessing a good harbour. On approaching this island, the Admiral beheld a number of Indians fishing for pearls, who made for the land. A boat being sent to communicate with them, one of the sailors noticed many strings of pearls round the neck of a female. Having a plate of Valentia ware, a kind of porcelain painted and varnished with gaudy colours, he broke it, and presented the pieces to the Indian woman, who gave him in exchange a considerable number of pearls. These he carried to the Admiral, who immediately sent persons on shore, well provided with Valentian plates and hawks'-bells, for which in a little time he procured about three pounds' weight of pearls, some of which were of a very large size, and were sent by him afterwards to the Sovereigns as specimens.

There was great temptation to linger near these shores, and to visit other spots which the Indians mentioned as abounding in pearls. The coast of Paria also continued extending to the westward as far as the eye could reach, rising into a range of mountains, and provoking examination to ascertain whether, as he began to think, it was a part of the Asiatic continent. Columbus was compelled, however, though with the greatest reluctance, to forego this most interesting investigation.

\* Letter of Columbus to the Sovereigns, Navarrete, l. i, p. 232.

† Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i, lib. iii, c. 40.

‡ Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i, l. iii, cap. 11.

• Charlevoix, Hist. St Domingo, l. iii, p. 169.

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\* Letter to the M  
• Las Casas, Hist



The malady of his eyes had now grown so virulent, that he could no longer take observations or keep a look out, but had to trust to the reports of the pilots and mariners. He bore away, therefore, for Hispaniola, intending to repose there from the toils of his voyage, and to recruit his health, while he should send his brother, the Adelantado, to complete the discovery of this important country. After sailing for five days to the north-west, he made the island of Hispaniola on the 49th of August, fifty leagues to the westward of the river Ozema, the place of his destination; and anchored on the following morning under the little island of Beata.

He was astonished to find himself so mistaken in his calculations, and so far below his destined port; but he attributed it correctly to the force of the current setting out of the Boca del Drago, which, while he had lain-to at nights, to avoid running on rocks and shoals, had borne his ships insensibly to the west. This current, which sets across the Caribbean Sea, and the continuation of which now bears the name of the Gulf Stream, was so rapid, that on the 15th, when the wind was but moderate, the ships had made seventy-five leagues in four-and-twenty hours. Columbus attributed to the violence of this current the formation of that pass called the Boca del Drago, where he supposed it had forced its way through a narrow isthmus that formerly connected Trinidad with the extremity of Paria. He imagined, also, that its constant operation had worn away and inundated the borders of the main land, gradually producing that fringe of islands which stretches from Trinidad to the Lucayas or Bahamas, and which, according to his idea, had originally been part of the solid continent. In corroboration of this opinion, he notices the form of those islands, being narrow from north to south, and extending in length from east to west, in the direction of the current. The island of Beata, where Columbus had anchored, is about thirty leagues to the west of the river Ozema, where he expected to find the new sea-port which his brother had been instructed to explore. The strong and steady current from the east, however, and the prevalence of winds from that quarter, might detain him for a long time at the island, and render the remainder of his voyage slow and precarious. He sent a boat on shore, therefore, to procure an Indian messenger to take a letter to his brother, the Adelantado. Six of the natives came off to the ships, one of whom was armed with a Spanish cross-bow. The anxious mind of the Admiral was immediately alarmed at seeing a weapon of the kind in the possession of an Indian. It was not an article of traffic, and he feared could only have fallen into his hands by the death of some Spaniard.\* He apprehended that further evils had befallen the settlement during his long absence, and that there had again been troubles with the natives.

\* Letter to the King and Queen, Navarrete, Collec., t. i.

• Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i, c. 148.

Having despatched his messenger, he again made sail, and arrived off the mouth of the river on the 30th of August. He was met on the way by a caravel, on board of which was the Adelantado, who, having received his letter, had hastened forth with affectionate ardour to welcome his arrival. The meeting of the brothers was a cause of mutual joy and comfort; they were strongly attached to each other, each had had his trials and sufferings during their long separation, and each looked with confidence to the other for relief. Don Bartholomew appears to have always had great deference for the brilliant genius, the enlarged mind, and the commanding reputation of his brother; while the latter placed great reliance, in times of difficulty, on the worldly knowledge, the indefatigable activity, and the lion-hearted courage of the Adelantado.

Columbus arrived almost the wreck of himself. His voyages were always of a nature to wear out the human frame, having to navigate amidst unknown dangers, and to keep anxious watch, at all hours and in all weathers. As age and infirmity increased upon him, these trials became the more severe. His constitution must originally have been wonderfully vigorous; but even a powerful constitution, exposed to too great hardships, at an advanced period of life, yields to disease and pain. In this last voyage he had been parched and consumed by fever, racked by gout, and his whole system disordered by incipient watchfulness; he came into port haggard, emaciated, and almost blind. His spirit, however, was, as usual, superior to all bodily affliction or decay, and he looked forward with magnificent anticipations to the result of his recent discoveries, which he intended should be immediately prosecuted by his hardy and enterprising brother.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### SPECULATIONS OF COLUMBUS CONCERNING THE COAST OF PARIA.

[ 1498. ]

THE natural phenomena of a great and striking nature which had presented themselves in the course of this voyage, had powerfully excited the contemplative mind of Columbus. In considering the vast body of fresh water which flows into the Gulf of Paria, and thence rushes with such force into the ocean, he formed one of his simple and great conclusions. It could not be produced by an island, or by islands; it must be some mighty river which had wandered through a great extent of country, collecting all its streams, and pouring them in one vast current into the ocean. The land, therefore, which furnished such a river must be a continent. He now supposed that the various tracts of land which he had beheld about the gulf, were mostly connected together. That the coast of Paria extended far to the west, beyond a chain of mountains which he had be-

held afar off from Margarita; and that the land opposite to Trinidad, instead of being an island, continued to an immense distance to the south, far beyond the equator, into that hemisphere hitherto unknown to civilized man. He considered all this an extension of the Asiatic continent; thus presuming that the greater part of the surface of the globe was firm land. In this last opinion he found himself supported by authors of the highest name, both ancient and modern; among whom he cites Aristotle and Seneca, St Augustine and Cardinal Pedro de Aliaco, to whose writings he always attached great value. He lays particular stress also on the assertion of the apocryphal Esdras, that, of seven parts of the world, six are dry land, and one part only is covered with water.

The land, therefore, surrounding the Gulf of Paria, was but the border of an almost boundless continent, stretching far to the west and to the south, including the most precious regions of the earth, lying under the most auspicious stars and benignant skies; but as yet unknown, and uncivilized, free to be discovered and appropriated by any Christian nation. "May it please our Lord," he exclaims in his letter to the Sovereigns, "to give long life and health to your Highnesses, that you may prosecute this noble enterprise, in which, methinks, God will receive great service, Spain vast increase of grandeur, and all Christians much consolation and delight, since the name of our Saviour will be divulged throughout these lands."

Thus far the deductions of Columbus, though sanguine, admit of little cavil; but he carried them still further, until they ended in what may appear to some mere chimerical reveries. In his letter to the Sovereigns, he stated that, on his former voyages, when he steered westward from the Azores, he had observed, after sailing about a hundred leagues, a sudden and great change in the sky and the stars, the temperature of the air, and the calmness of the ocean. It seemed as if a line ran from north to south, beyond which every thing became different. The needle which had previously inclined towards the north-east, now varied a whole point to the north-west. The sea, hitherto clear, was covered with weeds, so dense, that in his first voyage he had expected to run aground upon shoals. A universal tranquillity reigned throughout the elements, and the climate was mild and genial whether in summer or winter. On taking his astronomical observations at night, after crossing that imaginary line, the north star appeared to him to describe a diurnal circle in the heavens of five degrees in diameter.

On his present voyage he had varied his route, and had run southward from the Cape de Verde Islands for the equinoctial line. Before reaching it, however, the heat had become insupportable, and a wind springing up from the east, he had been induced to strike westward, when in the parallel of Sierra Leone in Guinea. For several days he had been almost consumed by scorching and stifling heat under a sultry yet clouded sky, and in a drizzling atmosphere, until

he arrived at the ideal line already mentioned, extending from north to south. Here suddenly, to his great relief, he had emerged into serene weather, with a clear blue sky and a sweet and temperate atmosphere. The further he had proceeded west, the more pure and genial he had found the climate; the sea tranquil, the breezes soft and balmy. All these phenomena coincided with those he had remarked on the same line, though further north, in his former voyages; excepting that here there was no herbage in the sea, and the movements of stars were different. The polar star appeared to him here to describe a diurnal circle of ten degrees instead of five; an augmentation which struck him with astonishment, but which he says he ascertained by observations taken in different nights, with his quadrant. Its greatest altitude at the former place, in the parallel of the Azores, he had found to be ten degrees, and in the present place fifteen.

From these and other circumstances, he was inclined to doubt the received theory with respect to the form of the earth. Philosophers had described it as spherical; but they knew nothing of the part of the world which he had discovered. The ancient part, known to them, he had no doubt was spherical, but he now supposed the real form of the earth to be that of a pear, one part much more elevated than the rest, and tapering upward toward the skies. This part he supposed to be in the interior of this newly-found continent, and immediately under the equator. All the phenomena which he had previously noticed, appeared to corroborate this theory. The variations which he had observed in passing the imaginary line running from north to south, he concluded to be caused by the ships having arrived at this supposed swelling of the earth, where they began gently to mount towards the skies into a purer and more celestial atmosphere.<sup>1</sup> The variation of the needle he ascribed to the same cause, being affected by the coolness and mildness of the climate; varying to the north-west, in proportion as the ships continued onward in their ascent.<sup>2</sup> So also the altitude of the north star, and the circle it described in the heavens, appeared to be greater, in consequence of being regarded from a greater elevation, less obliquely, and through a purer medium of atmosphere; and these phenomena would be found to increase the more the navigator approached the equator, from the still increasing eminence of this part of the earth.

<sup>1</sup> Peter Martyr mentions, that the Admiral told him that, from the climate of great heat and unwholesome air, he had ascended the back of the sea, being, as it were, a high mountain towards heaven. Decad. i. lib. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Columbus, in his attempts to account for the variation of the needle, supposed that the north star possessed the quality of the four cardinal points, as did likewise the loadstone. That if the needle were touched with one part of the loadstone, it would point east and another west, and so on. Wherefore, he adds, those who prepare or magnetize the needles, cover the loadstone with a cloth, so that the north part only remains out; that is to say, the part which possesses the virtue of causing the needle to point to the north. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 66.

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He noticed, also, the difference of climate, vegetation, and people, of this part of the New World, from those under the same parallel in Africa. There the heat was insupportable, the land parched and sterile, the inhabitants were black, with crisped wool, ill-shapen in their forms, and dull and brutal in their natures. Here, on the contrary, although the sun was in Leo, he found the noontide heat moderate, the mornings and evenings fresh and cool, the country green and fruitful, and covered with beautiful forests, the people fairer even than those in the lands he had discovered further north, having long hair, with well proportioned and graceful forms, lively minds, and courageous dispositions. All this, in a latitude so near to the equator, he attributed to the superior altitude of this part of the world, by which it was raised into a more celestial region of the air. On turning northward, through the Gulf of Paria, he had found the circle described by the north star again to diminish. The current of the sea also increased in velocity, wearing away, as has already been remarked, the borders of the continent, and producing by its incessant operation the adjacent islands. This was a further confirmation of the idea that he ascended in going southward, and descended in returning northward.

Aristotle had imagined that the highest part of the earth, and nearest to the skies, was under the antarctic pole. Other sages had maintained that it was under the arctic. Hence it was apparent that both conceived one part of the earth to be more elevated, and noble, and nearer to the heavens than the rest. They did not think of this eminence being under the equinoctial line, observed Columbus, because they had no certain knowledge of this hemisphere, but only spoke of it theoretically and from conjecture.

As usual, he assisted his theory by holy writ. The sun, when God created it, he observes, was in the first point of the Orient, or the first light was there. That place, according to his idea, must be here, in the remotest part of the East, where the ocean and the extreme part of India meet under the equinoctial line, and where the highest point of the earth is situated. He supposed this apex of the world, though of immense height, to be neither rugged nor precipitous, but that the land rose to it by gentle and imperceptible degrees. The beautiful and fertile shores of Paria were situated on its remote borders, abounding of course with those precious articles which are congenial with the most favoured and excellent climates. As one penetrated in the interior and gradually ascended, the land would be found to increase in beauty and luxuriance, and in the exquisite nature of its productions, until it terminated in the summit under the equator. This he imagined to be the noblest and most perfect place on earth, enjoying, from its position, an equality of nights and days, and a uniformity of seasons, and being elevated into a serene and heavenly temperature, above the heats and colds, the clouds and vapours, the storms and

tempests which deform and disturb the lower regions. In a word, here he supposed to be situated the original abode of our first parents, the primitive seat of human innocence and bliss, the Garden of Eden, or terreatrial paradise. He imagined this place, according to the opinion of the most eminent fathers of the church, to be still flourishing, possessed of all its blissful delights, but inaccessible to mortal feet, excepting by divine permission. From this height he presumed, though of course from a great distance, proceeded the mighty stream of fresh water which filled the Gulf of Paria, and sweetened the salt ocean in its vicinity, being supplied by the fountain mentioned in Genesis, as springing from the tree of life in the Garden of Eden.

Such was the singular speculation of Columbus, which he details at full length in a letter to the Castilian Sovereigns, citing various authorities for his opinions, among which were St Augustine, St Isidor, and St Ambrosius, and fortifying his theory with much of that curious and speculative erudition in which he was deeply versed. It shows how his ardent mind was heated by the magnificence of his discoveries. Shrewd men, in the coolness and quietude of ordinary life, and in these modern days of cautions and sober fact, may smile at such a reverie, but it was countenanced by the speculations of the most sage and learned of those times, and if this had not been, could we wonder at any sally of the imagination in a man placed in the situation of Columbus? He beheld a vast world, rising, as it were, into existence before him, its nature and extent unknown and undefined, as yet a mere region for conjecture. Every day displayed some new feature of beauty and sublimity; island after island, whose rocks, he was told, were veined with gold, whose groves teemed with spices, or whose shores abounded with pearls. Intermittent ranges of coast, promontory beyond promontory, stretching as far as the eye could reach; luxuriant valleys sweeping away into a vast interior, whose distant mountains, he was told, concealed still happier lands, and realms of still greater opulence. When he looked upon all this region of golden promise, it was with the glorious conviction that his genius had called it into existence; he regarded it with the triumphant eye of a discoverer. Had not Columbus been capable of these enthusiastic soarings of the imagination, he might, with other sages, have reasoned calmly and coldly about the probability of a continent existing in the west, but he would never have had the daring enterprise to adventure in search of it into the unknown realms of ocean.

Still, in the midst of his fanciful speculations, we find that solid foundation of sagacity which formed the basis of his character. The conclusion which he drew from the great flow of the Orinoko, that it must be the outpouring of a continent, was acute and striking.

<sup>1</sup> Navarrete, *Collec. de Viages*, t. i. p. 712.

<sup>2</sup> See Illustrations, article SITUATION OF THE GARDEN OF PARADISE.

A learned Spanish historian has also ingeniously excused other parts of his theory. "He suspected," observes he, "a certain elevation of the globe at one part of the equator; philosophers have since determined the world to be a spheroid, slightly elevated in its equatorial circumference. He suspected that the diversity of temperatures influenced the needle, not being able to penetrate the cause of its inconstant variations; the successive series of voyages and experiments have made this inconstancy more manifest, and have shown that extreme cold sometimes divests the needle of all its virtue. Perhaps new observations may justify the surmise of Columbus. Even his error concerning the circle described by the polar star, which he thought augmented by an optical illusion in proportion as the observer approached the equinox, manifests him a philosopher superior to the time in which he lived."

## BOOK XI.

### CHAPTER I.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF THE ADELANTADO. EXPEDITION TO THE PROVINCE OF XARAGUA.

[ 1498. ]

COLUMBUS had anticipated repose from his toils on arriving at Hispaniola, but a new scene of trouble and anxiety opened upon him, which was destined to impede the prosecution of his enterprises, and to affect all his future fortunes. To explain this, it is necessary to relate the occurrences of the island in the long space of time during which he had been so injuriously detained in Spain.

When he sailed for Europe in March, 1496, his brother Don Bartholomew, who remained as governor, with the title of Adelantado, took the earliest measures to execute his directions with respect to the mines recently discovered by Miguel Diaz on the south side of the island. Leaving Don Diego Columbus in command at Isabella, he repaired with a large force to the neighbourhood of the mines, and chusing a favourable situation, in a place most abounding in ore, he built a fortress, to which he gave the name of St Christoval. The workmen, however, finding grains of gold among the earth and stone employed in its construction, gave it the name of the Golden Tower.\*

The Adelantado remained here three months, superintending the building of the fortress, and making the necessary preparations for working the mines and purifying the ore. The progress of the work, however, was greatly impeded by scarcity of provisions,

having frequently to detach a part of the men from their labours, and to send them about the country in quest of supplies. The former hospitality of the island was at an end. The Indians no longer gave their provisions freely; they had learnt from the white men to profit by the necessities of the stranger, and to exact a price for the bread that was to relieve his hunger. Their scanty stores, also, were soon exhausted, for their frugal habits, and their natural indolence and improvidence, seldom permitted them to have more provisions on hand than was requisite for present support. The Adelantado found it difficult, therefore, to maintain so large a force in the neighbourhood, until they should have time to cultivate the earth and raise live-stock, or should receive supplies from Spain. Leaving ten men to guard the fortress, with a dog to assist them in catching utias, he marched with the rest of his men, about four hundred in number, to Fort Conception, in the abundant country of the Vega. He passed the whole month of June collecting the quarterly tribute, being supplied with food by Guarionex and his subordinate caciques. In the following month (July, 1496), the three caravels commanded by Niño arrived from Spain, bringing a reinforcement of men, and, what was still more needed, a supply of provisions.† The latter was quickly distributed among the hungry colonists, but unfortunately a great part was found to have been injured during the voyage. This was a serious misfortune in a community where the least pressure of scarcity produced murmur and sedition.

By these ships the Adelantado received letters from his brother, directing him to found a town and sea-port in the mouth of the Ozema, near to the new mines. He requested him, also, to send prisoners to Spain such of the caciques and their subjects as had been concerned in the death of any of the colonists, that being considered as sufficient ground, by many of the ablest jurists and theologians of Spain, for selling them as slaves. On the return of the caravels, the Adelantado despatched three hundred Indian prisoners, and three caciques. These formed the ill-starred cargoes about which Niño had made such absurd vaunting, as though his ships were laden with treasure, and which had caused such mortification, disappointment, and delay to Columbus.

Having obtained by this arrival a supply of provisions, the Adelantado returned to the fortress of San Christoval, and from thence proceeded to the Ozema to chuse a site for the proposed sea-port. After a careful examination, he chose the eastern bank of a natural haven at the mouth of the river. It was easy of access, of sufficient depth, and good anchorage. The river ran through a beautiful and fertile country; its waters were pure and salubrious, and well stocked with fish; its banks were covered with trees bearing the fine fruits of the island, so that in sailing along, the fruits and flowers might be plucked with the hand from the branches which over-

\* Muñoz, Hist. N. Mundo, t. vi, § 52.

† Peter Martyr, decad. 1, l. v.

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hung the stream. This delightful vicinity was the dwelling-place of the female cacique who had conceived an affection for the young Spaniard Miguel Diaz, and had induced him to entice his countrymen to that part of the island. The promise she had given of a friendly reception on the part of her tribe was faithfully performed.

On a commanding bank of the harbour, Don Bartholomew erected a fortress, which at first was called Isabella, but afterwards San Domingo, and was the origin of the city which still bears that name. The Adelantado was of an active and indefatigable spirit. No sooner was the fortress completed, than he left in it a garrison of twenty men, and with the rest of his forces set out on an expedition to visit the dominions of Behechio, one of the principal chieftains of the island. This cacique, as has already been mentioned, reigned over Xaragua, a province comprising almost the whole coast at the west end of the island, including Cape Tiburon, and extending along the south side as far as Point Aguda, or the small island of Beata. It was one of the most populous and fertile districts. The situation was sheltered and delightful, the people were softer and more graceful in their manners than the rest of the islanders. Being so remote from all the fortresses, the cacique, although he had taken a part in the combination of the chieftains, had hitherto remained free from the incursions and exactions of the white men.

With this cacique resided Anacaona, widow of the late formidable Caonabo. She was sister to Behechio, and had taken refuge with her brother after the capture of her husband. She was one of the most beautiful females of the island; her name, in the Indian language, signified flower of gold. She possessed a genius superior to the generality of her race, and was said to excel in composing those little legendary ballads, or areytos, which the natives chanted as they performed their national dances. All the Spanish writers agree in describing her as possessing a natural dignity and grace hardly to be credited in her ignorant and savage condition. Notwithstanding the ruin with which her husband had been overwhelmed by the hostility of the white men, she appears to have entertained no vindictive feeling towards them. She knew that he had provoked their vengeance by his own voluntary warfare. She regarded the Spaniards with admiration as almost superhuman beings, and her intelligent mind perceived the futility and impolicy of any attempt to resist their superiority in arts and arms. Having great influence over her brother Behechio, she counselled him to take warning by the fate of her husband, and to conciliate the friendship of the Spaniards, and it is supposed that a knowledge of the friendly sentiments and powerful influence of this princess, in a great measure prompted the Adelantado to his present expedition.

<sup>1</sup> P. Martyr, *decad.* i. l. v.

<sup>2</sup> Charlevoix, *Hist. St. Doming.* l. ii. p. 147. Muñoz, *Hist. N. Mundo*, l. vi. § 6.

In passing through those parts of the island which had hitherto been unvisited by the Europeans, the Adelantado adopted the same imposing measures which the Admiral had used on a former occasion; he put his cavalry in the advance, and entered all the Indian towns in martial array, with standards displayed, and the sound of drum and trumpet, inspiring the natives with great awe and admiration.

After proceeding about thirty leagues, he came to the river which, issuing from the mountains of Cibao, divides the southern side of the island. Crossing the stream, he despatched two parties of ten men each along the sea-coast in search of brazil-wood. They found great quantities, and felled many trees, which they stored in the Indian cabins, until they could be taken away by sea.

Inclining with his main force to the right, the Adelantado met, not far from the river, with the cacique Behechio, with a great army of his subjects, armed with bows, arrows, and lances. If he had come forth with an intention of opposing the inroad into his forest domains, he was probably daunted by the formidable appearance of the Spaniards. Laying aside his weapons, he advanced and accosted the Adelantado very amicably, professing that he was thus in arms for the purpose of subjecting certain villages along the river, and inquiring, at the same time, the object of this incursion of the Spaniards. The Adelantado assured him that he came in peace to visit him and his territories, and to pass a little time with him in friendly intercourse at Xaragua. He succeeded so well in allaying the apprehensions of the cacique, that he dismissed his army, and sent swift messengers in advance to announce his approach, and to order preparations for the suitable reception of so distinguished a guest. As the Spaniards advanced into the territories of the chieftain, and passed through the districts of his inferior caciques, the latter brought forth cassava-bread, hemp, cotton, and the various productions of the land. At length they drew near to the residence of Behechio, which was a large town situated in a beautiful part of the country near the coast, at the bottom of that deep bay, called at present the Bight of Leagon.

The Spaniards had heard many accounts of the soft and delightful region of Xaragua, in one part of which some of the Indian traditions placed their Elysian fields. They had heard much, also, of the beauty and urbanity of the inhabitants: the mode of their reception was calculated to confirm their favourable prepossessions. As they approached the place, thirty females of the cacique's household came forth to meet them, singing their areytos, or traditional ballads, and dancing and waving palm branches. The married females wore aprons of embroidered cotton, reaching half way to the knee; the young women were entirely naked, with merely a fillet round the forehead, their hair falling upon their shoulders. They were beautifully proportioned, their skin smooth and delicate, and their complexion



of a clear agreeable brown. According to old Peter Martyr, the Spaniards when they beheld them issuing forth from their green woods, almost imagined they beheld the fabled dryades, or native nymphs and fairies of the fountains, sung by the ancient poets.<sup>1</sup> When they came before Don Bartholomew, they knelt and gracefully presented him the green branches. After these came the female cacique Anacaona, reclining on a kind of light litter borne by six Indians. Like the other females, she had no other covering than an apron of various-coloured cotton. She wore round her head a fragrant garland of red and white flowers, and wreaths of the same round her neck and arms. She received the Adelantado and his followers with that natural grace and courtesy for which she was celebrated; manifesting no hostility towards them for the fate her husband had experienced at their hands. On the contrary, she seemed from the first to conceive a great admiration and sincere friendship for the strangers.

The Adelantado and his officers were conducted to the house of Behechio, where a banquet was served up of utias, a great variety of sea and river fish, with the roots and fine fruits which formed the principal food of the Indians. Here first the Spaniards conquered their repugnance to the guana, the favourite delicacy of the Indians, but which the former had regarded with disgust, as a species of serpent. The Adelantado, willing to accustom himself to the usages of the country, was the first to taste this animal, being kindly pressed thereto by Anacaona. His followers imitated his example; they found it to be highly palatable and delicate; and from that time forward the guana began to be held in repute among Spanish epicures.<sup>2</sup>

The banquet being over, Don Bartholomew with six of his principal cavaliers were lodged in the dwelling of Behechio; the rest were distributed in the houses of the inferior caciques, where they slept in hammocks of matted cotton, the usual beds of the natives.

For two days they remained with the hospitable Behechio, entertained with various Indian games and festivities, among which the most remarkable was the representation of a battle. Two squadrons of naked Indians, armed with bows and arrows, sallied suddenly into the public square and began to skirmish, in a manner similar to the Moorish play of canes, or tilting-reeds. By degrees, they became

excited, and fought with such earnestness, that four were slain, and many wounded, which seemed to increase the interest and pleasure of the spectators. The contest would have continued longer, and might have been still more bloody, had not the Adelantado and the other cavaliers interfered and begged that the game might cease.<sup>3</sup> When the festivities were over, and familiar intercourse had promoted mutual confidence, the Adelantado addressed the cacique and Anacaona on the real object of his visit. He informed them that his brother, the Admiral, had been sent to this island by the Sovereigns of Castile, who were great and mighty potentates, with many kingdoms under their sway. That the Admiral had returned to apprise his Sovereigns how many tributary caciques there were in the island, leaving him in command, and that he had come to receive Behechio under the protection of these mighty Sovereigns, and to arrange a tribute to be paid by him, in such manner as should be most convenient and satisfactory to himself.<sup>4</sup>

The cacique was greatly embarrassed by this demand, knowing the sufferings that had been inflicted on the other parts of the island by the avidity of the Spaniards for gold. He replied that he had been apprised that gold was the great object for which the white men had come to their island, and that a tribute was paid in it by some of his fellow caciques; but that in no part of his territories was gold to be found; and his subjects hardly knew what it was. To this the Adelantado replied with great adroitness, that nothing was further from the intention or wish of his Sovereigns than to require a tribute in things not produced in his dominions, but that it might be paid in cotton, hemp, and cassava-bread, with which the surrounding country appeared to abound. The countenance of the cacique brightened at this intimation; he promised cheerful compliance, and instantly sent orders to all his subordinate caciques to sow abundance of cotton for the first payment of the stipulated tribute. Having made all the requisite arrangements, the Adelantado took the most friendly leave of Behechio and his sister, and set out for Isabella.

Thus, by amicable and sagacious management, one of the most extensive provinces of the island was brought into cheerful subjection, and, had not the wise policy of the Adelantado been defeated by the excesses of worthless and turbulent men, a large revenue might have been collected, without any recourse to violence or oppression. In all instances, these simple people appear to have been extremely tractable, and meekly and even cheerfully to have resigned their rights to the white men, when treated with gentleness and humanity.

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. 1, cap. 113.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, c. 114.

<sup>1</sup> Peter Martyr, decad. i. l. v.

<sup>2</sup> "These serpentes lyke unto crocodiles, saving in biggness, they call gnanas. Unto that day none of owre men durste adventure to taste of them, by reason of theyre horrible deformite and lothsonnes. Yet the Adelantado being entysed by the pleasantness of the kinge's sister, Anacaona, determined to taste of the serpentes. But when he felte the fleshe thereof to be so delicate to his tongue, he fel to amayne without all feare. The which thyng his companions perceyving, were not behinde hym in greedynesse: insomuche that they had now none other talke than of the sweetnesse of these serpentes, which they affirm to be of more pleasant taste than eyther our phosantes or partrichs." Peter Martyr, decad. i. book v. Eden's Eng. transl.

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## CHAPTER II.

## ESTABLISHMENT OF A CHAIN OF MILITARY POSTS. INSURRECTION OF GUARIONEX, THE CACIQUE OF THE VEGA.

[ 406. ]

ON arriving at Isabella, Don Bartholomew found it, as usual, a scene of misery and repining. Many had died during his absence, most were ill. Those who were healthy complained of the scarcity of food, and those who were ill, of the want of medicines. The provisions which had been distributed among them, from the supplies brought out a few months before by Peralonzo Niño, had been consumed. The colonists, partly from sickness, and partly from a repugnance to labour, had neglected to cultivate the surrounding country, and the Indians, on whom they had chiefly depended, outraged by their oppressions, had abandoned the vicinity, and fled to the mountains; preferring to subsist on roots and herbs, in their rugged retreats, rather than remain in the luxuriant plains, subject to the wrongs and cruelties of the white men. The history of this island presents continual pictures of the miseries, the actual want, and poverty produced by the grasping avidity of gold. It had rendered the Spaniards heedless of all the less obvious, but more certain and salubrious sources of wealth. All labour seemed lost that was to produce profit by a circuitous process. Instead of cultivating the luxuriant soil around them, and deriving real treasures from its surface, they thought only of golden streams, and were starving in the midst of fertility.

No sooner were the provisions exhausted which had been brought out by Niño, than the colonists began to break forth in their accustomed murmurs. They represented themselves as neglected by Columbus, who amidst the blandishments and delights of a court, thought little of their sufferings. They considered themselves equally forgotten by government; while, having no vessel in the harbour, they were destitute of all means of sending home intelligence of their disastrous situation, and of imploring relief.

To remove this last cause of discontent, and to furnish some object for their hopes and thoughts to rally round, the Adelantado ordered that two caravels should be built at Isabella, for the use of the island. To relieve the settlement, also, from all useless and repining individuals, during this time of scarcity, he distributed such as were too ill to labour, or to bear arms, into the interior, where they would have the benefit of a better climate, and more abundant supply of Indian provisions. He established, at the same time, a chain of military posts between Isabella and the new port of San Domingo. They consisted of five fortified houses, each surrounded by its dependent hamlets. The first of these was about nine leagues from Isabella, and was called La Esperanza. Six leagues beyond was Santa Catalina. Four leagues

and a half farther was Santiago; and five leagues farther Fort Conception—which was fortified with great care, being at the foot of the golden mountains of Cibao, in the vast and populous Vega, and within half a league from the residence of its cacique, Guarionex. Having thus relieved Isabella of all its useless population, and left none but such as were too ill to be removed, or were required for the service and protection of the place, and the construction of the caravels, the Adelantado returned, with a large body of the most effective men, to the fortress of San Domingo.

The military posts thus established, succeeded for a time in overawing the natives; but fresh hostilities soon began to be manifested, excited by a different cause from the preceding. Among the missionaries who had accompanied Friar Boyle to the island, were two of far greater zeal than their superior. When he returned to Spain, they remained behind, earnestly bent upon the fulfilment of their mission. One was called Roman Pane, a poor hermit, as he styled himself, of the order of St. Gerardo; the other was Juan Borgoñon, a Franciscan. They resided for some time among the Indians of the Vega, strenuously endeavouring to make converts. They had succeeded with one family, consisting of sixteen persons, the chief of which, on being baptized, had taken the name of Juan Mateo. The conversion of the cacique Guarionex, however, was the great object of their pious labours. The extent and importance of his possessions made his conversion of great importance to the interests of the colony; and the zealous fathers considered it a means of bringing his numerous subjects under the dominion of the church. For some time the cacique lent a willing ear; he learnt the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, and the Creed, and made his whole family repeat them daily. The other caciques of the Vega and of the provinces of Cibao, however, reproached him, and scoffed at him for meanly conforming to the laws and customs of the strangers, who were usurpers of his possessions, and oppressors of his nation. The friars complained that, in consequence of these evil communications, their fancied convert suddenly relapsed into his infidelity; but another and more grievous cause is assigned for his recantation. His favourite wife was seduced or treated with outrage by one of the Spaniards of some authority; and the indignant cacique renounced all faith in a religion, which, as he supposed, admitted of such atrocities. Losing all hope of effecting the conversion of Guarionex, the missionaries removed to the territories of another cacique, taking with them Juan Mateo, their Indian convert. Before their departure, they erected a small chapel, and furnished it with an altar, crucifix, and images, for the use of the family of Mateo.

The friars had scarcely departed, when several Indians entered the chapel, broke the images in pieces, trampled them under foot, and buried them in a neighbouring field. This, it was said, was done

by Peter Martyr, deced. i. l. v.

by order of Guarionex, in contempt of the holy religion from which he had apostatized. A complaint of this enormity was carried to the Adelantado, who ordered a suit to be immediately instituted, and those who were found culpable to be punished according to the law. It was a period of great rigour in ecclesiastical law, especially among the Spaniards. In Spain, all heresies in religion, all recantations from the faith, and all acts of sacrilege, either by Moor or Jew, were punished with fire and faggot. Such was the fate of the poor ignorant Indians, convicted of this outrage on the church. It is questionable whether Guarionex had any hand in this offence, and it is probable that the whole affair was exaggerated. A proof of the credit due to the evidence brought forward, may be judged by one of the facts recorded by Roman Pane, "the poor hermit." The field in which the holy images were buried, was planted, he says, with certain roots shaped like a turnip, or radish, several of which coming up in the neighbourhood of the images, were found to have grown most miraculously in the form of a cross.<sup>1</sup>

The cruel punishment inflicted on these Indians, instead of daunting their countrymen, filled them with horror and indignation. They had not been accustomed to such stern rule and vindictive justice, and having no clear ideas nor powerful sentiments with respect to religion of any kind, they could not comprehend the nature nor extent of the crime committed. Even Guarionex, a man naturally moderate and pacific, was highly incensed with the assumption of power within his territories, and the inhuman death inflicted on his subjects. The other caciques perceived his irritation, and endeavoured to induce him to unite in a sudden insurrection, that, by one vigorous and general effort, they might break the yoke of their oppressors. Guarionex wavered for some time. He knew the martial skill and prowess of the Spaniards. He stood in awe of their cavalry, and he had before him the disastrous fate of Caonabo. But he was rendered bold by despair, and he beheld in the domination of these strangers the assured ruin of his race. The early writers speak of a tradition current among the inhabitants of the island, respecting this Guarionex. He was of an ancient line of hereditary caciques. His father, in times long preceding the discovery, having fasted for five days, according to their superstitious observances, applied to his zemi, or household deity, for information of things to come. He received for answer, that within a few years there should come to the island a nation covered with clothing, which should destroy all their customs and ceremonies, and should slay their children or reduce them to painful servitude.<sup>2</sup> The tradition was probably invented by the Butios, or priests of the Indians, after the Spaniards had begun to exercise their severities. Whether this prediction had an effect in disposing the mind of Guarionex to

hostilities against the strangers, is uncertain. Some have asserted, that he was compelled to take up arms by the importunities of his subjects, who still flattered themselves with the hope of success, and threatened, in case of his refusal, to chuse some other chieftain; while others have alleged the outrage committed upon his favourite wife, as the principal cause of irritation.<sup>3</sup> It was probably all these things combined which at length induced the unfortunate cacique to listen to the counsels of his neighbouring chieftains, and to enter into their conspiracy. A secret consultation was held among them, wherein it was concerted, that on the day of payment of their quarterly tribute, when a great number could assemble without causing suspicion, they should suddenly rise upon the Spaniards and massacre them.<sup>4</sup>

By some means the garrison at Fort Conception received intimation of this conspiracy. Being but a handful of men, and surrounded by hostile tribes, they were alarmed for their safety. They immediately despatched an Indian messenger to the Adelantado at San Domingo, begging immediate assistance. How to get this letter safe to his hands was an anxious question: their safety depended upon it. The Indian messenger might be intercepted, and the letter taken from him, for the natives had discovered that these letters had a wonderful power of communicating intelligence, and fancied that they could talk. The letter was, therefore, enclosed in a reed which the messenger used as a staff. He was, in fact, intercepted, but affected to be dumb and lame. He spoke only by signs, intimating that he was returning to his home, and leaning on his staff, limped along with extreme difficulty. He was suffered to depart, and dragged himself feebly forward until out of sight, when he resumed his speed, and bore the letter safely and expeditiously to San Domingo.<sup>5</sup>

The Adelantado, with his characteristic promptness and activity, immediately set out with a body of troops for the fortress; and though his men were much enfeebled by scanty fare, hard service, and long marches, hurried them rapidly forward. Never did aid arrive more opportunely. The Indians were already assembled on the plain, to the amount of many thousands, armed after their manner, and waiting for the appointed time to strike the blow. After consulting with the commander of the fortress, and the other principal officers, the Adelantado concerted his mode of proceeding. Ascertaining the places in which the various caciques had distributed their forces, he appointed an officer with a body of men to each cacique, with orders, at an appointed hour of the night, to rush suddenly into the villages where they were sleeping, to surprise them unarmed and unsuspecting, and to bind the caciques and bring them off prisoners, before their subjects could as-

<sup>1</sup> Escritura de Fr. Roman, Hist. del Almirante.

<sup>2</sup> P. Martyr, decad. i. lib. ix.

<sup>3</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. c. 121.

<sup>4</sup> Herrera, decad. i. l. iii. c. 63. P. Martyr, decad. G. l. v.

<sup>5</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i. l. iii. c. 6.

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<sup>6</sup> P. Martyr, d. i. f.

## CHAPTER III.

THE ADELANTADO REPAIRS TO XARAGUA TO RECEIVE TRIBUTE.

[ 1497. ]

semble for their defence. As Guarionex was the most important personage, and his capture would probably be attended with most difficulty and danger, the Adelantado took the charge of it upon himself, at the head of one hundred men.

This sagacious stratagem, founded upon a knowledge of the attachment of the Indians to their chieftains, and calculated to spare a great effusion of blood, was completely successful. The villages, having no walls nor other defences, were quietly entered at midnight; and the Spaniards, rushing suddenly into the houses where the caciques were quartered, seized and bound them, to the number of fourteen, and hurried them off prisoners to the fortress, before any effort could be made for their defence or rescue. The Indians, struck with terror and confusion, made no resistance, nor any show of hostility; surrounding the fortress in great multitudes, but without weapons, they filled the air with doleful howlings and lamentations, imploring the release of their chieftains. The Adelantado completed his enterprise with the spirit, sagacity, and moderation with which he had hitherto conducted it. He obtained information of the causes which had led to this conspiracy, and of the individuals who had been most culpable. Two of the caciques, the principal movers of the insurrection, and who had most wrought upon the easy nature of Guarionex, were put to death. As to that unfortunate cacique, the Adelantado ascertained the deep wrongs he had suffered, and the slowness with which he had been provoked to revenge. He magnanimously pardoned him; nay, according to Las Casas, he proceeded with stern justice against the Spaniard whose outrage on the wife of the cacique had sunk so deeply in his heart. The Adelantado extended his lenity also to the remaining chieftains of the conspiracy. Apprehensive that severe measures might incense their subjects, or drive them to despondency, and induce them to abandon the Vega, he held forth to them promises of great favours and rewards, if they should continue firm in their loyalty; but terrible punishments, should they again be found in rebellion. The heart of Guarionex was subdued by the unexpected clemency of the Adelantado. He made a speech to his people, setting forth the irresistible might and valour of the Spaniards, their great lenity to offenders, and their generosity to such as were faithful; and he earnestly exhorted them henceforth to cultivate their friendship. The Indians listened to him with attention; his praises of the white men were confirmed in their minds by this great instance of moderation on the part of the Adelantado. When their cacique had concluded, they took him up with transport on their shoulders, bore him to his habitation with songs and shouts of joy, and for some time the tranquillity of the Vega was restored.

P. Martyr, d. i. f. v. Herrera, Hist. Ind., d. i. l. iii. c. 6.

With all his energy and discretion, the Adelantado found it difficult to manage the proud and turbulent spirit of the Spanish colonists. Their discontents and their impatience of any salutary rule, increased day by day. They could ill brook the rigorous sway of a foreigner, who, when they attempted to be restive, curbed them with a firm and iron hand. Don Bartholomew had not the same legitimate authority in their eyes as his brother. The splendid reputation of the Admiral gave dignity and grandeur to his name. He was the discoverer of the country, and the authorized representative of the Sovereigns; yet even him they with difficulty brought themselves to obey. The Adelantado, however, was regarded by many of them as a mere intruder, shouldering himself into power on the merits and services of his brother, and possessing no authority from the crown for such high command. They spoke with impatience and indignation of the long absence of the Admiral, and his fancied inattention to their wants: little aware of the incessant anxieties he was suffering on their account, during his detention in Spain. The sagacious measure of the Adelantado in building the caravels, for some time diverted their attention. They watched their progress with solicitude, looking upon them as a means either of obtaining relief, or of abandoning the island. Don Bartholomew was aware that repining and discontented men should never be left to idleness. He sought continual means of keeping them in movement; and indeed a state of constant activity was congenial to his own vigorous spirit. About this time, messengers arrived from Behechio, cacique of Xaragua, informing him that he had large quantities of cotton, and other articles, in which his tribute was to be paid, ready for delivery. The Adelantado immediately summoned a numerous train, who gladly set forth with him to revisit this fruitful and happy region. They were again received with songs and dances, and all the national demonstrations of respect and amity by Behechio and his sister Anacaona. The latter appeared to be highly popular among the natives, and to have almost as much sway in Xaragua as her brother. Her natural ease, and the graceful dignity of her manners, more and more won the admiration of the Spaniards.

The Adelantado found thirty-two inferior caciques assembled in the house of Behechio, awaiting his arrival with their respective tributes. The cotton which they had brought amounted to so great a quantity, as to fill one of their houses. Having delivered this, they gratuitously offered the Adelantado to give him as much cassava-bread as he desired. The offer was most acceptable in the present necessitous state of the colony; and Don Bartholomew sent to Isabella for one of the caravels, which was nearly

finished, to be despatched as soon as possible to Xaragua, to be freighted with bread and cotton.

In the mean time, the utmost kindness was lavished on the Spaniards by these gentle and generous people; they brought from all quarters large supplies of provisions, and they entertained their guests with continual festivity and banqueting. The early Spanish writers, whose imaginations were heated by the accounts of the voyagers, and who could not form an idea of the simplicity of savage life, especially in those parts which were supposed to border upon Asia, often speak in terms of oriental magnificence of the entertainments of the natives; the palaces of the caciques, and the lords and ladies of their courts, as if they were describing the abodes of Asiatic potentates. The accounts given of Xaragua, however, have a different character; and give a picture of savage life, in its perfection of indolent ease, and untasked enjoyment. The troubles which distracted the other parts of the devoted Hayti, had not yet reached the inhabitants of this pleasant region. Living among beautiful and fruitful groves, on the borders of a sea, which appeared for ever tranquil and unvexed by storms, having few wants, and those readily supplied, they appeared emancipated from the common lot of labour, and to pass their lives in one uninterrupted holiday. When the Spaniards regarded the fertility and sweetness of this country, the gentleness of its people, and the beauty of its women, they pronounced it a perfect paradise.

At length the caravel arrived which was to be freighted with the articles of tribute. It anchored about six miles distant from the residence of Behechio, and Anacaona proposed to her brother that they should go together to behold what she called the great canoe of the white men. On their way to the coast, the Adelantado was lodged one night in a village, in a house where Anacaona treasured up those articles which she esteemed most rare and precious. They consisted of various manufactures of cotton ingeniously wrought; of chairs, tables, and other articles of furniture, formed of ebony and other kinds of wood,—all evincing great skill and ingenuity, in a people who had no iron tools to work with. Such were the simple treasures of this Indian princess, of which she generously made numerous presents to her guests.

Nothing could exceed the wonder and delight of this intelligent woman, when she first beheld the ship. Her brother, who treated her with a fraternal fondness and respectful attention, worthy of civilized life, had prepared two canoes, gaily painted and decorated; one to convey her and her attendants, and the other for himself and his chieftains. Anacaona, however, preferred to embark, with her attendants, in the ship's boat with the Adelantado. As they approached the caravel, the cannon fired a salute. At the sound of this sudden thunder, and the sight of volumes of smoke bursting from the sides of the ship, and rolling along the sea, Anacaona, overcome with dismay, fell into the arms of the Adelantado, and her attendants

would have leapt overboard in their affright. The laughter and the cheerful words of Don Bartholomew, however, speedily reassured them. As they drew nearer to the vessel, several instruments of martial music struck up, with which they were greatly delighted. Their admiration increased on entering on board of the caravel. Accustomed only to their simple and slight canoes, every thing here appeared to be wonderfully solid and complicated, and on a wonderful and vast scale. But when the anchor was weighed, the sails were spread, and, aided by a gentle breeze, they beheld this vast mass, moving apparently by its own volition, veering from side to side, and playing like a huge monster in the deep, the brother and sister remained gazing at each other in mute astonishment. Nothing seems to have filled the mind of the most stoical savage with more wonder, than that sublime and beautiful triumph of human genius, a ship under sail.

Having freighted and despatched the caravel, the Adelantado made many presents to Behechio, his sister, and their attendants, and took leave of them, to return by land with his troops to Isabella. Anacaona showed great affliction at their parting, entreating him to remain some time longer with them, and appearing fearful that they had failed in their humble attempt to please him. She even offered to follow him to the settlement, nor would she be consoled, until he had promised to return again to Xaragua.

It is impossible not to be struck with the great ability shown by the Adelantado in the course of his transient government of the island. Wonderfully alert and active, he made repeated marches of great extent, from one remote province to another, and was always at the post of danger at the critical moment. By skilful management, he had, with a handful of men, defeated a formidable insurrection without any effusion of blood. He had conciliated the most inveterate enemies among the natives by his great moderation, while he deterred all wanton hostilities by the infliction of signal punishments. He had made firm friends of the most important princes, brought their dominions under cheerful tribute, and opened new sources of supplies for the colony, and procured relief from its immediate wants. Had his judicious measures been seconded by those under his command, the whole country would have been a scene of tranquil prosperity, and would have produced great revenues to the crown, without cruelty to the natives; but like his brother the Admiral, his good intentions and judicious arrangements were constantly thwarted by the vile passions and perverse conduct of others. While he was absent from Isabella, new mischiefs had been fomented there, which were soon to throw the whole island into confusion.

<sup>1</sup> P. Martyr, decad. 1. l. v. Herrefa, decad. 1. l. li. c. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Namuslo, v. lii. p. 9.

This prime colony was ordered under the direction of him from employed at a strong natural been made order the peace. T quitted himself of his great the Columbus, on de mayor, or chief was an uneduc intricacies of l little else than principles for its dis Roldan was c venomous in the his benefactor re of disgrace; a lo tidings from him and began to de al. He was int that of the Ad were highly un ruin them, bot government at h bustling activity, of the colony. character of the in awe; but whe Roldan was able confidence. Do Isabella, was an cient in energy. in talent and spir at being inferior party among th munity, and sec good government the discontents of them against the and his brothers. as superintendent brought him into with workmen, sa This originally vulg himself to their present station g finding them full severe toil, and t affected to be mo out suggestions th being disgraced a



## CHAPTER IV.

## CONSPIRACY OF ROLDAN.

[ 1497. ]

THE prime mover of the present mischief in the colony was one Francisco Roldan, a man who was under the deepest obligations to the Admiral. Raised by him from poverty and obscurity, he had been employed at first in menial capacities; but showing strong natural talents, and great assiduity, he had been made ordinary alcalde, equivalent to justice of the peace. The able manner in which he had acquitted himself in this situation, and the persuasion of his great fidelity and gratitude, had induced Columbus, on departing for Spain, to appoint him alcalde mayor, or chief judge of the island. It is true he was an uneducated man, but, as there were as yet no intricacies of law in the colony, the office required little else than shrewd good sense and upright principles for its discharge.

Roldan was one of those base spirits which grew venomous in the sunshine of prosperity. He had seen his benefactor return to Spain apparently under a cloud of disgrace; a long interval had elapsed without any tidings from him; he considered him a fallen man, and began to devise how he might profit by his downfall. He was intrusted with an office inferior only to that of the Adelantado; the brothers of Columbus were highly unpopular; he imagined it possible to ruin them, both with the colonists and with the government at home, and, by dexterous cunning and bustling activity, to work his way into the command of the colony. The vigorous and somewhat austere character of the Adelantado for some time kept him in awe; but when he was absent from the settlement, Roldan was able to carry on his machinations with confidence. Don Diego, who then commanded at Isabella, was an upright and worthy man, but deficient in energy. Roldan felt himself his superior in talent and spirit, and his self-conceit was wounded at being inferior to him in authority. He soon made a party among the daring and dissolute of the community, and secretly loosened the ties of order and good government, by listening to and encouraging the discontents of the common people, and directing them against the character and conduct of Columbus and his brothers. He had heretofore been employed as superintendent of various public works; this had brought him into habits of familiar communication with workmen, sailors, and others of the lower order. His originally vulgar character enabled him to adapt himself to their intellects and manners, while his present station gave him consequence in their eyes. Finding them full of murmurs about hard treatment, severe toil, and the long absence of the Admiral, he affected to be moved by their distresses. He threw out suggestions that the Admiral might never return, being disgraced and ruined in consequence of the

representations of Aguado. He sympathized with the hard treatment they experienced from the Adelantado and his brother Don Diego, who, being foreigners, could take no interest in their welfare, nor feel a proper respect for the pride of a Spaniard; but who used them merely as slaves, to build houses and fortresses for them, or to swell their state and secure their power, as they marched about the island enriching themselves with the spoils of the caciques. By this means he exasperated their feelings to such a height, that they had at one time formed a conspiracy to take away the life of the Adelantado, as the only means of delivering themselves from an odious tyrant. The time and place for the perpetration of the act were concerted. The Adelantado had condemned to death a Spaniard of the name of Berahona, a friend of Roldan and of several of the conspirators. What was his offence is not positively stated, but from a passage in Las Casas, there is reason to believe that he was the very Spaniard who had violated the favourite wife of Guarionex, the cacique of the Vega. The Adelantado would be present at the execution. It was arranged, therefore, that when the populace were assembled, a tumult should be made as if by accident, and in the confusion of the moment, Don Bartholomew should be despatched with a ponard. Fortunately for the Adelantado, he pardoned the criminal, the assemblage did not take place, and the plan of the conspirators was disconcerted.

When Don Bartholomew was absent collecting the tribute in Xaragua, Roldan thought it was a favourable time to bring affairs to a crisis. He had sounded the feelings of the colonists, and ascertained that there was a large party disposed for open sedition. His plan was to create a popular tumult, to interpose in his official character of alcalde mayor, to throw the blame upon the oppression and injustice of Don Diego and his brother, and, while he usurped the reins of authority, to appear as if actuated only by zeal for the peace and prosperity of the islands, and the interests of the Sovereigns.

A pretext soon presented itself for the proposed tumult. When the caravel returned from Xaragua laden with the Indian tributes, and the cargo was discharged, Don Diego had the vessel drawn up on the land to protect it from accidents, or from any sinister designs of the disaffected colonists. Roldan immediately pointed this circumstance out to his partisans. He secretly inveighed against the harshness of having this vessel drawn on shore, instead of being left afloat for the benefit of the colony, or sent to Spain to make known their distresses. He hinted that the true reason was the fear of the Adelantado and his brother, lest accounts should be carried to Spain of their misconduct; and he affirmed that they wished to remain undisturbed masters of the island, and keep the Spaniards there as subjects, or rather as slaves. The people took fire at these suggestions. They had long looked forward to the completion of

• Herrera, decad. 1, l. iii, c. 1.

• Hist. del Almirante, cap. 75.

the caravels as their only chance for relief: they now became openly clamorous, and insisted that the vessel should be launched and sent to Spain for supplies. Don Diego endeavoured to convince them of the folly of their demand, the vessel not being rigged and equipped for such a voyage; but the more he attempted to pacify them by fair words, the more unreasonable and turbulent they became. Roldan, also, became more bold and explicit in his instigations. He advised them to launch and take possession of the caravel, as the only mode of regaining their independence. They might then throw off the tyranny of these upstart strangers, enemies in their hearts to the Spaniards, and might lead a life of ease and pleasure; sharing equally all that they might gain by barter in the island, employing the Indians as slaves to work for them, and enjoying unrestrained indulgence with respect to the Indian women.

Don Diego received information of what was fermenting among the people, and of the various intrigues of Roldan; yet he feared to come to an open rupture in the present mutinous state of the colony. He suddenly detached him, therefore, with forty men, to the Vega, under pretext of overawing certain of the natives, who had refused to pay their tribute, and had shown a disposition to revolt. Roldan made use of this opportunity to strengthen his faction. He made friends and partisans among the discontented caciques, secretly justifying them in their resistance to the imposition of tribute, and promising them redress. He secured the devotion of his own soldiers by great acts of indulgence, disarming and dismissing such as refused full participation in his plans, and returned with his little band to Isabella, where he felt secure of a strong party among the common people.

The Adelantado had by this time returned from Xaragua; but Roldan feeling himself at the head of a strong faction, and arrogating to himself great authority from his official station, now openly demanded that the caravel should be launched, or permission given to himself and his followers to launch it. The Adelantado, irritated at his arrogance, peremptorily refused, observing that neither he nor his companions were mariners, nor was the caravel furnished and equipped for sea, and that neither the safety of the vessel, nor of the people, should be endangered by their attempt to navigate her.

Roldan perceived that his motives were suspected, and felt that the Adelantado was too formidable an adversary to contend with in any open sedition at Isabella. He determined, therefore, to carry his plans into operation in some more favourable part of the island, always trusting to excuse any open rebellion against the authority of Don Bartholomew, by representing it as a patriotic opposition to his tyranny over Spaniards. He had seventy well-armed and determined men under his command, and he trusted, on erecting his standard, to be joined by all the dis-

affected throughout the island. He set off suddenly, therefore, for the Vega, intending to surprise the fortress of Conception, and by getting command of that post and the rich country adjacent, to set the Adelantado at defiance.

He stopped on his way, at various Indian villages in which the Spaniards were distributed, endeavouring to enlist the latter in his party, holding out promises of great gain and free living. He attempted also to seduce the natives from their allegiance, by promising them freedom from all tribute. Those caciques with whom he had maintained a previous understanding, received him with open arms, particularly one who had taken the name of Diego Marque, whose village he made his head-quarters, being about two leagues from Fort Conception. He was disappointed in his hopes of surprising the fortress. Its commander, Miguel Ballester, was an old and staunch soldier, both resolute and wary. He drew himself into the stronghold on the approach of Roldan, and closed his gates. His garrison was small, but the fortification, situated on the side of a hill, with a river running at its foot, was proof against any assault. Roldan had still some hopes that Ballester might be disaffected to government, and might be gradually brought into his plans, or that the garrison would be disposed to desert, tempted by the licentious life which he permitted among his followers. In the neighbourhood was the town inhabited by Guarionex. Here were quartered thirty soldiers, under the command of Captain Garcia de Barrantes. Roldan repaired thither with his armed force, hoping to enlist Barrantes and his party; but the captain shut himself up with his men in a fortified house, refusing to permit them to hold any communication with Roldan. The latter threatened to set fire to the house; but after a little consideration, contented himself with seizing their store of provisions, and then marched towards Fort Conception, which was not quite half a league distant.

#### CHAPTER V.

THE ADELANTADO REPAIRS TO THE VEGA IN RELIEF OF FORT CONCEPTION. HIS INTERVIEW WITH ROLDAN.

[ 1497. ]

THE Adelantado had received intelligence of the flagitious proceedings of Roldan; yet for a time he hesitated to set out in pursuit of him. He had lost all confidence in the loyalty of the people around him; he knew not how far the conspiracy extended, nor on whom he could rely. Diego de Escobar, alcalde of the fortress of La Madalena, together with Adrian de Moxica and Pedro de Valdivieso, all principal men, were in league with Roldan. He feared that the commander of Fort Conception might likewise

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 75.

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, decad. 1, l. lit. c. 7. Hist. del Almirante, c. 74.

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<sup>1</sup> Herrera, decad.

be in the plot, and the whole island in arms against him. He was reassured, however, by tidings from Miguel Ballester. That loyal veteran wrote to him pressing letters for succour; representing the weakness of his garrison, and the increasing forces of the rebels.

Don Bartholomew now hastened to his assistance with his accustomed promptness, and threw himself with a reinforcement into the fortress. Being ignorant of the force of the rebels, and doubtful of the loyalty of his own followers, he determined to adopt mild measures. Understanding that Roldan was quartered at a village but half a league distant, he sent a messenger to him, remonstrating on the flagrant irregularity of his conduct, the injury it was calculated to produce in the island, and the certain ruin it must bring upon himself. He summoned him to appear at the fortress, pledging his word for his personal safety. Roldan repaired accordingly to Fort Concepcion, where the Adelantado held a parley with him from a window, demanding the reason of his appearing in arms, in opposition to royal authority. Roldan replied boldly, that he was in the service of his Sovereigns, defending their subjects from the oppression of men who sought their destruction. The Adelantado ordered him to surrender his staff of office, as alcalde mayor, and to submit peaceably to superior authority. Roldan refused to resign his office, or to put himself in the power of Don Bartholomew, whom he charged with seeking his life. He refused also to submit to any trial unless commanded by the King. Pretending, however, to make no resistance to the peaceable exercise of authority, he offered to go with his followers, and reside at any place the Adelantado might appoint. The latter immediately designated the village of the cacique Diego Colon, the same native of the Lucayos Islands who had been baptized in Spain, and had since married a daughter of Guarionex. Roldan objected, pretending there were not sufficient provisions to be had there for the subsistence of his men, and departed, declaring that he would seek a more eligible residence elsewhere.

He now proposed to his followers to establish themselves, and take possession of the remote province of Xaragua. The Spaniards who had returned from thence had given voluptuous accounts of the life they had led there; of the fertility of the soil, the sweetness of the climate, the hospitality and gentleness of the people, their feasts, dances, and various amusements, and, above all, the beauty of the women; for they had been captivated by the naked charms of the dancing nymphs of Xaragua. In this delightful region, emancipated from the iron rule of the Adelantado and relieved from the necessity of irksome labour, they might lead a life of perfect freedom and indulgence, and have a world of beauty at their command. In short, Roldan drew a picture of loose sensual enjoyment, such as he knew to be ir-

resistible with men of idle and dissolute habits. His followers acceded with joy to his proposition. Some preparations, however, were necessary to carry it into effect. Taking advantage of the absence of the Adelantado, he suddenly marched off with his band to Isabella, and entering it in a manner by surprise, endeavoured to launch the caravel, with which they might sail to Xaragua. Don Diego Columbus, hearing the tumult, issued forth with several persons of distinction; but such was the force of the mutineers and their menacing conduct, that he was obliged to withdraw, with a number of faithful adherents, into the fortress. Roldan held several parleys with him, and offered to submit to his command, provided he would set himself up in opposition to his brother the Adelantado. His proposition was treated with scorn. The fortress was too strong to be assailed with success; he found it impossible to launch the caravel, and feared the Adelantado might return, and be enclosed between two forces. He proceeded, therefore, in all haste, to make provisions for the proposed expedition to Xaragua. Still pretending to act in his official capacity, and to do every thing from loyal motives, for the protection and support of the oppressed subjects of the crown, he broke open the royal warehouse, with shouts of "Long live the King!" supplied his followers with arms, ammunition, clothing, and whatever they desired from the public stores; proceeded to the enclosure where the cattle and other European animals were kept to breed, took whatever he thought necessary for his intended establishment, and permitted his followers to kill such of the remaining cattle as they might want for present supply. Having committed this wasteful ravage, he marched in triumph out of Isabella. Reflecting, however, on the prompt and vigorous character of the Adelantado, he felt that his situation would be but little secure with such an active enemy behind him; who, on extricating himself from present perplexities, would not fail to pursue him to his proposed paradise of Xaragua. He determined, therefore, to march again to the Vega, and endeavour either to get possession of the person of the Adelantado, or to strike some blow at him, in his present crippled state, that should disable him from offering further molestation. Returning, therefore, to the vicinity of Fort Concepcion, he endeavoured, in every way, by the means of subtle emissaries, to seduce the garrison to desertion, or to excite it to revolt.

The Adelantado had ample information of the machinations of the enemy, and of his own personal danger. He dared not take the field with his forces, having no confidence in their fidelity. He knew that they listened wistfully to the emissaries of Roldan, and contrasted the meagre fare and stern discipline of the garrison, with the abundant cheer, and easy misrule that prevailed among the rebels. To counteract these seductions, he relaxed from his

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, decad. 1, l. iii, c. 7. Hist. del Almirante, c. 74.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 74. Herrera, decad. 1, l. iii, c. 7.

usual strictness, treating his men with great indulgence, and promising them large rewards. By these means, he was enabled to maintain some degree of loyalty amongst his forces, his service having an advantage over that of Roldan, as being on the side of government and law.

Finding that his attempts to corrupt the garrison were unsuccessful, and fearing some sudden sally from the vigorous Adelantado, Roldan drew off to a distance, and sought by all insidious means to strengthen his own power, and weaken that of the government. He asserted equal right to manage the affairs of the island with the Adelantado, and pretended to have separated from him on account of his being passionate and vindictive in the exercise of his authority. He represented him as the tyrant of the Spaniards, the oppressor of the Indians. For himself, he assumed the character of a redresser of grievances and champion of the injured. He pretended to feel a patriotic indignation at the affronts heaped upon Spaniards by a family of obscure and arrogant foreigners; and professed to free the natives from tributes wrung from them by these rapacious men for their own enrichment, and contrary to the beneficent intentions of the Spanish monarchs. He connected himself closely with the Carib cacique, Manicacotex, brother of the late Caonabo, whose son and nephew were in his possession as hostages for payment of tributes. This warlike chieftain he conciliated by presents and caresses, bestowing on him the appellation of brother. In fact, the unhappy natives, deceived by his professions, and overjoyed at the idea of having a protector in arms for their defence, submitted cheerfully to a thousand impositions, supplying his followers with provisions in abundance, and bringing to Roldan all the gold they could collect; voluntarily yielding him heavier tributes than those from which he pretended to free them.

The affairs of the island were now in a lamentable situation. The Indians, perceiving the dissensions among the white men, and encouraged by the protection of Roldan, began to throw off all allegiance to the government. The caciques at a distance ceased to send in their tributes, and those who were in the vicinity were excused by the Adelantado, that by indulgence he might retain their friendship in this time of danger. Roldan's faction daily gained strength; they ranged insolently and at large in the open country, and were supported by the misguided natives, while the Spaniards who remained loyal, fearing conspiracies among the natives, had to keep under shelter of the fort, or in the strong houses which they had erected in the villages. The commanders were obliged to palliate all kinds of slights and indignities, both from their soldiers and from the Indians, fearful of driving them to sedition by any severity. The clothing and munitions of all kinds, either for maintenance or defence, were rapidly wasting away, and the want of all supplies or tidings from Spain was

sinking the spirits of the well-affected into despondency. The Adelantado was shut up in Fort Concepcion, in daily expectation of being openly besieged by Roldan, and secretly informed that means were taken to destroy him, should he issue from the walls of the fortress.

Such was the desperate state to which the colony was reduced, in consequence of the long detention of Columbus in Spain, and the impediments thrown in the way of all his measures for the benefit of the island by the delays of cabinets and the chicanery of Fonseca and his satellites. At this critical juncture, when faction reigned triumphant, and the colony was on the brink of ruin, tidings were brought to the Vega that Pero Hernandez Coronel had arrived at the port of San Domingo, with two ships, bringing supplies of all kinds, and a strong reinforcement of troops.

#### CHAPTER VI.

##### SECOND INSURRECTION OF GUARIONEX, AND HIS FLIGHT TO THE MOUNTAINS OF CIGUAY.

[ 1498. ]

THE arrival of Coronel took place on the third of February, 1498; it was the salvation of the colony. The reinforcements of troops, and the supplies of all kinds, strengthened the hands of Don Bartholomev. The royal confirmation of his title and authority as Adelantado at once dispelled all aspersions as to the legitimacy of his power, and confirmed the fidelity of his adherents; and the tidings that the Admiral was in high favour at court and would soon arrive with a powerful squadron, struck consternation into those who had entered into the rebellion on the presumption of his having fallen into disgrace.

The Adelantado no longer remained mewed up in his fortress, but set out immediately for San Domingo with a part of his troops, although a very superior rebel force was at the village of the cacique Guarionex, at a very short distance. Roldan followed slowly and gloomily with his party, anxious to ascertain the truth of these tidings, to make partisans, if possible, among those who had newly arrived, and to take advantage of every circumstance that might befriend his rash and hazardous projects. The Adelantado left strong guards on the passes of the roads to prevent his near approach to San Domingo, but Roldan paused within a few leagues of the place.

When the Adelantado found himself secure in San Domingo with this augmentation of force, and the prospect of a still greater reinforcement at hand, his magnanimity prevailed over his indignation, and he sought by gentle means to allay the popular seditions, that the island might be restored to tranquillity be-

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. c. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, Herrera, Hist. del Amiraute.

<sup>3</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. cap. 118.

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fore his brother's arrival. He considered that the colonists had suffered greatly from the want of supplies; that their discontents had been heightened by the severities he had been compelled to inflict; and that many had been led to rebellion by doubts of the legitimacy of his authority. While, therefore, he proclaimed the royal act sanctioning his title and powers, he promised also amnesty for all past offences, on condition of immediate return to allegiance. Hearing that Roldan was within five leagues of San Domingo with his band, he sent Pero Hernandez Coronel, who had been appointed by the Sovereigns alguazil mayor of the island, to exhort him to obedience, promising him oblivion of the past. He trusted that the representations of a discreet and honourable man like Coronel, who had been witness of the favour in which his brother stood in Spain, would convince the rebels of the hopelessness of their course.

Roldan, however, conscious of his guilt, and doubtful of the clemency of Don Bartholomew, feared to venture within his power; he determined, also, to prevent his followers from communicating with Coronel, lest they should be seduced from him by the promise of pardon. When that emissary, therefore, approached the encampment of the rebels, he was opposed in a narrow pass by a body of archers, with their cross-bows levelled. "Halt there! traitor!" cried Roldan, "had you arrived eight days later, we should all have been one."

It was in vain that Coronel endeavoured by fair reasoning and earnest entreaty to win this perverse and turbulent man from his career. Roldan answered with hardihood and defiance, professing to oppose only the tyranny and misrule of the Adelantado, but to be ready to submit to the Admiral on his arrival. He, and several of his principal confederates, wrote letters to the same effect to their friends in San Domingo, urging them to plead their cause with the Admiral when he should arrive, and to assure him of their disposition to acknowledge his authority.

When Coronel returned with accounts of Roldan's contumacy, the Adelantado proclaimed him and his followers traitors. That shrewd rebel, however, did not suffer his men to remain within either the seduction of promise or the terror of menace; he immediately set out on his march for his promised land of Xaragua, trusting in its soft witcheries to dissolve every honest principle and virtuous tie of his misguided followers by a life of indolence and libertinage.

In the mean time the mischievous effects of his intrigues among the caciques became more and more apparent. No sooner had the Adelantado left Fort Conception, than a conspiracy was formed among the natives to surprise it. Guarionex was at the head of this conspiracy, moved by the instigations of Roldan, who had promised him protection and assistance; and led on by the forlorn hope, in this distracted state of the Spanish forces, to relieve his paternal domains

from the intolerable domination of usurping strangers. Holding secret communications with his tributary caciques, it was concerted that they should all rise simultaneously upon the soldiery, who were quartered in small parties in their villages; and should put them to death, while he, with a chosen force, should surprise the fortress of Conception in the present weak state of the garrison. As the Indians might make a mistake in the appointed time, the night of the full moon was fixed upon for the insurrection.

One of the principal caciques, however, not being a correct observer of the heavenly bodies, took up arms before the appointed night. He was repulsed by the soldiers quartered in his village. The alarm was given, and the Spaniards were all put on the alert. The cacique fled to Guarionex for protection, but the chieftain, full of indignation and despair, put him to death upon the spot.

No sooner did the Adelantado hear of this fresh conspiracy, than he again put himself on the march for the Vega with a strong body of men. Guarionex did not await his coming. He saw that every attempt was fruitless to shake off these strangers, who had settled like a curse upon his territories. He found their friendship no less destructive than their enmity, and he now dreaded their vengeance. Abandoning, therefore, his rightful and beautiful domain, the once happy Vega, he fled with his family and a small band of faithful followers to the mountains of Ciguay. This is a lofty chain, extending along the north side of the island, between the Vega and the sea. The inhabitants were the most robust and hardy tribe of the island, and far more formidable than the mild inhabitants of the plains. It was a part of this tribe which displayed hostility to the Spaniards in the course of the first voyage of Columbus, and in a skirmish with them in the Gulf of Semana the first drop of native blood had been shed in the New World. The reader may remember the frank and confiding conduct of these people the day after the skirmish, and the intrepid faith with which their cacique trusted himself on board of the caravel of the Admiral, and in the power of the Spaniards. It was to this same cacique, named Mayobanex, that the fugitive chieftain of the Vega now applied for refuge. He came to his residence at an Indian town near Cape Cabron, about ten leagues west of Isabella, and implored shelter for his wife and children, and his handful of loyal followers. The noble-minded cacique of the mountain received him with open arms. He not only gave an asylum to his family, but he pledged himself to stand by him in his distress, to defend his cause, and share his desperate fortunes. Men in civilized life learn magnanimity from precept, but their most generous actions are often rivalled by the deeds of untutored savages, who act only from natural impulse.

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., c. 121. MS. Peter Martyr, decad. 1. c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, decad. 1. l. iii, c. 8.



## CHAPTER VII.

CAMPAIGN OF THE ADELANTADO IN THE MOUNTAINS OF CIGUAY.

[ 1408. ]

AIDED by his mountain ally, and by bands of hardy Ciguayans, Guarionex made several descents into the plain, cutting off straggling parties of the Spaniards, laying waste the villages of the natives who continued in allegiance to them, and destroying the fruits of the earth. The arrival of the Adelantado put a stop to these molestations; but he determined to root out so formidable an adversary from the neighbourhood. Shrinking from no danger nor fatigue, and leaving nothing to be done by others which he could do himself, he set forth in the spring with a band of ninety men, a few cavalry, and a body of Indians, to penetrate among the wild fastnesses of the Ciguay mountains.

After passing a steep defile, rendered almost impracticable for troops by rugged rocks and exuberant vegetation, he descended into a beautiful valley or plain, extending along the coast, and embosomed by the mountains which advanced towards the sea. His advance into the country was watched by the keen eyes of Indian scouts, who lurked among the rocks and thickets. As the Spaniards were seeking the ford of a river at the entrance of the plain, two of these spies darted from among the bushes on its bank. One flung himself headlong into the water, and, swimming across the mouth of the river, escaped; the other being taken, gave information that six thousand Indians lay in ambush on the opposite shore, waiting to attack them as they crossed.

The Adelantado advanced with caution, and finding a shallow place, entered the river with his troops. They were scarcely midway in the stream when the savages, hideously painted, and looking more like fiends than men, burst from their concealment. The forests rang with their yells and howlings. They discharged a shower of arrows and lances, by which, notwithstanding the protection of their targets, many of the Spaniards were wounded. The Adelantado, however, forced his way across the river, and the Indians took to flight. Some were killed, but their swiftness of foot, their knowledge of the forest, and their dexterity in darting and winding through the most tangled thickets, enabled the greater number to elude the pursuit of the Spaniards, who were encumbered with armour, targets, cross-bows, and lances.

By the advice of one of his Indian guides, the Adelantado pressed forward along the valley to reach the residence of Mayobanex, at Cabron. In the way he had several skirmishes with the natives, who would suddenly rush forth from ambuscades among the bushes, discharge their weapons with furious warcries, and take refuge again in the fastnesses of their rocks and forests, inaccessible to the Spaniards.

Having taken several prisoners, the Adelantado sent one, accompanied by an Indian of a friendly tribe, as

a messenger to Mayobanex, demanding the surrender of Guarionex—promising friendship and protection in case of compliance, but threatening, in case of refusal, to lay waste his territory with fire and sword. The cacique listened attentively to the messenger: when he had finished, "Tell the Spaniards," said he, "that they are bad men, cruel and tyrannical; usurpers of the territories of others, and shedders of innocent blood. I desire not the friendship of such men; Guarionex is a good man, he is my friend, he is my guest, he has fled to me for refuge; I have promised to protect him, and I will keep my word."

When the messengers brought this magnanimous reply, or rather defiance, the Adelantado saw that nothing was to be gained by friendly overtures. When severity was required, he could be a stern soldier. He immediately ordered the village in which he had been quartered, and several others in the neighbourhood, to be set on fire. He then sent further messengers to Mayobanex, warning him that, unless he delivered up the fugitive cacique, his whole dominions should be laid waste in like manner; and he would see nothing in every direction but the smoke and flames of his burning villages. The unhappy Ciguayans, beholding the destruction which threatened to overwhelm them, cursed the day in which Guarionex had taken refuge among them. They surrounded their chieftain with clamorous lamentations, urging that the fugitive should be given up for the salvation of the country. The generous cacique was inflexible. He reminded them of the many virtues of Guarionex, of the sacred claims he had on their hospitality; he declared that he was ready to abide all evils, rather than it should ever be said Mayobanex had betrayed his guest.

The people retired with sorrowful hearts, and the chieftain, summoning Guarionex into his presence, again pledged his word to stand by him and protect him, though it should cost him his dominions. He sent no reply to the Adelantado; and lest any further messages might be brought to tempt the fidelity of his subjects, he placed men in ambush, with orders to slay any messengers who might approach. They had not lain in wait long, before they beheld two men advancing through the forest, one of whom was a captive Ciguayan, and the other an Indian ally of the Spaniards. They were both instantly slain. The Adelantado was following at no great distance, with only ten foot soldiers and four horsemen. When he found his messengers lying dead in the forest path, transfixed with arrows, he was greatly exasperated, and resolved to deal rigorously with this obstinate tribe. He advanced, therefore, with all his force to Cabron, where Mayobanex and his army were quartered. At his approach, the inferior caciques and their adherents, overcome by their terror of the Spaniards, fled with the utmost rapidity. When the unfortunate Mayobanex found himself thus deserted, he took refuge with his family in a secret part of the mountains.

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Several of the Ciguayans sought for Guarionex to kill him or deliver him up as a propitiatory offering; but he fled to the heights, where he wandered about alone, in the most savage and desolate places.

The luxuriance of the forests and the ruggedness of the mountains rendered this expedition excessively painful and laborious, and protracted it far beyond the time that the Adelantado had contemplated. His men suffered, not merely from fatigue, but hunger. The natives had all fled to the mountains; their villages remained empty and desolate; all the provisions of the Spaniards consisted of cassava-bread, and such roots and herbs as their Indian allies could gather for them, with now and then a few utias taken with the assistance of their dogs. They slept almost always on the ground, in the open air, under the trees, exposed to the heavy dew which falls in this climate. For three months they were thus pursuing their warfare amongst the mountains, until almost worn out with toil and hard fare. Many of them had farms in the neighbourhood of Fort Conception, which required their attention; they, therefore, entreated permission, since the Indians were terrified and dispersed, to return to their abodes in the Vega.

The Adelantado granted many of them passports, and an allowance out of the scanty stock of bread which remained. Retaining only thirty men, he resolved with these to search every den and cavern of the mountains until he should find the two caciques. It was difficult, however, to trace them in such a wilderness. There was no one to give a clue to their retreat: the whole country was abandoned. There were the habitations of men, but not a human being to be seen; or if, by chance, they caught some wretched Indian stealing forth from the mountains in quest of food, he always professed utter ignorance of the hiding-place of the caciques.

It happened one day, however, that several Spaniards, while hunting utias, captured two of the followers of Mayobanex, who were on their way to a distant village in search of bread. They were taken to the Adelantado, who compelled them to betray the place of concealment of their chieftain, and to act as guides. Twelve Spaniards volunteered to go in quest of him. Stripping themselves naked, staining and painting their bodies so as to look like Indians, and wrapping their swords in palm-leaves, they were conducted by the guides to the retreat of the unfortunate Mayobanex. They came secretly upon him, and found him surrounded by his wife and children and a few of his household, totally unsuspecting of danger. Drawing their swords, the Spaniards rushed upon them and made them all prisoners. When these prisoners were brought to the Adelantado, he gave up all further search after Guarionex, and returned to Fort Conception.

Among the prisoners thus taken was the sister of Mayobanex. She was the wife of another cacique of the mountains, whose territories had never yet been

visited by the Spaniards; and she was reputed to be one of the most beautiful women of the island. Tenderly attached to her brother, she had abandoned the security of her own dominions, and had followed him among rocks and precipices, participating in all his hardships, and comforting him with a woman's sympathy and kindness. When the cacique, her husband, who tenderly loved her, heard of her captivity, he was distracted with grief, and hastening to the Adelantado, offered to submit himself and all his possessions to his sway, if his wife might be restored to him. The Adelantado accepted his offer of allegiance, and released this Indian beauty, together with several of his subjects whom he had captured. The cacique kept his word; he became a firm and valuable ally of the Spaniards, cultivating large tracts of land, and supplying them with great quantities of bread and other provisions.

Kindness appears never to have been lost upon this gentle people. When this act of clemency reached the Ciguayans, they came in multitudes to the fortress, bringing presents of various kinds, promising allegiance, and imploring the release of Mayobanex and his family. The Adelantado granted their prayers in part, releasing the wife and household of the cacique, but still detaining him prisoner to ensure the fidelity of his subjects.

In the mean time the unfortunate Guarionex, who had been hiding in the wildest parts of the mountains, was driven by hunger to venture down occasionally into the plain in quest of food. The Ciguayans looking upon him as the cause of their misfortunes, and perhaps hoping by his sacrifice to procure the release of their chieftain, betrayed his haunts to the Adelantado. A party was immediately despatched to secure him. They lay in wait in the path by which he usually returned to the mountains. As the unhappy cacique, after one of his famished excursions, was returning to his den among the cliffs, he was surprised by the lurking Spaniards, and brought in chains to Fort Conception. After his repeated insurrections, and the extraordinary zeal and perseverance displayed in his pursuit, Guarionex expected nothing less than death from the vengeance of the Adelantado. Don Bartholomew, however, though stern in his policy, was neither vindictive nor cruel in his nature. He considered the tranquillity of the Vega sufficiently secured by the captivity of the cacique; and he ordered him to be detained a prisoner and hostage in the fortress. The Indian hostilities in this important part of the island being thus brought to a conclusion, and precautions taken to prevent their recurrence, Don Bartholomew returned to the city of San Domingo, where, shortly after his arrival, he had the happiness of receiving his brother, the Admiral, after nearly two years and six months' absence.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the active, intrepid, and sagacious, but

<sup>1</sup> The particulars of this chapter are chiefly from P. Martyr, decad. i. l. vi.; the manuscript history of Las Casas, l. i. p. 124; and Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i. l. iii. c. 8, 9.

turbulent and disastrous administration of the Adelantado, in which we find evidences of the great capacity, the mental and bodily vigour of this self-formed and almost self-taught man. He united, in a singular degree, the sailor, the soldier, and the legislator. Like his brother, the Admiral, his mind and manners rose immediately to the level of his situation, showing no arrogance or ostentation; and exercising the sway of sudden and extraordinary power, with the sobriety and moderation of one who had been born to rule. He has been accused of severity in his government, but no instance appears of a cruel or wanton abuse of authority. If he was stern towards the factious Spaniards, he was just; the disasters of his administration were not produced by his own rigour, but by the perverse passions of others, which called for its exercise; and the Admiral, who had more suavity of manner and benevolence of heart, was not more fortunate in conciliating the good-will, and ensuring the obedience of the colonists. The character of Don Bartholomew does not appear to have been sufficiently appreciated by the world; less adventurous, less amiable, and less magnanimous, than his brothers, he did not yield to them in boldness and heroism.

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## BOOK XII.

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### CHAPTER I.

CONFUSION IN HISPANIOLA. PROCEEDINGS OF THE REBELS AT XARAGUA.

[ August 30, 1496. ]

COLUMBUS arrived at St Domingo, wearied by a long and arduous voyage and worn down by infirmities; both mind and body craved repose, but from the time he first entered into public life, he was doomed never again to taste the sweets of tranquillity. The island of Hispaniola, the favourite scene of his hopes, was destined to involve him in perpetual troubles, to fetter his fortunes, impede his enterprises, and embitter the conclusion of his life. What a scene of poverty and suffering had this opulent and lovely island been rendered by the bad passions of a few despicable men! The wars with the natives and the seditions among the colonists had put a stop to the labours of the mines, and all hopes of wealth were at an end. The horrors of famine had succeeded to those of war. The cultivation of the earth had been generally neglected; several of the provinces had been desolated during the late troubles; a great part of the Indians had fled to the mountains, and those who remained had lost all heart to labour, seeing that the produce of their toils was liable to be wrested from them by ruthless strangers. It is true, the Vega was once more at peace, but it was a desolate tran-

quillity. That beautiful region, which but four years before the Spaniards had found so populous and happy, which seemed to inclose in its luxuriant bosom all the sweets of nature, and to exclude all the cares and sorrows of the world, was now a vast scene of wretchedness and repining. Many of those Indian towns, where the Spaniards had been detained by genial hospitality, and almost worshipped as beneficent deities, were now silent and deserted. Some of their late inhabitants were lurking among rocks and caverns; some were reduced to slavery; many had perished with hunger, and many had fallen by the sword. It seems almost incredible, that so small a number of men, restrained too by well-meaning governors, could in so short a space of time have produced such wide-spreading miseries. But the principles of evil have a fatal activity. With every exertion, the best of men can do but a moderate amount of good; but it seems in the power of the most contemptible individual to do incalculable mischief.

The evil passions of the white men, which had inflicted such calamities upon this innocent people, had ensured likewise a merited return of suffering to themselves. In no part was this more truly exemplified than among the inhabitants of Isabella, the most idle, factious, and dissolute of the island. The public works were unfinished; the gardens and fields they had begun to cultivate lay neglected: they had driven the natives from their vicinity by extortion and cruelty, and had rendered the country around them a solitary wilderness. Too idle to labour, and destitute of any resources with which to occupy their indolence, they quarrelled among themselves, mutinied against their rulers, and wasted their time in alternate riot and despondency. Many of the soldiery quartered about the island, had suffered from ill health during the late troubles, being shut up in Indian villages where they could take no exercise, and obliged to subsist on food to which they could not accustom themselves. Those who had been actively employed, had been worn down by hard service, long marches, and scanty food. Many of them were broken in constitution, and many had perished by disease. There was a universal desire to leave the island, and to escape from the miseries which they had created. Yet this was the favoured and fruitful land to which the eyes of philosophers and poets in Europe were fondly turned, as realizing the pictures of the golden age. So true it is, that the fairest Elysium that fancy ever devised, would be turned into a purgatory by the passions of bad men.

One of the first measures of Columbus on his arrival, was to issue a proclamation approving of all the measures of the Adelantado, and denouncing Roldan and his associates. That turbulent man had taken possession of Xaragua, where he had been kindly received by the natives. He had permitted his followers to lead an idle and licentious life among its beautiful scenes, making the surrounding country and its inhabitants subservient to their pleasures and their pas-

sions. An ledge of the a into their ha they were o beheld three in this unfre with wonder land, and can at first that t of them. Ro he was bold, wandered fro westward by ignorant of th joining the ut board, preten hood for the obedience, an as to the vesse the three cara lumbus from l bring supplies ignorant of th through the C far beyond the wandered to th Roldan and for three days. trust and auth grant all his r swords, lances stores; while l vessels, were b partisans, repr St Domingo, a passed their tim been shipped i judged proposit into transporta bonds, the refus Spanish dungeo fore, to be wrd and they promis and join the rel It was not un de Carvajal, the discovered the r whom he had vessels. It was feeted. He and conversations wi him from his dan thority. The ce on his way to th augmented auth mind. He had, pared his friends with the Admir acted in oppositi of the Adelantado

sions. An event happened previous to their knowledge of the arrival of Columbus, which threw supplies into their hands, and strengthened their power. As they were one day loitering on the sea-shore, they beheld three caravels at a distance, the sight of which, in this unfrequented part of the ocean, filled them with wonder and alarm. The ships approached the land, and came to anchor. The rebels apprehended at first that they were vessels despatched in pursuit of them. Roldan, however, who was as sagacious as he was bold, surmised that they were ships which had wandered from their course, and been borne to the westward by the currents, and that they must be ignorant of the recent occurrences of the island. Enjoining the utmost secrecy on his men, he went on board, pretending to be stationed in that neighbourhood for the purpose of keeping the natives in obedience, and collecting tribute. His conjectures as to the vessels were correct. They were, in fact, the three caravels which had been detached by Columbus from his squadron at the Canary Islands, to bring supplies to the colonies. The captains being ignorant of the strength of the currents, which set through the Caribbean Sea, had been carried west far beyond their reckoning, until they had at length wandered to the coast of Xaragua.

Roldan and his followers kept their secret closely for three days. Being considered a man in important trust and authority, the captains did not hesitate to grant all his requests for supplies. He procured swords, lances, cross-bows, and various military stores; while his men, dispersed through the three vessels, were busy among the crews, secretly making partisans, representing the hard life of the colonists at St Domingo, and the ease and revelry in which they passed their time at Xaragua. Many of the crew had been shipped in compliance with the Admiral's ill-judged proposition, to commute criminal punishments into transportation to the colony. They were vagabonds, the refuse of Spanish towns, and culprits from Spanish dungeons. They were the very men, therefore, to be wrought upon by such representations, and they promised on the first opportunity to desert and join the rebels.

It was not until the third day, that Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, the most intelligent of the three captains, discovered the real character of the dangerous guests whom he had admitted so freely on board of his vessels. It was then too late; the mischief was effected. He and his fellow captains had many earnest conversations with Roldan, endeavouring to persuade him from his dangerous opposition to the regular authority. The certainty that Columbus was actually on his way to the island, with additional forces and augmented authority, had operated strongly on his mind. He had, as has already been intimated, prepared his friends at St Domingo to plead his cause with the Admiral, assuring him that he had only acted in opposition to the injustice and oppression of the Adelantado, but was ready to submit to Co-

lumbus on his arrival. Carvajal perceived that the resolution of Roldan and of several of his principal confederates was shaken, and flattered himself, that, if he were to remain some little time among the rebels, he might succeed in drawing them back to their duty. Contrary winds rendered it impossible for the ships to work up against the currents to St Domingo; it was arranged among the captains, therefore, that a large number of the people on board, artificers and others most important to the service of the colony, should proceed to the settlement by land. They were to be conducted by Juan Antonio Colombo, captain of one of the caravels, a relative of the Admiral, and zealously devoted to his interests. Arana was to proceed with the ships, when the wind would permit, and Carvajal volunteered to remain on shore, to endeavour to bring the rebels to their allegiance.

On the following morning, Juan Antonio Colombo landed, with forty men well armed with cross-bows, swords, and lances, but was astonished to find himself suddenly deserted by all his party excepting eight. The deserters went off in triumph to the rebels, who received with exultation this important reinforcement of kindred spirits. It was in vain that Juan Antonio endeavoured by remonstrances and threats to bring them back to their duty. They were most of them convicted culprits, accustomed to detest order, and to set law at defiance. It was equally in vain that he appealed to Roldan, and reminded him of his professions of loyalty to the government. The latter replied that he had no means of enforcing obedience; his was a mere "Monastery of Observation," where every one was at liberty to adopt the habit of the order. Such was the first of a long train of evils, which sprang from this most ill-judged expedient of peopling a colony with criminals, and thus mingling vice and villainy with the fountain-head of its population.

Juan Antonio, grieved and disconcerted, returned on board with the few who remained faithful. Fearing further desertions, the two captains immediately put to sea, leaving Carvajal on shore, to prosecute his attempt at reforming the rebels. It was not without great difficulty and delay that the vessels reached St Domingo; the ship of Carvajal having struck on a sand-bank, and sustained great injury. By the time of their arrival at their destined port, the greater part of the provisions with which they had been freighted was either exhausted or damaged. Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal arrived shortly afterwards by land, having been escorted to within six leagues of the place by several of the insurgents, to protect him from the Indians. He had failed in his attempt to persuade the band to immediate submission; but Roldan had promised that, the moment he heard of the arrival of Columbus, he would repair to the neighbourhood of St Domingo, to be at hand to state his grievances, and the reasons of his past conduct, and to enter into a negotiation for the adjustment of all differences. Carvajal brought a letter from him to the Admiral to



the same purport; and expressed a confident opinion, from all that he observed of the rebels, that they might easily be brought back to their allegiance by an assurance of amnesty.

## CHAPTER II.

### NEGOTIATION OF THE ADMIRAL WITH THE REBELS. DEPARTURE OF SHIPS FOR SPAIN.

[ 1498. ]

NOTWITHSTANDING the favourable representations of Carvajal, Columbus was greatly troubled by the late event at Xaragua. He saw that the insolence of the rebels, and their confidence in their strength, must be greatly increased by the accession of such a large number of well-armed and desperate confederates. The proposition of Roldan, to approach to the neighbourhood of St Domingo, startled him. He doubted the sincerity of his professions, and apprehended great evils and dangers from so artful, daring, and turbulent a leader, with a rash and devoted crew at his command. The example of this lawless horde, roving at large about the island, and living in loose revel and open profligacy, could not but have a dangerous effect upon the colonists newly arrived: and when they were close at hand to carry on secret intrigues, and to hold out a camp of refuge to all malcontents, the loyalty of the whole colony might be sapped and undermined.

Some measures were immediately necessary to fortify the fidelity of the people against such seductions. He was aware that there was a vehement desire among many to return to Spain; and that an idea had been industriously propagated by the seditions, that he and his brothers wished to detain the colonists on the island through motives of self-interest. On the 42th of September, therefore, he issued a proclamation, offering free passage and provisions for the voyage to all who wished to return to Spain, in five vessels which were nearly ready to put to sea. He hoped by this means to relieve the colony from the idle and disaffected, to weaken the party of Roldan, and to retain none about him but such as were sound-hearted and well-disposed to the service of the island.

He wrote at the same time to Miguel Ballester, the staunch and well-tryed veteran who commanded the fortress of Conception, advising him to be upon his guard, as the rebels were coming into his neighbourhood. He empowered him also to have an interview with Roldan; to offer him pardon and oblivion of the past, on condition of his immediate return to duty; and to invite him to repair to St Domingo to have an interview with the Admiral, under a solemn, and, if required, a written assurance from the latter,

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, l. i, c. 149, 150. Herrera, decad. i, l. iii, c. 12. Hist. del Almirante, c. 77.

of personal safety. Columbus was sincere in his intentions. He was of a benevolent and placable disposition, and singularly free from all vindictive feeling towards the many worthless and wicked men who had heaped sorrow on his head.

Ballester had scarcely received this letter, when the rebels began to arrive at the village of Bona. This was situated in a delicious valley, or vega, bearing the same name; the country was well peopled and abundant. It was about ten leagues from Fort Conception, and about twenty from St Domingo. Here Pedro Riquelme, one of the ringleaders of the sedition, had large possessions, and his residence became the head-quarters of the rebels. Adrian de Moxica, a man of turbulent and mischievous character, brought his detachment of dissolute ruffians to this place of rendezvous. Roldan and others of the conspirators drew together there by different routes.

No sooner did the veteran Miguel Ballester hear of the arrival of Roldan, than he set forth to meet him. Ballester was an old and venerable man, grey-headed, and of a soldier-like demeanour. He was loyal, frank, and virtuous; of a serious disposition, and great simplicity of heart. He was well chosen as a mediator with rash and profligate men, being calculated to calm their passions by his sobriety, to disarm their petulance by his age, to win their confidence by his artless probity, and to awe their licentiousness by his spotless virtue.

Ballester found Roldan in company with Pedro Riquelme, Pedro de Gamez, and Adrian de Moxica, three of his principal confederates. Flushed with a confidence of his present strength, Roldan treated the proffered pardon with contempt, declaring that he did not come there to treat of peace, but to demand the release of certain Indians who had been captured unjustifiably, and were about to be shipped to Spain as slaves, notwithstanding that he, in his capacity of alcalde mayor, had pledged his word for their protection. He declared that until these Indians were given up, he would listen to no terms of compact; throwing out an insolent intimation at the same time, that he held the Admiral and his fortunes in his hand, to make and mar them as he pleased.

The Indians here alluded to, were certain subjects of Guarionex, who had been incited by Roldan to resist the exaction of tribute, and who, under the sanction of his supposed authority, had engaged in the insurrections of the Vega. Roldan knew that the enslavement of the Indians was an unpopular measure in the government of the island, especially with the Queen; and the artful character of this man is evinced in his giving his opposition to Columbus the appearance of a vindication of the rights of the suffering islanders. Other demands were made of a highly insolent nature; and the rebels declared, that in all further negotiations, they would treat with no other intermediate agent than Carvajal, having had proofs of his fairness and impartiality in the course

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i, c. 155.

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of their late communications with him at Xaragua.

This arrogant reply to his proffer of pardon was totally different from what the Admiral had been led to expect. He was placed in the most embarrassing situation. He seemed surrounded by treachery and falsehood. He knew that Roldan had friends and secret partisans even among those who professed to remain faithful; and he knew not how far the ramifications of the conspiracy might extend. A circumstance soon occurred to show the justice of his apprehensions. He ordered the men of St Domingo to appear under arms, that he might ascertain the force with which he could take the field in case of necessity. A report was immediately circulated that they were to be led to Bonaio against the rebels. Not above seventy men appeared under arms, and of these not forty were to be relied upon. One affected to be lame, another ill; some had relations, and others had friends among the followers of Roldan: almost all were disaffected to the service.<sup>1</sup>

Columbus saw that a resort to arms would only serve to betray his own weakness and the power of the rebels, and would completely prostrate the dignity and authority of government. It was necessary to temporize, therefore, however humiliating such conduct might be deemed. He had detained the five ships for eighteen days in port, hoping in some way to have put an end to this rebellion, so as to send home favourable accounts of the island to the Sovereigns. The provisions of the ships, however, were wasting. The Indian prisoners on board were suffering and perishing; several of them threw themselves overboard, or were suffocated with heat in the holds of the vessels. He was anxious also that as many of the discontented colonists as possible should make sail for Spain before any commotion should take place.

On the 18th of October, therefore, the ships put to sea.<sup>2</sup> Columbus wrote to the Sovereigns an account of the rebellion, and of his proffered pardon being refused. As Roldan pretended that it was a mere quarrel between him and the Adelantado, of which the Admiral was not an impartial judge, the latter entreated that Roldan might be summoned to Spain, where their Majesties might be his judges; or that an investigation might take place in presence of Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, who was friendly to Roldan, and of Miguel Ballester, as witness on the part of the Adelantado. He attributed, in a great measure, the troubles of this island to his own long detention in Spain, and the delays thrown in his way by those who had been appointed to assist him, who had retarded the departure of the ships with supplies, until the colony had been reduced to the greatest scarcity. Hence had arisen discontent, murmuring, and finally rebellion. He entreated their Majesties, in the most pressing manner, that the affairs of the

colony might not be neglected, and that those at Seville, who had charge of its concerns, might be instructed at least not to devise impediments instead of assistance. He alluded to his chastisement of the contemptible Ximeno Breviesca, the insolent minion of Fonseca, and entreated that neither that nor any other circumstance might be allowed to prejudice him in the royal favour, through the misrepresentations of designing men. He assured them that the natural resources of the island required nothing but good management to supply all the wants of the colonists; but that the latter were indolent and profligate. He proposed to send home, by every ship, as in the present instance, a number of the discontented and worthless, to be replaced by sober and industrious men. He begged also that ecclesiastics might be sent out for the instruction and conversion of the Indians; and, what was equally necessary, for the reformation of the dissolute Spaniards. He required also a man learned and experienced in the law, to officiate as judge over the island, together with several officers of the royal revenue. Nothing could surpass the soundness and policy of these suggestions; but unfortunately one clause marred the moral beauty of this excellent letter. He requested that for two years longer the Spaniards might be permitted to employ the Indians as slaves; only making use of such, however, as were captured in wars and insurrections. Columbus had the usage of the age in excuse for this suggestion; but it is at variance with his usual benignity of feeling, and his paternal conduct towards these unfortunate people.

At the same time he wrote another letter, giving an account of his recent voyage, accompanied by a chart, and by specimens of the gold, and particularly of the pearls found in the Gulf of Paria. He called especial attention to the latter, as being the first specimens of pearls found in the new world. It was in this letter that he described the newly discovered continent in such enthusiastic terms; as the most favoured part of the East, the source of inexhaustible treasures, the supposed seat of the terrestrial Paradise; and he promised to prosecute the discovery of its glorious realms with the three remaining ships, as soon as the affairs of the island should permit.

By this opportunity, Roldan and his friends likewise sent letters to Spain, endeavouring to justify their rebellion, by charging Columbus and his brothers with oppression and injustice, and painting their whole conduct in the blackest colours. It would naturally be supposed that the representations of such men would have little weight in the balance against the tried merits and exalted services of Columbus: but they had numerous friends and relatives in Spain; they had the popular prejudice on their side, and there were designing persons in the confidence of the Sovereigns ready to advocate their cause. Columbus, to use his own simple but affecting words, was "absent, envied, and a foreigner in the land."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 78.

<sup>2</sup> In one of these ships sailed the father of the venerable historian Las Casas, from whom he derived many of those facts of his history. Las Casas, l. i, c. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i, c. 137.

## CHAPTER III.

## ARRANGEMENT WITH THE REBELS.

[ 1498. ]

THE ships being despatched, Columbus resumed his negotiation with the rebels. He was determined to put an end to this sedition at any sacrifice; for, until it should be set at rest, not only the affairs of the island would remain in a distracted and ruinous state, but all his splendid plans of discovery would be interrupted. His ships lay idle in the harbour, though a region of apparently boundless wealth was to be explored. He had intended to send his brother on the discovery, but the active and military spirit of the Adelantado rendered his presence indispensable, in case the rebels should come to open violence. Such were the difficulties which he had to encounter at every step of his generous and magnanimous enterprises; impeded at one time by the insidious intrigues of crafty men in place, and checked at another by the insolent turbulence of a handful of ruffians.

Columbus held earnest consultations with the most important persons about him. He found that much of the popular discontent was attributed to the strict rule of his brother, who was accused of dealing out justice with a rigorous hand. Las Casas, however, who saw all the testimony collected from various sources with respect to the conduct of the Adelantado, acquits him of all charge of the kind, and affirms that, with respect to Roldan in particular, he had exerted great forbearance. Columbus, by the advice of his counsellors, and by the suggestions of his own forgiving heart, was resolved to try the alternative of extreme lenity. He wrote a letter to Roldan, dated the 20th of October, couched in the most conciliating terms, calling to mind past kindnesses, and expressing the affliction he had suffered at finding such feud existing between him and the Adelantado. He entreated him, for the common good, and for the sake of his own reputation, which stood well with the Sovereigns, not to persist in his present insubordination. He again repeated his assurance, that he and his companions might come to him, under the faith of his word for the inviolability of their persons.

There was a difficulty as to who should be the bearer of this letter. The rebels had declared that they would receive no one as mediator but Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal. Strong doubts, however, existed in the mind of those about Columbus as to the integrity of that officer. They observed that he had suffered Roldan to remain two days on board of his caravel at Xaragua; had furnished him with weapons and stores; had neglected to detain him on board, when he knew him to be a rebel; had not exerted himself to retake the deserters; had been escorted on his way to San Domingo by the rebels, and had sent refreshments to them at Bonao. It was alleged, moreover, that he had given himself out as a colleague

of Columbus, appointed by government to have a watch and control over his conduct. It was suggested, that, in advising the rebels to approach San Domingo, he had intended, in case the Admiral did not arrive, to unite his pretended authority as colleague, to that of Roldan, as chief judge, and to seize upon the reins of government. Finally, the desire of the rebels to have him sent to them as an agent, was cited as a proof that he was to join them as a leader, and that the standard of rebellion was to be hoisted at Bonao. These circumstances, for some time, perplexed the mind of Columbus: but he reflected that Carvajal, as far as he had had an opportunity of observing his conduct, had behaved like a man of honour and integrity; most of the circumstances alleged against him admitted of a construction in his favour; the rest were mere rumours, and he had unfortunately experienced, in his own case, how easily the fairest actions, and the fairest characters, may be falsified by rumour. He discarded, at once, all suspicion, and determined to confide implicitly in Carvajal; nor had he ever any reason to repent of his confidence.

The Admiral had scarcely despatched this letter, when he received one from the leaders of the rebels, which had been written several days previously. In this, they not merely vindicated themselves from the charge of rebellion, but claimed great merit, as having dissuaded their followers from a resolution to kill the Adelantado, in revenge of his oppressions, and prevailed upon them to await patiently for redress from the Admiral. A month had elapsed since his arrival, during which they had waited anxiously for his orders, but he had manifested nothing but irritation against them, notwithstanding the great evils which they had prevented. They declared, therefore, that their honour and safety required that they should withdraw from his service, and they accordingly demanded their discharge. This letter was dated from Bonao, the 17th of October, and signed by Francisco Roldan, Adrian de Moxica, Pedro de Gamez, and Diego de Escobar.\*

In the mean time, Carvajal arrived at Bonao, accompanied by Miguel Ballester. They found the rebels full of arrogance and presumption. The conciliating letter of the Admiral, however, enforced by the earnest persuasions of Carvajal, and the virtuous admonitions of the veteran Ballester, had a favourable effect on several of the leaders, who had more intellect than their brutal followers. Roldan, Gamez, Escobar, and two or three others, were disposed to go to the Admiral. They had actually mounted their horses for the purpose, when they were detained by the clamorous opposition of their men. These were too infatuated with their idle, licentious mode of life, to relish the idea of a return to labour and discipline. They insisted that it was a matter which concerned

\* Hist. del Almirante, c. 78.

\* Hist. del Almirante, c. 79. Herrera, d. 1, l. iii. c. 15.

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them all; whatever arrangement was to be made, therefore, should be made in public, in writing, and subject to their approbation or dissent. A day or two elapsed before this clamour could be appeased. Roldan then wrote to the Admiral, that his followers objected to his coming, unless a written assurance, or passport, were sent, protecting the persons of himself and such as should accompany him. Miguel Ballester wrote, at the same time, to the Admiral, a letter of cautions and earnest counsel, urging him to agree to whatever terms the rebels might demand. He represented their forces as continually augmenting, and that the soldiers of his garrison were daily deserting to them. He gave it as his opinion, that, unless some compromise were speedily effected, and the rebels shipped off to Spain, not merely the authority, but even the person of the Admiral would be in danger; for though the hidalgos and the immediate officers and servants of Columbus, would, doubtless, be in his service, yet he feared that the common people were but little to be depended upon.

Columbus felt the increasing urgency of the case, and immediately sent the required passport. Roldan came to San Domingo; but, from his conduct, it appeared as if he sought rather to make partisans, and gain deserters, than to arrange any terms of reconciliation. He had several conversations with the Admiral, and several letters passed between them. He made many complaints, and numerous demands; Columbus made large concessions,<sup>2</sup> but some of the pretensions were too arrogant to be admitted. Nothing definite was arranged. Roldan departed under pretext of conferring with his people, promising to send his terms in writing. The Admiral sent his mayor-domo, Diego de Salamanca, to treat in his behalf.<sup>3</sup>

On the 6th of November, Roldan wrote a letter from Bonao, containing his terms, and requested that a reply might be sent to him to Concepcion, as scarcity of provisions obliged him to leave Bonao. He added that he should wait for a reply until the following Monday (the 4th). There was an insolent menace implied in this note, accompanied as it was by the most insolent demands. The Admiral found it impossible to comply with the latter; but to manifest his lenient disposition, and to take from the rebels all plea of rigour, he had a proclamation affixed for thirty days at the gate of the fortress; promising full indulgence and complete oblivion of the past to Roldan and his followers, or to any of them who should return to the service of the crown, and present themselves before the Admiral within the course of a month, and free conveyance for all such as wished to return to Spain; but threatening to execute justice upon those who should not appear within the limited time.

A copy of this paper he sent to Roldan by Carvajal, with a letter, stating the impossibility of a compliance with his terms, but offering to agree to any compact

that should be drawn up with the approbation of Carvajal and Salamanca.

When Carvajal arrived, he found the veteran Ballester actually besieged in his fortress of Concepcion by Roldan, under pretext of claiming, in his official character of alcalde mayor, a culprit who had taken refuge there from justice. He had cut off the supply of water from the fort, by way of distressing it into a surrender. When Carvajal posted up the proclamation of the Admiral on the gate of the fortress, the rebels scoffed at the proffered amnesty, saying that, in a little while, they would oblige the Admiral to ask the same at their hands. The earnest intercessions of Carvajal, however, brought the leaders at length to reflection, and through his mediation articles of capitulation were drawn up. By these it was agreed that Roldan and his followers should embark for Spain from the port of Xaragua in two ships, which should be fitted out and victualled within fifty days. That they should each receive from the Admiral a certificate of good conduct, and an order for the amount of their pay, up to the actual date. That slaves should be given to them as had been given to others, in consideration of services performed; and as several of their company had wives, natives of the island, who were pregnant, or had lately been delivered, that they might take them with them, if willing to go, in place of the slaves. That satisfaction should be made for property of some of the company which had been sequestrated, and for live stock which had belonged to Francisco Roldan. There were other conditions, providing for the security of their persons; and it was stipulated that, if no reply were received to these terms within eight days, the whole should be void.

This agreement was signed by Roldan and his companions at Fort Concepcion on the 16th of November, and by the Admiral at San Domingo on the 21st. At the same time, he proclaimed a further act of grace, permitting such as chose to remain in the island either to come to San Domingo, and enter into the royal service, or to hold lands in any part of the island. They preferred, however, to follow the fortunes of Roldan, who departed with his band for Xaragua, to await the arrival of the ships, accompanied by Miguel Ballester, sent by the Admiral to superintend the preparations for their embarkation.

It was a grievous trial to the spirit of Columbus, to see his projected enterprise to Terra Firma impeded by such contemptible obstacles; and that the ships which should have borne his brother to explore that newly-found continent, should be devoted to the use of this turbulent and worthless rabble. He consoled himself, however, with the reflection, that all the mischief which had so long been lurking in the island would thus be at once shipped off, and that thenceforth every thing would be restored to order and tranquillity. He ordered every exertion to be made, therefore, to get the ships in readiness to be sent

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. cap. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. cap. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 80.

round to Xaragua; but the scarcity of sea-stores, and the difficulty of completing the arrangements for such a voyage in the disordered state of the colony, delayed their departure far beyond the stipulated time. Feeling that he had been compelled to a kind of deception towards the Sovereigns, in the certificate of good conduct which he had given to Roldan and his followers, Columbus wrote a letter to them, informing them of the real character and conduct of those delinquents. That they had resisted authority, prevented the Indians from paying tribute, pillaged the island, carried off large quantities of gold, and the daughters of several of the caciques. That the certificate of good conduct which he had given them, had been in conformity to the advice of the principal persons about him, and wrung from him by the exigency of the case, the whole island being threatened with ruin by their rebellion. He advised, therefore, that they should be seized, and their slaves and treasure taken from them, until their conduct could be properly investigated. This letter he intrusted to a confidential person who was to go in one of the ships.

The rebels having left the neighbourhood, and the affairs of San Domingo being in a state of security, Columbus put his brother Don Diego in temporary command, and departed with the Adelantado on a tour to visit the various stations, and to restore the island to order.

#### CHAPTER IV.

ANOTHER MUTINY OF THE REBELS; AND SECOND ARRANGEMENT WITH THEM.

[ 1499. ]

SEVERAL MONTHS were consumed by Columbus and the Adelantado in their tour through the island. Everything had fallen into confusion during the late troubles. The mines were abandoned, the farms lay neglected; the flocks and herds, which were to be kept for breeding, were scattered or destroyed; the caciques had ceased to pay their tribute, everything required to be re-arranged. Still Columbus flattered himself, now that the island was relieved from the evil spirits which had lately roamed about it, that everything, by strenuous exertion, would soon be restored to a prosperous condition. His little intervals of calm, however, were always sure to be followed by a violent storm. While he was soothing himself with the idea that Roldan and his band were tossing on the high seas, on their way to Spain, he learnt, to his infinite regret, that the voyage was interrupted, and that the rebels had broken out into new seditions.

The two caravels had sailed from St Domingo for Xaragua about the end of February; but, encountering a violent storm, they had been obliged to put into

one of the harbours of the island, where they were detained until the end of March. One was so disabled as to be compelled to return to San Domingo. Another vessel was despatched to supply its place, in which the indefatigable Carvajal set sail, to expedite the embarkation to the rebels. It was eleven days in making the voyage, and found the other caravel at Xaragua.

In the mean time the followers of Roldan had changed their minds, and refused to embark, either fearing to return to Spain, or loth to abandon their present unrestrained and dissolute mode of life. They pretended, as usual, to throw all the blame on Columbus, affirming that he had purposely delayed the ships far beyond the time stipulated in their capitulations; that he had sent them in a state not seaworthy, and short of provisions; with many other charges, artfully founded on circumstances over which they knew the Admiral could have no control. Carvajal made a formal protest before a notary who had accompanied him, and finding that the ships were suffering great injury and their provisions failing, he sent them back to St Domingo, and set out on his return by land. Roldan mounted his horse to accompany him a little distance: he was evidently disturbed in mind. He feared to return to Spain, yet was shrewd enough to know that his present situation at the head of a band of dissolute men, acting in defiance of authority, had no security in it, and must eventually lead to his destruction. What stronger tie had he upon the fidelity of those men than all the sacred obligations which they had violated? After riding thoughtfully for some distance, he paused, and requested some private conversation with Carvajal before they parted. They alighted under the shade of a tree. Here Roldan made further professions of the loyalty of his intentions, and finally declared, that if the Admiral would once more send him a written security for his person, with the guarantee also of the principal persons about him, he would come to treat with him, and trusted that the whole matter would be arranged on terms satisfactory to both parties. This offer, however, he added, must be kept secret from his followers.

Carvajal was overjoyed at this prospect of a final arrangement, and made all haste to communicate the request of Roldan to the Admiral. The latter immediately forwarded the required passport or security, sealed with the royal seal, accompanied by a letter written in amicable terms, exhorting him to quiet obedience to the authority of the Sovereigns. Several of the principal persons, also, who were with the Admiral, wrote, at his request, a letter of security to Roldan, pledging themselves for the safety of himself and his followers during the negotiation, provided they did nothing hostile to the royal authority or its representative.

In the midst of his perplexities, while Columbus was endeavouring to bring the island back to

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<sup>1</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., decal., t. i. l. iii. c. 16.

<sup>1</sup> Herrera  
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obedience and to promote the interest of its Sovereigns, he received a letter from Spain, in reply to the earnest representations which he had made in the preceding autumn of the distracted state of the colony and the outrages of these lawless men, and requesting the royal countenance and support under his difficulties. The letter was written by his invidious enemy, the Bishop Fonseca, superintendent of Indian affairs. It informed him that the accounts he had transmitted to Spain of the alleged insurrection of Roldan had been received, but that this matter must be suffered to remain in suspense, as the Sovereigns would investigate and remedy it presently.

This cold reply to his earnest representations had the most disheartening effect upon Columbus. He saw that his complaints had little weight with the government; that the misrepresentations of his enemies were prejudicing him with the Sovereigns, and he anticipated redoubled insolence on the part of the rebels, when they should discover the little influence he possessed in Spain. Full of zeal, however, for the success of his undertaking, and of fidelity to the interests of the Sovereigns, he resolved to spare no personal sacrifices of comfort or dignity, but at any cost to appease the troubles of the island. Eager to expedite the negotiation with Roldan, therefore, he sailed in the latter part of August with two caravels to the port of Azua, west of San Domingo, and much nearer to Xaragua. He was accompanied by several of the most important personages of the colony. Roldan repaired thither likewise, with the turbulent Adrian de Moxica, and a number of his band. The concessions he had already obtained from the Admiral had increased his presumption; and he had, doubtless, received intelligence of the cold manner in which the complaints of the Admiral had been received in Spain. He conducted himself more like a conqueror, exacting triumphant terms, than a delinquent seeking to procure pardon by atonement.

He came on board of the caravel, and with his usual effrontery, propounded the preliminaries upon which he and his companions were disposed to negotiate.

First, that he should be permitted to send several of his company, to the number of fifteen, to Spain, in the vessels which were at St Domingo. Secondly, that those who remained should have lands granted them to cultivate, in place of royal pay. Thirdly, that it should be proclaimed, that every thing charged against Roldan and his party, had been grounded upon false testimony, and the machinations of persons who desired to injure them, and who were disaffected to the royal service. Fourthly, that Roldan should be reinstated in his office of alcalde mayor, or chief judge.

These were hard and insolent conditions to commence with, but they were granted. Roldan then

went on shore, and communicated them to his companions. For two days the insurgents held a consultation among themselves, at the end of which they sent their capitulations, drawn up in form, and couched in arrogant language, including all the stipulations granted at Fort Conception, with those recently demanded by Roldan; and concluding with one, more insolent than all the rest, namely, that if the Admiral should fail in the fulfilment of any of these articles, they should have a right to assemble together, and to compel his performance of them by force, or by any other means they might think proper. Thus the conspirators were not only seeking to obtain exculpation of the past, but a pretext for the future, in case they should again rise in rebellion.

The mind grows wearied and impatient with recording, and the heart of the generous reader must burn with indignation at perusing, this protracted and ineffectual struggle of a man of the exalted merits and matchless services of Columbus, in the toils of such contemptible miscreants. Surrounded by doubt and danger, a foreigner among a jealous people, an unpopular commander in a mutinous island, distrusted and slighted by the government he was seeking to serve, and creating suspicion by his very services, he knew not where to look for faithful advice, or efficient aid, or candid judgment. The very ground on which he stood seemed giving way under him. He understood that seditious plans began to be formed among his own people. They saw the impunity with which the rebels had rioted in the possession of one of the finest parts of the island; they now began to talk among themselves of following their example; of abandoning the standard of the Admiral, and seizing upon the province of Higüey, at the eastern extremity of the island, which was said to contain valuable mines of gold.

Thus critically situated, disregarding every consideration of personal pride and dignity, and determined, at any individual sacrifice, to secure the interests of an ungrateful Sovereign, Columbus forced himself to sign this most humiliating capitulation. He trusted that afterwards, when he could gain quick access to the royal ear, he should be able to convince the King and Queen that it had been compulsory, and forced from him by the extraordinary difficulties in which he had been placed, and the imminent perils of the colony. Before signing it, however, he inserted a stipulation, that the commands of the Sovereigns, of himself, and of the justices appointed by him, should be punctually obeyed.

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, decad. 1, l. iii, c. 16. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1, l. iii, c. 16.

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, decad. 1, l. iii, c. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1, l. iii, cap. 16.



## CHAPTER V.

GRANTS MADE TO ROLDAN AND HIS FOLLOWERS. DEPARTURE  
OF SEVERAL OF THE REBELS FOR SPAIN.

[ 1499. ]

WHEN Roldan resumed his office of *alcalde mayor*, or chief judge, he displayed all the arrogance to be expected from one who had intruded himself into power by profligate means. While at the city of San Domingo, he was always surrounded by his faction, he communed only with the dissolute and disaffected, and having all the turbulent and desperate men of the community at his beck, he was enabled to intimidate the quiet and loyal by his frowns. He bore an impudent front against the authority even of Columbus himself, discharging from office one Rodrigo Perez, a lieutenant of the Admiral, declaring that no one should bear a staff of office in the island but such as he appointed.<sup>1</sup> Columbus had a difficult and painful task in bearing with the insolence of this man, and of the shameless rabble that had returned, under his auspices, to the settlements. He tacitly permitted many abuses, endeavouring by mildness and indulgence to allay the jealousies and prejudices which had been awakened against him, and by various concessions to lure the factious to the performance of their duty. To such of the colonists generally as preferred to remain in the island, he offered a choice either of royal pay or of portions of lands, with a number of Indians, some free, others as slaves, to assist in the cultivation. The latter was generally preferred; and grants were made out, in which he endeavoured, as much as possible, to combine the benefit of the individual with the interests of the colony.

Roldan presented a memorial signed by upwards of one hundred of his late followers, demanding grants of lands and licenses to settle, and chusing Xaragua for their place of abode. The Admiral feared to trust such a numerous body of factious partisans in so remote a province, lest they should foment some new rebellion. He contrived, therefore, to distribute them in various parts of the island; some at Bonao, where their settlement gave origin to the town of that name; others on the bank of the Rio Verde, or Green River, in the Vega; others about six leagues from thence at St Jago. He assigned to them liberal portions of land, and numerous Indian slaves, taken in the wars. He made an arrangement, also, by which the *caciques* in their vicinity, instead of paying tribute, should furnish parties of their subjects, free Indians, to assist the colonists in the cultivation of their lands: a kind of feudal service, which was the origin of the *repartimientos*, or distributions of the free Indians among the colonists, afterwards generally adopted and shamefully abused throughout the Spanish colonies, a source of intolerable hardships and oppressions to the unhappy natives, and

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, *Hist. Ind.*, decad. 1, l. iii, c. 15.

which greatly contributed to exterminate them in the island of Hispaniola.<sup>2</sup> Columbus considered the island in the light of a conquered country, and arrogated to himself all the rights of a conqueror, in the name of the Sovereigns for whom he fought. Of course all his companions in the enterprise were entitled to take part in the acquired territory, and to establish themselves there as feudal lords, reducing the natives to the condition of villains or vassals.<sup>3</sup> This was an arrangement widely different from his original intentions; for he was disposed to treat the natives with amity and kindness, as peaceful subjects of the crown. But all his plans had been subverted by the violence and licentiousness of others, and his present measures appear to have been forced upon him by the exigency of the times. As a kind of police to restore the island to order, he appointed a captain with an armed band, with orders to range the provinces, to oblige the Indians to attend to the payment of their tributes, to watch over the conduct of the colonists, and to check the least appearance of mutiny or insurrection.<sup>4</sup>

Having sought and obtained such ample provisions for his followers, Roldan was not more modest in making demands for himself. He claimed certain lands in the vicinity of Isabella, as having belonged to him before his rebellion; also a royal farm, devoted to the rearing of poultry, situated in the Vega, and called La Esperanza. These the Admiral granted to him, with permission to employ, as the cultivators of the farm, the subjects of the *cacique* whose ears had been cut off by Alonso de Ojeda in his first military expedition into the Vega. Roldan received also grants of land in Xaragua, and a variety of live stock from the cattle and other animals belonging to the crown. These grants were made to him provisionally, until the pleasure of the Sovereigns should be known;<sup>5</sup> for Columbus yet trusted, that, when their Majesties understood the seditions and violences by which these concessions had been extorted from him, the ring-leaders of the rebels would not merely be stripped of their ill-gotten possessions, but would receive that punishment which their offences deserved.

Roldan having now enriched himself beyond his hopes, requested permission of Columbus to visit his lands. This was granted with great reluctance. He immediately departed for the Vega, and stopping at Bonao, his late head-quarters, he made Pedro Riquelme, one of his most active confederates, *alcalde*, or judge of the place, with the power of arresting all delinquents, and sending them prisoners to the fortress of Concepcion, where he reserved to himself the right of sentencing them. This appointment gave great displeasure to Columbus, being an assumption of powers not vested in the office of Roldan, who had no right to create inferior *alcaldes*. Other circumstances

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, decad. 1, l. iii, c. 16.<sup>3</sup> Muñoz, *Hist. N. Mundo*, l. vi, § 50.<sup>4</sup> *Hist. del Almirante*, cap. 84.<sup>5</sup> Herrera, decad. 1, lib. ii, c. 16.

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<sup>1</sup> Herrera, decad.

created apprehensions in his mind of further designs of the late insurgents. Pedro Riquelme, under pretext of erecting farming buildings for his cattle, began to erect a strong edifice on a hill, advantageously posted, and capable of being converted into a formidable fortress. This, it was whispered, was done in concert with Roldan, by way of securing a stronghold in which they might fortify themselves in case of need. Being in the neighbourhood of the Vega, where so many of their late partisans were settled, it would have formed a dangerous rallying-place for any new sedition. The designs of Riquelme were suspected and his proceedings opposed by Pedro de Arana, a loyal and honourable man, who was on the spot. Representations were made by both parties to the Admiral, who, filled with uneasiness at this suspicious measure on the part of Riquelme, prohibited him from proceeding with the construction of his edifice.

Columbus had prepared to return, with his brother Don Bartholomew, to Spain, where he felt that his presence was of the utmost importance to place the late events of the island in a proper light. He had experienced the inefficacy of letters of explanation, which were liable to be counteracted by the misrepresentations of malevolent enemies. The island, however, was still in a feverish state. He was not well assured of the fidelity of the late rebels, though so dearly purchased; there was a rumour of a threatened descent into the Vega, by the mountain tribes of Ciguay, to attempt the rescue of their captive cacique Mayobanex, who was still detained a prisoner in the fortress of Conception. Tidings were brought about the same time from the western parts of the island, that four strange ships had arrived on the coast, under suspicious appearances. These circumstances obliged Columbus to postpone his departure for the present; and held him involved in the affairs of this favourite but fatal island.

The two caravels were despatched for Spain in the beginning of October, taking such of the colonists as chose to return, and among them a number belonging to the party of Roldan. Some of those took with them three slaves, others two, and others one; and some of them carried away the daughters of caciques whom they had beguiled from their families and homes. At these iniquities, no less than at many others which equally grieved his spirit, the Admiral was obliged to connive. He was conscious, at the same time, that he was sending home a reinforcement of enemies and false witnesses, to defame his character and traduce his conduct, but he had no alternative. To counteract, as much as possible, their misrepresentations, he sent by the same caravel the loyal and upright veteran Miguel Ballester, together with Garcia de Barrantes, empowered to attend to his affairs at court, and furnished with the depositions which had been taken relative to the conduct of Roldan and his accomplices.

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, decad. i. l. iii. c. 46. Hist. del Almirante. c. 85. §1.

He wrote at the same time to the Sovereigns, entreating them to inquire into the truth of the late transactions, and to act as they thought best. He stated his opinion that the capitulations which he had signed with the rebels were null and void, for various reasons; that they had been extorted from him by violence, and at sea, where he did not exercise the office of viceroy; that there had been two trials relative to the insurrection, and the insurgents having been condemned as traitors, it was not in the power of the Admiral to absolve them from their criminality; that the capitulations treated of matters touching the royal revenue, over which he had no control, without the intervention of the proper officers; and that Francisco Roldan and his companions, on leaving Spain, had taken an oath to be faithful to the Sovereigns, and to the Admiral in their name. For these and similar reasons, some just, others rather sophistical, he urged their Majesties not to consider themselves bound to ratify the compulsory terms which he had ceded to these profligate men, but to inquire into their offences, and treat them accordingly.

He repeated the request made in a former letter, that a learned man might be sent out as judge to administer the laws in the island, since he himself had been charged with rigour, although conscious of having always observed a clemency. He requested also that discreet persons should be sent out to form a council, and others for certain fiscal employments, entreating, however, that their powers should be so limited and defined, in their respective appointments, as not to interfere with his own dignity and privileges. He bore strongly on this point; for he felt that his prerogatives had, on former occasions, been grievously invaded. He observed that he might be mistaken, but it appeared to him that princes ought to show much confidence in their governors; for without the royal favour to give them strength and consequence, everything went to ruin under their command—a sound maxim, forced from the Admiral by his recent experience, in which much of his own perplexities, and the triumph of the rebels, had been caused by the distrust of the crown, and its inattention to his remonstrances.

Finding age and infirmity creeping upon him, and his health being much impaired by his last voyage, Columbus began to think of his son Diego, as an active coadjutor to share the toils and cares of his station; and who, being destined as his successor, might gain experience under his eye, for the future discharge of his high duties. Diego was still serving as a page at the court, but he was grown to man's estate, and he was capable of entering into the important concerns of life. Columbus entreated, therefore, that he might be sent out to assist him, as he felt himself infirm and less capable of exertion.

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, decad. i. l. iii. c. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, decad. i. l. iii. c. 46.

## CHAPTER VI.

ARRIVAL OF OJEDA WITH A SQUADRON AT THE WESTERN PART OF THE ISLAND. ROLDAN SENT TO MEET HIM.

[ 1499. ]

AMONG the causes which induced Columbus to postpone his departure for Spain, has been mentioned the arrival of four ships at the western part of the island. These had anchored on the 5th of September in a harbour a little below Jacquemel, apparently with the design of cutting woods used in dyeing, which abound in that neighbourhood, and of carrying off the natives for slaves. Further reports informed him that these ships were commande' by Alonso de Ojeda, the same hot-headed and bold-hearted cavalier who had distinguished himself on various occasions in the previous voyages of discovery, and particularly in the capture of the cacique Caonabo. Knowing the daring and adventurous spirit of this man, Columbus felt much disturbed at his visiting the island in this clandestine manner, on what appeared to be little better than a freebooting expedition. To call him to account, and to oppose his aggressions, however, required an agent of spirit and address. No one seemed better fitted for the purpose than Roldan. He was as daring as Ojeda, and of a more crafty character. An expedition of the kind would occupy the attention of himself and his partisans, and divert them from any schemes of mischief. The large concessions recently made to them would, he trusted, secure their present fidelity, rendering it more profitable for them to be loyal than rebellious.

Roldan gladly undertook the enterprise. He had nothing further to gain by sedition, and he was anxious to secure his ill-gotten possessions and effects by public services, which should atone for his past offences. He was a vain as well as an active man, and took a pride in acquitting himself well in an expedition which called for both courage and shrewdness. Departing from St Domingo with two caravels, he arrived on the 29th of September within two leagues of the harbour where the ships of Ojeda were anchored. Here he landed with five-and-twenty resolute followers, well armed, and accustomed to range the forests. He sent five scouts to reconnoitre. They brought word that Ojeda was on shore, several leagues distant from his ships, with only fifteen men, who were employed in making cassava-bread in an Indian village. Roldan threw himself between Ojeda and his ships, thinking to take him by surprise. Ojeda, however, was apprised of his approach by the Indians, with whom the very name of Roldan inspired terror, from his late excesses in Xaragua. Ojeda saw his danger; he supposed Roldan had been sent in pursuit of him, and he found himself cut off from any retreat to his ships. With his usual intrepidity he immediately presented himself before Roldan, attended merely by half a dozen followers. The latter craftily began by con-

versing on general topics. He then inquired into his motives for landing on the island, particularly on that remote and lonely part, without first reporting his arrival to the Admiral. Ojeda replied, that he had been on a voyage of discovery, and had put in there in distress, to repair his ships and procure provisions. Roldan then demanded, in the name of the government, a sight of the license under which he sailed. Ojeda, who knew the resolute character of the man he had to deal with, restrained his natural impetuosity, and replied that his papers were on board of his ship. He declared his intention, on his departure from thence, to go to San Domingo, and pay his homage to the Admiral, having many things to tell him which were for his private ear alone. He intimated to Roldan that the Admiral had completely fallen into disgrace at court; that there was a talk of taking from him his command, and that the Queen, his patroness, was ill beyond all hopes of recovery. This intimation, it is presumed, was referred to by Roldan in his despatches to the Admiral, wherein he mentioned that certain things had been communicated to him by Ojeda, which he did not think it safe to confide to a letter.

Roldan now repaired to the ships. He found several persons on board with whom he was acquainted, and who had already been in Hispaniola. They confirmed the truth of what Ojeda had said, and showed a license signed by the Bishop Fonseca, as superintendent of the affairs of the Indies, authorizing him to sail on a voyage of discovery.\*

It appeared, from the report of Ojeda and his followers, that the glowing accounts sent home by Columbus of his late discoveries on the coast of Paria, his magnificent speculations with respect to the riches of the newly-found country, and the specimens of pearls which he had transmitted to the Sovereigns, had inflamed the cupidity of various adventurers. Ojeda happened to be at that time in Spain. He was a favourite of the Bishop Fonseca, and obtained a sight of the letter written by the Admiral to the Sovereigns, and his charts and maps of the route by which it was accompanied. Ojeda knew Columbus to be embarrassed by the seditions of Hispaniola; he found, by his conversations with Fonseca and other of the Admiral's enemies, that strong doubts and jealousies existed in the mind of the King with respect to his conduct, and that his approaching downfall was confidently predicted. The idea of taking advantage of these circumstances struck Ojeda, and, by a private enterprise, he hoped to be the first in gathering the wealth of these newly-discovered regions. He communicated his project to his patron, Fonseca. The latter was but too ready to do anything that might defeat the plans and obscure the glory of Columbus; and it may be added, that he always showed himself more disposed to patronise mercenary adventurers than upright and high-minded men. He granted Ojeda every facility, furnishing him with copies of

\* Herrera, decad. 1. l. iv. c. 5.

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## CHAPTER VII.

MANŒUVRES OF ROLDAN AND OJEDA.

[ 1500. ]

WHEN intelligence was brought to Columbus of the nature of the expedition of Ojeda, and the license under which he sailed, he considered himself deeply aggrieved, it being a direct infraction of his most important prerogatives, and sanctioned by authority that ought to have held them sacred. He awaited patiently, however, the promised visit of Alonso de Ojeda to San Domingo, to obtain fuller explanations. Nothing was further from the intention of that roving commander than to keep such promise: he had made it merely to elude the vigilance of Roldan. As soon as he had refitted his vessels and obtained a supply of provisions, he sailed round to the coast of Xaragua, where he arrived in February. Here he was well received by the Spaniards resident in that province, who supplied all his wants. Among them were many of the late comrades of Roldan; loose, random characters, impatient of all order and restraint, and burning with animosity against the Admiral, for having again brought them under the wholesome authority of the laws.

Knowing the rash and fearless character of Ojeda, and finding that there were jealousies between him and the Admiral, they hailed him as a new leader, come to redress their fancied grievances, in place of Roldan, whom they considered as having deserted them. They made clamorous complaints to Ojeda of the injustice of the Admiral, whom they charged with withholding from them the arrears of their pay.

Ojeda was a hot-headed man, with somewhat of a vaunting spirit, and immediately set himself up for a redresser of grievances. It is said also, that he gave himself out as authorized by government, in conjunction with Carvajal, to act as counsellors, or rather supervisors of the Admiral; and that one of the first measures they were to take, was to enforce the payment of all salaries due to the servants of the crown. It is questionable, however, whether Ojeda made any pretension of the kind, which could so readily be disproved, and would have tended to disgrace him with the government. It is probable that he was encouraged in his intermeddling, chiefly by his knowledge of the tottering state of the Admiral's favour at court, and of his own security in the powerful protection of Fonseca. He may have imbibed also the opinion, diligently fostered by those with whom he had chiefly communicated in Spain, just before his departure, that these people had been driven to extremities by the oppression of the Admiral and his brothers. Some feeling of generosity, therefore, it is probable, mingled with his usual love of action and enterprise, when he proposed to redress all their wrongs, to put himself at their head, march at once

the papers and charts of Columbus, by which to direct himself in his course, and granted him a letter of license signed with his own name, though not with that of the Sovereigns. In this, it was stipulated that he should not touch at any land belonging to the King of Portugal, nor any that had been discovered by Columbus prior to 1495. The last provision shows the perfidious artifice of Fonseca, as it left Paria and the Pearl Islands free to the visits of Ojeda, they having been discovered by Columbus subsequent to the designated year. The ships were to be fitted out at the charges of the adventurers, and a certain proportion of the products of the voyage were to be rendered to the crown.

Under this license Ojeda fitted out four ships at Seville, assisted by many eager and wealthy speculators. Among the number was the celebrated Americo Vespucci, a Florentine merchant, who was considered well acquainted with geography and navigation. The principal pilot of the expedition was Juan de la Cosa, a mariner of great repute, a disciple of the Admiral, whom he had accompanied in his first voyage of discovery, and in that along the northern coast of Cuba, and round the island of Jamaica. There were several also of the mariners, and Bartholomew Roldan, a distinguished pilot, who had been with Columbus in his voyage to Paria. Such was the expedition, which, by a singular train of circumstances, eventually gave the name of this Florentine merchant, Americo Vespucci, to the whole of the New World.

This expedition had sailed in May, 1499. The adventurers had arrived on the southern continent, and had ranged along its coast, from two hundred leagues east of the Oronoco, to the Gulf of Paria. Guided by the charts of Columbus, they had passed through this gulf, and through the Boca del Drago, had kept along westward to Cape de la Vela, visiting the island of Margarita and the adjacent continent, and discovering the Gulf of Venezuela. They had subsequently touched at the Caribbee Islands, where they had fought with the fierce natives, and made many captives, with the intention of selling them in the slave-markets of Spain. From thence, being in need of supplies, they had sailed to Hispaniola, having performed the most extensive voyage hitherto made along the shores of the New World.<sup>2</sup>

Having collected all the informations that he could obtain concerning these voyagers, their adventures and designs, and trusting to the declaration of Ojeda, that he should proceed forthwith to present himself to the Admiral, Roldan returned to San Domingo to render a report of his mission.

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas.

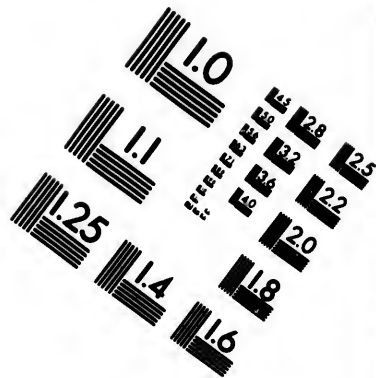
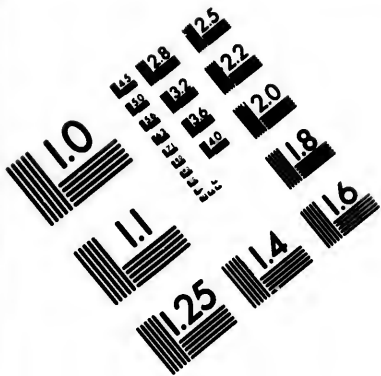
<sup>2</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1, l. iv, c. 4. Muñoz, Hist. N. Mundo, part in MS. unpublished.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 84.

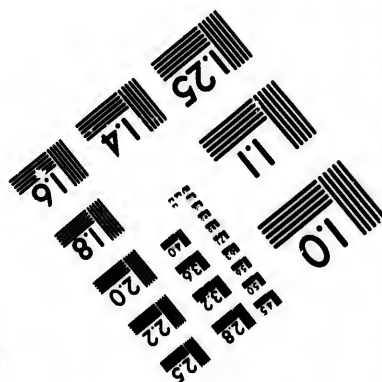
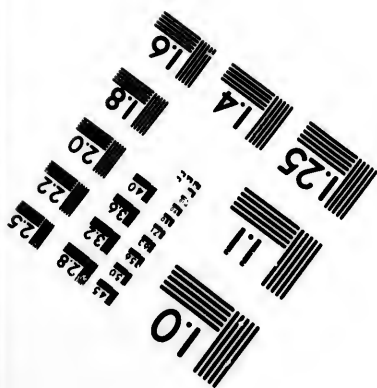
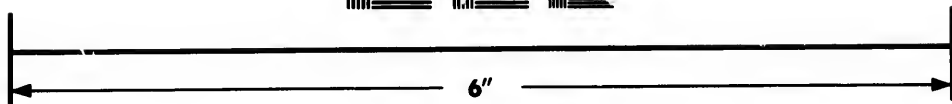
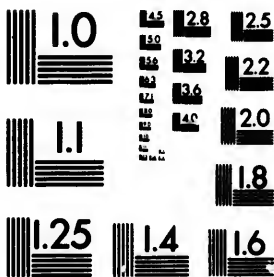
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to San Domingo, and oblige the Admiral to pay them on the spot, or expel him from the island.

The proposition of Ojeda was received with acclamations of transport by some of the rebels; others made objections. Quarrels arose: a ruffianly scene of violence and brawl ensued, in which several were killed and wounded on both sides; but the party for the expedition to San Domingo remained triumphant.

Fortunately for the peace and safety of the Admiral, Roldan arrived in the neighbourhood, just at this critical juncture, attended by a crew of resolute followers. He had been despatched by Columbus to watch the movements of Ojeda, on hearing of his arrival on the coast of Xaragua. Roldan had been apprised of the violent scenes which were taking place, and sent to his old confederate Diego de Escobar, to follow him with all the trusty force he could collect. They reached Xaragua within a day of each other. An instance of the bad faith usual between bad men was now evinced. The former partisans of Roldan, finding him earnest in his intention of serving the government, and that there was no hope of engaging him in their new sedition, sought to take him by surprise, but his vigilance and celerity prevented them.<sup>1</sup>

Ojeda, when he heard of the approach of Roldan and Escobar, retired on board of his ships. Though of a daring spirit, he had no inclination, in the present instance, to come to blows, where there was a certainty of desperate fighting, and no gain; and where he must raise his arm against government. Roldan now issued such remonstrances as he had been accustomed to receive. He wrote to Ojeda, reasoning with him on his conduct, and the confusion he was producing in the island, and invited him on shore to an amicable arrangement of all alleged grievances. Ojeda, knowing the crafty, violent character of Roldan, disregarded his repeated messages, and refused to venture within his power. He even seized one of his messengers, Diego de Truxillo, and landing suddenly at Xaragua, carried off another of his followers, named Toribio de Lenares; both of whom he detained in irons, on board of his vessel, as hostages for a certain Juan Pintor, a one-armed sailor, who had deserted; threatening to hang them if the deserter was not given up.<sup>2</sup>

Various manœuvres took place between these two well-matched opponents; each wary of the address and prowess of the other. Ojeda made sail, and stood twelve leagues to the northward, to the province of Cahay, one of the most beautiful and fertile parts of the country, and inhabited by a kind and gentle people. Here he landed with forty men, seizing upon whatever he could find of the provisions of the natives. Roldan and Escobar followed along shore, and were soon at his heels. Roldan then despatched Escobar in a light canoe, paddled swiftly by Indians, who ap-

proaching nearly within hail of the ship, informed Ojeda that, since he would not trust himself on shore, Roldan would come and confer with him on board, if he would send a boat for him.

Ojeda now thought himself secure of his enemy: he immediately despatched a boat within a short distance of the shore, where they lay on their oars, requiring Roldan to come to them. "How many may accompany me?" demanded the latter: "Only five or six," was the reply. Upon this Diego de Escobar and four others waded to the boat. The crew refused to admit more. Roldan then ordered one man to carry him to the barge, and another to walk by his side, and assist him. By this stratagem, his party was eight strong. The instant he entered the boat, he ordered the oarsmen to row to shore. On their refusing, he and his companions attacked them sword in hand, wounded several, and made all prisoners, excepting an Indian archer, who, plunging under the water, escaped by swimming.

This was an important triumph for Roldan. Ojeda, anxious for the recovery of his boat, which was indispensable for the service of the ship, now made overtures of peace. He approached the shore in the smaller boat which was left him, taking with him his principal pilot, an arquebusier, and four oarsmen. Roldan entered the boat he had just captured, with seven rowers and fifteen fighting men, causing fifteen others to be ready on shore to embark in a large canoe, in case of need. A characteristic interview took place between those doughty antagonists, each keeping warily on his guard. Their conference was carried on at a distance. Ojeda justified his hostile movements by alleging that Roldan had come with an armed force to seize him. This the latter positively denied, promising him the most amicable reception from the Admiral, in case he would repair to San Domingo. An arrangement was at length effected; the boat was restored, and mutual restitution of the men took place, with the exception of Juan Pintor, the one-armed deserter, who had absconded; and on the following day, Ojeda, according to agreement, set sail to leave the island, threatening however to return at a future time, with more ships and men.<sup>3</sup>

Roldan waited in the neighbourhood, doubting the truth of his departure. In the course of a few days, word was brought him that Ojeda had landed on a distant part of the coast. He immediately pursued him with eighty men, in canoes, sending scouts by land. Before he arrived at the place, Ojeda had again made sail, and Roldan saw and heard no more of him. Las Casas asserts, however, that Ojeda departed either to some remote district of Hispaniola, or to the island of Porto Rico, where he made up what he called his *Cavalgada*, or droves of slaves; carrying off numbers of the unhappy natives, whom he sold in the slave-market of Cadiz.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Columbus to the Nurse of Prince Juan.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, l. 1, c. 169.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. del Almirante, ubi sup.

<sup>4</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. 1, cap. 169. MS.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

## CONSPIRACY OF GUEVARA AND MOXICA.

[ 1500. ]

WHEN men have been accustomed to act falsely, they take great merit to themselves for an exertion of common honesty. The followers of Roldan were proud in trumpeting forth their unwonted loyalty, and the great services they had rendered to government in driving Ojeda from the island. Like all reformed slaves, they expected that their good conduct would be amply rewarded. Looking upon their leader as having every thing in his gift, and being well pleased with the delightful province of Cahay, they requested him to share the land among them, that they might settle there. Roldan would have had no hesitation in granting their request, had it been made during his freebooting career; but he was now anxious to establish a character for adherence to the laws. He declined, therefore, acceding to their wishes, until sanctioned by the Admiral. Knowing, however, that he had fostered a spirit among these men which was dangerous to contradict, and that their rapacity, by long indulgence, did not admit of delay, he shared among them certain lands of his own, in the territory of his ancient host Behechio, cacique of Xaragua. He then wrote to the Admiral for permission to return to San Domingo; and received a letter in reply, giving him many thanks and commendations for the diligence and address which he had manifested, but requesting him to remain for a time in Xaragua, lest Ojeda should be yet hovering about the coast, and disposed to make another descent in that province.

The troubles of the island were not yet at an end, but were destined again to break forth, and from somewhat of a romantic cause. There arrived about this time, at Xaragua, a young cavalier of noble family, named Don Fernando de Guevara. He possessed an agreeable person and winning manners, but was headstrong in his passions and dissolute in his principles. He was cousin to Adrian de Moxica, one of the most active ringleaders in the late rebellion of Roldan, and had conducted himself with such licentiousness at San Domingo, that Columbus had banished him from the island. There being no other opportunity of embarking, he had been sent to Xaragua, to return to Spain in one of the ships of Ojeda, but arrived after their departure. Roldan received him favourably, on account of his old comrade, Adrian de Moxica, and permitted him to chuse some place where he would reside, until further orders concerning him should arrive from the Admiral. He chose the province of Cahay, at the place where Roldan had captured the boat of Ojeda. It was a delightful part of that beautiful coast; but the reason why Guevara chose it, was the vicinity to Xaragua. While at the latter place, in consequence of the indulgence of Rol-

dan, he was favourably received at the house of Anacaona, the widow of Caonabo, and sister of the cacique Behechio. That remarkable woman still retained her partiality to the Spaniards, notwithstanding the disgraceful scenes which had passed before her eyes; and the native dignity of her character had commanded the respect even of the dissolute rabble which had infested her province. By her late husband, the cacique Caonabo, she had a daughter named Iiguamota, just grown up, and greatly admired for her beauty. Guevara, being often in company with her, became enamoured, and his endearments soon won the heart of the simple Indian girl. It was to be near her that he chose Cahay as a residence, at a place where his cousin Adrian de Moxica kept a number of dogs and hawks, to be employed in the chase. Guevara delayed his departure. Roldan discovered the object that bound him to Xaragua, and warned him to desist from his pretensions and leave the province. Las Casas intimates that Roldan was himself attached to the young Indian beauty, and jealous of her preference of his rival. Anacaona, the mother, pleased with the gallant appearance and ingratiating manners of the youthful cavalier, favoured his attachment; especially as he sought her daughter in marriage. Notwithstanding the orders of Roldan, Guevara still lingered in Xaragua, in the house of Anacaona; and sending for a priest, desired him to baptize his intended bride.

When Roldan heard of this, he sent for Guevara, and rebuked him sharply for remaining at Xaragua, and for attempting to deceive a person of the importance of Anacaona, by ensnaring the affections of her daughter. Guevara avowed the strength of his passion, and his correct intentions, and entreated permission to remain. Roldan was inflexible. He alleged that some evil construction might be put on his conduct by the Admiral; but it is probable his true motive was a desire to send away a rival, who interfered with his own amorous designs. Guevara obeyed; but had scarce been three days at Cahay, when, unable to remain longer absent from the object of his passion, he returned to Xaragua, accompanied by four or five friends, and concealed himself in the dwelling of Anacaona. Roldan, who was at that time confined by a malady in his eyes, being apprised of his return, sent persons to upbraid him with his disobedience to orders, and to command him to return instantly to Cahay. The young cavalier now assumed a tone of defiance. He warned Roldan not to make foes when he had such great need of friends; for, to his certain knowledge, the Admiral intended to behead him. Upon this, Roldan, exercising his powers of command, ordered him to quit that part of the island, and repair to San Domingo, to present himself before the Admiral. The thoughts of being banished entirely from the vicinity of his Indian beauty, checked the vehemence of the youth. He changed his tone of haughty defiance into one of humble supplication; and Roldan, appeased by this

submission, permitted him to remain for the present in that part of the island.

Roldan was doomed to reap the fruits of the mischief he had sown. He had instilled wilfulness and violence into the hearts of his late followers, and now was exposed to the effects. Guevara, incensed at this opposition to his passion, meditated revenge. He soon made a party among the old comrades of Roldan, who detested, as a magistrate, the man they had idolized as a leader. It was concerted to rise suddenly upon him, and either to kill him or put out his eyes. Roldan was apprised of the plot, and proceeded with his usual promptness. Guevara was seized in the dwelling of Anacaona, in the presence of his intended bride; seven of his accomplices were likewise arrested. Roldan immediately sent an account of the affair to the Admiral, professing, at present, to do nothing without his authority, and declaring himself not competent to judge impartially in the case. Columbus, who was at that time at Fort Conception, in the Vega, ordered that the prisoners should be conducted to the fortress of San Domingo.

These vigorous measures on the part of Roldan against his old comrades, produced immediate commotions in the island. When Adrian de Moxica heard that his cousin Guevara was a prisoner, and that, too, by command of his former confederate, he was highly exasperated, and resolved on vengeance. Hastening to Bonaó, the old haunt of rebellion, he claimed the co-operation of Pedro Riquelme, the recently appointed Alcalde. It was readily yielded. They went round together to the various parts of the Vega, where their late companions in rebellion had received lands and settled; working upon their ready passions, and enlisting their feelings in the cause of an old comrade. These men seem to have had an irresistible propensity to sedition. Guevara was a favourite with them all; the charms of the Indian beauty had probably their influence; and the conduct of Roldan was pronounced a tyrannical interference, to prevent a marriage agreeable to all parties, and beneficial to the colony. There is no being so odious to his former associates, as a reformed robber, or a rebel, enlisted in the service of justice. The old scenes of faction were renewed, the weapons which had scarce been hung up from the recent rebellions, were again snatched down from the walls, and rash preparations were made for action. Moxica soon saw a body of daring and reckless men, ready, with horse and weapon, to follow him on any desperate enterprise. Blinded by the impunity which had attended their former outrages, he now threatened acts of greater atrocity, meditating, not merely the rescue of his cousin, but the death of Roldan and the Admiral.

Columbus was at Fort Conception, with an inconsiderable force, when this dangerous plot was concerted in his very neighbourhood. Not dreaming of any further hostilities from men on whom he had lavished such favours, he would doubtless have fallen into their power, had not intelligence been brought

him of the plot by a deserter from the conspirators. He saw at a glance the perils by which he was surrounded, and the storm that was about to burst upon the island. It was no longer a time for lenient measures; he determined to strike a blow, which should crush the very head of rebellion.

Taking with him but six or seven trusty servants, and three esquires, all well armed, he set out in the night for the place where the ringleaders were quartered. Confiding in the secrecy of their plot, and the late passiveness of the Admiral, they appeared to have been perfectly unguarded. Columbus came upon them, suddenly, and by surprise; seized Moxica and several of his principal confederates, and bore them off prisoners to Fort Conception. The moment was critical; the Vega was ripe for a revolt; he had the fomentor of the conspiracy in his power, and an example was called for that should strike terror into the factious. He ordered Moxica to be hanged on the top of the fortress. The latter entreated that he might be allowed to confess himself previous to execution. A priest was summoned. The miserable Moxica, who had been so undaunted and arrogant in rebellion, lost all courage at the near approach of death. He delayed to confess, beginning and pausing, and recommencing, and again hesitating, as if he hoped, by whiling away time, to give a chance for rescue. Instead of confessing his own sins, he began to accuse others of criminality, who were known to be innocent; until Columbus, incensed at this falsehood and treachery, and losing all patience, in his mingled indignation and scorn, ordered the dastard wretch to be flung headlong from the battlements. Several of the accomplices of Moxica were condemned to death, but reserved in confinement for the present.

This sudden act of severity was promptly followed up. Before the conspirators had time to recover from their astonishment, Pedro Riquelme was taken, with several of his compeers, in his ruffian den at Bonaó, and conveyed to the fortress of San Domingo; where was also confined the original mover of this second rebellion, Fernando de Guevara, the lover of the young Indian princess. These unexpected acts of rigour, proceeding from a quarter which had been long so lenient, had the desired effect. The conspirators, seized with consternation, fled for the most part to Xaragua, their old and favourite retreat. They were not suffered to congregate there again, and concert new seditions. The Adelantado, seconded by Roldan, pursued them with his characteristic rapidity of movement and vigour of arm. It has been said that he carried a priest with him, in order that, as he arrested delinquents, they might be confessed and hanged upon the spot, but the more probable account is that he transmitted them prisoners to San Domingo. He had seventeen of them at one time confined in one common dungeon, awaiting

• Herrera, decad. 1, l. iv, c. 5.

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These were prompt and severe measures; but when we consider how long Columbus had borne with these men, how much he had ceded and sacrificed to them, how he had been interrupted in all his great undertakings, and the welfare of the colony destroyed by their contemptible and seditious brawls; how they had abused his lenity, defied his authority, and at length attempted his life,—we cannot wonder that he should at last let fall the sword of justice, which he had hitherto held suspended.

The power of faction was now completely subdued; and the good effects of the various measures which Columbus had taken, since his last arrival, for the benefit of the island, began to appear. The Indians, seeing the inefficacy of resistance, submitted patiently to the yoke. Many of them gave signs of civilization, having, in some instances, adopted clothing. Christianity, also, had begun to make progress amongst them. The Spaniards now cultivated their lands diligently, assisted by the labours of the natives, and there was every appearance of settled and regular prosperity.

Columbus considered all this happy change as brought about by the especial intervention of Heaven. He expresses this opinion decidedly in one of his letters, recording an instance of those visionary fancies which at times visited his imagination, when distempered by illness or anxiety. In the preceding winter, about the festival of Christmas, when menaced with war by Indian foes, and insurrections among his people, when full of distrust of those around him, and apprehensions of disgrace at court, he had for a time sunk into utter despondency. In the midst of his gloom, when he had abandoned himself to despair, he heard, he says, a voice calling to him,—“O man of little faith! fear nothing, be not cast down. I will provide for thee. The seven years of the term of gold are not expired, and in that and in all other things, I will take care of thee.” On that very day, he adds, he received intelligence of the discovery of a large tract of country rich in mines.<sup>1</sup> The imaginary promise of divine aid thus mysteriously and miraculously given, appeared to him since still more fully accomplished. The troubles and dangers which had recently surrounded him, had at length subsided, and tranquillity had succeeded. He now anticipated the prosperous prosecution of his favourite enterprise, so long interrupted,—the exploring of the regions of Paria, and the establishment

of a fishery in the Gulf of Pearls. How illusive were his hopes! At this moment those events were maturing which were about to overwhelm him with distress, strip him of his honours, and render him comparatively a wreck for the remainder of his days!

## BOOK XIII.

## CHAPTER I.

REPRESENTATIONS AT COURT AGAINST COLUMBUS. BOBADILIA EMPOWERED TO EXAMINE INTO HIS CONDUCT.

[ 4300. ]

WHILE Columbus had been involved in a series of difficulties in the factious island of Hispaniola, his enemies had been but too successful in undermining his reputation in the court of Spain. The report brought by Ojeda of his anticipated disgrace was not entirely unfounded. The event was considered as near at hand, and every perfidious exertion made to accelerate it. Every vessel that returned from the New World came freighted with complaints, representing the character of Columbus and his brothers in the most odious point of view, as new men, inflated by their sudden rise from obscurity, unaccustomed to command, arrogant and insulting in their conduct towards men of birth and lofty spirit, oppressive in their rule over the common people, and cruel in their treatment of the natives. The insidious and illiberal insinuation was continually urged, that they were foreigners, who could have no interest in the glory of Spain, or the prosperity of Spaniards; and, contemptible as this plea may seem, it had a most powerful effect. It was even carried to such a length, that Columbus was accused of a design to cast off all allegiance to Spain, and to make himself sovereign of the countries he had discovered, or to yield them into the hands of some other power: a slander which, however extravagant, was calculated to startle the jealous mind of Ferdinand. It is true, that by every ship Columbus likewise sent home statements, written with all the frankness and energy of truth, setting forth the real cause and nature of the distractions of the island, and pointing out and imploring remedies, which, if properly applied, might have been efficacious. But his letters, arriving at distant intervals, made but single and transient impressions on the royal mind, which were speedily effaced by the influence of daily and active misrepresentation.

His enemies at court, having continual access to the Sovereigns, were enabled to place every thing urged against him in the strongest point of view, while they secretly neutralized the force of his vindications. They had a plausible logic which they

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. c. 470, MS. Herrera, dec. i. lib. iv. c. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Columbus alludes here to the vow which he made on discovering the New World, and expressed in a letter to the Sovereigns, that within seven years, he would furnish, from the profits of his discoveries, fifty thousand foot and five thousand horse, for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre; and an additional force, of like amount, within five years afterwards.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of Columbus to the Nurse of Prince Juan. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 84.

continually used, to prove either bad management or bad faith in Columbus. There was an incessant drain upon the mother country for the support of the colony. Was this compatible with the extravagant pictures he had drawn of the wealth of the island, and its golden mountains, in which he had pretended to find the Ophir of ancient days, the source of all the riches of Solomon? They inferred that he had either deceived the Sovereigns by designing exaggerations, or he had grossly wronged them by mal-practices, or he was totally incapable of the duties of government.

The disappointment of Ferdinand, in finding his newly-discovered possessions a source of expense instead of profit, was known to press sorely on his mind. The wars, dictated by his ambition, had straightened his resources, and involved him in perplexities. He had looked with confidence to the New World for relief, and for ample means to pursue his triumphs; and he grew impatient at the repeated demands which it occasioned on his scanty treasury. For the purpose of irritating his feelings and heightening his resentment, every disappointed and repining man who returned from the colony was encouraged, by the hostile faction, to put in claims for pay withheld by Columbus, or losses sustained in his service. This was especially the case with the disorderly ruffians who had been shipped off to free the island from their seditions. They found way to the court at Granada. They followed the king when he rode out, filling the air with their complaints, and clamouring for their pay. At one time, about fifty of these vagabonds found their way into the inner court of the Alhambra, under the royal apartments, holding up bunches of grapes, as the meagre diet left them by their poverty, and railing aloud at the deceits of Columbus, and the cruel neglect of government. The two sons of Columbus happening to pass by, who were pages to the Queen, they followed them with imprecations, exclaiming, "There go the sons of the Admiral, the whelps of him who discovered the land of vanity and delusion, the grave of Spanish hidalgos."

The incessant repetition of falsehood will gradually wear its way into the most candid mind. Isabella herself began to entertain doubts respecting the conduct of Columbus. Where there was such universal and incessant complaint, it seemed reasonable to conclude that there must exist some fault. If Columbus and his brothers were upright, they might be injudicious; and, in government, mischief is oftener produced through error of judgment than iniquity of design. The letters written by Columbus himself presented a lamentable picture of the confusion of the island. Might not this arise from the weakness and incapacity of the rulers? Even granting that the prevalent abuses arose in a great measure from the enmity of the people to the Admiral and his brothers, and their prejudices against them as

• Hist. del Almirante, cap. 85.

foreigners, was it safe to intrust so important and distant a command to persons who were so unpopular with the community?

These considerations had much weight in the candid mind of Isabella, but they were all-powerful with the cautious and jealous Ferdinand. He had never regarded Columbus with real cordiality; and ever since he had ascertained the importance of his discoveries, had regretted the extensive powers he had vested in his hands. The excessive clamours which had arisen during the brief administration of the Adelantado, and the breaking out of the faction of Roldan, at length determined the King to send out some person of consequence and ability to investigate the affairs of the colony, and, if necessary for its safety, to take upon himself the command. This important and critical measure it appears had been decided upon, and the papers and powers actually drawn out, in the spring of 1499. It was not, however, carried into effect until the following year. Various reasons have been assigned for this delay. The important services rendered by Columbus in the discovery of Paria and the Pearl Islands, may have had some effect on the royal mind. The necessity of fitting out an armament just at that moment, to co-operate with the Venetians against the Turks; the menacing movements of the new king of France, Louis XII; the rebellion of the Moors of the Alpuxarra in the lately conquered kingdom of Granada; all these have been alleged as reasons for postponing a measure which called for much consideration, and might have important effects upon the newly discovered possessions.<sup>1</sup> The most probable reason, however, was the strong disinclination of Isabella to take so harsh a step against a man for whom she entertained such ardent gratitude and high admiration. At length the arrival of the ships with the late followers of Roldan, according to their capitulation, brought matters to a crisis. It is true, that Ballester and Barrantes came in these ships, to place the affairs of the island in a proper light; but they brought out a host of witnesses in favour of Roldan, and letters written by himself and his confederates, attributing all their late conduct to the tyranny of Columbus and his brothers. Unfortunately, the testimony of the rebels had the greatest weight with Ferdinand; and there was a circumstance in the case which suspended for a time the friendship of Isabella, which had hitherto been the greatest dependence of Columbus.

The Queen having taken a maternal interest in the welfare of the natives, had been repeatedly offended by what appeared to her pertinacity on the part of Columbus, in continuing to make slaves of those taken in warfare, in contradiction to her known wishes. The same ships which brought home the companions of Roldan, brought likewise a great number of slaves. Some, Columbus had been obliged to grant to these men by the articles of capitulation;

• Muñoz, Hist. N. Mundo, part unpublished.

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others they had brought away clandestinely. Among them were several daughters of caciques, who had been seduced away from their families and their native island by these profligates. Some of these were in a state of pregnancy, others had new-born infants. The gifts and transfers of these unhappy beings were all ascribed to the will of Columbus, and represented to Isabella in the darkest colours. Her sensibility as a woman and her dignity as a queen, were instantly in arms. "What power," exclaimed she indignantly, "has the Admiral to give away my vassals?" She determined, by one decided and peremptory act, to show her abhorrence of these outrages upon humanity; she ordered all the Indians to be restored to their country and friends. Nay more, her measure was retrospective. She commanded that those which had formerly been sent home by the Admiral, should be sought out, and sent back to Hispaniola. Unfortunately for Columbus, at this very juncture, in one of his letters, he had advised the continuance of Indian slavery for some time longer, as a measure important for the welfare of the colony. This contributed to heighten the indignation of Isabella, and induced her no longer to oppose the sending out of a commission to investigate his conduct, and, if necessary, to supersede him in command.

Ferdinand had been exceedingly embarrassed in appointing this commission, between his sense of what was due to the character and services of Columbus, and his anxiety to retract with delicacy the powers which he had vested in him. A pretext at length was furnished by the recent letters of the Admiral, and he seized upon it with avidity. Columbus had repeatedly requested that a person might be sent out, of talents and probity, learned in the law, to act as chief judge, but whose powers should be so limited and defined as not to interfere with his own authority as viceroy. He had also requested that an impartial umpire might be appointed, to decide in the affair between himself and Roldan. Ferdinand proposed to consult his wishes, but to unite those two offices in one; and as the person he appointed would have to decide in matters touching the highest functions of the Admiral and his brothers, he was empowered, should he find them culpable, to supersede them in the government,—a singular mode of ensuring partiality.

The person chosen for this most momentous and delicate office was Don Francisco de Bobadilla, an officer of the royal household, and a commander of the military and religious order of Catalonia. Oviedo pronounces him a very honest and religious man; but he is represented by others, and his actions corroborate the description, as needy, passionate, and ambitious,—three powerful objections to his exercising the rights of judicature in a case requiring the utmost patience, candour, and circumspection, and

• Las Casas, l. i.

• Oviedo, Cronica, l. iii, c. 6.

where the judge was to derive wealth and power from the conviction of one of the parties.

The authority vested in Bobadilla is defined in letters from the Sovereigns still extant, and which deserve to be noticed chronologically; for the royal intentions appear to have varied with times and circumstances. The first was dated on the 21st of March, 1499, and mentions the complaint of the Admiral, that an alcaide, and certain other persons, had risen in rebellion against him. "Wherefore," adds the letter, "we order you to inform yourself of the truth of the foregoing; to ascertain who and what persons they were who rose against the said Admiral and our magistracy, and for what cause; and what robberies and other injuries they have committed; and furthermore, to extend your inquiries to all other matters relating to the premises; and the information obtained, and the truth known, whomever you find culpable, *arrest their persons, and sequester their effects*; and thus taken, proceed against them and the absent, both civilly and criminally, and impose and inflict such fines and punishments as you may think fit." To carry this into effect, Bobadilla was authorized, in case of necessity, to call in the assistance of the Admiral, and of all other persons in authority.

The powers here given are manifestly directed merely against the rebels, and in consequence of the complaints of Columbus. Another letter, dated on the 21st of May, two months subsequently, is quite of different purport. It makes no mention of Columbus, but is addressed to the councillors, justices, regidores, cavaliers, esquires, officers, and men of property of the islands and terra firma, informing them of the appointment of Bobadilla to the government, with full civil and criminal jurisdiction. Among the powers specified, is the following:—"It is our will, that if the said commander, Francisco de Bobadilla, should think it necessary for our service, and the purposes of justice, that any cavaliers, or other persons who are at present in those islands, or may arrive there, should leave them, and not return and reside in them, and that they should come and present themselves before us, he may command it in our name, and oblige them to depart; and whomever he thus commands, we hereby order, that immediately, without waiting to inquire or consult us, or to receive from us any other letter or command, and without interposing appeal or supplication, they obey whatever he shall say and order, under the penalties which he shall impose on our part," etc., etc.

Another letter, dated likewise on the 21st of May, in which Columbus is styled simply "admiral of the ocean sea," orders him and his brothers to surrender the fortress, ships, houses, arms, ammunition, cattle, and all other royal property, into the hands of Bobadilla, as governor, under penalty of incurring the punishments to which those subject themselves who refuse to surrender fortresses and other trusts, when commanded by their sovereigns.

A fourth letter, dated on the 26th of May and ad-

dressed to Columbus, simply by the title of Admiral, is a mere letter of credence, ordering him to give faith and obedience to whatever Bobadilla should impart.

The second and third of these letters were evidently provisional, and only to be produced, if, on examination, there should appear such delinquency on the part of Columbus and his brothers as to warrant their being divested of command.

This heavy blow, as has been shown, remained suspended for a year; yet, that it was whispered about, and triumphantly anticipated by the enemies of Columbus, is evident from the assertions of Ojeda, who sailed from Spain about the time of the signature of those letters, and had intimate communications with Bishop Fonseca, who was considered instrumental in producing this measure. The very license granted by the bishop to Ojeda to sail on a voyage of discovery, in contravention of the prerogatives of the Admiral, has the air of being given on a presumption of his speedy downfall; and the same presumption, as has already been observed, must have encouraged Ojeda in his turbulent conduct at Xaragua.

At length the long-projected measure was carried into effect. Bobadilla set sail for St Domingo about the middle of July 1500, with two caravels, in which were twenty-five men as a kind of guard, who were enlisted to serve for a year. There were six friars likewise, who had charge of a number of Indians sent back to their country. Besides the letters-patent, Bobadilla was authorized, by a royal order, to ascertain all arrears of pay due to persons in the service of the crown, and to discharge them; and to oblige the Admiral to pay what was due on his part, "so that those people might receive what was owing to them, and there might be no more complaints." In addition to all these powers, Bobadilla was furnished with many blank letters signed by the Sovereigns, to be filled up by him in such manner, and directed to such persons, as he might think advisable in relation to the mission with which he was entrusted.

## CHAPTER II.

### ARRIVAL OF BOBADILLA AT SAN DOMINGO. HIS VIOLENT ASSUMPTION OF THE COMMAND.

[ 1500. ]

COLUMBUS was still at Fort Conception, regulating the affairs of the Vega, after the catastrophe of the sedition of Moxica; his brother the Adelantado, accompanied by Roldan, was pursuing and arresting the fugitive rebels in Xaragua; and Don Diego Columbus remained in temporary command at San Domingo. Faction had worn itself out; the insurgents had brought down ruin upon themselves; and the island appeared delivered from the domination of violent and lawless men.

\* Herrera, decad. i. l. iv. c. 7.

Such was the state of public affairs, when, on the morning of the 25th of August, two caravels were despatched off the harbour of San Domingo, about a league at sea. They were standing off and on, waiting until the sea-breeze, which generally prevails about ten o'clock, should carry them into port. Don Diego Columbus supposed them to be ships sent from Spain with supplies, and hoped to find on board his nephew Diego, whom the Admiral had requested might be sent out to assist him in his various concerns. A canoe was immediately despatched to obtain information; which, approaching the caravels, inquired what news they brought, and whether Diego, the son of the Admiral, was on board. Bobadilla himself replied from the principal vessel, announcing himself as a commissioner sent out to investigate the late rebellion. The master of the caravel then inquired about the news of the island, and was informed of the recent transactions. Seven of the rebels, he was told, had been hanged that week, and five more were in the fortress of San Domingo, condemned to suffer the same fate. Among these were Pedro Riquelme and Fernando de Guevara, the young cavalier whose passion for the daughter of Anacaona had been the original cause of the rebellion. Further conversation passed, in the course of which Bobadilla ascertained that the Admiral and the Adelantado were absent, and Don Diego Columbus in command. When the canoe returned to the city, and it was known that a commissioner had arrived to make inquisition into the late troubles, there was a great stir and agitation throughout the community. Knots of whisperers gathered in every direction: those who were conscious of mal-practices were filled with consternation; while those who had grievances, real or imaginary, to complain of, especially those whose pay was in arrears, appeared with joyful countenances.

As the vessels entered the river, Bobadilla beheld on either bank a gibbet with the body of a Spaniard hanging on it, apparently but lately executed. He considered these as conclusive proofs of the alleged cruelty of Columbus. Many boats came off to the ship, every one being anxious to pay early court to this public censor. Bobadilla remained on board all day, in the course of which he collected much of the rumours of the place; and as those who sought to secure his favour, were those who had most to fear from his investigations, it is evident that the nature of the rumours must generally have been unfavourable to Columbus. In fact, before Bobadilla landed, if not before he had arrived, the culpability of the Admiral was decided in his mind. The next morning he landed with all his followers, and went to the church to attend mass, where he found Don Diego Columbus, Rodrigo Perez, the lieutenant of the Admiral, and other persons of note. Mass being ended, and those persons, with a multitude of the populace, being assembled at the door of the church, Bobadilla

\* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. c. 169. Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i. l. iv. c. 8.



ordered his letters-patent to be read, authorizing him to investigate the rebellion, to seize the persons, and sequester the property of delinquents, and to proceed against them with the utmost rigour of the law; commanding also the Admiral, and all others in authority, to assist him in the discharge of his duties. The letter being read, he demanded of Don Diego and the alcaldes, to surrender to him the persons of Fernando de Guevara, Pedro Riquelme, and the other prisoners, with the depositions that had been taken concerning them; and ordered that the parties by whom they were accused, and those by whose command they had been taken, should appear before him.

Don Diego replied, that the proceedings had emanated from the orders of the Admiral, who held superior powers to any that Bobadilla could possess, and without whose authority he could do nothing. He requested, at the same time, a copy of the letter-patent, that he might send it to his brother, to whom alone the matter appertained. This Bobadilla refused, observing that, if Don Diego had power to do nothing, it was useless to give him a copy. He added, that since the office and authority he had proclaimed appeared to have no weight, he would try what power and consequence there was in the name of a governor; and would show them that he had command, not merely over them, but over the Admiral himself.

The little community remained in breathless suspense, awaiting the portentous movements of Bobadilla. The next morning he appeared at mass, resolved in assuming those powers which were only to have been produced after full investigation, and ample proof of the malconduct of Columbus. When mass was over, and the eager populace had gathered round the door of the church, Bobadilla, in presence of Don Diego and Rodrigo Perez, ordered his other royal patent to be read, investing him with the government of the islands, and of terra firma.

The patent being read, Bobadilla took the customary oath, and then claimed the obedience of Don Diego, Rodrigo Perez, and all present, to his royal instrument; on the authority of which he again demanded the prisoners confined in the fortress. In reply, they professed the utmost deference to the letter of their Majesties, but again observed that they held the prisoners in obedience to the Admiral, to whom the Sovereigns had granted letters of a higher nature.

The self-importance of Bobadilla was incensed at his non-compliance, especially as he saw it had some effect upon the populace, who appeared to doubt his authority. He now produced the third mandate of the crown, ordering Columbus and his brothers to deliver up all fortresses, ships, and other royal property. To win the public completely to his side, he read also the additional mandate issued on the 30th of May, of the same year, ordering him to pay the arrears of wages due to all persons in the royal service, and

to compel the Admiral to pay the arrears of those to whom he was accountable.

This last document was received with shouts by the multitude, many having long arrears due to them in consequence of the poverty of the treasury. Flushed with his growing importance, Bobadilla again demanded the prisoners; threatening, if refused, to take them by force. Meeting with the same reply, he repaired to the fortress to execute his threats. This post was commanded by Miguel Diaz, the same Aragonian cavalier who had once taken refuge among the Indians on the banks of the Ozema, won the affections of the female cacique Catalina, received from her information of the neighbouring gold mines, and had induced his countrymen to remove to those parts.

When Bobadilla came before the fortress, he found the gates closed, and the alcalde, Miguel Diaz, upon the battlements. He ordered his letters-patent to be read with a loud voice, the signatures and seals to be held up to view, and then demanded the surrender of the prisoners. Diaz requested a copy of the letters; but this Bobadilla refused, alleging that there was no time for delay, the prisoners being under sentence of death, and liable at any moment to be executed. He threatened, at the same time, that if they were not given up, he would proceed to extremities, and Diaz should be answerable for the consequences. The wary alcalde again required time to reply, and a copy of the letters; saying that he held the fortress for the king by the command of the Admiral, his lord, who had gained these territories and islands, and that when the latter arrived, he should obey his orders.

The whole spirit of Bobadilla was roused within him, at the refusal of the alcalde. Assembling all the people he had brought from Spain, together with the sailors of the ships, and the rabble of the place, he exhorted them to aid him in getting possession of the prisoners, but to harm no one unless in case of resistance. The mob shouted assent, for Bobadilla was already the idol of the multitude. About the hour of vespers, he set out at the head of this motley army, to storm a fortress destitute of a garrison, and formidable only in name, being calculated to withstand only a naked and slightly-armed people. The accounts of this transaction have something in them bordering on the ludicrous, and give it the air of an absurd rodomontade. Bobadilla assailed the portal with great impetuosity, the frail bolts and locks of which gave way at the first shock and allowed him easy admission. In the mean time, however, his zealous myrmidons applied ladders to the walls, as if about to carry the place by assault, and to experience a desperate defence. The alcalde, Miguel Diaz, and Don Diego de Alverado, alone appeared on the battlements; they had drawn swords, but offered no resistance. Bobadilla entered the fortress in triumph, and without molestation. The prisoners were found in a chamber in irons. He ordered that they should



be brought up to him to the top of the fortress, where, having put a few questions to them, as a matter of form, he gave them in charge to an alguazil named Juan de Espinosa.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the arrogant and precipitate entrance into office of Francisco de Bobadilla. He had reversed the order of his written instructions; having seized upon the government before he had investigated the conduct of Columbus. He continued his career in the same spirit; acting as if the case had been prejudged in Spain, and he had been sent out merely to degrade the Admiral from his employments, not to ascertain the manner in which he had fulfilled them. He took up his residence in the house of Columbus, seized upon his arms, gold, plate, jewels, horses, his books, letters, and other writings, both public and private, even to his most secret papers. He gave no account of the property thus seized; and which he no doubt considered already confiscated to the crown, excepting that he paid out of it the wages of those to whom the Admiral was in arrears.<sup>2</sup> To increase his favour with the people, he proclaimed, on the second day of his assumption of power, a general license for the term of twenty years, to seek for gold, paying merely one eleventh to government, instead of a third as heretofore. At the same time, he spoke in the most disrespectful and unqualified terms of Columbus, saying that he was empowered to send him home in chains, and that neither he nor any of his lineage would ever again be permitted to govern in the island.<sup>3</sup>

### CHAPTER III.

#### COLUMBUS SUMMONED TO APPEAR BEFORE BOBADILLA.

[ 1500. ]

WHEN the tidings reached Columbus at Fort Conception of the high-handed proceedings of Bobadilla, he considered them the unauthorized acts of some rash adventurer like Ojeda. Since government had apparently thrown open the door to private enterprise, he might expect to have his path continually crossed, and his jurisdiction infringed by bold intermeddlers, feigning or fancying themselves authorized to interfere in the affairs of the colony. Since the departure of Ojeda another squadron had touched upon the coast, and produced a transient alarm, being an expedition under one of the Pinzons, licensed by the Sovereigns to make discoveries. There had also been a rumour of another squadron hovering about the island, which proved, however, to be unfounded.<sup>4</sup>

The conduct of Bobadilla bore all the appearance of a lawless usurpation of some intruder of the kind. He had possessed himself forcibly of the fortress, and con-

sequently of the town. He had issued extravagant licenses injurious to the government, and apparently intended only to make partisans among the people, and he had threatened to throw Columbus himself in irons. That this man could really be sanctioned by government, in such intemperate measures, was repugnant to belief. The Admiral's consciousness of his own services, the repeated assurances of high consideration on the part of the Sovereigns, and the prerogatives granted to him under their hand and seal, with all the solemnity that a compact could possess, all forbade him to consider the transactions at St Domingo otherwise than as outrages on his authority by some daring or misguided individual.

To be nearer to St Domingo, and obtain more correct information, he proceeded to Bonaó, which was now beginning to assume the appearance of a settlement, several Spaniards having erected houses there and cultivated the adjacent country. He had scarcely reached Bonaó, when an alcalde, bearing a staff of office, arrived there from San Domingo, proclaiming the appointment of Bobadilla to the government, and bearing copies of his letter-patent. There was no especial letter or message sent to the Admiral, nor were any of the common forms of courtesy or ceremony observed in superseding him in the command: all the proceedings of Bobadilla towards him were abrupt and insulting.

Columbus was exceedingly embarrassed how to act. It was evident that Bobadilla was intrusted with extensive powers by the Sovereigns, but that they could have exercised such a sudden, unmerited, and apparently capricious act of severity towards him, as that of divesting him of all his commands, he could not believe. He endeavoured to persuade himself that Bobadilla was some person sent out to exercise the functions of chief judge, according to the request he had written home to the Sovereigns, and that they had intrusted him likewise with provisional powers to make an inquest into the late troubles of the island. All beyond these powers, he tried to believe, were mere assumptions and exaggerations of authority, as in the case of Aguado. At all events he was determined to act upon such presumption, and to endeavour to gain time. If the monarchs had really taken any harsh measures with respect to him, it must have been in consequence of misrepresentations; the least delay might give them an opportunity of ascertaining their error, and making the necessary amends.

He wrote to Bobadilla, therefore, in guarded terms, welcoming him to the island, cautioning him against precipitate measures, especially in granting licenses to collect gold, informing him that he was on the point of going to Spain, and in a little time would leave him in command, with every thing fully and clearly explained. He wrote at the same time to the like purport to certain monks who had come out with Bobadilla, though he observes that these letters were only written to gain time.<sup>5</sup> He received no replies

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, ubi sup. Herrera, ubi sup.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 85. Las Casas. Herrera, ubi sup.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of Columbus to the Nurse of Prince Juan.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of Columbus to the Nurse of Prince Juan.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of Columbus to the Nurse of Prince Juan.

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but while an insulting silence was observed towards  
him, Bobadilla filled up several of the blank letters,  
of which he had a number signed by the Sovereigns,  
and sent them to Roldan, and other of the Admiral's  
enemies, the very men whom he had been sent out to  
judge. These letters were full of civilities and pro-  
mises of favour.

To prevent any mischief which might arise from  
the licenses and indulgences so prodigally granted by  
Bobadilla, Columbus published by word and letter,  
that the powers assumed by him could not be valid,  
or his licenses availing, as he himself held superior  
powers granted to him in perpetuity by the crown,  
which could no more be superseded in this instance,  
than they had been in that of Aguato.

For some time Columbus remained in this anxious  
and perplexed state of mind, uncertain what line of  
conduct to pursue in so singular and unlooked-for a  
conjuncture. He was soon brought to a decision.  
Francisco Velasquez, deputy treasurer, and Juan de  
Casierra, a Franciscan friar, arrived at Bonao, and  
delivered to him the royal letter of credence, signed  
by the Sovereigns on the 20th of May, 1499, in which  
they commanded him to give implicit faith and obe-  
dience to Bobadilla; and they delivered to him, at the  
same time, a summons from the latter to appear im-  
mediately before him.

This laconic letter from the Sovereigns struck at  
once at the root of all his dignity and power. He no  
longer made hesitation or demur, but complying with  
the pre-emptory summons of Bobadilla, departed al-  
most alone, and unattended, for San Domingo.

## CHAPTER IV.

COLUMBUS AND HIS BROTHERS ARRESTED AND SENT TO SPAIN  
IN CHAINS.

[ 1500. ]

The tidings that a new governor had arrived, and  
that Columbus was in disgrace, and was to be sent  
home in chains, circulated rapidly through the Vega,  
and the colonists hastened from all parts to San  
Domingo to make interest with Bobadilla. It was  
soon perceived that there was no surer way than  
that of vilifying his predecessor. Bobadilla felt that  
he had taken a rash step in seizing upon the govern-  
ment, and that his own safety required the conviction  
of Columbus. He listened eagerly, therefore, to all  
accusations, public or private; and welcome was he  
who could bring any charge, however extravagant,  
against the Admiral and his brothers.

Hearing that the Admiral was on his way to the  
island, he made a bustle of preparation, and armed the  
troops, affecting to believe a rumour, that Columbus

Letter of Columbus. Herrera, decad. i. l. iv. c. 9.  
Herrera, decad. i. l. iv. c. 9. Letter to the Nurse of Prince  
Juan.

had called upon the captains of the Vega to aid him  
with their subjects in a resistance to the commands  
of government. No grounds appear for this absurd  
report, which was probably invented to give a co-  
louring of precaution to subsequent measures of  
violence and insult. The Admiral's brother, Don  
Diego, was seized, thrown in irons, and confined on  
board of a caravel, without any reason being assigned  
for his imprisonment.

In the mean time Columbus pursued his journey  
to San Domingo, travelling in a lonely manner,  
without guards, or retinue. Most of his people were  
with the Adelantado, and he had declined being  
attended by the remainder. He had heard rumours  
of the hostile intentions of Bobadilla; and although  
he knew that violence was threatened to his person,  
he came in this unpretending manner, to manifest  
his pacific feelings, and to remove all suspicion.

No sooner did Bobadilla hear of his arrival, than  
he gave orders to put him in irons, and confine him  
in the fortress. This outrage to a person of such  
dignified and venerable appearance, and such em-  
inent merit, seemed, for the time, to shock even his  
enemies. When the irons were brought, every one  
present shrunk from the task of putting them on him,  
either from a sentiment of compassion at so great a  
reverse of fortune, or out of habitual reverence for  
his person. To fill the measure of ingratitude meted  
out to him, it was one of his own domestics, "a  
graceless and shameless cook," says Las Casas,  
"who rivetted the fetters with as much readiness  
and alacrity, as though he were serving him with  
choice and savoury viands. I knew the fellow,"  
adds the venerable historian, "and I think his name  
was Espinosa."

Columbus conducted himself with characteristic  
magnanimity under the injuries heaped upon him.  
There is a noble scorn which swells and supports the  
heart, and silences the tongue of the truly great,  
when enduring the insults of the unworthy. Col-  
umbus could not stoop to deprecate the arrogance  
of a weak and violent man like Bobadilla. He  
looked beyond this shallow agent, and all his petty  
tyranny, to the Sovereigns who employed him. It  
was their injustice and ingratitude alone that could  
wound his spirit; and he felt assured that when the  
truth came to be known, they would blush to find  
how greatly they had wronged him. With this  
proud assurance, he bore all present indignities in  
silence.

Bobadilla, although he had the Admiral and Don  
Diego in his power, and had secured the venal popu-  
lace, yet felt insecure and anxious. The Adelan-  
tado, with an armed force under his command, was  
still in the distant province of Xaragua, in pursuit  
of the rebels. Knowing his soldier-like and deter-  
mined spirit, he feared he might take some violent  
measure when he should hear of the ignominious

1 Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i. c. 180.

2 Las Casas, l. i. c. 180.

treatment and imprisonment of his brothers. He doubted whether any order from himself would have any effect, except to exasperate the stern Don Bartholomew. He sent a demand, therefore, to Columbus, to write to his brother, requesting him to repair peaceably to San Domingo, and forbidding him to execute the persons he held in confinement: Columbus readily complied. He exhorted his brother to submit quietly to the authority of his Sovereigns, and to endure all present wrongs and indignities, under the confidence that when they arrived at Castile, every thing would be explained and redressed.\*

On receiving this letter, Don Bartholomew immediately complied. Relinquishing his command, he hastened peacefully to St Domingo, and on arriving experienced the same treatment with his brothers, being put in irons and confined on board of a caravel. They were kept separate from each other, and no communication permitted between them. Bobadilla did not see them himself, nor did he allow others to visit them; but kept them in ignorance of the cause of their imprisonment, the crimes with which they were charged, and the process that was going on against them.†

It has been questioned whether Bobadilla really had authority for the arrest and imprisonment of the Admiral and his brothers;‡ and whether such violence and indignity was in any case contemplated by the Sovereigns. He may have fancied himself empowered to do so by the clause in the letter of instructions, dated March 21st, 1499, in which, speaking of the rebellion of Roldan, "he is authorized to *seize the persons, and sequester the property* of those who appeared to be culpable, and then to proceed against them and against the absent, with the highest civil and criminal penalties." This evidently had reference

\* Peter Martyr mentions as a vulgar rumour of the day, that the Admiral, not knowing what might happen, wrote a letter in cipher to the Adelantado, urging him to come with arms in his hands to prevent any violence that might be contrived against him; that the Adelantado advanced, in effect, with his armed force, but having the imprudence to proceed some distance a-head of it, was surprised by the governor, before his men could come to his succour, and that the letter in cipher had been sent to Spain. This must have been one of the groundless rumours of the day, circulated to prejudice the public mind. Nothing of the kind appears among the charges in the inquest made by Bobadilla, and which was seen, and extracts made from it, by Las Casas, for his history. It is, in fact, in total contradiction to the statements of Las Casas, Herrera, and Fernando Columbus.

† Charlevoix, in his History of San Domingo (lib. iii. p. 499) states, that the suit against Columbus was conducted in writing; that written charges were sent to him, to which he replied in the same way. This is contrary to the statements of Las Casas, Herrera, and Fernando Columbus. The Admiral himself, in his letter to the Nurse of Prince Juan, after relating the manner in which he and his brothers had been thrown into irons, and confined separately, without being visited by Bobadilla, or permitted to see any other persons, expressly adds, "I make oath that I do not know for what I am imprisoned." Again, in a letter written some time afterwards from Jamaica, he says, "I was taken and thrown with two of my brothers in a ship, loaded with irons, with little clothing and much ill treatment, without being summoned or convicted by justice."

‡ Herrera, decad. 1, l. iv, c. 10. Oviedo, Cronica, l. iii, c. 6.

to the persons of Roldan and his followers, who were then in arms, and against whom Columbus had sent home complaints; and this, by a violent construction, Bobadilla seems to have wrested into an authority for seizing the person of the Admiral himself. In fact, in the whole course of his proceedings, he had reversed and confounded the order of his instructions. His first step should have been to proceed against the rebels; this he made the last. His last step should have been, in case of ample evidence against the Admiral, to have superseded him in office; and this he made the first, without waiting for evidence. Having pre-terminated, from the very outset, that Columbus was in the wrong, by the same rule he had to presume that all the opposite parties were in the right. It became indispensable to his own justification to implicate the Admiral and his brothers; and the rebels he had been sent to judge became, by this singular perversion of rule, necessary and cherished evidences, to criminate those against whom they had rebelled.

The intentions of the crown, however, are not to be vindicated at the expense of its miserable agents. If proper respect had been felt for the rights and dignities of Columbus, Bobadilla would never have been intrusted with powers so extensive, undefined, and discretionary; nor would he have dared to proceed to such lengths, with such rudeness and precipitation, had he not felt assured that it would not be displeasing to the jealous-minded Ferdinand.

The old scenes of the time of Aguado were now renewed with tenfold virulence, and the old charges revived, with others still more extravagant. From the early and never-to-be-forgotten outrage upon Castilian pride, of compelling hidalgos, in time of emergency, to labour in the construction of works necessary to the public safety, down to the recent charge of levying war against the government, there was now a hardship, abuse, or sedition in the island, that was not imputed to the misdeeds of Columbus and his brothers. Besides the usual accusations of inflicting oppressive labour, unnecessary tasks, painful restrictions, short allowances of food and cruel punishments upon the Spaniards, and waging unjust wars against the natives, they were now charged with preventing the conversion of the latter, that they might send them slaves to Spain, and profit by their sale. The last charge, so contrary to the pious feelings of the Admiral, was founded on his having objected to the baptism of certain Indians of mature age, until they could be instructed in the doctrines of Christianity; justly considering it an abuse of that holy sacrament to administer it thus blindly.\*

Columbus was charged, also, with having secreted pearls, and other precious articles, collected in his voyage along the coast of Paria, and of keeping the Sovereigns in ignorance of the nature of his discoveries there, in order to exact new privileges from them. Yet it was notorious that he had sent home specimens of the pearls, and journals and charts of his voyage,

\* Muñoz, Hist. N. Mundo, part unpublished.

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Even the late tumults, now that the rebels were admitted as evidence, were all turned into matters of accusation. They were represented as spirited and loyal resistances to tyranny exercised upon the colonists and the natives. The well-merited punishments inflicted upon certain of the ringleaders, were cited as proofs of a cruel and revengeful disposition, and a secret hatred of Spaniards. Bobadilla believed, or affected to believe, all these charges. He had, in a manner, made the rebels his confederates in the ruin of Columbus. It was become a common cause with them. He could no longer, therefore, conduct himself towards them as a judge. Guevara, Riquelme, and their fellow convicts, were discharged almost without the form of a trial, and it is even said were received into favour and countenance. Roldan, from the very first, had been treated with confidence by Bobadilla, and honoured with his correspondence. All the others whose conduct had rendered them liable to justice, received either a special acquittal or a general pardon. It was enough to have been opposed in any way to Columbus, to obtain full justification in the eyes of Bobadilla.

The latter had now collected a weight of testimony, and produced a crowd of witnesses, sufficient, as he conceived, to ensure the condemnation of the prisoners, and his own continuance in command. He determined, therefore, to send the Admiral and his brothers home in chains, in the vessels which were ready for sea, transmitting at the same time the inquest taken in their case, and writing private letters, enforcing the charges made against them, and advising that Columbus should on no account be restored to the command which he had so shamefully abused.

San Domingo now swarmed with miscreants just delivered from the dungeon and the gibbet. It was a perfect jubilee of triumphant villany and dastard malice. Every base spirit, which had been awed into obsequiousness by Columbus and his brothers when in power, now started up to revenge itself upon them when in chains. The most injurious slanders were loudly proclaimed in the streets, insulting pasquinades and inflammatory libels were posted up at every corner, and horns were blown in the neighbourhood of their prisons, to taunt them with the exultings of the rabble. When these rejoicings of his enemies reached him in the dungeon in which he was confined, and Columbus reflected on the inconsiderate violence already exhibited by Bobadilla, he knew not how far his rashness and confidence might carry him, and began to entertain apprehensions for his life. The vessels being ready to make sail, Alonso de Villejo was appointed to take charge of the prisoners, and carry them to Spain. He was an officer who had been brought up by an uncle of Fonseca, was in the employ of that bishop, and had come out with Bobadilla. The latter instructed him, on arriving at Cadiz, to deliver his prisoners into the hands

of Fonseca, or of his uncle, thinking thereby to give the malignant prelate a triumphant justification. This circumstance gave weight with many to an assertion which had been made, that Bobadilla was secretly instigated and encouraged to his violent measures by Fonseca, and was promised his protection and influence at court, in case of any complaints of his conduct.

Villejo undertook the office assigned him, but he discharged it in a more generous manner than was intended. "This Alonso de Villejo," says the worthy Las Casas, "was a hidalgo of honourable character, and my particular friend." He certainly showed himself superior to the low malignity of his patrons. When he arrived with a guard to conduct the Admiral from the prison to the ship, he found him in chains in a state of silent despondency. So violently had he been treated, and so savage were the passions let loose against him, that he feared he should be sacrificed without an opportunity of being heard, and his name go down sullied and dishonoured to posterity. When he beheld the officer enter with the guard, he thought it was to conduct him to the scaffold. "Villejo," said he mournfully, "whither are you taking me?" "To the ship, your Excellency, to embark," replied the other. "To embark!" repeated the Admiral earnestly; "Villejo! do you speak the truth?" "By the life of your Excellency," replied the honest officer, "it is true!" With these words the Admiral was comforted, and felt as one restored from death to life. Nothing can be more touching and expressive than this little colloquy, recorded by the venerable Las Casas, who doubtless had it from the lips of his friend Villejo.

The caravels set sail early in October, bearing off Columbus shackled like the vilest of culprits, amidst the scoffs and shouts of a miscreant rabble, who took a brutal joy in heaping insults on his venerable head, and sent curses after him from the shores of the island he had so recently added to the civilized world. Fortunately the voyage was favourable, and of but moderate duration, and was rendered less disagreeable by the conduct of those to whom he was given in custody. The worthy Villejo, though in the service of Fonseca, felt deeply moved at the unworthy treatment of Columbus. The master of the caravel, Andreas Martin, was equally grieved: they both treated the Admiral with profound respect and assiduous attention. They would have taken off his irons, but to this he would not consent. "No," said he proudly, "their Majesties commanded me by letter to submit to whatever Bobadilla should order in their name; by their authority he has put upon me these chains, I will wear them until they shall order them to be taken off, and I will preserve them afterwards as relics and memorials of the reward of my services."

"He did so," adds his son Fernando; "I saw



them always hanging in his cabinet, and he requested that when he died they might be buried with him!"

## BOOK XIV.

### CHAPTER I.

SENSATION IN SPAIN ON THE ARRIVAL OF COLUMBUS IN IRONS.  
HIS APPEARANCE AT COURT.

[ 1500. ]

THE arrival of Columbus at Cadiz, a prisoner and in chains, produced almost as great a sensation as his triumphant return from his first voyage. It was one of those striking and obvious facts, which speak to the feelings of the multitude, and preclude the necessity of reflection. No one stopped to inquire into the case. It was sufficient to be told that Columbus was brought home in irons from the world he had discovered. A general burst of indignation arose in Cadiz, and in the powerful and opulent Seville, which was immediately echoed throughout all Spain. If the ruin of Columbus had been the intention of his enemies, they had defeated their object by their own violence. One of those reactions so frequent in the public mind, when persecution is pushed to an unguarded length, was immediately manifested. Those of the populace who had recently been loud in their clamour against Columbus, were now as loud in their reprobation of his treatment, and a strong sympathy was expressed, against which it would have been odious for the government to contend.

The tidings of his arrival, and of the ignominious manner in which he had been brought, reached the court at Granada, and filled the halls of the Alhambra with murmurs of astonishment. Columbus, full of his wrongs, but ignorant how far they had been authorized by the Sovereigns, had forborne to write to them. In the course of his voyage, however, he had penned a long letter to Doña Juana de la Torre, a lady of the court, high in favour with Queen Isabella, who had been nurse to Prince Juan. This letter, on his arrival at Cadiz, Andreas Martin, the captain of the caravel, had permitted Columbus to send off privately by express. It arrived, therefore, before the protocol of the proceedings instituted by Bobadilla was received. It was from this document that the Sovereigns derived their first intimation of his treatment.\* It contained a statement of the late transactions of the island, and of the wrongs he had suffered, written with his usual artlessness and energy. To specify the contents, would be but to recapitulate events already recorded. Some expressions, however, which burst from him in the warmth of his

\* Hist. del Abante, c. 80.

• Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. 1, c. 182.

feelings, are worthy of being noted. "The slanders of worthless men," says he, "have done me more injury than all my services have proffred me." Speaking of the misrepresentations to which he was subjected, he observes, "Such is the evil name which I have acquired, that if I were to build hospitals and churches, they would be called dens of robbers." After relating in indignant terms the conduct of Bobadilla, in seeking testimony respecting his administration from the very men who had rebelled against him, and throwing himself and his brothers in irons, without letting them know the offences with which they were charged, "I have been much aggrieved," he adds, "in that a person should be sent out to investigate my conduct, who knew that if the evidence which he could send home should appear to be of a serious nature, he would remain in the government." He complains that, in forming an opinion of his administration, allowances had not been made for the extraordinary difficulties with which he had to contend, and the wild state of the country over which he had to rule. "I was judged," he observes, "as a governor who had been sent to take charge of a well-regulated city, under the dominion of well-established laws, where there was no danger of every thing running to disorder and ruin; but I ought to be judged as a captain, sent to subdue a numerous and hostile people, of manners and religion opposite to ours, living not in regular towns, but in forests and mountains. It ought to be considered, that I have brought all these under subjection to their Majesties, giving them dominion over another world, by which Spain, heretofore poor, has suddenly become rich. Whatever errors I may have fallen into, they were not with an evil intention; and I believe their Majesties will credit what I say. I have known them to be merciful to those who have wilfully done them disservice; I am convinced that they will have still more indulgence for me, who have erred innocently, or by compulsion, as they will hereafter be more fully informed; and I trust they will consider my great services, the advantages of which are every day more and more apparent."

When this letter was read to the noble-minded Isabella, and she found how grossly Columbus had been wronged, and the royal authority abused, her mind was filled with mingled sympathy and indignation. The tidings were confirmed by a letter from the alcalde or corregidor of Cadiz, into whose hands Columbus and his brothers had been delivered, until the pleasure of their Majesties should be known; and by another letter from Alonso de Villejo, expressed in terms accordant with his humane and honourable conduct towards his illustrious prisoner.

However Ferdinand might have secretly felt disposed against Columbus, the momentary tide of public feeling was not to be resisted. He joined with his generous queen in her reprobation of the treatment of the Admiral, and both Sovereigns hastened to give

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• Las Casas, l. 1 and eight hundred and five hundred • Herrera, Deca

• Oviedo, Cronica, l. iii, c. 6.



evidence to the world, that his imprisonment had been without their authority, and contrary to their wishes. Without waiting to receive any documents that might arrive from Bobadilla, they sent orders to Cadiz that the prisoners should be instantly set at liberty, and treated with all distinction. They wrote a letter to Columbus, couched in terms of gratitude and affection, expressing their grief at all that he had suffered, and inviting him to court. They ordered, at the same time, that two thousand ducats should be advanced to defray his expenses.\*

The loyal heart of Columbus was again cheered by this declaration of his Sovereigns. He felt conscious of his integrity, and anticipated an immediate restitution of all his rights and dignities. He appeared at court in Granada on the 17th of December, not as a man ruined and disgraced, but richly dressed, and attended by an honourable retinue. He was received by their Majesties with unqualified favour and distinction. When the Queen beheld this venerable man approach, and thought on all he had deserved and all that he had suffered, she was moved to tears. Columbus had borne up firmly against the stern conflicts of the world,—he had endured with lofty scorn the injuries and insults of ignoble men, but he possessed strong and quick sensibility. When he found himself thus kindly received by his Sovereigns, and beheld tears in the benign eyes of Isabella, his long suppressed feelings burst forth: he threw himself upon his knees, and for some time could not utter a word for the violence of his tears and sobbings.†

Ferdinand and Isabella raised him from the ground, and endeavoured to encourage him by the most gracious expressions. As soon as he regained his self-possession, he entered into an eloquent and high-minded vindication of his loyalty, and the zeal he had ever felt for the glory and advantage of the Spanish crown. If at any time he had erred, it was through inexperience in government, and the extraordinary difficulties by which he had been surrounded.

There needed no vindication on his part. The intemperance of his enemies had been his best advocate. He stood in presence of his Sovereigns a deeply injured man, and it remained for them to vindicate themselves to the world from the charge of ingratitude towards their most deserving subject. They expressed their indignation at the proceedings of Bobadilla, which they disavowed, as contrary to their instructions, and they promised that he should be immediately dismissed from his command.

In fact, no public notice was taken of the charges sent home by Bobadilla, nor of the letters which had been written in support of them. The Sovereigns took every occasion to treat Columbus with favour and distinction, assuring him that his grievances should be redressed, his property restored, and that he

should be reinstated in all his privileges and dignities.

It was on the latter point that Columbus was chiefly solicitous. Mercenary considerations had scarcely any weight in his mind. Glory had been the great object of his ambition, and he felt, that as long as he remained suspended from his employments, a tacit censure rested on his name. He expected, therefore, that the moment the Sovereigns should be satisfied of the rectitude of his conduct, they would be eager to make him amends; that a restitution of his viceroyalty would immediately take place, and he should return in triumph to San Domingo. Here, however, he was doomed to experience a disappointment which threw a gloom over the remainder of his days. To account for this flagrant want of justice and gratitude in the crown, it is expedient to notice a variety of events which had materially affected the interests of Columbus in the eyes of the politic Ferdinand.

## CHAPTER II.

## CONTEMPORARY VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY.

THE general license granted by the Spanish Sovereigns in 1493, to undertake voyages of discovery, had given rise to various expeditions by enterprising individuals, chiefly persons who had sailed with Columbus in his first voyages. The government, unable to fit out many armaments itself, was pleased to have its territories thus extended free of cost, and at the same time its treasury benefited by a share of the proceeds of these voyages, which was reserved as a kind of duty to the crown. These expeditions had chiefly taken place while Columbus was in partial disgrace with the Sovereigns. His own charts and journal served as guides to the adventurers; and his magnificent accounts of Paria and the adjacent coasts had chiefly excited their cupidity.

Besides the expedition of Ojeda, already noticed, in the course of which he had touched at Xaragua, one had been undertaken at the same time by Pedro Alonso Niño, native of Moguer, an able pilot, who had been with Columbus in the voyages to Cuba and Paria. Having obtained a license, he interested a rich merchant of Seville in the undertaking, who fitted out a caravel of fifty tons burden, under condition that his brother Christoval should have the command. They sailed from the bar of Saltes, a few days after Ojeda had sailed from Cadiz, in the spring of 1499, and arriving on the coast of Terra Firma, on the south of Paria, they ran along it for some distance, passed through the gulf, and thence went one hundred and thirty leagues, along the shore of the present republic of Columbia, visiting what was afterwards called the Pearl Coast. They landed in various places, disposed of their European trifles to immense profit, and returned with a large store of gold and pearls, having made, in their diminutive bark, one

\* Las Casas, l. 1. c. 182. Two thousand ducats, or two thousand eight hundred and forty-six dollars, equivalent to eight thousand five hundred and thirty-eight dollars of the present day.

† Herrera, decad. 1. l. iv. c. 10.

of the most extensive and lucrative voyages that had yet been accomplished.

About the same time, the Pinzons, that family of bold and opulent navigators, fitted out an armament of four caravels at Palos, manned in a great measure by their own relations and friends. Several experienced pilots embarked in it who had been with Columbus to Paria; and it was commanded by Vicente Pinzon, who had been captain of a caravel in the squadron of the Admiral on his first voyage.

Pinzon was a hardy and experienced seaman, and did not, like the others, follow closely in the track of Columbus. Sailing in December, 1499, he passed the Canary and Cape de Verde Islands, standing south-west, until he lost sight of the polar star. Here he encountered a terrible storm, and was exceedingly perplexed and confounded by the new aspect of the heavens. Nothing was yet known of the southern hemisphere, nor of the beautiful constellation of the Cross, which in those regions has since supplied to mariners the place of the north star. The voyagers had expected to find at the south pole a star correspondent to that of the north. They were dismayed at beholding no guide of the kind, and thought there must be some prominent swelling of the earth, which hid the pole from their view.

Pinzon continued on, however, with great intrepidity. On the 26th of January, 1500, he saw, at a distance, a great headland, which he called Cape Santa Maria de la Consolacion, but which has since been named Cape St Augustine. He landed and took possession of the country in the name of their Catholic Majesties; being a part of the territories since called the Brazils. Standing westward from hence, he discovered the Maragnon, since called the River of the Amazons, traversed the Gulf of Paria, and continued across the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, until he found himself among the Bahamas, where he lost two of his vessels on the rocks, near the island of Jumeto. He returned to Palos in September, having added to his former glory that of being the first European who had crossed the equinoctial line in the western ocean, and of having discovered the famous kingdom of Brazil, from its commencement at the River Maragnon to its most eastern boundary. As a reward for his achievements, power was granted to him to colonise and govern the lands which he had discovered, and which extended southward from a little beyond the River of Maragnon to Cape St Augustine.

The little port of Palos, which had been so slow in furnishing the first squadron for Columbus, was now continually agitated by the passion for discovery. Shortly after the sailing of Pinzon, another expedition was fitted out there, by Diego Lepe, a native of the place, and was manned by his adventurous townsmen. He sailed in the same direction with

Pinzon; but he discovered more of the southern continent than any other voyager of the day, or for twelve years afterwards. He doubled Cape St Augustine, and ascertained that the coast beyond ran to the south-west. He landed and performed the usual ceremonies of taking possession in the name of the Spanish Sovereigns; and in one place carved their names on a magnificent tree, of such enormous magnitude, that seventeen men with their hands joined could not embrace the trunk. What enhanced the merit of his discoveries was, that he had never sailed with Columbus. He had with him, however, several skillful pilots, who had accompanied the Admiral in his voyages.

Another expedition of two vessels sailed from Cadiz, in October, 1500, under command of Rodrigo Bastides of Seville. He explored the coast of terra firma, passing Cape de la Vela, the western limits of the previous discoveries on the main land, continuing on to a port since called The Retreat, where afterwards was founded the sea-port of Nombre de Dios. His vessels being nearly destroyed by the teredo, which abounds in those seas, he had great difficulty in reaching Xaragua in Hispaniola, where he lost his two caravels, and proceeded with his crew by land to San Domingo. Here he was seized and imprisoned by Bobadilla, under pretext that he had treated for gold with the natives of Xaragua.

Such was the swarm of Spanish expeditions immediately resulting from the enterprises of Columbus: but others were also undertaken by foreign nations. In the year 1497, Sebastian Cabot, son of a Venetian merchant, resident in Bristol, sailing in the service of Henry VII of England, navigated to the northern seas of the New World. Adopting the idea of Columbus, he sailed in quest of the shores of Cathay, and hoped to find a north-west passage to India. In this voyage he discovered Newfoundland, coasted Labrador to the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude, and then returning, ran down south-west to the Floridas, when, his provisions beginning to fail, he returned to England. But vague and scanty accounts of this voyage exist, which was important, as including the first discovery of the northern continent of the New World.

The discoveries of rival nations, however, which most excited the attention and jealousy of the Spanish crown, were those of the Portuguese. Vasco de Gama, a man of rank, and of consummate talent and intrepidity, had, at length, accomplished the great design of the late Prince Henry of Portugal, and by doubling the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1497, had opened the long-sought-for route to India.

Immediately after Gama's return, a fleet of thirteen sail was fitted out to visit the magnificent countries of which he brought accounts. This expedition sailed on the 9th of March, 1500, for Calicut, under the

<sup>1</sup> Peter Martyr. decad. i. l. ix.

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, decad. i. l. iv. c. 12. Muñoz, Hist. N. Mundo, part unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii. c. 2. Muñoz, part unpublished.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, vol. iii, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Lafiteau. Conquêtes des Portugais.

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command of Pedro Alvarez de Cabral. Having passed the Cape de Verde Islands, he sought to avoid the calms prevalent on the coast of Guinea, by stretching far to the west. Suddenly, on the 25th of April, he came in sight of land, unknown to any one in his squadron; for as yet, they had not heard of the discoveries of Pinzon and Lepe. He at first supposed it to be some great island; but after coasting it for some time, he became persuaded that it must be part of a continent. Having ranged along it somewhat beyond the fifteenth degree of southern latitude, he landed at a harbour which he called Porto Securo, and taking possession of the country for the crown of Portugal, despatched a ship to Lisbon with the important tidings. In this way did the Brazils come into the possession of Portugal, being to the eastward of the conventional line settled with Spain as the boundaries of their respective territories. Dr Robertson, in recording this voyage of Cabral, concludes with one of his just and elegant remarks.

"Columbus' discovery of the New World was," he observes, "the effort of an active genius, guided by experience, and acting upon a regular plan, executed with no less courage than perseverance. But from this adventure of the Portuguese, it appears that chance might have accomplished that great design, which it is now the pride of human reason to have formed and perfected. If the sagacity of Columbus had not conducted mankind to America, Cabral, by a fortunate accident, might have led them, a few years later, to the knowledge of that extensive continent."<sup>a</sup>

## CHAPTER III.

NICOLAS DE OVANDO APPOINTED TO SUPERSEDE BOBADILLA.

[ 1501. ]

The numerous discoveries briefly noticed in the preceding chapter, had produced a powerful effect upon the mind of Ferdinand. His ambition, his avarice, and his jealousy, were equally inflamed. He beheld boundless regions, teeming with all kinds of riches, daily opening before the enterprises of his subjects; but he beheld at the same time other nations launching forth into competition, emulous to share with him the golden world which he was eager to monopolize. The expeditions of the English, and the accidental discovery of the Brazils by the Portuguese, caused him much uneasiness. To secure his possession of the continent, he determined to establish local governments or commands, in the most important places, all to be subject to a general government, established at San Domingo, which was to be the metropolis.

With these considerations, the government, heretofore granted to Columbus, had risen vastly in im-

portance; and while the restitution of it was the more desirable in his eyes, it became more and more a matter of repugnance to the selfish and jealous monarch. He had long repented having vested such great powers and prerogatives in any subject, particularly in a foreigner. At the time of granting them, he had no anticipation of such boundless countries to be placed under his command. He appeared almost to consider himself outwitted by Columbus in the arrangement he had made; and every succeeding discovery, instead of increasing his grateful sense of the obligation, only made him repine the more at the growing magnitude of the reward. At length, however, the affair of Bobadilla had effected a temporary exclusion of Columbus from his high offices, and the wary monarch secretly determined that the road to his former distinctions should never again be opened.

Perhaps Ferdinand may really have entertained doubts as to the innocence of Columbus, with respect to the various charges made against him. He may have doubted also the sincerity of his loyalty, being a stranger, when he should find himself strong in his command, at a great distance from the parent country, with immense and opulent regions under his control. Columbus himself, in his letters, alludes to reports circulated by his enemies, that he intended either to set up an independent sovereignty, or to deliver his discoveries into the hands of other potentates; and he appears to fear that these slanders may have made some impression on the mind of Ferdinand. But there was one other consideration which had no less force with the monarch in withholding this great act of justice. Columbus was no longer indispensable to him. He had made his great discovery; he had struck out the route to the New World, and now any one could follow it. A number of able navigators had sprung up under his auspices, and acquired experience in his voyages. They were daily besieging the throne with offers to fit out expeditions at their own cost, and to yield a share of the profits to the crown. Why should he, therefore, confer princely dignities and prerogatives for that which men were daily offering to perform gratuitously?

Such, from his after conduct, appears to have been the jealous and selfish policy which actuated Ferdinand in forbearing to reinstate Columbus in those dignities and privileges which had so solemnly been granted to him by treaty, and which it was acknowledged that he had never forfeited by misconduct.

This deprivation, however, was declared to be only temporary; and plausible reasons were given for the delay in his reappointment. It was observed that the elements of those violent factions, which had recently been in arms against him, yet existed in the island; his immediate return might produce fresh exasperation; his personal safety would be endangered, and the island again thrown into confusion. Though Bobadilla, therefore, was to be immediately dismissed from command, it was deemed advisable to send out some officer of talent and discretion to

<sup>a</sup> Lafléau, l. ii.<sup>a</sup> Robertson, Hist. of America, book ii.

supersede him, who might dispassionately investigate the recent disorders, remedy the abuses which had arisen, and expel all dissolute and factious persons from the colony. He should hold the government for two years, by which time it was trusted that all angry passions would be allayed, and turbulent individuals removed: Columbus might then resume the command with comfort to himself and advantage to the crown. With these reasons, and the promise which accompanied them, Columbus was obliged to content himself. There can be no doubt that they were sincere on the part of Isabella, and that it was her intention to reinstate him in the full enjoyment of his rights and dignities, after his apparently necessary suspension. Ferdinand, however, by his subsequent conduct, has forfeited all claim to any favourable opinion of the kind.

The person chosen to supersede Bobadilla was Don Nicholas de Ovando, commander of Lares, of the order of Alcantara: he is described as of the middle size, fair-complexioned, with a red beard, and a modest look, yet a tone of authority. He was fluent in speech, and gracious and courteous in his manners; a man of great prudence, says Las Casas, and capable of governing many people, but not of governing the Indians, on whom he inflicted incalculable injuries. He possessed great veneration for justice, was an enemy to avarice, sober in his mode of living; and of such humility, that when he rose afterwards to be grand commander of the order of Alcantara, he would never allow himself to be addressed by the title of respect attached to it. Such is the picture drawn of him by historians; but his conduct in several important instances is in direct contradiction to it. He appears to have been plausible and subtle, as well as fluent and courteous, his humility concealed a great love of command, and in his transactions with Columbus, he was certainly both ungenerous and unjust.

The various arrangements to be made, according to the new plan of colonial government, delayed for some time the departure of Ovando. In the mean time, every arrival brought intelligence of the disastrous state of the island, under the maladministration of Bobadilla. He had commenced his career by an opposite policy to that of Columbus. Imagining that rigorous rule had been the rock on which his predecessors had split, he sought to conciliate the public by all kinds of indulgence. Having at the very outset relaxed the reins of justice and morality, he lost all command over the community; and such disorder and licentiousness ensued that many, even of the opponents of Columbus, looked back with regret upon the strict but wholesome rule of himself and the Adelantado.

Bobadilla was not so much a bad as an imprudent and a weak man. He had not considered the dangerous excesses to which his policy would lead. Rash in grasping authority, he was feeble and temporizing

in the exercise of it: he could not look beyond the present exigency. One dangerous indulgence granted to the colonists called for another; each was ceded in its turn, and thus he went on from error to error, showing that in government there is as much danger to be apprehended from a weak as from a bad man.

He had sold the farms and estates of the crown at low prices, observing that it was not the wish of the Monarchs to enrich themselves by them, but that they should redound to the profit of their subjects. He granted universal permission to work the mines, paying only an eleventh of the produce to government. To prevent any diminution in the revenue, it became necessary, of course, to increase the quantity of gold collected. He obliged the caciques, therefore, to furnish each Spaniard with Indians, to assist him both in the labours of the field and of the mine. To carry this into more complete effect, he made an enumeration of the natives of the island, then reduced them into classes, and distributed them, according to his favour or caprice, among the colonists. The latter, at his suggestion, associated themselves in partnerships of two persons each, who were to assist one another with their respective capitals and Indian, one superintending the labours of the field, and the other the search for gold. The only injunction of Bobadilla was, to produce large quantities of ore. He had one saying continually in his mouth, which shows the pernicious and temporizing principle upon which he acted: "Make the most of your time," he would say, "there is no knowing how long it will last," alluding to the possibility of his being speedily recalled. The colonists acted up to his advice, and so hard did they drive the poor natives, that the eleventh yielded more revenue to the crown than had ever been produced by the third under the government of Columbus. In the mean time the unhappy natives suffered under all kinds of cruelties from their inhuman task-masters. Little used to labour, feeble of constitution, and accustomed in their beautiful and luxuriant island to a life of ease and freedom, they sunk under the toils imposed upon them, and the severities by which they were enforced. Las Casas gives an indignant picture of the capricious tyranny exercised over the Indians by worthless Spaniards, many of whom had been transported convicts from the dungeons of Castile. These wretches, who in their own countries had been the vilest among the vile, here assumed the tone of grand cavaliers. They insisted upon being attended by trains of servants. They took the daughters and female relations of caciques for their domestics, or rather for their concubines, nor did they limit themselves in number. When they travelled, instead of using the horses and mules with which they were provided, they obliged the natives to transport them upon their shoulders in litters, or hammocks, with others attending to hold umbrellas of palm-leaves over their heads to keep off the sun, and fans of feathers to cool them; and Las Casas affirms that he has seen the backs and shoulders

Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii, c. 5.

of the unfortunate and bleeding natives starts arrived and lavished upon obliging the cause for their were attended the natives but the least offense they inflicted by

Such is but a p under the f sorrowfully deservation, as his administra immense amount the natives, vour with the ken his course ched the roy e natives read othing was m on, and she u put a stop to In conformity verment of C rra firma, of ppoli. He w ivers immedi on, sending ho et. He was i e late abuses, vour or partial ne from the isl. e license grante er gold, it hav y. He was to at was collecte llected in fut ews, granting ipal corporatio ards, and part em, instead of s among many sag rious and illib e principles of ood, but which e rest of the w rs of dark and onopolized the rry merchandis al factor was erchant through European artic t only exclusive us stones, and t also in dye-w

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of the unfortunate Indians who bore these litters, raw and bleeding from the task. When these arrogant starts arrived at an Indian village, they consumed and lavished away the provisions of the inhabitants, razing upon whatever pleased their caprice, and obliging the cacique and his subjects to dance before them for their amusement. Their very pleasures were attended with cruelty. They never addressed the natives but by the most degrading terms; and on the least offence, or the least freak of ill humour, they inflicted blows and lashes, and even death itself.

Such is but a faint picture of the evils which sprung up under the feeble rule of Bobadilla; and which are sorrowfully described by Las Casas, from actual observation, as he visited the island just at the close of its administration. Bobadilla had trusted to the immense amount of gold, wrung from the miseries of the natives, to atone for all errors, and to secure favour with the Sovereigns; but he had totally mistaken his course. The abuses of his government soon reached the royal ear, and, above all, the wrongs of the natives reached the benevolent heart of Isabella. Nothing was more calculated to arouse her indignation, and she urged the speedy departure of Ovando to put a stop to these enormities.

In conformity to the plan already mentioned, the government of Ovando extended over the islands and *terra firma*, of which Hispaniola was to be the metropolis. He was to enter upon the exercise of his powers immediately upon his arrival, by procuration, sending home Bobadilla by the return of the vessel. He was instructed to inquire diligently into the late abuses, punishing the delinquents without favour or partiality, and removing all worthless persons from the island. He was to revoke immediately the license granted by Bobadilla for the general search for gold, it having been given without royal authority. He was to require, for the crown, a third of all that was collected, and one-half of all that should be collected in future. He was empowered to build towns, granting them the privileges enjoyed by municipal corporations of Spain, and obliging the Spaniards, and particularly the soldiers, to reside in them, instead of scattering themselves over the island. Among many sage provisions, there were others inhuman and illiberal, characteristic of an age when the principles of commerce were but little understood, but which were continued by Spain long after the rest of the world had discarded them as the errors of dark and unenlightened times. The crown monopolized the trade of the colonies. No one could carry merchandises there on his own account. A royal factor was appointed, who was to be the sole merchant through whom were to be obtained supplies of European articles. The crown reserved to itself not only exclusive property in the mines, but in precious stones, and like objects of extraordinary value, and also in dye-woods. No strangers, and above all,

no Moors or Jews, were permitted to establish themselves in the island, or to go upon voyages of discovery. Such were some of the restrictions upon trade which Spain imposed upon her colonies, and which were followed by others equally illiberal. Her commercial policy has been the scoff of modern times; but may not the present restrictions on trade, imposed by the most intelligent nations, be equally the wonder and the jest of future ages?

Isabella was particularly careful in providing for the kind treatment of the Indians. Ovando was ordered to assemble the caciques, and declare to them, that the Sovereigns took them and their people under their especial protection. They were merely to pay tribute like other subjects of the crown, and it was to be collected with the utmost mildness and gentleness. Great pains were to be taken in their religious instruction; for which purpose twelve Franciscan friars were sent out, with a prelate named Antonio de Espinal, a venerable and pious man. This was the first formal introduction of the Franciscan order in the New World. All these precautions with respect to the natives were defeated by one unwary provision. It was permitted that the Indians might be compelled to work in the mines, and in other employments; but this was limited to the royal service. They were to be engaged as hired laborers, and punctually paid.

But while the Sovereigns were making regulations for the relief of the Indians, with that inconsistency frequent in human judgment, they encouraged a gross invasion of the rights and the welfare of another race of human beings. Among their various decrees on this occasion, we find the first trace of negro slavery in the New World. It was permitted to carry to the colony negro slaves, born among Christians; that is to say, slaves born in Seville and other parts of Spain, the children and descendants of natives brought from the Atlantic coast of Africa, where such traffic had for some time been carried on by the Spaniards and Portuguese. There are signal events in the course of history, which sometimes bear the appearance of temporal judgments. It is a fact worthy of observation, that Hispaniola, the place where this flagrant sin against nature and humanity was first introduced into the New World, has been the first to exhibit an awful retribution.

Amidst the various concerns which claimed the attention of the Sovereigns, the interests of Columbus were not forgotten. Ovando was ordered to examine into all his accounts, without undertaking to pay them off. He was to ascertain the damages he had sustained by his imprisonment, the interruption of his privileges, and the confiscation of his effects. All the property confiscated by Bobadilla was to be restored; or if sold, to be made good. If it had been employed in the royal service, Columbus was to be indemnified out of the treasury; if Bobadilla had

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, l. ii, c. 1. MS.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, l. ii, c. 3. MS.

<sup>3</sup> Herrera, *Hist. Ind.*, decad. 1, l. iv, c. 12.



appropriated it to his own use, he was to account for it out of his private purse. Equal care was to be taken to indemnify the brothers of the Admiral for the losses they had wrongfully suffered by their arrest.

Columbus was likewise to receive the arrears of his revenues; and the same were to be punctually paid to him in future. He was permitted to have a factor resident in the island, to be present at the melting and marking of the gold, to collect his dues, and in short to attend to all his affairs. To this office he appointed Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal; and the Sovereigns commanded that his agent should be treated with great respect.

The fleet appointed to convey Ovando to his government was the largest that had yet sailed to the New World. It consisted of thirty sail, five of them from ninety to one hundred and fifty tons burden, twenty-four caravels from thirty to ninety, and one bark of twenty-five tons.\* The number of souls embarked in this fleet, was about twenty-five hundred; many of them persons of rank and distinction, with their families.

That Ovando might appear with dignity in his new office, he was allowed to use silks, brocades, precious stones, and other articles of sumptuous attire, which were prohibited at that time in Spain, in consequence of the ruinous ostentation of the nobility. He was permitted to have twenty-two esquires as his body-guard, ten of whom were horsemen. With this expedition sailed Don Alonso Maldonado, appointed as alguazil mayor, or chief justice, in place of Roldan, who was to be sent to Spain. There were artisans of various kinds: to these were added a physician, surgeon, and apothecary; and twenty-three married men<sup>2</sup> with their families, all of respectable character, destined to be distributed in four towns, and to enjoy peculiar privileges, that they might form the basis of a sound and useful population. They were to displace an equal number of the idle and dissolute, who were to be sent from the island: this excellent measure had been especially urged and entreated by Columbus. There was also live stock, artillery, arms, munitions of all kinds; every thing in short that was required for the supply of the island.

Such was the style in which Ovando, a favourite of Ferdinand, and a native subject of rank, was fitted out to enter upon the government withheld from Columbus. The fleet put to sea on the thirteenth of February, 1502. In the early part of the voyage it was encountered by a terrible storm; one of the ships foundered, with one hundred and twenty passengers; the others were obliged to throw overboard every thing that was on deck, and were completely scattered. The shores of Spain were strewn with

\* Muñoz, part inedit. Las Casas says the fleet consisted of thirty-two sail. He states from memory, however; Muñoz from documents.

<sup>2</sup> Muñoz, Hist. Nvo Mundo, part inedit.

articles from the fleet, and a rumour spread that the ships had perished. When this reached the Sovereigns, they were so overcome with grief that they shut themselves up for eight days, and admitted no one to their presence. The rumour proved to be incorrect: but one ship was lost. The others assembled again at the island of Gomera in the Canaries, and pursuing their voyage arrived at San Domingo on the 15th of April.<sup>1</sup>

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### PROPOSITION OF COLUMBUS RELATIVE TO THE RECOVERY OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

[ 1500-1501. ]

COLUMBUS remained in the city of Granada for upwards of nine months, endeavouring to extricate his affairs from the confusion into which they had been thrown by the rash conduct of Bobadilla, and soliciting the restoration of his offices and dignities. During this time he constantly experienced the smiles and attentions of the Sovereigns, and promises were repeatedly made him that he should ultimately be reinstated in all his honours. He had long since, however, ascertained the great interval that might exist between promise and performance in a court. Had he been of a morbid and repining spirit, he had ample food for misanthropy. He beheld the career of glory which he had opened, thronged by favoured adventurers; he witnessed preparations making to convey, with unusual pomp, a successor to that government from which he had been so wrongfully and rudely ejected; in the mean while his own career was interrupted, and as far as public employ is a gage of royal favour, he remained apparently in disgrace.

The sanguine temperament of Columbus was not long to be depressed; if checked in one direction, it broke forth in another. His visionary imagination was as an internal light, which, in the darkest times, repelled all outward gloom, and filled his mind with splendid images and glorious speculations. In the time of evil, his vow to furnish, within seven years from the time of his discovery, fifty thousand foot soldiers, and five thousand horse, for the recovery of the holy sepulchre, recurred to his memory with peculiar force. The time had elapsed, but the vow remained unfulfilled, and the means to perform it had failed him. The New World, with all its treasures, had as yet produced expense instead of profit; and so far from being in a situation to set armies on foot by his own contributions, he found himself without property, without power, and without employ.

Destitute of the means of accomplishing his pious intentions, he considered it his duty to incite the Sovereigns to the enterprise; and he felt emboldened

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. ii, c. 5. MS.

to do so, from great object should be de his accustome purpose. D into the proings of the fa relative source which might of the New and the rece events which cceed each ot of a Carthusia y poetry, a to be deliver the same time fervour of spi those singular ry part of hi speculative re to nurture his In this letter a crusade for t power of the u reject his prese icable, nor to upon it by ot scheme of disc similar contem his persuasion, been chosen b those two gre World, and th his purpose, ir by a divine imp sea, a mode of l to inquire into been gifted wit chronicles and upon these, his the Deity, "as over the navig adamed with "Animated by majesties: all w ; all the scien hing; seven ye disputing the cas earned in all th hat all was vain ith and constar as from the ho myself with r These ideas, s rassy expressed, mbus, show ho working of his o rurnished by oth tion, and the

to do so, from having originally proposed it as the great object to which the profits of his discoveries should be dedicated. He set to work, therefore, with his accustomed zeal, to prepare arguments for the purpose. During the intervals of business, he sought into the prophecies of the holy scriptures, the writings of the fathers, and all kinds of sacred and speculative sources, for mystic portents and revelations which might be construed to bear upon the discovery of the New World, the conversion of the Gentiles, and the recovery of the holy sepulchre: three great events which he supposed to be predestined to succeed each other. These passages, with the assistance of a Carthusian friar, he arranged in order, illustrated by poetry, and collected into a manuscript volume, to be delivered to the Sovereigns. He prepared, at the same time, a long letter, written with his usual fervour of spirit and simplicity of heart. It is one of those singular compositions which lay open the visionary part of his character, and show the mystic and speculative reading with which he was accustomed to nurture his solemn and soaring imagination.

In this letter he urged their Majesties to set on foot a crusade for the deliverance of Jerusalem from the power of the unbelievers. He entreated them not to reject his present advice as extravagant and impracticable, nor to heed the discredit that might be cast upon it by others; reminding them that his great scheme of discovery had originally been treated with similar contempt. He avowed in the fullest manner his persuasion, that, from his earliest infancy, he had been chosen by Heaven for the accomplishment of those two great designs, the discovery of the New World, and the rescue of the holy sepulchre. For this purpose, in his tender years, he had been guided by a divine impulse to embrace the profession of the sea, a mode of life, he observes, which inclines a man to inquire into the mysteries of nature; and he had been gifted with a curious spirit, to read all kind of chronicles and works of philosophy. In meditating upon these, his understanding had been opened by the Deity, "as with a palpable hand," so as to discover the navigation to the Indies, and he had been inflamed with ardour to undertake the enterprise. "Animated by this zeal," he adds, "I came to your Majesties: all who heard of my enterprise mocked at it; all the sciences I had acquired profited me nothing; seven years did I pass in your royal court, disputing the case with persons of great authority and earned in all the arts, and in the end they decided that all was vain. In your Majesties alone remained faith and constancy. Who will doubt that this light was from the holy scriptures, illumining you as well as myself with rays of marvellous brightness?"

These ideas, so repeatedly, and solemnly, and artlessly expressed, by a man of the fervent piety of Columbus, show how truly his discovery arose from the working of his own mind, and not from information furnished by others. He considered it a divine intimation, and the fulfilment of what had been foretold

by our Saviour and the prophets. Still he regarded it but as a minor event preparatory to the great enterprise, the recovery of the holy sepulchre. He pronounced it a miracle effected by Heaven, to animate himself and others to that holy undertaking; and he assured their Majesties that, if they had faith in his present as in his former proposition, they would assuredly be rewarded with equally triumphant success. He conjured them not to heed the sneers of such as might scoff at him as one unlearned, as an ignorant mariner, a worldly man; reminding them that the Holy Spirit works not merely in the learned, but also in the ignorant; nay, that it reveals things to come, not merely by rational beings, but by prodigies in animals, and by mystic signs in the air and in the heavens.

The enterprise here suggested by Columbus, however idle and extravagant it may appear in the present day, was in unison with the temper of the times, and of the court to which it was proposed. The vein of mystic erudition by which it was enforced, likewise, was suited to an age when the reveries of the cloister still controlled the operations of the cabinet and the camp. The spirit of the crusades had not yet passed away. In the cause of the church, and at the instigation of its dignitaries, every cavalier was ready to draw his sword; and religion mingled a glowing and devoted enthusiasm with the ordinary excitement of warfare. Ferdinand was a religious bigot; and the devotion of Isabella went as near to bigotry as her liberal mind and magnanimous spirit would permit. Both the Sovereigns were under the influence of ecclesiastical politicians, constantly guiding their enterprises in a direction to redound to the temporal power and glory of the church. The recent conquest of Granada had been considered a European crusade, and had gained to the Sovereigns the epithet of Catholic. It was natural to think of extending their sacred victories still further, and retaliating upon the infidels their domination of Spain and their long triumphs over the cross. In fact, the Duke of Medina Sidonia had made a recent inroad into Barbary, in the course of which he had taken the city of Melilla, and his expedition had been pronounced a renewal of the holy wars against the infidels in Africa.

There was nothing, therefore, in the proposition of Columbus that could be regarded as preposterous, considering the period and circumstances in which it was made, though it strongly illustrates his own enthusiastic and visionary character. It must be recollected that it was meditated in the courts of the Alhambra, among the splendid remains of Moorish grandeur, where, but a few years before, he had beheld the standard of the faith elevated in triumph

\* Garibay, *Hist. España*, l. xix. c. 6. Among the collections existing in the library of the late Prince Sebastian, there is a folio which, among other things, contains a paper or letter, in which is a calculation of the probable expenses of an army of twenty thousand men, for the conquest of the holy land. It is dated in 1509 or 1510, and the handwriting appears to be of the same time.

above the symbols of infidelity. It appears to have been the offspring of one of those moods of high excitement, when, as has been observed, his soul was elevated by the contemplation of his great and glorious office; when he considered himself under divine inspiration, imparting the will of Heaven, and fulfilling the high and holy purposes for which he had been predestined.'

## CHAPTER V.

## PREPARATIONS OF COLUMBUS FOR A FOURTH VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY.

[ 1501-1502. ]

THE speculation relative to the recovery of the holy sepulchre, held but a temporary sway over the mind of Columbus. His thoughts soon returned, with renewed ardour, to their wonted channel. He became impatient of inaction, and soon conceived a leading object for another enterprise of discovery. The achievement of Vasco de Gama, of the long-attempted navigation to India by the Cape of Good Hope, was one of the signal events of the day. Pedro Alvarez Cabral, following in his track, had made a most successful voyage, and returned with his vessels laden with the precious commodities of the East. The riches of Calicut were now the theme of every tongue: the trade in diamonds and precious stones from the mines of Hindostan; in pearls, gold, silver, amber, ivory, and porcelain; in silken stuffs, costly woods, gums, aromatics, and spices of all kinds. The discoveries of the savage regions of the New World, as yet brought little revenue to Spain; but this route, suddenly opened to the luxurious countries of the East, was pouring in immediate wealth upon Portugal.

Columbus was roused to emulation by these accounts. He now conceived the idea of a voyage, in which, with his usual enthusiasm, he hoped to surpass not merely the discovery of Vasco de Gama, but even those of his own previous expeditions. According to his own observations in his voyage to Paria, and the reports of other navigators, particularly of Rodrigo Bastides, who had pursued the

<sup>1</sup> Columbus was not singular in this belief; it was entertained by many of his zealous and learned admirers. The erudite lapidary, Jayme Ferrer, in the letter written to Columbus in 1495, at the command of the Sovereigns, observes: "I see in this a great mystery: the divine and infallible Providence sent the great St Thomas from the west into the east, to manifest in India our holy and Catholic faith; and you, señor, he sent in an opposite direction, from the east into the west, until you have arrived in the Orient, into the extreme part of Upper India, that the people may hear that which their ancestors neglected of the preaching of St Thomas. Thus shall be accomplished what was written, *in omnem terram exitit sonus eorum*." And again, "The office which you hold, señor, places you in the light of an apostle and ambassador of God, sent by his divine judgment, to make known his holy name in unknown lands."—Letra de Mossen Jayme Ferrer.—Navarrete Collection, t. ii, d. 68.

same route to a greater distance, it appeared that the coast of Terra Firma stretched far to the west. The southern coast of Cuba, which he considered a part of the Asiatic continent, stretched onwards towards the same point. The currents of the Caribbean sea must pass between those lands. He was persuaded, therefore, that there must be a strait existing somewhere thereabout, opening into the Indian sea. The situation in which he placed his conjectural strait, was somewhere about what is at present called the Isthmus of Darien.' Could he but discover such a passage, and thus link the New World he had discovered with the opulent oriental regions of the old, he felt that he should make a magnificent close to his labours, and consummate this great object of his existence.

When Columbus unfolded his plan to the Sovereigns, it was listened to with great attention. Certain of the royal council, it is said, endeavoured to throw difficulties in his way; observing that the various exigencies of the times, and the low state of the royal treasury, rendered any new expedition highly inexpedient. They intimated also that Columbus ought not to be employed, until his good conduct in Hispaniola was satisfactorily established by letters from Ovando. These narrow-minded suggestions failed in their aim: Isabella had implicit confidence in the integrity of Columbus. As to the expense, she felt that while furnishing so powerful a fleet and splendid retinue to Ovando, to take possession of his government, it would be ungenerous and ungrateful to refuse a few ships to the discovery of the New World, to enable him to prosecute his illustrious enterprises. As to Ferdinand, his cupidity was aroused at the idea of being soon put in possession of a more direct and safe route to those countries with which the crown of Portugal was opening so lucrative a trade. The project also would occupy the Admiral for a considerable time, and while it diverted him from claims of an inconvenient nature, would employ his talents in a way most beneficial to the crown. However the king might doubt his abilities as a legislator, he had the highest opinion of his skill and judgment as a navigator. If such a strait as the one supposed were really in existence, Columbus was, of all men in the world, the one best qualified to discover it. His proposition, therefore, was promptly acceded to; he was authorized to fit out an armament immediately; and repaired to Seville in the autumn of 1504, to make the necessary preparations.

Though his substantial enterprise diverted his attention from his romantic expedition for the recovery of the holy sepulchre, it still continued to haunt his mind. He left his manuscript collection of researches among the prophecies, in the hands of a devout friend of the name of Gaspar Gorricio, who assisted by

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, l. ii, c. 4. Las Casas specifies the vicinity of Nombre de Dios as the place. Bastides had explored as far west as that place, and Columbus probably considered the strait as existing at no great distance beyond.

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complete it. This, Columbus presented to the Sovereigns, accompanied by his enthusiastic letter already mentioned, early in the following year. In February, also, he wrote a letter to Pope Alexander VII. In this letter he apologizes, on account of indispensable occupations, for not having repaired to Rome, according to his original intention, to give an account of his grand discoveries. After briefly relating them, he adds, that his enterprises had been undertaken with intent of dedicating the gains to the recovery of the holy sepulchre. He mentions the vow which he had expressed in a letter to the Spanish Sovereigns, to furnish, within seven years, fifty thousand foot and five thousand horse for the purpose, and another like force within five succeeding years. This pious intention, he laments, had been impeded by the arts of the devil, and he feared, without divine aid, would be entirely frustrated; as what the government granted him in perpetuity had been taken from him. He informs his Holiness of his being about to embark on another voyage, and promises solemnly, on his return, to repair to Rome without delay, to relate everything by word of mouth, as well as to present him with an account of his voyages, which he had kept from the commencement to the present time; in the style of the Commentaries of Cæsar.\*

It was about this time, also, that he sent his letter on the subject of the sepulchre to the Sovereigns, together with the collection of prophecies. We have no account of the manner in which the proposition was received. Ferdinand, with all his bigotry, was a shrewd and worldly prince. Instead of a chivalrous crusade against Jerusalem, he preferred making a pacific arrangement with the grand soldan of Egypt, who had menaced the destruction of the sacred edifice. He despatched, therefore, the learned Peter Martyr, so distinguished for his historical writings, as ambassador to the soldan, by whom all ancient grievances between the two powers were satisfactorily adjusted, and arrangements made for the conservation of the holy sepulchre, and the protection of all Christian pilgrims resorting to it.

In the mean time Columbus went on with the preparations for his contemplated voyage, though he was unable to proceed but slowly, owing, as Charlevoix intimates, to the artifices and delays of Fonseca and his agents. He craved permission to touch at the island of Hispaniola on his outward voyage, for supplies necessary in so long an expedition. This, however, the Sovereigns forbade. They knew that he had many enemies in the island, and that the place would be in great agitation from the arrival of Ovando, and the removal of Bobadilla. They consented, however, that he should touch for a short time there on his return, by which time they hoped the island would be restored to tranquillity. Columbus was permitted to take with him in this expedition, his brother the Adelantado, and his son Fernando,

then in his fourteenth year. He was also permitted to take two or three persons learned in Arabic, to serve as interpreters, in case he should arrive at the dominions of the grand khan, or of any other eastern prince where that language might be spoken, or partially known. In reply to letters relative to the ultimate restoration of his rights, and to matters concerning his family, the Sovereigns wrote him a letter, dated March 14, 1502, from Valencia de Torre, in which they again solemnly assured him that their capitulations with him should be fulfilled to the letter, and the dignities therein ceded should be enjoyed by him, and his children after him; and if it should be necessary to confirm them anew, they would do so, and secure them to his son. Beside which, they expressed their disposition to bestow further honours and rewards upon himself, his brothers, and his children. They entreated him, therefore, to depart in peace and confidence, and to leave all his concerns in Spain to the management of his son Diego.†

This was the last letter that Columbus received from the Sovereigns, and the assurances it contained were as ample and absolute as he could desire. Recent circumstances, however, had apparently rendered him dubious of the future. During the time that he passed in Seville, previous to his departure, he took measures to secure his fame, and preserve the claims of his family, by placing them under the guardianship of his native country. He had copies of all the letters, grants, and privileges from the Sovereigns, appointing him admiral, viceroy, and governor of the Indies, copied and authenticated before the alcaldes of Seville. Two sets of these were transcribed, together with his letter to the nurse of Prince Juan, containing a circumstantial and eloquent vindication of his rights; and two letters to the Bank of Saint George's, at Genoa, assigning to it the tenth of his revenues, to be employed in diminishing the duties on corn and other provisions—a truly benevolent and patriotic donation, intended for the relief of the poor of his native city. These two sets of documents he sent by different individuals to his friend, Doctor Nicolo Oderigo, formerly ambassador from Genoa to the court of Spain, requesting him to preserve them in some safe deposit, and to apprise his son Diego of the same. His dissatisfaction at the conduct of the Spanish court may have been the cause of this precautionary measure, that an appeal to the world, or to posterity, might be in the power of his descendants, in case he should perish in the course of his voyage.‡

\* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii, cap. 4.

† These documents lay unknown in the Oderigo family until 1670, when Lorenzo Oderigo presented them to the government of Genoa, and they were deposited in the archives. In the disturbances and revolutions of after times, one of these copies was taken to Paris, and the other disappeared. In 1816 the latter was discovered in the library of the deceased Count Michel Angelo Cambiaso, a senator of Genoa. It was procured by the king of Sardinia, then sovereign of Genoa, and was given up to the city of Genoa by him in 1821. A custodia, or monument was erected in that city for its preservation, consisting of a marble column supporting an urn, surmounted by a bust of Columbus. The docu-

‡ Navarrete, Collec. Viag., t. ii, p. 143.



## BOOK XV.

## CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE OF COLUMBUS ON HIS FOURTH VOYAGE. REFUSED  
ADMISSION TO THE HARBOUR OF SAN DOMINGO. EXPOSED  
TO A VIOLENT TEMPEST.

[ 1502. ]

On the 9th of May, 1502, Columbus sailed from Cadiz on his fourth and last voyage of discovery. His squadron consisted of four caravels, the largest of but seventy tons burden, the smallest of fifty: the crews amounted in all to one hundred and fifty men. With this little armament, and these slender barks, he undertook the search after a strait, which, if found, must conduct him into the most remote seas, and lead to a complete circumnavigation of the globe. Age was rapidly making its advances upon him, when he undertook this extensive and perilous expedition. He was now about sixty-six years old. His constitution, originally vigorous in the extreme, had been impaired by hardships and exposures in every clime, and by the mental sufferings he had undergone. His frame, once so powerful and commanding, was crazed by infirmities, yet strong and majestic even in its decay. His intellectual forces alone retained all their wonted energy, prompting him, at a period of life when most men seek repose, to sally forth, with youthful ardour, on the most toilsome and adventurous of enterprises.

In this arduous voyage, however, he had a faithful counsellor, and an intrepid and vigorous coadjutor, in his brother Don Bartholomew, whilst his younger son Fernando cheered him with his affectionate sympathy. He had learnt to appreciate such comforts from being too often an isolated stranger, surrounded by false friends and perfidious enemies.

On leaving Cadiz, the squadron passed over to Ercilla, on the coast of Morocco, where it anchored on the 15th. Understanding that the Portuguese garrison was closely besieged in the fortress by the Moors, and exposed to great peril, the Sovereigns had ordered Columbus to touch there, and render all the assistance in his power. On arriving, he found that the siege had been raised, but that the governor lay ill, having been wounded in an assault. Columbus sent his brother, the Adelantado, his son Fernando, and the captains of the caravels on shore, to wait upon the governor, with expressions of friendship and civility, and offers of the services of his squadron. Their visit and message gave high satisfaction, and several cavaliers were sent to wait upon the Admiral in return, some of whom were relatives of his deceased wife, Doña Felipa Moñis. After this exchange of

ments were deposited in the urn. These papers have been published, together with an historical memoir of Columbus, by D. Gio. Battista Sporno, Professor of Eloquence, etc. in the University of Genoa.

civilities, the Admiral made sail on the same day, and continued his voyage.<sup>1</sup> On the 20th of May, he arrived at the Grand Canary, and remained at that and the adjacent islands for a few days, taking in wood and water. On the evening of the 25th, he took his departure for the New World. The trade winds were so favourable, that the little squadron swept gently on its course, without shifting a sail, and arrived on the 15th of June at one of the Caribbee Islands, called by the natives Mantinino.<sup>2</sup> After stopping here for three days, to take in wood and water, and allow the seamen time to wash their clothes, the squadron passed to the west of the island, and sailed to Dominica, about ten leagues distant. From hence Columbus continued along the east side of the Antilles, to Santa Cruz, then along the south side of Porto Rico, and steered for San Domingo. This was contrary to the original plan of the Admiral, who had intended to steer to Jamaica,<sup>3</sup> and from thence to take his departure for the continent, to explore its coasts in search of the supposed strait. It was contrary to the orders of the Sovereigns also, prohibiting him on his outward voyage to touch at Hispaniola. His excuse was, that his principal vessel sailed extremely ill, could not carry any canvass, and continually embarrassed and delayed the rest of the squadron.<sup>4</sup> He wished, therefore, to exchange it for one of the fleet which had recently conveyed Ovando to his government, or to purchase some other vessel at San Domingo; and he was persuaded that he would not be blamed for departing from his orders, in a case of such importance to the safety and success of his expedition.

It is necessary to state the situation of the island at this moment. Ovando had reached San Domingo on the 15th of April. He had been received with the accustomed ceremony on the shore, by Bobadilla, accompanied by the principal inhabitants of the town. He was escorted to the fortress, where his commission was read in form, in presence of all the authorities. The usual oaths were taken, and ceremonial observed; and the new governor was hailed with great demonstrations of obedience and satisfaction. Ovando entered upon the duties of his office with coolness and prudence; and treated Bobadilla with a courtesy totally opposite to the rudeness with which the latter had superseded Columbus. The emptiness of mere official rank, when unsustained by merit, was shown in the case of Bobadilla. The moment his authority was at an end, all his importance vanished. He found himself a solitary and neglected man, deserted by those whom he had most favoured, and he experienced the worthlessness of that popularity, which is

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Señor Navarrete supposes this island to be the same at present called Santa Lucia. From the distance between it and Dominica, as stated by Fernando Columbus, it was more probably the present Martinica.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of Columb. from Jamaica. Journal of Porras, Navarrete, t. i.



on the same day, and on the 20th of May, he remained at that spot several days, taking in the wind of the 25th, he sailed for the World. The trade wind of the little squadron was about shifting a sail, when one of the Caribbees, named Mantinino.\* After taking in wood and time to wash their faces on the west of the island, ten leagues distant, he sailed along the east side, then along the south side, and finally for San Domingo. The plan of the Admiral, was to take Jamaica,† and from thence to the continent, to cross the supposed strait. It was the Sovereigns also, that he would not touch at his principal vessel, nor carry any canvass, and that he would delay the rest of the fleet, to exchange it for the better, and convey Ovando on some other vessel. He persuaded that he would obey his orders, in a case of necessity and success of his

recovery of the island at San Domingo on the shore, by Bobadilla, and the inhabitants of the town. Where his commission was confirmed by all the authorities. The ceremony was hailed with great satisfaction. Ovando received with coolness and politeness, and with a courtesy which the latter, by merit, was shown to him. His authority was not diminished. He found the man, deserted by the crew, and he expected, which is

to be the same at present between it and Dominica, is more probably the pre-

judgment gained by indulging the bad passions of the multitude. Still there is no record of any suit having been instituted against him; and Las Casas, who was on the spot, declares that he never heard any harsh thing spoken of him by the colonists.†

The conduct of Roldan and his accomplices, however, underwent a strict investigation, and many were arrested to be sent to Spain for trial. They appeared undismayed, however, trusting to the influence of their friends in Spain to protect them, and many relying on the well-known disposition of the bishop Fonseca to favour all who had been in opposition to Columbus.

The fleet which had brought out Ovando, was now ready for sea; and was to take out a number of the principal delinquents, and many of the idlers and profligates of the island. Bobadilla was to embark in the principal ship, on board of which he had put an immense amount of gold, the revenue collected for the crown during his government, and which he confidently expected would atone for all his faults. There was one solid mass of virgin gold on board of this ship, which is famous in the old Spanish chronicles. It had been found by a female Indian in a brook, on the estate of Francisco de Garay and Miguel Diaz, and had been taken by Bobadilla to send to the King, making the owners a suitable compensation. It was said to weigh three thousand six hundred castellanos.‡

Large quantities of gold were likewise shipped in the fleet, by the followers of Roldan, and other adventurers; the wealth gained by the sufferings of the unhappy natives. Among the various persons who were to sail in the principal ship, was the unfortunate Guarionex, the once powerful cacique of the Vega. He had been confined in Fort Conception, ever since his capture after the war of Higüey, and was now to be sent a captive in chains to Spain. In one of the ships, Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal, the agent of Columbus, had put four thousand pieces of gold, to be remitted to him; being part of his property, which had either been recently collected, or recovered from the hands of Bobadilla.§ The preparations were all made, and the fleet was ready to put to sea, when, on the 29th of June, the squadron of Columbus arrived at the mouth of the river. He immediately sent Pedro de Terreros, captain of one of the caravels, on shore to wait on Ovando, and explain to him that the purpose of his coming was to procure a vessel in exchange for one of his caravels, which was extremely defective. He requested permission also to shelter his squadron in the harbour; he was apprehended, from various indications, an approaching storm. This request was refused by Ovando. Las Casas thinks it probable that he had instructions from the Sovereigns not to admit Columbus, and that he was further swayed by prudent

considerations,—San Domingo being at that moment crowded with the most virulent enemies of the Admiral, many of them in a high state of exasperation, from recent proceedings which had taken place against them.¶

When the ungracious refusal of Ovando was brought to Columbus, and he found all shelter denied him, he sought at least to avert the danger of the fleet, which was about to sail. He sent back the officer therefore to the governor, entreating him not to permit the fleet to put to sea for several days; assuring him that there were indubitable signs of an impending tempest. This second request was equally fruitless with the first. The weather, to an inexperienced eye, was fair and tranquil; the pilots and seamen were impatient to depart. They scoffed at the prediction of the Admiral, ridiculing him as a false prophet, and they persuaded Ovando not to detain the fleet on so unsubstantial a pretext.

It was hard treatment of Columbus, thus to be denied the relief which the state of his ships required; and to be excluded in time of distress from the very harbour he had discovered. It would almost seem as though his life had been destined to exemplify the ingratitude of mankind. He retired from the river full of grief and indignation. His crew murmured loudly at being shut out from a port of their own nation, where even strangers, under similar circumstances, would be admitted. They repined at having embarked with a commander liable to such treatment; and anticipated nothing but evil from a voyage, in which they were exposed to the dangers of the sea, and repulsed from the protection of the land.

Being confident, from his observations of those natural phenomena in which he was deeply skilled, that the anticipated storm could not be distant, and expecting it from the land side, Columbus kept his feeble squadron close to the shore, and sought for secure anchorage in some wild bay or river of the island.

In the mean time, the fleet of Bobadilla set sail from San Domingo, and stood out confidently to sea. Within two days, the predictions of Columbus were verified. One of those tremendous hurricanes, which sometimes sweep those latitudes, had gradually gathered up. The baleful appearance of the heavens, the wild look of the ocean, the rising murmur of the winds, all gave notice of its approach. The fleet had scarcely reached the eastern point of Hispaniola, when the tempest burst over it with awful fury, involving every thing in wreck and ruin. The ship on board of which were Bobadilla, Roldan, and a number of the most inveterate enemies of Columbus, was swallowed up with all its crew, and with the celebrated mass of gold, and the principal part of the ill-gotten treasure, gained by the miseries of the Indians. Many of the ships were entirely lost, some returned to San Domingo in shattered condition, and only one

\* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii, c. 3.

† Las Casas, cap. 5.

‡ Las Casas, cap. 5.

¶ Las Casas, ubi sup.

was enabled to continue her voyage to Spain. That one, according to Fernando Columbus, was the weakest of the fleet, and had on board the four thousand pieces of gold, the property of the Admiral.

During the early part of this storm, the little squadron of Columbus had remained tolerably well sheltered by the land. On the second day, the tempest increased in violence, and the night coming on with unusual darkness, the ships lost sight of each other, and were separated. The Admiral still kept close to the shore, and sustained no damage. The others, fearful of the land in such a dark and boisterous night, ran out for sea-room, and encountered the whole fury of the elements. For several days they were driven about at the mercy of wind and wave, fearful each moment of shipwreck, and giving up each other as lost. The Adelantado, who commanded that ship, which, as before mentioned, was scarcely sea-worthy, ran the most imminent hazard, and nothing but his consummate seamanship enabled him to keep her afloat. At length, after various vicissitudes, they all arrived safe at Port Hermoso, to the west of San Domingo. The Adelantado had lost his long-boat: and all the vessels, with the exception of that of the Admiral, had sustained more or less injury. When Columbus learnt the signal destruction that had overwhelmed his enemies, almost before his eyes, he was deeply impressed with awe, and considered his own preservation as little less than miraculous. Both his son Fernando, and the venerable historian Las Casas, looked upon the event as one of those awful judgments, which seem at times to deal forth temporal retribution. They notice the circumstance, that while the enemies of the Admiral were swallowed up by the raging sea, the only ship of the fleet which was enabled to pursue her voyage, and reach her port of destination, was the frail bark freighted with the property of Columbus. The evil, however, in this, as in most circumstances, overwhelmed the innocent as well as the guilty. In the same ship with Bobadilla and Roldan, perished the captive Guarionex, the unfortunate cacique of the Vega.<sup>1</sup>

#### CHAPTER II.

##### VOYAGE ALONG THE COAST OF HONDURAS.

[ 1502. ]

FOR several days Columbus remained in Port Hermoso to repair his vessels, and permit his crews to repose and refresh themselves after the late tempest. He had scarcely left this harbour when he was obliged to take shelter from another storm in Jacquemel, or as it was called by the Spaniards, Port Brazil. From hence he sailed on the 14th of July, steering for Terra Firma. The weather falling perfectly calm, he was borne away by the currents until he

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii. c. 3. Hist. del Amirante, cap. 28.

found himself in the vicinity of some little islands near Jamaica, destitute of springs, but where the seamen obtained a supply of water by digging holes in the sand on the beach.

The calm continuing, he was swept away to the group of small islands, or keys, on the southern coast of Cuba, to which, in 1494, he had given the name of The Gardens. He had scarcely touched there, however, when the wind sprang up from a favourable quarter, and he was enabled to make sail on his destined course. He now stood to the south-west, and after a few days he discovered, on the 30th of July, a small but elevated island, agreeable to the eye from the variety of trees with which it was covered. Among these was a great number of lofty pines, from which circumstance Columbus named it Isla de Pinos. It has always, however, retained its Indian name of Guanaga,<sup>2</sup> which has been extended to a number of smaller islands that surround it. This group is within a few leagues of the coast of Honduras, to the east of the great bay or gulf of that name.

The Adelantado, with two launches full of people landed on the principal island, which was extremely verdant and fertile. The inhabitants resembled those of other islands, excepting that their foreheads were narrower. While the Adelantado was on shore, he beheld a great canoe arriving as from a distant and important voyage. He was struck with its magnitude and contents. It was eight feet wide, and as long as a galley, though formed of the trunk of a single tree. In the centre was a kind of awning or cabin of palm leaves, after the manner of those in the gondolas of Venice, and sufficiently close to exclude both sun and rain. Under this sat a cacique with his wives and children. Twenty-five Indians rowed the canoe, and it was filled with all kinds of articles of the manufacture and natural production of the adjacent countries. It is supposed that this bark had come from the province of Yucatan, which is about forty leagues distant from this island.

The Indians in the canoe appeared to have no fear of the Spaniards, and readily went alongside of the Admiral's caravel. Columbus was overjoyed at this having brought to him at once, without trouble or danger, a collection of specimens of all the important articles of this part of the New World. He examined, with great curiosity and interest, the contents of the canoe. Among various utensils and weapons similar to those already found among the natives, he perceived others of a much superior kind. There were hatchets for cutting wood, formed not of stone but copper; wooden swords, with channels on each side of the blade, in which sharp flints were firmly fixed by cords made of the intestines of fishes; belts of the same kind of sword afterwards found among the Mexicans. There were copper bells, and other articles of the same metal, together with a rude kind

<sup>1</sup> Supposed to be the Morant Keys.

<sup>2</sup> Called in some of the English maps Bouacca.

crucible in which to melt it; various vessels and utensils neatly formed of clay, of marble, and of hard wood; sheets and mantles of cotton, worked and dyed with various colours; great quantities of cacao, a fruit as yet unknown to the Spaniards, but which, as they soon found, the natives held in great estimation, using it both as food and money. There was a beverage also extracted from maize or Indian corn, resembling beer. Their provisions consisted of bread made of maize, and roots of various kinds, similar to those of Hispaniola. From among these articles, Columbus collected such as were important to send as specimens to Spain, giving the natives European trinkets in exchange, with which they were highly satisfied. They appeared to manifest neither astonishment nor alarm when on board of the vessels, and surrounded by people who must have been so strange and wonderful to them. The women wore mantles, with which they wrapped themselves, like the female Moors of Granada, and the men had cloths of cotton around their loins. Both sexes appeared more particular about these coverings, and to have a quicker sense of personal modesty than any Indians that Columbus had yet discovered.

These circumstances, together with the superiority of their implements and manufactures, were held by the Admiral as indications that he was approaching more civilized nations. He endeavoured to gain particular information from these Indians about the surrounding countries; but as they spoke a different language from that of his interpreters, he could understand them but imperfectly. They informed him that they had just arrived from a country, rich, cultivated, and industrious, situated to the west. They endeavoured to impress him with an idea of the wealth and magnificence of the regions, and the people in that quarter, and urged him to steer in that direction. Well would it have been for Columbus had he followed their advice. Within a day or two he would have arrived at Yucatan; the discovery of Mexico and the other opulent countries of New Spain would have necessarily followed; the Southern Ocean would have been disclosed to him, and a succession of splendid discoveries would have shed fresh glory on his declining age, instead of its sinking amidst gloom, neglect, and disappointment.

The Admiral's whole mind, however, was at present intent upon discovering the strait. As the countries described by the Indians lay to the west, he supposed that he could easily visit them at some future time, by running with the trade-wind along the coast of Cuba, which he imagined must continue on, so as to join them. At present he was determined to seek the main land, the mountains of which were visible to the south, and apparently not many leagues distant: by keeping along it steadfastly to the east, he must at length arrive to where he supposed it to be severed from the coast of Paria by an intervening strait; and passing through this, he should soon make

his way to the Spice Islands and the richest parts of India.\*

He was encouraged the more to persist in his eastern course by information from the Indians, that there were many places in that direction which abounded with gold. Much of the information which he gathered among these people, was derived from an old man who was more intelligent than the rest, and appeared to be an ancient navigator of these seas. Columbus retained him to serve as a guide along the coast, and dismissed his companions with many presents.

Leaving the island of Guanaga, he stood southwardly for the main land, and after sailing a few leagues, discovered a cape, to which he gave the name of Caxinas, from its being covered with fruit-trees so called by the natives. It is at present known as Cape Honduras. Here, on Sunday the 14th of August, the Adelantado landed with the captains of the caravels and many of the seamen, to attend mass, which was solemnly performed under the trees on the sea-shore, according to the pious custom of the Admiral, whenever circumstances would permit. On the 17th, the Adelantado again landed at a river about fifteen miles from the point, on the bank of which he displayed the banners of Castile, taking possession of the country in the name of their Catholic Majesties; from which circumstances he named this the River of Possession.†

At this place they found upwards of a hundred Indians assembled, laden with bread and maize, fish and fowl, vegetables, and fruits of various kinds. These they laid down as presents before the Adelantado and his party, and drew back to a distance without speaking a word. The Adelantado commanded that there should be distributed among them various trinkets, with which they were well pleased, and appeared the next day in the same place, in greater numbers, with still more abundant supplies of provisions.

The natives of this neighbourhood, and for a considerable distance eastward, had higher foreheads than those of the islands. They were of different languages, and varied from each other in their decoration. Some were entirely naked; their bodies marked by means of fire with the figures of various animals. Some wore coverings about the loins; others short cotton jerkins without sleeves: some wore tresses of hair in front. The chieftains had caps of white or coloured cotton. When arrayed for any festival, they painted their faces black, or with stripes of various colours, or with circles round the eyes. The old Indian guide assured the Admiral that many of them were cannibals. In one part of the coast the natives had their ears bored and hideously distended; which caused the Spaniards to call that region *la Costa de la Oreja*, or "the coast of the Ear."‡

\* Las Casas, l. ii, c. 20. Letter of Columbus from Jamaica.

† Journal of Porras, Navarrete Collec. t. i.

‡ Las Casas, lib. ii. c. 21. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 90.

From the River of Possession, Columbus proceeded along what is at present called the coast of Honduras, beating against contrary winds and struggling with currents, which swept from the east like the constant stream of a river. He often lost in one tack what he had laboriously gained in two, frequently making but two leagues in a day, and never more than five. At night he anchored under the land, through fear of proceeding along an unknown coast in the dark, but was often forced out to sea by the violence of the currents.<sup>1</sup> In all this time he experienced the same kind of weather that had prevailed on the coast of Hispaniola, and had attended him more or less for upwards of sixty days. There was, he says, almost an incessant tempest of the heavens, with heavy rains, and such thunder and lightning, that it seemed as if the end of the world was at hand. Those who know any thing of the drenching rains, and the rending thunder of the tropics, will not think his description of the storms he endured exaggerated. His vessels were strained so that their seams opened; the sails and rigging were rent, and the provisions were damaged by the rain and by the leakage. The sailors were exhausted with labour, and harassed with terror. They many times confessed their sins to each other and prepared for death. "I have seen many tempests," says Columbus, "but none so violent or of such long duration." He alludes to the whole series of storms which he had experienced for upwards of two months, since he had been refused shelter at San Domingo. During a great part of this time, he had suffered extremely from the gout, aggravated by his watchfulness and anxiety. His illness did not prevent his attending to his duties; he had a small cabin or chamber constructed on the stern, from whence, even when confined to his bed, he could keep a look out and regulate the sailing of the ships. Many times he was so ill that he thought his end approaching. His anxious mind was distressed about his brother the Adelantado, whom he had persuaded against his will to come on this expedition, and who was in the worst vessel of the squadron. He lamented also having brought with him his son Fernando, exposing him at so tender an age to such perils and hardships, although the youth bore them with the courage and fortitude of a veteran. Often, too, his thoughts reverted to his son Diego, and the cares and perplexities into which his death might plunge him.<sup>2</sup> At length, after struggling for upwards of forty days since leaving the Cape of Honduras, to make a distance of about seventy leagues, they arrived on the 14th of September at a cape where the coast, making an angle, turned directly south, so as to give them an easy wind and free navigation. Doubling the point, they swept off with flowing sails and hearts filled with joy; and the Admiral, to commemorate this sudden relief from toil and peril, gave

to the Cape the name of *Gracias a Dios*, or Thanks to God.<sup>3</sup>

## CHAPTER III.

## VOYAGE ALONG THE MOSQUITO COAST, AND TRANSACTIONS AT CARIARI.

[ 1503. ]

AFTER doubling Cape Gracias a Dios, Columbus sailed directly south along what is at present called the Mosquito shore. The land was of varied character, sometimes rugged, with craggy promontories and points stretching into the sea, at other places verdant and fertile, and watered by abundant streams. In the rivers grew immense reeds, sometimes of the thickness of a man's thigh: they abounded with fish and tortoises, and alligators were seen basking on the banks. At one place Columbus passed a cluster of twelve small islands, near the coast of which grew a fruit resembling the lemon, on which account he called them the Limonares.<sup>1</sup>

After sailing about sixty-two leagues along this coast, being greatly in want of wood and water, the squadron anchored, on the 16th of September, near a copious river, up which the boats were sent to procure the requisite supplies. As they were returning to the ships there was a sudden swelling of the sea, which, rushing in and encountering the rapid current of the river, caused a violent commotion, in which one of the boats was swallowed up, and all on board perished. This melancholy event had a gloomy effect upon the crews, already dispirited and care-worn from the hardships they had endured, and Columbus, sharing their dejection, gave the stream the sinister name of *el Rio del Desastre*, or the river of Disaster.<sup>2</sup>

Leaving this unlucky neighbourhood, they continued for several days along the coast, until, finding both his ships and his people nearly disabled by the buffeting of the tempests they had experienced, Columbus, on the 25th of September, cast anchor between a small island and the main land, in what appeared to be a most commodious and delightful situation. The island was covered with groves of palm-trees, cocoa-nut trees, bananas, and a delicate and fragrant fruit which the Admiral continually mistook for the mirabolane of the East Indies. The fruits and flowers, and odoriferous shrubs of the island sent forth the most grateful perfumes, so that Columbus gave it the name of *La Huerta*, or The Garden. It was called by the natives *Quiribiri*. Immediately opposite, at a short league's distance, was an Indian village, named *Cariari*, situated on the bank of a beautiful river. The country around was fresh and verdant, finely diversified by noble

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, l. ii. c. 21. Hist. del Almirante, c. 91.

<sup>2</sup> P. Martyr, decad. 3, lib. iv. These may have been the lime, a small and extremely acid species of the lemon.

<sup>3</sup> Las Casas, l. ii. c. 21. Hist. del Almirante, c. 91. Journal of Ponce.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Jamaica. Navarrete, Collec. t. i.

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When the inhabitants beheld the ships, they gathered together on the coast, armed with bows and arrows, war-clubs and lances, and prepared to defend their shores. The Spaniards, however, made no attempt to land during that or the succeeding day, but remained quietly on board repairing the ships, airing and drying the damaged provisions, or reposing from the fatigues of the voyage. When the savages perceived that these wonderful beings, who had arrived in this strange manner on their coast, were perfectly pacific, and made no movement to molest them, their hostility ceased, and curiosity began to predominate. They made various pacific signals, waving their mantles like banners, and inviting the Spaniards to land. Growing still more bold, they swam to the ships, bringing off mantles and tunics of cotton, and ornaments of the inferior sort of gold, called guanin, which they wore about their necks. These they offered to the Spaniards. The Admiral, however, forbade all traffic, making them presents, but taking nothing in exchange, wishing to impress them with a favourable idea of the liberality and disinterestedness of the white men. The pride of the savages was touched at the refusal of their proffered gifts, and this supposed contempt for their manufactures and productions. They endeavoured to retaliate, by pretending like indifference. On returning to shore they tied together all the European articles which had been given them, without retaining the least trifle, and left them lying on the strand, where the Spaniards found them on a subsequent day.

Finding that the strangers still declined to come on shore, the natives tried in every way to gain their confidence, and to dispel the distrust which their hostile demonstrations might have caused. A boat approaching the shore cautiously one day, in quest of some safe place to procure water, an ancient Indian, of venerable demeanour, issued from among the trees, bearing a white banner on the end of a staff, in signal of peace, and leading two girls, one about fourteen years of age, the other about eight, having jewels of guanin about their necks. These he brought to the boat and delivered to the Spaniards, making signs that they were to be detained as hostages while the strangers should be on shore. Upon this the Spaniards sallied forth with confidence and filled their waters-casks, the Indians remaining at a distance, and observing the strictest care, neither by word nor movement to cause any new distrust. When the boats were about to return to the ships, the old Indian made signs that the young girls should be taken on board, nor would he admit of any denial. On entering the ships the girls showed no signs of grief or alarm, though surrounded by what to them must have been such uncouth and formidable beings. Columbus was careful that the confidence thus placed in him should not be abused. After feasting the young females, and ordering them to be clothed and adorned

with various ornaments, he sent them on shore. The night, however, had fallen, and the coast was deserted. They had to return to the ship, where they remained all night under the careful protection of the Admiral. The next morning he restored them to their friends. The old Indian received them with joy, and manifested a grateful sense of the kind treatment they had experienced. In the evening, however, when the boats went on shore, the young girls appeared, accompanied by a multitude of their friends, and returned all the presents they had received, nor could they be prevailed upon to retain any of them, although they must have been precious in their eyes, so greatly was the pride of these savages piqued at having their gifts refused.

On the following day, as the Adelantado approached the shore, two of the principal inhabitants, entering the water, took him out of the boat in their arms, and carrying him to land, seated him with great ceremony on a grassy bank. Don Bartholomew endeavoured to collect information from them respecting the country, and ordered the notary of the squadron to write down their replies. The latter immediately prepared pen, ink, and paper, and proceeded to write; but no sooner did the Indians behold this strange and mysterious process, than, mistaking it for some necromantic spell, intended to be wrought upon them, they fled with terror. After some time they returned, cautiously scattering a fragrant powder in the air, and burning some of it in such a direction, that the smoke should be borne towards the Spaniards by the wind. This was apparently intended to counteract any baleful spell, for they regarded the strangers as beings of a mysterious and supernatural order.

The sailors looked upon these counter-charms of the Indians with equal distrust, and apprehended something of magic; nay, Fernando Columbus, who was present, and records the scene, appears to doubt whether these Indians were not versed in sorcery, and thus led to suspect it in others.

Indeed, not to conceal a foible, which was more characteristic of the superstition of the age than of the man, Columbus himself entertained an idea of the kind, and assures the Sovereigns, in his letter from Jamaica, that the people of Cariari and its vicinity are great enchanter, and he intimates that the two Indian girls who had visited his ship had magic powder concealed about their persons. He adds that the sailors attributed all the delays and hardships which they experienced on that coast to their being under the influence of some evil spell, worked by the witchcraft of the natives, and that they still remained in that belief.

For several days the squadron remained at this place, during which time the ships were examined and repaired, and the crews enjoyed repose and the recreation of the land. The Adelantado, with a band of armed men, made excursions on shore to collect

1 Hist. del Almirante, cap. 91.

2 Letter from Jamaica.



information. There was no pure gold to be met with here, all their ornaments were of guanin; but the natives assured the Adelantado, that in proceeding along the coast, the ships would soon arrive at a country where gold was in great abundance.

In examining one of the villages, the Adelantado found, in a large house, several sepulchres. One contained a human body embalmed: in another, there were two bodies wrapped in cotton, and so preserved as to be free from any disagreeable odour. They were adorned with the ornaments which had been most precious to them when living; and the sepulchres were decorated with rude carvings and paintings representing various animals, and, sometimes, what appeared to be intended for portraits of the deceased. Throughout most of the savage tribes there appears to have been great veneration for the dead, and an anxiety to preserve their remains undisturbed.

When about to sail, Columbus seized seven of the people, two of whom, apparently the most intelligent, he selected to serve as guides; the rest he suffered to depart. His late guide he had dismissed with presents at Cape Gracias a Dios. The inhabitants of Cariari manifested unusual sensibility at this seizure of their countrymen. They thronged the shore, and sent off four of their principal men with presents to the ships, imploring the release of the prisoners.

The Admiral assured them that he only took their companions as guides, for a short distance along the coast, and would restore them soon in safety to their homes. He ordered various presents to be given to the ambassadors; but neither his promises nor gifts could soothe the grief and apprehension of the natives, at beholding their friends carried away by beings of whom they had such mysterious apprehensions.\*

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### VOYAGE ALONG COSTA RICA. SPECULATIONS CONCERNING THE ISTHMUS AT VERAGUA.

[ 1502. ]

On the 5th of October, the squadron departed from Cariari, and sailed along what is at present called Costa Rica (or the Rich Coast), from the gold and silver mines found in after years among its mountains. After sailing about twenty-two leagues, the ships anchored in a great bay, about six leagues in length and three in breadth, full of islands, with channels opening between them, so as to present three or four entrances. This bay was called by the natives Caribaro,<sup>3</sup> and had been pointed out by the natives of Cariari as plentiful in gold.

\* Las Casas, l. ii. c. 21. Hist. del Almirante, c. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, l. ii. c. 21. Hist. del Almirante, c. 91. Letter of Columbus from Jamaica.

<sup>3</sup> In some English maps this bay is called Almirante, or Carnabaco Bay. The channel by which Columbus entered is still called Boca del Almirante, or the Mouth of the Admiral.

The islands were beautifully verdant, and covered with groves which sent forth the fragrance of fruits and flowers. The channels between them were so deep and free from rocks, that the ships sailed along them, as if they had been canals in the streets of a city, the spars and rigging brushing the overhanging branches of the trees. After anchoring, the boats landed on one of the islands, where they found twenty canoes. The people were on shore among the trees. Being encouraged by the Indians of Cariari, who accompanied the Spaniards, they soon advanced with confidence. Here, for the first time on this coast, the Spaniards met with specimens of pure gold. The natives had large plates of it suspended round their necks by cotton cords; they had ornaments likewise of guanin, rudely shaped like eagles. One of them exchanged a plate of gold, equal in value to ten ducats, for three hawks'-bells.

On the following day, the boats proceeded to the main land at the bottom of the bay. The country around was high and rough, and the villages were generally perched on the heights. They met with ten canoes of Indians, their heads decorated with garlands of flowers, and coronets formed of the claws of beasts and the quills of birds; most of them had plates of gold about their necks, but refused to part with them. The Spaniards brought two of them to the Admiral to serve as guides. One had a plate of pure gold worth fourteen ducats, another an eagle worth twenty-two ducats. Seeing the great value which the strangers set upon this metal, they assured them it was to be had in abundance within the distance of two days' journey; and mentioned various places along the coast, from whence it was procured, particularly Veragua, which was about twenty-five leagues distant.<sup>3</sup>

The cupidity of the Spaniards was greatly excited by the sight of the gold, which seemed so plentiful among these Indians. They would gladly have remained to barter, but the Admiral discouraged all disposition of the kind. He barely sought to collect specimens and information of the riches of the country, and then pressed forward in quest of the great object of his enterprise, the imaginary strait.

Sailing on the 17th of October, from this bay, or rather gulf, he began to coast this region of reputed wealth, since called the Coast of Veragua; and after sailing about twelve leagues, arrived at a large river, which his son Fernando calls the Guaig. Here, on the boats being sent to land, about two hundred Indians appeared on the shore, armed with clubs, lances, and swords of palm wood. The forests echoed with the sound of wooden drums, and the blasts of conch shells, their usual war-signals. They rushed into the sea up to their waists, brandishing their weapons, and splashed the water at the Spaniards in token of defiance. They were soon pacified by gentle

<sup>1</sup> Journal of Porras, Navarrete, t. i.

<sup>2</sup> P. Martyr, decad. 5, lib. ix.

<sup>3</sup> Columbus's Letter from Jamaica

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signs, and by the intervention of the interpreters; and willingly exchanged their ornaments with the Spaniards, giving seventeen plates of gold, worth one hundred and fifty ducats, for a few toys and trifles.

When the Spaniards returned the next day to renew their traffic, they found the Indians relapsed into their hostility, sounding their drums and shells, and rushing forward to attack the boats. An arrow from a cross-bow, which wounded one of them in the arm, checked their fury, but on the discharge of a cannon, they fled with terror, thinking the thunder of the heavens was falling upon them. Four of the Spaniards sprang on shore, pursuing and calling after them. They threw down their weapons, and came, awe-struck and gentle as lambs, towards the strangers, bringing three plates of gold, and meekly and thankfully receiving whatever was given to them in exchange.

Continuing along the coast, the Admiral anchored in the mouth of another river called the Catiba. Here likewise a warlike alarm attended their arrival, and the sound of drums and conchs from among the forests gave notice that the warriors were assembling. A canoe shortly after came off with two Indians to demand who were these strange people, that had come upon their coast, and what they wanted. After exchanging a few words with the interpreters, they entered the Admiral's ship with fearless confidence, and being satisfied of the friendly intentions of the strangers, returned to their cacique with a favourable report. The boats landed, and the Spaniards were kindly received by the cacique. He was naked like his subjects, nor was he distinguished in any way from them, except by the great deference with which he was treated, and by a trifling attention paid to his personal comfort, being protected by an immense leaf from a shower of rain that was falling. He had a large plate of gold, which he readily gave in exchange, and permitted his people to do the same. Nineteen plates of pure gold were procured at this place. Here, for the first time in the New World, the Spaniards met with signs of solid architecture, finding a great mass of stucco, formed of stone and lime, a piece of which was retained by the Admiral as a specimen, considering it an indication of his approach to countries where the arts were in a higher state of cultivation.

He had intended to visit other rivers along this coast, but the wind coming on to blow freshly, he ran before it, passing in sight of five towns, where his interpreters assured him he might procure great quantities of gold. One they pointed out as Veragua, which has since given its name to the whole province. Here, they said, were the richest mines, and here most of the plates of gold were fabricated. On the following day, they arrived opposite a village called Cubiga, and here Columbus was informed that the country of gold terminated.<sup>2</sup> He resolved not to return to explore it, considering it as discovered, and

its mines secured to the crown, and being anxious to arrive at the supposed strait, which he flattered himself could be at no great distance.

In fact, during his whole voyage along the coast Columbus had been under the influence of one of his frequent delusions. From the Indians whom he had met with at the island of Guanaga, and who had just arrived from Yucatan, he had received accounts of some great, as far as he could understand, civilized nation in the interior. This intimation had been corroborated, as he imagined, by the various tribes with which he had since communicated. In a letter which he subsequently wrote to the Sovereigns, he informs them that all the Indians of this coast concurred in extolling the magnificence of the country of Ciguare, situated at ten days' journey, by land, to the west. The people of that region wore crowns, and bracelets, and anklets of gold, and garments embroidered with it. They used it for all their domestic purposes, even to the ornamenting and embossing of their seats and tables. On being shown coral, the Indians declared that the women of Ciguare wore bands of it about their heads and necks. Pepper and other spices being shown them, were equally said to abound there. They described it as a country of commerce, with great fairs and sea-ports, in which ships arrived armed with cannon. The people were warlike also, armed like the Spaniards with swords, bucklers, cuirasses, and cross-bows, and they were mounted on horses. Above all, Columbus understood from them that the sea continued round to Ciguare, and that ten days beyond it was the Ganges.

These may have been vague and wandering rumours concerning the distant kingdoms of Mexico and Peru, and many of the details may have been filled up by the imagination of Columbus. They made, however, a strong impression on his mind. He supposed that Ciguare must be some province belonging to the grand khan, or some other eastern potentate, and as the sea reached it, he concluded it was on the opposite side of a peninsula: bearing the same position with respect to Veragua that Fontarabia does with Tortosa in Spain, or Pisa with Venice in Italy. By proceeding further eastward, therefore, he must soon arrive at a strait, like that of Gibraltar, through which he could pass into another sea, and visit this country of Ciguare, and, of course, arrive at the banks of the Ganges. He accounted for the circumstance of his having arrived so near to that river, by the idea which he had long entertained, that geographers were mistaken as to the circumference of the globe; that it was smaller than was generally imagined, and that a degree of the equinoctial line was but fifty-six miles and two-thirds.<sup>1</sup>

With these ideas Columbus determined to press forward, leaving the rich country of Veragua unexplored. Nothing could evince more clearly his generous ambition, than hurrying in this brief manner along a coast where wealth was to be gathered at every step,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 92.

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Columbus from Jamaica. Navarrete Collect., t. i.

for the purpose of seeking a strait which, however it might produce vast benefit to mankind, could yield little else to himself than the glory of the discovery.

#### CHAPTER V.

##### DISCOVERY OF PUERTO BELLO AND EL RETRETE. COLUMBUS ABANDONS THE SEARCH AFTER THE STRAIT.

[ 1502. ]

ON the second of November, the squadron anchored in a spacious and commodious harbour, where the vessels could approach close to the shore without danger. It was surrounded by an elevated and beautiful country; not covered with thick forests, but open and cultivated, with houses within bowshot of each other, surrounded by fruit-trees, groves of palms, and fields producing maize, vegetables, and the delicious pine-apple, so that the whole neighbourhood had the mingled appearance of orchard and garden. Columbus was so pleased with the excellence of the harbour, and the sweetness of the surrounding country, that he gave it the name of Puerto Bello. It is one of the few places along this coast which retain the appellation given by the illustrious discoverer. It is to be regretted that they have so generally been discontinued, as they were so often records of his feelings, and of circumstances which attended the discovery.

For seven days they were detained in this port by heavy rain and stormy weather. The natives repaired from all quarters in their canoes, bringing fruits and vegetables and balls of cotton, but there was no longer gold offered in traffic. The cacique, and seven of his principal chieftains, had small plates of gold hanging in their noses, but the rest of the natives appear to have been destitute of all ornaments of the kind. They were generally naked and painted red; the cacique alone was painted black.

Sailing hence on the 9th of November, they proceeded eight leagues to the eastward, to the point since known as Nombre de Dios; but being driven back for some distance, they anchored in a harbour in the vicinity of three small islands. These, with the adjacent country of the main land, were cultivated with fields of Indian corn, and various fruits and vegetables, from whence Columbus called the harbour Puerto de Bastimentos, or Port of Provisions. Here they remained until the 25th, endeavouring to repair their vessels, which leaked excessively. They were pierced in all parts by the teredo, which abounds in the tropical seas. They are of the size of a man's finger, and bore through the stoutest planks and timbers, and soon destroy any vessels that are not well coppered. After leaving this port, they touched at another called

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, l. ii, c. 25. Hist. del Almirante.

<sup>2</sup> P. Martyr, decad. 3, lib. iv.

Guiga, where above three hundred of the natives appeared on the shore, some with provisions, and some with golden ornaments, which they offered in barter. Without making any stay, however, the Admiral urged his way forward; but rough and adverse winds again obliged him to take shelter in a small port, with a narrow entrance, not above twenty paces wide, beset on each side with reefs of rocks, the points of which rose above the surface. Within, there was not room for more than five or six ships; yet the port was so deep, that they had no good anchorage unless they approached near enough to the land for a man to leap on shore.

From the smallness of the harbour, Columbus gave it the name of *El Retrete*, or The Cabinet. He had been betrayed into this inconvenient and dangerous port by the misrepresentations of the seamen sent to examine it, who were always glad to come to anchor, and have communication with the shore.

The adjacent country was level and verdant, covered with herbage, but with few trees. The port was infested with alligators, which basked in the sunshine on the beach, filling the air with a powerful and musky odour. They were timorous, and fled on being attacked, but the Indians affirmed that if they found a man sleeping on the shore they would seize and drag him into the water. These alligators Columbus pronounced to be the same as the crocodiles of the Nile. For nine days the squadron was detained in this port by tempestuous weather. The natives of this place were tall, well proportioned, and graceful; they were of gentle and friendly manners, and brought whatever they possessed to exchange for European trinkets.

As long as the Admiral had control over the actions of his people, the Indians were treated with justice and kindness, and every thing went on amicably. The vicinity of the ships to land, however, enabled the seamen to get on shore in the night without license. The natives received them in their dwellings with their accustomed hospitality; but the rough adventurers, instigated by avarice and lust, soon committed excesses that roused their generous hosts to revenge. Every night there were brawls and fights on shore, and blood was shed on both sides. The number of the Indians daily augmented by arrivals from the interior. They became more powerful and daring as they became more exasperated; and seeing that the vessels lay close to the shore, approached in a great multitude to attack them.

The Admiral thought at first to disperse them by discharging cannon without ball; but they were not intimidated by the sound, regarding it as a kind of harmless thunder. They replied to it by yells and howlings, beating their lances and clubs against the trees and bushes in furious menace. The situation of the ships so close to the shore exposed them to assaults, and made the hostility of the natives unusually for-

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, l. ii, c. 25. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 92.

## CHAPTER VI.

RETURN TO VERAGUA. THE ADELANTADO EXPLORES THE COUNTRY.

[ 1502. ]

On the 5th of December, Columbus sailed from El Retrete, and, relinquishing his course to the east, returned westward, in search of the gold mines of Veragua. On the same evening he anchored in Puerto Bello, about ten leagues distant; from whence departing on the succeeding day, the wind suddenly veered to the west, and began to blow directly adverse to the new course he had adopted. For three months he had been longing in vain for such a wind, and now it came merely to contradict him. Here was a temptation to resume his route to the east, but he did not dare to trust to the continuance of the wind, which, in these parts, appeared but seldom to blow from that quarter. He resolved, therefore, to keep on in the present direction, trusting that the breeze would soon change again to the eastward.

In a little while the wind began to blow with dreadful violence, and to shift about, in such a manner as to baffle all seamanship. Unable to reach Veragua, the ships were obliged to put back to Puerto Bello, and when they would have entered that harbour, a sudden veering of the gale drove them from the land. For nine days they were blown and tossed about, at the mercy of a furious tempest, in an unknown sea, and often exposed to the awful perils of a lee-shore. It is wonderful that such open vessels, so crazed and decayed, could outlive such a commotion of the elements. No where is a storm so awful as between the tropics. The sea, according to the description of Columbus, boiled at times like a cauldron; at other times it ran in mountain waves, covered with foam. At night the raging billows resembled great surges of flame, owing to those luminous particles which cover the surface of the water in these seas, and throughout the whole course of the gulf stream. For one day and night the heavens glowed as a furnace with the incessant flashes of lightning; while the loud claps of thunder were often mistaken by the affrighted mariners for signal-guns of distress from their foundering companions. During the whole time, says Columbus, it poured down from the skies, not rain, but as it were a second deluge. The seamen were almost drowned in their open vessels. Haggard with toil and affright, some gave themselves over for lost; they confessed their sins to each other according to the rites of the Catholic religion, and prepared themselves for death; many, in their desperation, called upon death as a welcome relief from such overwhelming horrors.

In the midst of this wild tumult of the elements, they beheld a new object of alarm. The ocean in one place became strangely agitated. The water was whirled up into a kind of pyramid or cone, while a livid cloud, tapering to a point, bent down to meet

undable. Columbus ordered a shot or two, therefore, to be discharged among them. When they saw the havoc made by this tremendous artillery, they fled in terror, and offered no further hostility.

The continuance of stormy winds from the east and the north-east, in addition to the constant opposition of the currents, disheartened the companions of Columbus, and they began to murmur against any further prosecution of the voyage. The seamen thought that some hostile spell was operating, and the commanders remonstrated against attempting to force their way in spite of the elements, with ships crazed and worm-eaten, and continually in need of repair. Few of his companions could sympathize with Columbus in his zeal for mere discovery. They were actuated by more gainful motives, and looked back with regret on the rich coast they had left behind, to go in search of an imaginary strait. It is probable that Columbus himself began to doubt the object of his enterprise. If he knew the details of the recent voyage of Bastides, he must have been aware that he had arrived from an opposite quarter to about the place where that navigator's exploring voyage from the east had terminated; consequently that there was but little probability of the existence of the strait he had imagined.

At all events he determined to relinquish the further prosecution of his voyage eastward for the present, and to return to the coast of Veragua, to search for those mines of which he had heard so much, and seen so many indications. Should they prove equal to his hopes, he would have wherewithal to return to Spain in triumph, and silence the reproaches of his enemies, even though he should fail in the leading object of his expedition.

Here, then, ended the lofty anticipations which had elevated Columbus above all mercenary interests; which had made him regardless of hardships and perils, and had given an heroic character to the early part of this voyage. It is true, he had been in pursuit of a mere chimera, but it was the chimera of a splendid imagination, and a penetrating judgment. If he was disappointed in his expectation of finding a strait through the Isthmus of Darien, it was because nature herself had been disappointed, for she appears to have attempted to make one, but to have attempted it in vain.

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, l. ii, cap. 25. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 92.

<sup>2</sup> It appears to me doubtful whether Columbus was acquainted with the exact particulars of that voyage, as they could scarcely have reached Spain previously to his sailing. Bastides had been seized in Hispaniola by Bobadilla, and was on board of that very vessel which was wrecked at the time that Columbus arrived off San Domingo. He escaped the fate that attended most of his companions and returned to Spain, where he was rewarded by the sovereigns for his enterprise. Though some of his seamen had reached Spain previous to the sailing of Columbus, and had given a general idea of the voyage, it is doubtful whether he had transmitted his papers and charts. Porras, in his Journal of the voyage of Columbus, states that they arrived at the place where the discoveries of Bastides terminated; but this information he may have obtained subsequently at San Domingo.

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it. Joining together, they formed a vast column, which rapidly approached the ships spinning along the surface of the deep, and drawing up the waters with a rushing sound. The affrighted mariners, when they beheld this water-spout advancing towards them, despaired of all human means to avert it, and began to repeat passages from St John the Evangelist. The water-spout passed close by the ships without injuring them, and the trembling mariners attributed their escape to the miraculous efficacy of their quotations from the Scriptures.

In this same night, they lost sight of one of the caravels, and for three dark and stormy days they gave it up for lost. At length, to their great relief, it rejoined the squadron, having lost its boat, and been obliged to cut its cable, in an attempt to anchor on a boisterous coast, and having since been driven to and fro by the storm. For one or two days, there was an interval of calm, and the tempest-tost mariners had time to breathe. They looked upon this tranquillity, however, as deceitful, and, in their gloomy mood, beheld every thing with a doubtful and foreboding eye. Great numbers of sharks, so abundant and ravenous in these latitudes, were seen about the ships. This was construed into an evil omen; for among the superstitions of the seas, it is believed that these voracious fish can smell dead bodies at a distance; that they have a kind of presentiment of their prey; and keep about vessels which have sick persons on board, or which are in danger of being wrecked. Several of these fish they caught, using large hooks fastened to chains, and sometimes baited merely with a piece of coloured cloth. From the maw of one they took out a living tortoise; from that of another the head of a shark, recently thrown from one of the ships. Such is the indiscriminate voracity of these terrors of the ocean. Notwithstanding their superstitious fancies, the seamen were glad to use a part of these sharks for food, being very short of provisions. The length of the voyage had consumed the greater part of their sea stores; the heat and humidity of the climate, and the leakage of the ships, had damaged the remainder, and their biscuit was so filled with worms, that, notwithstanding their hunger, they were obliged to eat it in the dark, lest their stomachs should revolt at its appearance.

At length, on the 47th, they were enabled to enter a port resembling a great canal, where they enjoyed three days of repose. The natives of this vicinity built their cabins in trees, on stakes or poles laid from one branch to another. The Spaniards supposed this to be through the fear of wild beasts, or of surprisals from neighbouring tribes; the different nations of these coasts being extremely hostile to one another. It may have been a precaution against inundations caused by floods from the mountains. After leaving this port, they were driven backwards and forwards, by the changeable and tempestuous winds, until the

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, l. ii, c. 24. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 94.

day after Christmas; when they sheltered themselves in another port, where they remained until the 30th of January, 1503, repairing one of the caravels, and procuring wood, water, and a supply of maize or Indian corn. These measures being completed, they again put to sea, and on the day of Epiphany, to the great joy anchored at the mouth of a river called by the natives Yelra, within a league or two of the river Veragua, and in the country said to be so rich in mines. To this river, from arriving at it on the day of Epiphany, Columbus gave the name of Belen or Bethlelem.

For nearly a month he had endeavoured to accomplish the voyage from Puerto Bello to Veragua, a distance of about thirty leagues; and had encountered so many troubles and adversities, from changeable winds and currents, and boisterous tempests, that he gave this intermediate line of sea-board the name of *La Costa de los Contrastos*, or *The Coast of Contradictions*.

Columbus immediately ordered the mouths of the Belen, and of its neighbouring river of Veragua, to be sounded. The latter was found to be too shallow to admit his vessels, but the Belen was somewhat deeper, and it was thought they might enter it with safety. Seeing a village on the banks of the Belen, the Admiral sent the boats on shore to procure information. On their approach, the inhabitants issued forth with weapons in hand to oppose their landing, but were readily pacified. They seemed unwilling to give any intelligence about the gold mines; but on being importuned, declared that they lay in the vicinity of the river of Veragua. To that river the boats were despatched on the following day. They met with the reception so frequent along this coast, where many of the tribes were fierce and warlike, and are supposed by some to have been of Carib origin. As the boats entered the river, the natives sallied forth in their canoes, and others assembled on the shores, menacing a jealous defence of their territory. The Spaniards, however, had brought with them an Indian of that coast, who, by his mediation, put an end to this show of hostility, assuring his countrymen that the strangers came only to traffic with them.

The various accounts of the riches of these parts appeared to be confirmed by what the Spaniards saw and heard among these people. They procured in exchange for the veriest trifles twenty plates of gold, with several pipes of the same metal and crude masses of ore. The Indians informed them that the mines lay among distant mountains; and that when they went in quest of it they were obliged to practise rigorous fasting and continence.<sup>2</sup> The favourable re-

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 94.

<sup>2</sup> A superstitious notion with respect to gold appears to have been very prevalent among the natives. The Indians of Hispaniola observed the same privations when they sought for it, abstaining from food and from sexual intercourse. Columbus, who seemed to look upon gold as one of the sacred and mystic treasures of the earth, wished to encourage similar observances among



sheltered themselves in the neighbourhood. The river Belen being the greatest depth, two of the caravels entered it on the 9th of January, and the two others on the following day at high tide, which on that coast does not rise above half a fathom. The natives came to them in the most friendly manner, bringing them great quantities of fish, with which that river abounded to an extraordinary degree. They brought also various golden ornaments to traffic; but they continued to affirm that Veragua was the place from whence the ore was procured.

The Adelantado, with his usual activity and enterprise, set off on the third day, with the boats well armed, to ascend the Veragua about a league and a half, to the residence of the principal cacique, whose name was Quibian. The chieftain, hearing of his intention, descended the river, attended by his subjects, in several canoes, and met the boats near the entrance of the river. He was of a tall and powerful

frame, and a warlike demeanour: the interview was extremely amicable. The cacique presented the Adelantado with the golden ornaments which he bore, and received as magnificent presents a few European trinkets. They parted mutually well pleased. On the following day Quibian visited the ships, where he was hospitably entertained by the Admiral. They could only communicate by signs, and as the chieftain was of a taciturn and cautious character, the interview was not of long duration. Columbus made him several presents: the followers of the cacique exchanged many jewels of gold for the small trifles, and Quibian returned, without much ceremony, to his home.

The sailors had congratulated themselves on being safely sheltered from the tempests and troubles of the sea, but they were near being wrecked in port. On the 24th of January, there was a sudden swelling of the river. The waters came rushing from the interior like a vast torrent; the ships were forced from their anchors, tossed from side to side, and driven against each other; the foremast of the Admiral's vessel was carried away in the shock, and the whole squadron was in imminent danger of shipwreck. While there was this peril in the river, they were prevented from running out to sea by a storm which raged without, and by the breakers which beat upon the bar. This sudden rising of the river, Columbus attributed to some heavy fall of rain among a range of mountains seen at a distance, the highest of which rose to a peak far above the clouds, and to which he had given the name of the mountains of San Cristoval.

The weather continued extremely boisterous for several days. At length, on the 6th of February,

the Spaniards, exhorting them to purify themselves for the search of the mines by fasting, prayer, and chastity. It is scarcely necessary to add, that his advice was but little attended to by his credulous and sensual followers.

Hist. del Almirante, c. 93. Las Casas, l. ii, cap. 23. Hist. del Almirante, c. 95.

the sea being tolerably calm, the Adelantado, attended by sixty-eight men well armed, proceeded in the boats to explore the Veragua, and seek its reputed mines. When he ascended the river and drew near to the village of the cacique Quibian, which was situated on the side of a hill, the cacique came down to the banks to meet him, with a great train of his subjects, unarmed, and making signs of peace. Quibian was naked, and painted after the fashion of the country. One of his attendants drew a great stone out of the river, and washed and rubbed it carefully, upon which the chieftain seated himself as upon a throne. He received the Adelantado with great courtesy; for the lofty, vigorous, and iron form of the latter, and his look of resolution and command, were calculated to inspire awe and respect in an Indian warrior. The cacique, however, was wary and politic. His jealousy was awakened by the intrusion of these strangers into his territories; but he saw the futility of any open attempt to resist them. He acceded to the wishes of the Adelantado, therefore, to visit the interior of his dominions, and furnished him with three guides to conduct him to the mines.

Leaving a number of his men to guard the boats, the Adelantado departed on foot with the remainder, led on by the guides. After penetrating into the interior about four leagues and a half, they slept for the first night on the banks of a river, which seemed to water the whole country with its windings, and which they had crossed upwards of forty times. On the second day, they proceeded a league and a half farther, and arrived among thick forests, where their guides informed them the mines were situated. In fact, the whole soil appeared to be impregnated with gold. They gathered it from among the roots of the trees, which were of an immense height, and magnificent foliage. In the space of two hours that they remained there, each man had collected a little quantity of gold, gathered from the surface of the earth. From hence the guides took the Adelantado to the summit of a high hill, and showing him an extent of country as far as the eye could reach, assured him that the whole of it, to the distance of twenty days' journey westward, abounded in gold, naming to him several of the principal places.

The Adelantado and his party returned in high spirits to the ships, and rejoiced the Admiral with the favourable report of their expedition. It was soon discovered, however, that the politic Quibian had deceived them. His guides, by his instructions, had taken the Spaniards to the mines of a neighbouring cacique with whom he was at war, hoping by this stratagem to lead these dangerous intruders out of his own domains, and divert them into the territories of his enemy. The Admiral was informed that the real mines of Veragua were both nearer and much more wealthy.

<sup>1</sup> P. Martyr, decad. 3, lib. lv.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of the Admiral from Jamaica.

The indefatigable Adelantado set forth again on the 16th of February, with an armed band of fifty-nine men, marching along the coast westward, a boat with fourteen men keeping pace with him by sea. In this excursion he explored an extensive tract of country, and visited the dominions of various caciques, by whom he was amicably received, and hospitably entertained.

He met continually with proofs of the abundance of gold in the neighbourhood; the natives generally wearing great plates of it suspended round their necks by cotton cords. There were tracts of land, also, cultivated with Indian corn—one continuing for the extent of six leagues; and the country abounded with exquisite fruits. He again heard of a nation in the interior advanced in arts and arms, wearing clothing, and being armed like the Spaniards. Either these were vague and exaggerated rumours concerning the great empire of Peru, or the Adelantado had misunderstood the signs of his informants. He returned, after an absence of several days, with a great quantity of gold, and with the most animating accounts of the country. He had found no port, however, equal to the river of Belen, and he was convinced that gold was nowhere to be met with in such abundance as in the district of Veragua.

#### CHAPTER VII.

COMMENCEMENT OF A SETTLEMENT ON THE RIVER BELEN. CONSPIRACY OF THE NATIVES. EXPEDITION OF THE ADELANTADO TO SURPRISE QUIBIAN.

[ 1505. ]

THE reports brought to Columbus, from every side, of the wealth of the neighbourhood, the golden tract of twenty days' journey in extent, shown to his brother from the mountain, the rumours of a rich and civilized country at no great distance, all convinced him that he had reached one of the most favoured parts of the Asiatic continent. Again his ardent mind kindled up with glowing anticipations. He fancied himself arrived at a fountain-head of riches, at one of the sources of the unbounded wealth of King Solomon. Josephus, in his work on the Antiquities of the Jews, had expressed an opinion, that the gold for the building of the temple of Jerusalem had been procured from the mines of the Aurea Chersonesus. Columbus supposed the mines of Veragua to be the same. They lay, as he observed, "within the same distance from the pole and from the line;" and if the information which he fancied he had received from the Indians was to be depended on, they were situated about the same distance from the Ganges.

Here, then, it appeared to him, was a place at which to found a colony, and establish a mart that should become an emporium of the wealth of a vast

• Las Casas, l. ii, c. 25. Hist. del Almirante, c. 93.  
• Letter of Columbus from Jamaica.

tract of mines. Within the two first days after his arrival in the country, as he wrote to the Sovereign, he had seen more signs of gold than in Hispaniola during four years. That island, so long the object of his pride and hopes, had been taken from him and was a scene of confusion; the pearl coast of Paria was ravaged by mere adventurers; all his plans concerning both had been defeated; but here was a far more wealthy region than either, and one calculated to console him for all his wrongs and deprivations.

On consulting with his brother, therefore, he resolved immediately to commence an establishment here, for the purpose of securing the possession of the country, and of exploring and working the mines. The Adelantado agreed to remain with the greater part of the people, while the Admiral should return to Spain for reinforcements and supplies. The greatest despatch was employed in carrying this plan into immediate operation. Eighty men were selected to remain. They were separated into parties of about ten each, and commenced building houses on a small eminence, situated on the bank of a creek, about a bow-shot within the mouth of the river Belen. The houses were of wood, thatched with the leaves of palm-trees which grew on the adjacent shore. One larger than the rest was to serve as a magazine, to receive their ammunition, artillery, and a part of their provisions. The principal part was stored, for greater security, on board of one of the caravels, which was to be left for the use of the colony. It was true they had but a scanty supply of European stores remaining, consisting chiefly of biscuit, cheese, pulse, wine, oil, and vinegar; but the country produced excellent fruits, among which were bananas, plantains, pine-apples, and cocoa-nuts. There was also maize in abundance, together with various roots such as were found in Hispaniola. The rivers and the sea-coast abounded with fish, to take which they were furnished with all the necessary implements. The natives, too, made beverages of various kinds. One from the juice of the pine-apples, having a delicious flavour; another from maize, resembling beer; and another from the fruit of a species of palm-tree. There appeared to be no danger, therefore, of suffering from famine. Columbus took pains to conciliate the good-will of the Indians, that they might supply the wants of the colony during his absence, and he made many presents to Quibian, by way of reconciling him to this intrusion into his territories.

The necessary arrangements being made for the colony, and a number of the houses being roofed, and sufficiently finished for occupation, the Admiral prepared for his departure, when an unlooked-for obstacle presented itself. The heavy rains which had so long distressed him during this expedition had recently ceased. The torrents from the mountains were over; and the river which had once put him in such peril by its sudden swelling, had now become

• Hist. del Almirante, c. 98. • Letter from Jamaica.

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so shallow, that there was not above half a fathom water on the bar. Though his vessels were small, it was impossible to draw them over the sands, which thus choked the mouth of the river, for there was a swell rolling and tumbling upon them, which would have dashed his worm-eaten barks to pieces. He was obliged, therefore, to wait with patience, and pray for the return of those rains which he had lately deplored, that a second inundation might swell the river, and enable him to get to sea.

In the mean time, Quibian, the cacique of Veragua, beheld, with secret jealousy and indignation, these strange intruders erecting habitations, prying into the secrets of the land, and manifesting an intention of establishing themselves in his territories. He was of a bold and warlike spirit, he had a great force of warriors at his command; and being ignorant of the vast superiority of the Europeans in the art of war, he thought it easy, by a well-concerned artifice, to overwhelm and utterly destroy them. He sent messengers round, and ordered all his fighting men to assemble at his residence on the river Veragua, under pretext of making war upon a neighbouring province.

Numbers of the Indian warriors passed by the harbour where the ships were anchored, repairing to the head-quarters of their chieftain. No suspicion was entertained of their real design, by the Admiral or his officers. On board of the squadron, however, was one Diego Mendez, a man of zeal and spirit, and entirely devoted to the Admiral. He had sailed in the capacity of chief notary, and was to remain in the settlement as royal accountant. Mendez being of a shrewd and prying character, perceived something in the movements of the Indians, which made him doubt that some treachery was intended. He communicated his suspicions to the Admiral, and offered to proceed along the sea-coast to the river Veragua, in an armed boat, in search of the Indian camp, to make observations. His bold offer was accepted. Mendez sallied forth from the river, but had scarcely advanced a league along the coast when he perceived a large force of Indians upon the shore. He immediately landed alone, and ordering that the boat should be kept afloat, entered intrepidly among the Indians. There were about a thousand warriors, armed and supplied with provisions, as if for an expedition. Mendez offered to accompany them with his armed boat, in quest of their enemies. The Indians declined his offer with evident signs of impatience at his intrusion. He returned to his boat, and kept watch upon them all the night, until, seeing that they were vigilantly observed, they returned to Veragua.

Mendez hastened back to the Admiral, with information of what he had seen; giving it as his opinion that the Indians had been on their way to surprise the Spaniards. The Admiral was loth to believe in such treachery, and was desirous of obtaining clearer information, before he took any step that might interrupt

the apparently good understanding that existed with the natives. The zealous and indefatigable Mendez now offered to proceed by land with a single companion, and penetrate as a spy to the very headquarters of the Indians, to the residence of Quibian. It was a service of life and death, but such hazardous enterprises afford delight to men who are calculated to execute them. Departing with his companion, one Rodrigo de Escobar, they proceeded on foot along the sea-shore, to avoid the thick forests, which were almost impassable to a European; in this way they came to the mouth of the Veragua. Here they found two canoes of Indians, with whom Mendez entered into conversation by signs. From these he gathered that his suspicions had been correct. The army which he had kept a watch upon, had been on the way to the harbour, to surprise and burn the ships and houses of the Spaniards, and to make a general massacre. They had been disconcerted by finding themselves observed, and had abandoned the attempt for the time, but intended to resume it within two days. Mendez requested the Indians to convey him up the river to the residence of Quibian. They remonstrated with him on the certain death to which he exposed himself, but he overcame their reluctance by various presents, and they landed him at the village of the cacique.

It was not compact, but consisted of a number of detached houses, interspersed among trees on the banks of the river. The habitation of Quibian was spacious, and situated above the rest, on a hill which rose from the water's edge. Mendez found the whole place in a bustle and stir of warlike preparation. The arrival of the two Spaniards excited surprise and uneasiness. When they offered to ascend the hill to the dwelling of the cacique, they were opposed by the Indians. Mendez, having heard that Quibian had been wounded in the leg by an arrow, gave himself out as a surgeon, come to cure the wound; and distributing a few presents, was permitted to proceed. The mansion of the cacique was on the crest of the hill. A broad level open place extended before it, around which were three hundred heads of enemies who had been slain in battle. Undismayed by so dismal an avenue to the dwelling of this grim warrior, Mendez and his companion crossed the place; when a number of women and children who were assembled round the door began to utter piercing cries, and fled with terror into the house.

A young and powerful Indian, son to the cacique, sallied forth in a violent rage, and struck the intruding Mendez a blow that made him recoil for several paces. The latter endeavoured to pacify him by gentle words; and taking out a box of ointment, assured him that he only came for the purpose of curing his father's wound. It was with great difficulty that Mendez lulled his suspicions and pacified his rage, making him presents of a comb, scissors, and looking-glass, and teaching him and his Indians to use them in cutting and arranging their hair, with which they

were greatly delighted. So singular is it that man, in a savage state, appears oftener accessible through his vanity, than through any other foible. Finding it impossible to gain access to the cacique, and having gathered proof sufficient to convince him that a dangerous plot was impending over the Spaniards, and about to be carried into effect, he returned with all haste to the harbour.

The information of Mendez was confirmed by an Indian interpreter, a native of the neighbourhood, who had become attached to the white men, and having overheard the designs of his countrymen, revealed them to the Admiral. It was ascertained that Quibian, with a great force of warriors, intended to assault the ships and houses, in the dead of the night, to wrap them in flames, and suffer not a Spaniard to escape. Strong guards were immediately appointed to keep watch upon the squadron and the settlement; but the military spirit of the Adelantado suggested a bolder expedient. It was to march at once to the residence of Quibian, to take him by surprise, seize upon himself, his family, and principal warriors, send them prisoners to Spain, and take possession of the village for the use of the Spaniards.

With the prompt and resolute Adelantado, to conceive a plan was to carry it into immediate execution, and, in fact, the impending danger admitted of no delay. Taking with him seventy-four men, well-armed, among whom was Diego Mendez, and being accompanied by the Indian interpreter who had revealed the plot, he set off on the 30th of March, in the boats, to the mouth of the Veragua, ascended it rapidly, and before the Indians could have notice of his movements, landed at the village, at the foot of the hill on which the house of the cacique was situated.

When Quibian heard that the Adelantado was below with a large body of his followers, he sent a messenger, requesting him not to come up to his house; not, it is believed, from any apprehension of hostility, or suspicion that his designs were discovered, but from fear lest the Spaniards should see his women: for Fernando Columbus intimates that the Indians of this place were extremely jealous. It is probable that the conduct of the Spaniards towards their females had given them abundant cause.

The Adelantado paid no attention to this request: but, lest the cacique should take alarm and fly at the sight of a large force, he ascended the hill, accompanied by only five men, among whom was Diego Mendez; ordering the rest to come on, with great caution and secrecy, two at a time, and at a distance from each other. On the discharge of an arquebuss, they were to surround the dwelling and suffer no one to escape.

As the Adelantado drew near to the house, another messenger came forth entreating him not to enter, for that the cacique would come forth to meet

<sup>1</sup> Relation made by Diego Mendez in his last testament. Navarrete, t. i.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Jamaica. Hist. del Almirante, c. 27.

him, though ill of a wound which he had received from an arrow. Shortly after Quibian came forth, and seating himself in the portal, deaired the Adelantado to approach singly. Don Bartholomew now ordered Diego Mendez and his four companions to remain at a little distance, to keep an eye upon his movements, and when they should see him take the cacique by the arm, to rush immediately to his assistance. He then advanced with his Indian interpreter, the latter trembling with fear, standing in habitual awe of the powerful chieftain, and doubting the capability of the Spaniards to withstand him. A short conversation took place, by means of the interpreter, relative to the surrounding country. The Adelantado then adverted to the wound of the cacique, and, pretending to examine it, took him by the arm. At the concerted signal four of the Spaniards rushed forward, the fifth discharged the arquebuss. The cacique attempted to get loose, but was firmly held in the iron grasp of the Adelantado. Being both men of great muscular power, a violent struggle ensued. Don Bartholomew, however, maintained the mastery, and Diego Mendez and his companions coming to his assistance, Quibian was bound hand and foot. At the report of the arquebuss, the main body of the Spaniards surrounded the house and seized most of those who were within, consisting of fifty persons, old and young. Among these were the wives and children of Quibian, and several of his principal subjects. No one was wounded, for there was no resistance, and the Adelantado never permitted wanton bloodshed. When the poor savages saw their prince a captive, they filled the air with lamentations; imploring his release, and offering for his ransom a great treasure, which they said lay concealed in the neighbouring forest.

The Adelantado was deaf to their supplications and their offers. Quibian was too dangerous a foe to be set at liberty: as a prisoner, he would be a hostage for the security of the settlement. Apprehensive that the whole neighbourhood would be in arms, and anxious to secure his prize, he determined to send the cacique and the other prisoners on board of the ships, while he remained on shore with a part of his men to pursue the Indians who had escaped. Juan Sanchez, the principal pilot of the squadron, a powerful and spirited man, volunteered to take charge of the captives. On committing the chieftain to his care, the Adelantado warned him to be on his guard against any attempt at rescue or escape. The sturdy pilot replied that if the cacique got out of his hands, he would give them leave to pluck out his beard, hair by hair; with this vaunt he departed, bearing off Quibian bound hand and foot. On arriving at the boat, he secured him by a strong cord to one of the benches. It was a dark night. As the boat proceeded down the river, the cacique complained piteously of the painfulness of his bonds, until the rough heart of the pilot was touched with compassion.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. 27. Las Casas, t. ii, c. 27.

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<sup>5</sup> Hist. del Al the particulars Diego Mendez, written in a str the principal and however, have a solemn occasion will be found t important occas Collect., t. i.



When they had nearly arrived at the mouth of the river, therefore, he loosened the cord by which Quibian was tied to the bench, keeping the end of it in his hand. The wily Indian now watched his opportunity, and when Sanchez was looking another way, plunged suddenly into the water. It was as if a rock had fallen into the river. He sank to the bottom and disappeared; and so violent had been his plunge, that the pilot had to let go the cord, lest he should be drawn in after him. The darkness of the night, and the bustle which took place, in preventing the escape of the other prisoners, rendered it impossible to pursue the cacique, or even to ascertain his fate. Juan Sanchez hastened to the ships with the residue of the captives, deeply mortified at being thus outwitted by a savage.

The Adelantado remained all night on shore. The following morning, when he beheld the wild, broken, and mountainous nature of the country, and the scattered situation of the habitations, perched on different heights, he gave up the search after the Indians, among their rocks and fastnesses, and returned to the ships with the spoils of the cacique's mansion. These consisted of bracelets, anklets, and massive plates of gold, such as were worn round the neck, together with two golden coronets. The whole amounted to the value of three hundred ducats. One fifth of the booty was set apart for the crown. The residue was shared among those concerned in the enterprise. To the Adelantado one of the coronets was assigned, as a trophy of his exploit.\*

## CHAPTER VIII.

## DISASTERS OF THE SETTLEMENT.

[ 4303. ]

It was hoped by Columbus that the vigorous measure of the Adelantado would strike terror into the Indians of the neighbourhood, and prevent any further designs upon the settlement. Quibian had probably perished. If he survived, he must be disheartened by the loss of his family and several of his principal subjects, and fearful of their being made responsible for any act of violence on his part. The heavy rains, therefore, which fall so frequently among the mountains of this isthmus, having again swelled the river, Columbus made his final arrange-

\* Equivalent to one thousand two hundred and eighty-one dollars at the present day.

† Hist. del Almirante, c. 98. Las Casas, l. ii, c. 27. Many of the particulars of this chapter are from a short narrative given by Diego Mendez, and inserted in his last will and testament. It is written in a strain of simple egotism, as he represents himself as the principal and almost the sole actor in every affair. The facts, however, have all the air of veracity, and being given on such a solemn occasion, the document is entitled to high credit. He will be found to distinguish himself on another hazardous and important occasion in the course of this history.—Vide Navarrete, Collect., l. i.

ments for the management of the colony, and having given much wholesome counsel to the Spaniards who were to remain, and taken an affectionate leave of his brother, he got under weigh with three of the caravels, leaving the fourth for the use of the settlement. As the water was still shallow at the bar, it was necessary to lighten the ships of a great part of their cargoes. They were towed out by the boats in calm weather, when there was scarcely any swell. They grounded, however, repeatedly; and had not the sand of the bar been very light and shifting, they must have sustained great injury. When fairly released from the river, and their cargoes re-shipped, they remained at anchor within a league of the shore, waiting for a favourable wind. It was the intention of the Admiral to touch at Hispaniola, on his way to Spain, and send from thence such supplies and reinforcements for the settlement as the island might furnish. The wind continuing adverse, he sent a boat on shore on the 6th of April, under the command of Don Diego Tristan, captain of one of the caravels, who was to procure wood and water, and to make some communications to the Adelantado. The expedition of this boat proved fatal to its crew, but was providential to the settlement.

The cacique Quibian had not perished, as some had supposed. Though both hands and feet were bound, yet in the water he was as in his natural element. Plunging to the bottom of the river, he had swam below the surface until sufficiently distant to be out of view in the darkness of the night, then emerging again, he had made his way to shore. The desolation of his home, and the capture of his wives and children, filled him with anguish; but when he saw the vessels in which they were confined issuing forth from the river, and bearing them off to the unknown world from whence these strangers had come, he was transported with fury and despair, and determined to wreak a signal vengeance upon the white men who remained behind. Gathering together a great number of his warriors, he came secretly upon the settlement, in that stealthy and silent manner in which Indians can move unheard through the most entangled forests. The little hill on which the houses of the Spaniards were built, was surrounded by thick woods, which enabled the Indians to approach unseen to within ten paces. The Spaniards, thinking the enemy completely discomfited and dispersed, were perfectly off their guard. Some had strayed to the sea-shore, to take a farewell look at the ships; some were on board of the caravel in the river; others were scattered about the houses: on a sudden the Indians burst from their concealment with yells and howlings. They rushed upon the houses, launched their javelins through the roofs of palm-leaves, hurled them in at the windows, or thrust them through the crevices of the logs which composed the walls. As the houses were small, several of the inhabitants were wounded. On the first alarm the Adelantado seized a lance,



and sallied forth with seven or eight of his men, whom he animated by word and example to a vigorous defence. Diego Mendez likewise rallied several of his companions, and coming to the assistance of the Adelantado, they drove the enemy into the forest, killing and wounding several. The Indians kept up a fire of darts and arrows from among the trees, and made furious sallies occasionally with their war-clubs; but there was no withstanding the keen edge of the Spanish swords, and a fierce blood-hound being let loose upon them, completed their terror. They fled howling through the forest, leaving a number dead on the field, and having killed one Spaniard and wounded eight. Among the latter was the Adelantado, who received a slight thrust in the breast from a javelin.

The boat which the Admiral had sent on shore, arrived during the contest. Diego Tristan, the captain, however, remained a mere spectator; fearing to approach the land, lest the Spaniards might rush on board in such numbers as to sink his boat. When the Indians had been put to flight, he proceeded up the river in quest of fresh water, disregarding the earnest counsels of those on shore, who warned him that he might be cut off by the enemy in their canoes.

The river was deep and narrow, shut in by high banks and overhanging trees. The forests on each side were thick and impenetrable; so that there was no landing-place, excepting here and there where an Indian foot-path wound down to the shore, to some fishing-ground, or some place where the natives kept their canoes.

The boat had ascended about a league above the village to a part of the river where the water became fresh, and where it was completely overshadowed by lofty banks and spreading trees. Suddenly, fearful yells and war-whoops rose on every side, with the blasts of conch-shells. Light canoes darted forth in every direction from the dark hollows, and overhanging thickets of the banks. They were each dexterously managed by a single savage, while others stood up brandishing their lances, and hurling them at the Spaniards. Others threw their weapons from the banks of the river and the branches of the trees. There were eight sailors in the boat, and three soldiers. Galled and wounded by the shower of missiles, confounded by the yells and the blasts of conchs, and by the assaults which thickened from every side, and losing all presence of mind, they neglected to use either oars or fire-arms, and only sought to shelter themselves with their bucklers. The captain, Diego Tristan, had received several wounds; still he displayed great intrepidity, endeavouring to rouse and animate his men, when a javelin, hurled by an Indian, pierced his right eye, and struck him dead. The canoes now closed upon the boat, and a general massacre ensued. But one Spaniard escaped, named Juan de Noya, a cooper of Seville, who having fallen overboard in the middle of the action, dived to the bottom, and, swimming under water, gained the

bank of the river unperceived. From thence he made his way down to the settlement, bringing tidings of the massacre of his captain and comrades.

The Spaniards were filled with dismay at the dangers which were thickening around them. They were few in number, several of them wounded, and they were in the midst of tribes of exasperated savages, far more fierce and warlike in character than those to whom they had been accustomed. The Admiral was ignorant of their misfortunes, and would sail away without yielding them assistance; and they should be abandoned to sink beneath the overwhelming force of barbarous foes, or to perish with hunger on this inhospitable coast. Thus seized with a sudden panic, they determined to take the caravel which had been left with them, and to abandon the place altogether. The Adelantado remonstrated with them in vain, nothing would content them but to put to sea immediately. Here a new alarm awaited them. The torrents having subsided, the river was again shallow, and it was impossible for the caravel to pass over the bar. They now took the boat of the caravel, to bear tidings of their danger to the Admiral, and to implore him not to abandon them; but the wind was boisterous, a high sea was rolling, and a heavy surf, tumbling and breaking at the mouth of the river, prevented the boat from getting out. While thus cut off from all retreat, and separated from all relief, horrors increased upon them. The mangled bodies of Diego Tristan and his men came floating down the stream, and drifting about the harbour, while flights of crows, and other carrion birds, were feeding on them, and hovering, and screaming, and fighting about their prey. The forlorn Spaniards contemplated this scene with shuddering; it appeared ominous of the fate that awaited themselves.

In the mean time the Indians, elated by their triumph over the crew of the boat, renewed their hostilities upon the harbour. Their whoops and yells answered to each other from various parts of the neighbourhood. The dismal sound of conchs and war-drums was heard in every direction in the deep bosom of the woods, and showed that the enemy was continually augmenting in number. They seemed to fill the adjacent forest, rushing forth upon any straggling party of Spaniards, and making partial attacks upon the houses. It was considered no longer safe to remain in the village which they had built. The close forest which surrounded it was a covert for the approaches of the enemy. The Adelantado chose, therefore, an open place on the shore at some distance from the wood. Here he caused a kind of bulwark to be made of the boat of the caravel, and of chests, casks, and similar articles. Two places were left open as embrasures, in which were placed a couple of falconets, or small pieces of artillery, in such manner as to command the neighbourhood. In this little fortress the Spaniards shut themselves up; its walls were sufficient to screen them from the darts and arrows of the Indians, but mostly they depended

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From thence he went, bringing in and comrades. Dismay at the death surrounded them. They were wounded, and of exasperated rage in character than accustomed. The Adalantado, and would assistance; and they with the overwhelming peril with hunger seized with a sudden the caravel which to abandon the place demonstrated with them them but to put to sea arm awaited them. The river was again for the caravel to pass the boat of the caravel, to the Admiral, and them; but the wind rolling, and a heavy at the mouth of the getting out. While separated from all them. The mangled men came floating about the harbour, and screaming, and the forlorn Spaniards ddering; it appeared themselves. elated by their triumph, renewed their hoarse whoops and yells various parts of the sound of conchs and direction in the deep red that the enemy ing forth upon any and making partial considered no longer which they had built. ed it was a covert for the Adelantado chose, ore at some distance d a kind of bulwark aravel, and of chests, vo places were left ere placed a couple artillery, in such neighbourhood. In this themselves up; its hem from the darts mostly they depended

pon their fire-arms; the sound of which struck dismay into the savages, especially when they saw the effect of the balls, splintering and rending the trees round them, and carrying havoc to such a distance. The Indians were thus kept in check for the present, and deterred from venturing from the forest; but the Spaniards, exhausted by constant watching and incessant alarms, were filled with despondency, and anticipated all kinds of evils when their ammunition would be exhausted, or they should be driven forth by hunger to seek for food.

## CHAPTER IX.

STRESS OF THE ADMIRAL ON BOARD OF HIS SHIP. ULTIMATE RELIEF OF THE SETTLEMENT.

[ 1503. ]

WHILE the Adelantado and his men were exposed to such imminent peril on shore, great anxiety prevailed on board of the ships. Day after day elapsed without the return of Diego Tristan and his party, and it was feared that some disaster had befallen them. Columbus would have sent on shore to make inquiries; but there was only one boat remaining for the service of the squadron, and he did not dare to risk it in the rough sea and heavy surf that were prevailing. A dismal circumstance occurred to increase the gloom and uneasiness of the crews. On board one of the caravels were confined the family and household of the cacique Quibian. It was intended to carry them to Spain, for as long as they remained in the power of the Spaniards, Columbus trusted that their tribe would be deterred from further hostilities. They were shut up at night in the fore-castle of the caravel, the hatchway of which was secured by a strong chain and padlock. As several of the crew slept upon the hatch, and as it was so high as to be considered out of reach of the prisoners, they neglected to fasten the chain. The Indians discovered their negligence, and formed a plan of escape. Collecting together a quantity of stones from the ballast of the vessel, they made a great heap directly under the hatchway. Several of the most powerful warriors mounted upon the top, and bending their backs, by a sudden and simultaneous effort, burst open the covert, flinging the seamen who slept upon it to the opposite side of the ship. In an instant the greater part of the Indians sprang forth, plunged into the sea, and swam to shore. The alarm being given, several were prevented from sallying forth; others were seized on the deck, and forced back into the fore-castle; the hatchway was carefully chained down, and a guard was set for the rest of the night. In the morning, when the Spaniards went to examine the captives, they were all found dead. Some had hanged themselves

Hist. del Almirante, cap. 98. Las Casas, l. ii. Letter of Columbus from Jamaica. Relation of Diego Mendez, Navarrete, Journal of Porras, Navarrete, t. i.

with the ends of ropes, their knees touching the floor; others had strangled themselves by straining the cords tight with their feet. The most inflexible determination on death was visible in the mode in which they had destroyed themselves; and the whole presented a picture of the fierce and unconquerable spirit of these people, and their horror of the white men.

The escape of the prisoners occasioned great anxiety to the Admiral. He feared they would stimulate their countrymen to some violent act of vengeance, and he trembled for the safety of his brother. Still this painful mystery reigned over the land. The boat of Diego Tristan had not returned, and the raging surf prevented all communication. The most sinister apprehensions prevailed among the seamen for the fate of their companions. At length, one Pedro Ledesma, a pilot of Seville, a man of about forty-five years of age, and of great strength of body and mind, presented himself before the Admiral. He offered, if the boat would take him to the edge of the surf, to plunge into it, swim to shore, and bring off news of their friends. He had been piqued by the achievement of the Indian captives, in swimming to land at a league's distance in defiance of sea and surf. Surely, he said, if they dare venture so much to procure their individual liberties, I ought to brave at least a part of the danger, to save the lives of so many companions. His offer was gladly accepted by the Admiral, and was boldly accomplished. The boat approached with him as near to the surf as safety would permit, where it was to await his return. Here, stripping himself, he plunged into the sea, and after buffeting for some time with the breakers, sometimes rising upon their surges, sometimes buried beneath them, and dashed upon the sand, he succeeded in reaching the shore.

He found his countrymen shut up in their forlorn fortress, beleaguered by savage foes, and learnt the tragical fate of Diego Tristan and his companions. Many of the Spaniards, in their horror and despair, had thrown off all subordination. They had refused to assist in any measure that had in view their continuance in this place, and they thought of nothing but their escape. When they beheld Ledesma, a messenger from the ships, they surrounded him with frantic eagerness. They urged him to implore the Admiral to take them on board, and not to abandon them on a coast where their destruction was inevitable. They were preparing canoes to take them to the ships, when the weather should moderate, the boat of the caravel being too small. If the admiral refused to take them on board, they swore they would embark in the vessel which remained with them, as soon as it could be extricated from the river, and abandon themselves to the mercy of the seas, rather than remain upon that fatal coast.

The hardy Ledesma, having heard all that his forlorn countrymen had to say, and communicated with the Adelantado, and his officers, set out on his pe-

Hist. del Almirante, cap. 99.

rilous return. He again braved the surf and the breakers, reached the boat which was waiting for him, and was conveyed back to the ships. The disastrous tidings from the land filled the heart of the Admiral with grief and alarm. To leave his brother on shore, was to expose him to the mutiny of his own men, and the ferocity of the savages. He could spare no reinforcement from his ships; the loss of Tristan and his companions having so much weakened his crews. Rather than the settlement should be broken up, he would gladly have joined the Adelantado with all his people; but how then could intelligence be conveyed to the Sovereigns of this important discovery, and supplies obtained from Spain? There appeared no alternative, therefore, but to embark all the people, abandon the settlement for the present, and return at some future day, with a force competent to take secure possession of the country. The state of the weather rendered the practicability even of this plan doubtful. The wind continued high, the sea rough, and no boat could pass between the squadron and the land. The situation of the ships was extremely perilous. They were feebly manned, crazed by the storms they had endured, and ready to fall to pieces from the ravages of the teredo. In this state they were anchored on a lee-shore, with a boisterous wind and sea, in a climate subject to tempests, and where the least augmentation of the weather might drive them among the breakers. Every hour increased the anxiety of Columbus for his brother, for his people, and for his ships, yet each succeeding hour only appeared to render the impending dangers more imminent. Days of constant perturbation, and nights of sleepless anguish, preyed upon a constitution broken by age and hardships. Amidst the acute maladies of his body and the fever of his mind, he appears to have been visited by partial delirium. The workings of his diseased imagination, at such times, he was prone to consider as something mysterious and supernatural. In a letter to the Sovereigns, he gives a solemn account of a kind of vision which comforted him when full of despondency and tossing on a couch of pain.

"Wearied and sighing," he says, "I fell into a slumber, when I heard a piteous voice saying to me, 'Oh fool, and slow to believe, and serve thy God, the God of all! What did he more for Moses, or for his servant David? From the time that thou wert born, he has ever taken great care of thee. When he saw thee of a fitting age, he made thy name to resound marvellously throughout the earth. The Indies, those rich parts of the world, he gave thee for thine own, and empowered thee to dispose of them to others according to thy pleasure. Of the gates of the ocean sea, shut up by such mighty chains, he delivered thee the keys, and thou wert obeyed in many lands, and didst acquire honourable fame among Christians. What did he more for the great people of Israel, when he led them forth from Egypt?"

• Letter of Columbus from Jamaica.

Or for David, whom, from being a shepherd, he made a king? Turn to him, then, and acknowledge thine error; his mercy is infinite. Thine age shall be no impediment to any great undertaking. Alonzo was above an hundred years old when he begot Isaac: and was Sarah youthful? Thou urgest despondingly for succour. Answer! who has afflicted thee so much, and so many times?—God, or the world? The privileges and promises which God has made thee he has never broken; nor said, after having received thy services, that his meaning was different, and to be understood in a different sense. He performs to the very letter. He fulfils all that he promises, and with increase. Such is his custom. I have shown thee what thy Creator has done for thee, and what he does for all. The present is the reward of the toils and perils thou hast endured in serving others.' I heard all this," adds Columbus, "as one almost dead, and had no power to reply words so true, excepting to weep for my error. Whoever it was that spake to me, finished by saying, 'Fear not! Confide! All these tribulations are written in marble, and not without cause.'"

Such is the singular statement which Columbus gave to the Sovereigns of his supposed vision. It has been suggested that this was a mere ingenious fiction, adroitly devised by him to convey a lesson to his prince; but such an idea is inconsistent with his character. He was too deeply imbued with awe of the Deity, and with reverence for his Sovereign, to make use of such an artifice. The words here spoken to him by the supposed voice, are truths which dwelt upon his mind, and grieved his spirit during his waking hours. It is natural that they should recur vividly and coherently in his feverish dreams; and recalling and relating a dream one is unconsciously apt to give it a little coherency. Besides, Columbus had a solemn belief that he was a peculiar instrument in the hands of Providence, which, together with a deep tinge of superstition, common to the age, made him prone to mistake every striking dream for a revelation. He is not to be measured by the same standard with ordinary men in ordinary circumstances. It is difficult for the mind to realize his situation, and to conceive the exaltations of spirit to which he may have been subject. The artless manner in which, in his letter to the Sovereigns, he mingles up the realities and dreams of his imagination with simple facts, and sound practical observations, pouring them forth with a kind of scriptural solemnity and poetry of language, is one of the most striking illustrations of a character richly compounded of extraordinary and apparently contradictory elements.

Immediately after this supposed vision, and after a duration of nine days, the boisterous weather subsided, the sea became calm, and the communication with the land was restored. It was found impossible to extricate the remaining caravel from the river; every exertion was made to bring off the people, and the property, before there should be a return of

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weather. In this, the exertions of the zealous Diego Mendez were eminently efficient. He had been for some days preparing for such an emergency. Cutting up the sails of the caravel, he had made great sacks to receive the biscuit. He had lashed two Indian poles together with spars, so that they could not be returned by the waves, and had made a platform for them capable of sustaining a great burden. This bank of raft was laden repeatedly with the stores, arms, and ammunition, which had been left on shore, and with the furniture of the caravel, which was entirely dismantled. When well freighted, it was towed by the boat to the ships. In this way, by constant and sleepless exertions, in the space of two days most every thing of value was transported on board the squadron, and little else left than the hull of the caravel, stranded, decayed, and rotting in the river. Diego Mendez superintended the whole embarkation with the most unwearied watchfulness and activity. He, and five companions, were the last to leave the shore, remaining all night at their perilous post, and embarking in the morning with the last cargo of effects. Nothing could equal the transports of the Spaniards, when they found themselves once more on board of the ships, and saw a space of ocean between them and those forests which had lately seemed destined to their graves. The joy of their comrades seemed inferior to their own; and the perils and hardships which yet surrounded them, were forgotten for a time in mutual congratulations. The Admiral was much impressed with a sense of the high services rendered by Diego Mendez, throughout the late time of danger and disaster, that he gave him the command of the caravel, vacant by the death of the unfortunate Diego Tristan.

## CHAPTER X.

DEPARTURE FROM THE COAST OF VERAGUA. ARRIVAL AT JAMAICA. STRANDING OF THE SHIPS.

[ 1493. ]

The wind at length becoming favourable for his voyage, Columbus set sail, towards the end of April, from the disastrous coast of Veragua. The wretched condition of his ships, the enfeebled state of his crews, and the scarcity of provisions, determined him to take the best of his way to Hispaniola, where he might refit his vessels and procure the necessary supplies for his voyage to Europe. To the surprise of his pilot and crews, however, on making sail, he stood again along the coast to the eastward, instead of steering north, which they considered the direct route to Hispaniola. They fancied that Columbus intended to proceed immediately for Spain, and mur-

mured loudly at the madness of attempting so long a voyage, with ships destitute of stores and consumed by the worms. Columbus and his brother, however, had studied the navigation of those seas with a more observant and experienced eye. They considered it advisable to gain a considerable distance to the east before standing across for Hispaniola, to avoid being swept away, far below their destined port, by the strong current setting constantly to the west. The Admiral, however, did not impart his reasons to the pilots, being anxious to keep the knowledge of his routes as much to himself as possible, seeing that there were so many adventurers crowding into the field, and ready to follow on his track. He even took from the mariners their charts; and boasts, in a letter to the Sovereigns, that none of his pilots would be able to retrace the route to and from Veragua, nor to describe where it was situated.<sup>2</sup>

Disregarding the murmurs of his men, therefore, Columbus continued along the coast eastward as far as Puerto Bello. Here he was obliged to leave one of the caravels, which was so pierced by the teredo, that it was impossible to keep her afloat. All the crews were now crowded into two caravels, and these were little better than mere wrecks. The utmost exertions were necessary to keep them free from water; while the incessant labour of the pumps bore hard on the seamen, who were enfeebled by scanty diet, and dejected by the various hardships they had undergone. Continuing onward, they passed Port Retreat, and a number of islands to which the Admiral gave the name of Las Barbas, now termed the Mulatas, a little beyond Point Blas. Here Columbus supposed that he had arrived at the province of Mangu in the territories of the Grand Khan, described by Marco Paulo as adjoining to Cathay.<sup>3</sup> He continued on about ten leagues farther, until he approached the entrance of what is at present called the Gulf of Darien. Here he had a consultation with his captains and pilots, who remonstrated at his persisting in this struggle against contrary winds and currents, representing the lamentable plight of the ships, and the infirm state of the crews.<sup>4</sup> Bidding farewell, therefore, to the main land, he stood northward on the 1st of May, in quest of Hispaniola. As the wind was easterly, with a strong current setting to the west, Columbus kept as near the wind as possible. So little did his pilots know of their situation, that they supposed themselves to the east of the Caribbee Islands; whereas the Admiral feared that, with all his exertions, he should fall to the westward of Hispaniola.<sup>5</sup> His apprehensions proved to be well founded; for, on the 4th of the month, he came in sight of two small low islands to the north-west of Hispaniola, to which, from the great quantities of

<sup>2</sup> Hist. del Almirante. Letter from Jamaica.

<sup>3</sup> Journal of Porras. Navarrete, Collec., t. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Letter from Jamaica.

<sup>5</sup> Testimony of Pedro de Ledesma. Pleito de los Colonos.

<sup>6</sup> Letter from Jamaica.

Hist. del Almirante, cap. 99, 100. Las Casas, t. ii, c. 29. Relation de Diego Mendez. Letter of Columbus from Jamaica. Journal of Porras, Navarrete, Collec., t. 1.



tortoises seen about them, he gave the name of the Tortugas; they are now known as the Caymans. Passing wide of these, and continuing directly north, he found himself, on the 30th of May, among the cluster of islands on the south side of Cuba, to which he had formerly given the name of the Queen's Gardens; having been carried between eight and nine degrees west of his destined port. Here he cast anchor near one of the Keys, about ten leagues from the main island. His crews were suffering excessively through hunger and fatigue; nothing was left of the sea-stores but a little biscuit, oil, and vinegar; and they were obliged to labour incessantly at the pumps, to keep the vessels afloat. They had scarcely anchored at these islands, when there came on, at midnight, a sudden tempest, of such violence, that, according to the strong expression of Columbus, it seemed as if the world would dissolve.\* They lost three of their anchors almost immediately, and the caravel *Bermuda* was driven with such violence upon the ship of the Admiral, that the bow of the one, and the stern of the other, were greatly shattered. The sea running high, and the wind being boisterous, the vessels chafed and injured each other dreadfully, and it was with great difficulty that they were separated. One anchor only remained to the Admiral's ship, and this saved him from being driven upon the rocks; but at daylight the cable was found nearly worn asunder. Had the darkness continued an hour longer, he could scarcely have escaped shipwreck.†

At the end of six days, the weather having moderated, he resumed his course, standing eastward to Hispaniola: "his people," as he says, "dismayed and down-hearted, almost all his anchors lost, and his vessels bored as full of holes as a honeycomb." After struggling against contrary winds and the usual currents from the east, he reached Cape Cruz, and anchored at a village in the province of Macaca,‡ where he had touched in his voyage in 1494, along the southern coast of Cuba. Here he obtained a supply of cassava-bread from the natives, and remained several days, detained by contrary winds. Making sail again, he endeavoured to beat up to Hispaniola; but every effort was in vain. The winds and currents continued adverse; the leaks continually gained upon his vessels, though the pumps were kept incessantly going, and the seamen even baled the water out with buckets and kettles. The Admiral now stood, in despair, for the island of Jamaica, to seek some secure port; for there was imminent danger of foundering at sea. On the eve of St John, the 23rd of June, they put into Puerto Bueno, now called Dry Harbour, but met with none of the natives from whom they could obtain provisions, nor was there any fresh water to be had in the neighbourhood. Suffering from hunger and thirst, they sailed eastward, on the fol-

\* Letter from Jamaica.

† Hist. del Almirante, cap. 400. Letter of Columbus from Jamaica.

‡ Hist. del Almirante. Journal of Porras.

lowing day, to another harbour, to which the Admiral gave the name of Port San Gloria, but which at present is known as Don Christopher's Cove.

Here, at last, Columbus had to give up his long and arduous struggle against the unremitting persecution of the elements. His ships, reduced to mere wrecks, could no longer keep the sea, and were ready to sink even in port. He ordered them, therefore, to be run aground, within a bow-shot of the shore, and fastened together, side by side. They soon filled with water to the decks. Thatched cabins were erected at the prow and stern for the accommodation of the crews, and the wreck was placed in the best possible state of defence. Thus castled in the sea, Columbus trusted to be able to repel any sudden attack of the natives, and at the same time to keep his men from roving about the neighbourhood and indulging in their usual excesses. No one was allowed to go on shore without a special license, and the utmost precaution was taken to prevent any offence being given to the Indians. Any exasperation of them might be fatal to the Spaniards in their present forlorn situation. A firebrand thrown into their wooden fortress might wrap it in flames, and leave them defenceless amidst hostile thousands.

## BOOK XVI.

### CHAPTER I.

ARRANGEMENT OF DIEGO MENDEZ WITH THE CACIQUES IN SUPPLIES OF PROVISIONS. SENT TO SAN DOMINGO BY COLUMBUS IN QUEST OF RELIEF.

[ 1505. ]

THE island of Jamaica was extremely populous and fertile; and the harbour soon swarmed with Indians, who brought provisions to barter with the Spaniards. To prevent any disputes in purchasing or sharing these supplies, two persons were appointed to superintend all bargains, and the provisions thus obtained were divided every evening among the people. The arrangement had a happy effect in promoting a peaceful intercourse. The stores thus furnished, however coming from a limited neighbourhood of improvident beings, were not sufficient for the necessities of the Spaniards, and were so irregular as often to leave them in pinching want. They feared, too, that the neighbourhood might soon be exhausted, in which case they should be reduced to famine. In the emergency, Diego Mendez stepped forward with his accustomed zeal, and volunteered to set off, with three men on a foraging expedition about the island. His offer being gladly accepted by the Admiral, he departed with his comrades well armed. He was every where treated with the utmost kindness by the

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natives. They took him to their houses, set meat and drink before him and his companions, and performed all the rites of savage hospitality. Mendez made an arrangement with a cacique of a numerous tribe, that his subjects should hunt and fish, and make cassava-bread, and bring a quantity of these and other provisions every day to the harbour. They were to receive, in exchange, knives, combs, beads, fish-hooks, hawks'-bells, and other articles, from a Spaniard, who was to reside among them for that purpose. The agreement being made, Mendez despatched one of his comrades to apprise the Admiral. He then pursued his journey three leagues further, when he made a similar arrangement, and despatched another of his companions to the Admiral. Proceeding onward, about thirteen leagues from the ships, he arrived at the residence of another cacique, called Huarco, where he was generously entertained. The cacique ordered his subjects to bring a large quantity of provisions, for which Mendez paid him on the spot, and made arrangements for a like supply at stated intervals. He despatched his third companion with this supply to the Admiral, requesting, as usual, that an agent might be sent to receive and pay for the regular deliveries of provisions.

Mendez was now left alone, but he was fond of any enterprise that gave individual distinction. He requested of the cacique two Indians to accompany him to the end of the island, one to carry his provisions, and the other to bear the hamac, or cotton net in which he slept. These being granted, he pushed resolutely forward along the coast, until he reached the eastern extremity of Jamaica. Here he found a powerful cacique of the name of Ameyro. Mendez had buoyant spirits, great address, and an ingratiating manner with the savages. He and the cacique became great friends, exchanged names, which is a kind of token of brotherhood, and Mendez engaged him to furnish provisions to the ships. He then bought an excellent canoe of the cacique, for which he gave him a splendid brass basin, a short frock or cassock, and one of the two shirts which formed his stock of linen. The cacique furnished him with six Indians to navigate his bark, and they parted mutually well-pleased. Diego Mendez coasted his way back, touching at the various places where he had made his arrangements. He found the Spanish agents already arrived at them, loaded his canoe with provisions, and returned in triumph to the harbour, where he was received with acclamations by his comrades, and with open arms by the Admiral. The provisions he brought were a most seasonable supply, for the Spaniards were absolutely fasting; and thenceforward Indians arrived daily, well-laden, from the parts which he had established.

The immediate wants of his people being thus provided for, Columbus revolved, in his anxious mind, the means of getting from this island. His

ships were beyond the possibility of repair, and there was no hope of any chance sail arriving to his relief, on the shores of a savage island, in an unfrequented sea. The most likely measure appeared to be, to send notice of his situation to Ovando, the governor at San Domingo, entreating him to despatch a vessel to his relief. But how was this message to be conveyed? The distance between Jamaica and Hispaniola was forty leagues, across a gulf swept by contrary currents; there were no means of transporting a messenger, except in the light canoes of the savages; and who would undertake so hazardous a voyage in a frail bark of the kind? Suddenly the idea of Diego Mendez, and the canoe he had recently purchased, presented itself to the mind of Columbus. He knew the ardour and intrepidity of Mendez, and his love of distinction by any hazardous exploit. Taking him aside, therefore, he addressed him in a manner calculated to stimulate his zeal, and flatter his self-love. Mendez himself gives an artless account of this interesting conversation, which is full of character.

"Diego Mendez, my son," said the venerable Admiral, "none of those whom I have here understand the great peril in which we are placed, excepting you and myself. We are few in number, and these savage Indians are many, and of fickle and irritable natures. On the least provocation they may throw fire-brands from the shore and consume us in our straw-thatched cabins. The arrangement which you have made with them for provisions, and which at present they fulfil so cheerfully, to-morrow they may break in their caprice, and may refuse to bring us any thing; nor have we the means to compel them by force, but are entirely at their pleasure. I have thought of a remedy if it meets with your views. In this canoe which you have purchased, some one may pass over to Hispaniola, and procure a ship, by which we may all be delivered from this great peril into which we have fallen. Tell me your opinion on the matter."

"To this," says Diego Mendez, "I replied: Señor, the danger in which we are placed, I well know, is far greater than is easily conceived. As to passing from this island to Hispaniola, in so small a vessel as a canoe, I hold it not merely difficult, but impossible; since it is necessary to traverse a gulf of forty leagues, and between islands where the sea is extremely impetuous, and seldom in repose. I know not who there is would adventure upon so extreme a peril."

Columbus made no reply, but from his looks and the nature of his silence, Mendez plainly perceived himself to be the person whom the Admiral had in view; "Whereupon," continues he, "I added: Señor, I have many times put my life in peril of death to save you and all those who are here, and God has hitherto preserved me in a miraculous manner. There are, nevertheless, murmurers, who say that your Excellency intrusts to me all affairs wherein honour is to be gained, while there are others in your company who would execute them as well as I do. Therefore

• Relacion por Diego Mendez. Navarrete, t. i.

I beg that you would summon all the people, and propose this enterprise to them, to see if among them there is any one that will undertake it, which I doubt. If all decline it, I will then come forward and risk my life in your service, as I many times have done."

The Admiral gladly humoured the wishes of the worthy Mendez, for never was simple egotism accompanied by more generous and devoted loyalty. On the following morning the crew was assembled, and the proposition publicly made. Every one drew back at the thoughts of it, pronouncing it the height of rashness. Upon this Diego Mendez stepped forward. "Señor," said he, "I have but one life to lose, yet I am willing to venture it for your service and for the good of all here present, and I trust in the protection of God, which I have experienced on so many other occasions."

Columbus embraced his zealous follower, who immediately set about preparing for his expedition. Drawing his canoe on shore, he put on a false keel, nailed weather-boards along the bow and stern, to prevent the sea from breaking over it; payed it with a coat of tar; furnished it with a mast and sail; and put in provisions for himself, a Spanish comrade, and six Indians.

In the mean time Columbus wrote letters to Ovando, requesting that a ship might be immediately sent to bring him and his men to Hispaniola. He wrote a letter likewise to the Sovereigns; for, after fulfilling his mission at San Domingo, Diego Mendez was to proceed to Spain on the Admiral's affairs. In the letter to the Sovereigns, Columbus depicted his deplorable situation, and entreated that a vessel might be despatched to Hispaniola, to convey himself and his crew to Spain. He gave a comprehensive account of his voyage, most particulars of which have already been incorporated in this history, and he insisted greatly on the importance of the discovery of Veragua. He gave it as his opinion, that here were the mines of the Aurea Chersonesus, from whence Solomon had derived such wealth for the building of the Temple. He entreats that this golden coast may not, like other places which he had discovered, be abandoned to adventurers, or placed under the government of men who feel no interest in the cause. "This is not a child," he adds, "to be abandoned to a step-mother. I never think of Hispaniola and Paria without weeping. Their case is desperate and past cure; I hope their example may cause this region to be treated in a different manner." His imagination becomes heated. He magnifies the supposed importance of Veragua, as transcending all his former discoveries; and he alludes to his favourite project for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre: "Jerusalem," he says, "and Mount Sion, are to be rebuilt by the hand of a Christian. Who is he to be? God, by the mouth of the Prophet, in the fourteenth Psalm, declares it. The abbot Joachim says that he is to come out of

Spain." His thoughts then revert to the ancient story of the Grand Khan, who had requested that sages might be sent to instruct him in the Christian faith. Columbus, thinking that he had been in the very vicinity of Cathay, exclaims with sudden zeal, "Who will offer himself for this task? If our Lord permit me to return to Spain, I engage to take him there, God helping, in safety."

Nothing is more characteristic of Columbus than his earnest, artless, at times eloquent, and at times almost incoherent letters. What an instance of soaring enthusiasm and irrepressible enterprise is here exhibited! At the time that he was indulging in these visions, and proposing new and romantic enterprises, he was broken down by age and infirmities, racked by pain, confined to his bed, and shut up in a wreck on the coast of a remote and savage island. No stronger picture can be given of his situation than that which shortly follows this transient glow of excitement; when, with one of his sudden transitions of thought, he awakens, as it were, to his actual condition.

"Until now," says he, "I have wept for others; have pity upon me Heaven, and weep for me Earth! In my temporal concerns, without a farthing to bestow; cast away here in the Indies; isolated in misery—infirm—expecting each day will be my last; surrounded by cruel savages; in spiritual concerns, separated from the holy sacraments of the church, so that my soul will be lost, if separated here from my body! Weep for me, whoever has charity, truth, and justice. I came not on this voyage to gain honour or estate, for all hope of the kind is dead within me. I came to serve your Majesties with a sound intention and an honest zeal, and I speak no falsehood. If it should please God to deliver me from hence, I humbly supplicate your Majesties to permit me to repair to Rome, and perform other pilgrimages."

The despatches being ready, and the preparations of the canoe completed, Diego Mendez embarked, with his Spanish comrade and his six Indians, and departed along the coast to the eastward. This voyage was laborious and perilous. They had to make their way against strong currents. Once they were taken by roving canoes of Indians, but made their escape, and at length arrived at the end of the island; a distance of thirty-four leagues from the harbour. Here they remained, waiting for calm weather to venture upon the broad gulf, when they were suddenly surrounded and taken prisoners by a number of hostile

led in the Holy Land. Returning to Calabria, he took the habit of the Cistercians in the monastery of Corazzo, of which he became prior and abbot, and afterwards rose to higher monastic importance. He died in 1202, having attained 72 years of age, leaving a great number of works; among the most known are commentaries on Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Apocalypse. There are also prophecies by him, "which," (says the Dictionnaire Historique) "during his life, made him to be admired by fools, and despised by men of sense; at present the latter sentiment prevails. He was either very weak or very presumptuous, to flatter himself that he had the keys of things of which God reserves the knowledge to himself."—Dic. Hist., t. v. Caen, 1783.

\* Relacion por Diego Mendez. Navarrete, Collec., t. 1.

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## CHAPTER II.

## MUTINY OF PONRAS.

[ 1503. ]

Indians, who carried them off a distance of three leagues, where they determined to kill them. Some dispute arose about the division of the spoils taken from the Spaniards, whereupon the savages agreed to settle it by a game of chance. While they were thus engaged, Diego Mendez escaped, found his way to his canoe, embarked in it, and returned alone to the harbour, after fifteen days' absence. What became of his companions he does not mention, being seldom apt to speak of any person but himself. This account is taken from the narrative inserted in his last will and testament.

Columbus, though grieved at the failure of his message, was rejoiced at the escape of the faithful Mendez. The latter, nothing daunted by the perils and hardships he had undergone, offered to depart immediately on a second attempt, provided he could have persons to accompany him to the end of the island, and protect him from the natives. This the Adelantado offered to undertake, with a large party well armed. Bartholomew Fiesco, a Genoese, who had been captain of one of the caravels, was associated with Mendez in this second expedition. He was a man of great worth, strongly attached to the Admiral, and much esteemed by him. Each had a large canoe under his command, in which were six Spaniards and ten Indians—the latter were to serve as oarsmen. The canoes were to keep in company. On reaching Hispaniola, Fiesco was to return immediately to Jamaica, to relieve the anxiety of the Admiral and his crew, by tidings of the safe arrival of their messenger. In the mean time, Diego Mendez was to proceed to San Domingo, deliver his letter to Ovando, procure and despatch a ship, and then to depart for Spain with the letter to the Sovereigns.

All arrangements being made, the Indians placed in the canoes their frugal provision of cassava-bread, and each his calabash of water. The Spaniards, beside their bread, had a supply of the flesh of utias, and each his sword and target. In this way they launched forth upon their long and perilous voyage, followed by the prayers of their countrymen.

The Adelantado, with his armed band, kept pace with them along the coast. There was no attempt of the natives to molest them, and they arrived in safety to the end of the island. Here they remained three days before the sea was sufficiently calm for them to venture forth in their feeble barks. At length, the weather being quite serene, they bade farewell to their comrades, and committed themselves to the broad sea. The Adelantado remained watching them, until they became mere specks on the ocean, and the evening hid them from his view. The next day he set out on his return to the harbour, stopping at various villages on the way, and endeavouring to confirm the good will of the natives.

\* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 401.

It might have been thought that the adverse fortune which had so long persecuted Columbus was now exhausted. In extremity, we begin to find consolation in the idea that since things cannot be worse, they must soon change for the better. The envy which had once sickened at the glory and prosperity of Columbus could scarcely have devised for him a more forlorn heritage in the world he had discovered; the tenant of a wreck on a savage coast, in an untraversed ocean, at the mercy of barbarous hordes, who, in a moment, from precarious friends, might be transformed into ferocious enemies; afflicted, too, by excruciating maladies which confined him to his bed, and by the pains and infirmities which hardship and anxiety had heaped upon his advancing age. But Columbus had not yet exhausted his cup of bitterness. He had yet to experience an evil worse than storm or shipwreck, or bodily anguish, or the violence of savage hordes, in the perfidy of those in whom he confided.

Mendez and Fiesco had not long departed when the Spaniards in the wreck began to grow sickly, partly from the toils and exposures of the recent voyage, partly from being crowded in such narrow quarters in a moist and sultry climate, and partly from want of their accustomed food, for they could not habituate themselves to the diet of the Indians, which was principally of a vegetable nature. Their maladies were heightened and rendered more insupportable by mental suffering, by that suspense which keeps up a fretful irritation of spirit, and that hope deferred which gradually corrodes the heart. Accustomed to a life of bustle and variety, they had now nothing to do but loiter about the dreary hulk, and look out upon the sea, and watch for the canoe of Fiesco, and wonder at its protracted absence, and doubt its return. A long time elapsed, much more than sufficient for the voyage, but nothing was seen or heard of the canoe. Fears were entertained that their messenger had perished. If so, how long were they to remain here, vainly looking for relief which was never to arrive? Some gradually sank into deep despondency, others became peevish and impatient. Murmurs broke forth, and, as usual with men in distress, murmurs of the most unreasonable kind. Instead of sympathizing with their aged and infirm commander, who was involved in the same calamity, who in suffering transcended them all, and yet who was incessantly studious of their welfare, they began to rail against him as the cause of all their misfortunes.

The factious feeling of an unreasonable multitude would be of little importance if left to itself, and might end in idle clamour; it is the industry of one or two evil spirits that generally directs it to an ob-

ject an I makes it mischievous. Among the officers of Columbus were two brothers, Francisco and Diego de Porras. They were relatives of the royal treasurer Morales, who had married their sister, and had made interest with the Admiral to give them some employment in the expedition. To gratify the treasurer, he had appointed Francisco de Porras captain of one of the caravels, and had obtained for his brother Diego the situation of notary and accountant-general of the squadron. He had treated them, as he declares, with the kindness of relatives, though both proved themselves incompetent to their situations. They were vain and insolent men, and like many others whom Columbus had benefited, requited his kindness with the blackest ingratitude.\*

These men, finding the common people in a highly impatient and discontented state, mingled among them, and worked upon them with the most seditious insinuations. They assured them that all their hopes of relief through the agency of Mendez were idle. It was a mere delusion of the Admiral to keep them quiet, and render them subservient to his purposes. He had no desire nor intention to return to Spain; he was banished thence. Hispaniola was equally closed to him, as had been proved by the exclusion of his ships from its harbour in a time of peril. To him, at present, all places were alike, and he was content to remain in Jamaica until his friends could make interest at court and procure his recall from banishment. As to Mendez and Fiesco, they had been sent to Spain by Columbus on his own private affairs, not to procure a ship for the relief of his followers. If this were not the case, why did not the ship arrive, or why did not Fiesco return, as had been promised? Or if the canoes had really been sent for succour, the long time that had elapsed without tidings of them gave reason to believe that they had perished by the way. In such case, their only alternative would be, to take the canoes of the Indians and endeavour to go to Hispaniola. But there was no hope of persuading the Admiral to such an undertaking; he was too old, and too helpless from the gout, to expose himself to the hardships of such a voyage. What, then, were they to be sacrificed to his interests or his infirmities?—to give up their only chance for escape, and to linger and perish with him in this desolate wreck? If they succeeded in reaching Hispaniola, they would be the better received for having left the Admiral behind. Ovando was secretly hostile to him, fearing that he would regain the government of the island; on their arrival in Spain, the Bishop Fonseca, from his enmity to Columbus, would be sure to take their part; the brothers Porras had powerful friends and relatives at court, to counteract any representations that might be made by the Admiral; and they cited the case of Roldan's rebellion, to show that the prejudices of the public, and of men in power, would always be against him. Nay, they insinuated

\* Hist. del Almirante, c. 102.

• Letter of Columbus to his son Diego. Navarrete, Collect.

that the Sovereigns, who, on that occasion, had deprived him of part of his dignities and privileges, would rejoice at a pretext for stripping him of the remainder.†

Columbus was aware that the minds of his people were embittered against him. He had repeatedly been treated with insolent impatience, and reproached with being the cause of their disasters. Accustomed, however, to the unreasonableness of men in adversity, and exercised, by many trials, in the mastery of his passions, he bore with their petulance, soothed their irritation, and endeavoured to cheer their spirits by the hopes of speedy succour. A little while longer, and he trusted that Fiesco would arrive with good tidings, when the certainty of relief would put an end to all these clamours. The mischief, however, was deeper than he apprehended, a complete mutiny was organised among his followers.

On the 2nd of January, 1504, Columbus was in his small cabin, on the stern of his vessel, being confined to his bed by the gout, which had now rendered him a complete cripple. While ruminating on his disastrous situation, Francisco de Porras suddenly entered. His abrupt and agitated manner betrayed the evil nature of his visit. He had the flurried impudence of a man who is about to perpetrate an open crime. Bursting forth into bitter complaints, at their being kept, week after week, and month after month, to perish piecemeal in that desolate place, he accused the Admiral of having no intention to return to Spain. Columbus suspected something sinister from this unusual arrogance. He maintained, however, his calmness, and, raising himself in his bed, endeavoured to reason with Porras. He pointed out the impossibility of departing until those who had gone to Hispaniola should send them vessels. He represented how much more urgent must be his desire to depart, since he had not merely his own safety to provide for, but he was accountable to God and his Sovereigns for the welfare of all who had been committed to his charge. He reminded Porras that he had always consulted with them all, as to the measures to be taken for the common safety, and that what he had done, had been with the general approbation; still, if any other measure appeared advisable, he recommended that they should assemble together, and consult upon it, and adopt whatever course appeared most judicious.

The measures of Porras and his comrades, however, were already concerted, and when men are determined on mutiny, they are deaf to reason. He bluntly replied, that there was no time for further consultations. "Embark immediately, or remain in God's name, were the only alternatives." "For my part," said he, turning his back upon the Admiral, and elevating his voice so that it resounded all over the vessel, "I am for Castile! those who chuse may follow me!" shouts arose immediately from all sides, "I will follow you! and I and I!" Numbers of the crew sprang upon the ship, brandishing wea-

• Hist. del Almirante, c. 102.

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hip, brandishing wea-

ons and uttering mingled threats and cries of rebel-  
on. Some called upon Porras for orders what to  
do; others shouted "To Castile! to Castile!" while,  
amidst the general uproar, the voices of some despe-  
rades were heard menacing the life of the Admiral.

Columbus, hearing the tumult, leaped from his  
bed, ill and infirm as he was, and tottered out of the  
cabin, stumbling and falling in the exertion, hoping  
by his presence to pacify the mutineers. Three or  
four of his faithful adherents, however, fearing some  
violence might be offered him, threw themselves  
between him and the throng, and taking him in their  
arms, compelled him to return to his cabin.

The Adelantado had likewise sallied forth, but in  
different mood. He had planted himself, with  
sword in hand, in a situation to take the whole brunt  
of the assault. It was with the greatest difficulty  
that several of the loyal part of the crew could ap-  
pease his fury, and prevail upon him to relinquish  
his weapon, and retire to the cabin of his brother.  
They now entreated Porras and his companions to  
depart peaceably, since no one sought to oppose  
them. No advantage could be gained by violence;  
but should they cause the death of the Admiral, they  
could draw upon themselves the severest punish-  
ment from the Sovereigns.<sup>1</sup>

These representations moderated the turbulence of  
the mutineers, and they now proceeded to carry their  
plans into execution. Taking ten canoes which the  
Admiral had purchased of the Indians, they em-  
barked in them with as much exultation as if certain  
of immediately landing on the shores of Spain. Others  
who had not been concerned in the mutiny, seeing  
a large force departing, and fearing to remain be-  
hind, when so reduced in number, hastily collected  
their effects, and entered likewise into the canoes.  
In this way forty-eight abandoned the Admiral.  
Many of those who remained were only detained by  
sickness, for, had they been well, most of them  
could have accompanied the deserters.<sup>2</sup> The few  
who remained faithful to the Admiral, and the sick,  
who crawled forth from their cabins, saw the de-  
parture of the mutineers with tears and lamentations,  
wringing themselves up for lost. Notwithstanding his  
sorrow, Columbus left his bed, mingling among  
those who were loyal, and visiting those who were  
rebels, endeavouring in every way to cheer and comfort  
them. He entreated them to put their trust in God,  
who would yet relieve them; and he promised, on  
his return to Spain, to throw himself at the feet of the  
Sovereigns, represent their loyalty and constancy, and  
obtain for them rewards that should compensate for  
their sufferings.<sup>3</sup>

In the mean time Francisco de Porras and his fol-  
lowers, in their squadron of canoes, coasted the is-  
land to the eastward, following the route taken by

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii, cap. 32. Hist. del Almirante, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap 102.

<sup>3</sup> Las Casas, l. ii, c. 32.

Mendez and Fiesco. Wherever they landed, they  
committed the greatest wrongs and outrages upon  
the Indians, robbing them of their provisions, and of  
whatever they coveted of their effects. They endeav-  
oured to make their own crimes redound to the pre-  
judice of Columbus, pretending to act under his au-  
thority, and affirming that he would pay for every  
thing that they took: if he refused, they told the  
natives to kill him. They represented him as an im-  
placable foe to the Indians; as one who had tyrann-  
ized over other islands, causing the misery and death  
of the natives, and who only sought to gain a sway  
here for the purpose of inflicting like calamities.

Having reached the eastern extremity of the is-  
land, they waited until the weather should be per-  
fectly calm, before they ventured to cross the gulf.  
Unskilled as they were in the management of canoes,  
they procured several Indians to accompany them.  
The sea being at length quite smooth, they set forth  
upon their voyage. Scarcely, however, had they  
proceeded four leagues from land when a contrary  
wind arose, and the waves began to swell. They  
turned immediately for shore. The canoes, from  
their light structure, and their keels being nearly  
round, were easily overturned, and required to be  
carefully balanced. They were now deeply freighted  
by men unaccustomed to them, and as the sea rose,  
they frequently let in the water. The Spaniards  
were alarmed, and endeavoured to lighten them, by  
throwing overboard every thing that could be spared;  
retaining only their arms, and a part of their provi-  
sions. The danger augmented with the wind. They  
now compelled the Indians to leap into the sea, ex-  
cepting such as were absolutely necessary to navigate  
the canoes. If they hesitated, they drove them over-  
board with the edge of the sword. The Indians were  
skilful swimmers, but the distance to land was too  
great for their strength. They kept about the canoes,  
therefore, taking hold of them occasionally to rest  
themselves and recover breath. As their weight dis-  
turbed the balance of the canoes, and endangered  
their overturning, the Spaniards cut off their hands,  
and stabbed them with their swords. Some died by  
the weapons of these cruel men, others were ex-  
hausted and sank beneath the waves; thus eighteen  
perished miserably, and none survived, but such as  
had been retained to manage the canoes.<sup>1</sup>

When the Spaniards got back to land, different  
opinions arose as to what course they should next  
pursue. Some were for crossing to Cuba, for which  
island the wind was favourable. From thence, it  
was thought, they might easily cross to the end of  
Hispaniola. Others advised that they should return  
and make their peace with the Admiral, or take  
from him what remained of arms and stores, having  
thrown almost every thing overboard during their  
late danger. Others counselled another attempt to  
cross over to Hispaniola, as soon as the sea should  
become tranquil.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 102. Las Casas, l. ii, c. 32.



This last advice was adopted. They remained for a month at an Indian village near the eastern point of the island, living on the substance of the natives, and treating them in the most arbitrary and capricious manner. When at length the weather became serene, they made a second attempt, but were again driven back by adverse winds. Losing all patience, therefore, and despairing of the enterprise, they abandoned their canoes, and returned westward; wandering from village to village, a dissolute and lawless gang, supporting themselves by fair means or foul, according as they met with kindness or hostility, and passing like a pestilence through the island.

### CHAPTER III.

#### SCARCITY OF PROVISIONS. STRATAGEM OF COLUMBUS TO OBTAIN SUPPLIES FROM THE NATIVES.

[ 1504. ]

WHILE Porras and his crew were ranging about with that desperate and joyless licentiousness which attends the abandonment of principle, Columbus presented the opposite picture of a man supported by conscious rectitude, and true to others and to himself. When he saw the crews depart which bore away the healthful and vigorous portion of his garrison, he exerted himself to encourage the infirm and desponding remnant which remained. There were but few capable of wielding arms in case of an attack, and none to spare from the attendance on the sick and the guarding of the wreck, to forage about in search of provisions. Regardless of his own painful maladies, he was incessant in his attention to alleviate the sufferings and re-establish the healths of his followers. By scrupulous good faith and amicable conduct towards the natives, and by a judicious use of the articles of traffic which remained, he procured, from time to time, considerable supplies of provisions. The most palatable and nourishing of these, together with the small stock of European biscuit that remained, he ordered to be appropriated to the sustenance of the infirm. Knowing how much the body is affected by the operations of the mind, he endeavoured to rouse the spirits, and animate the hopes of the drooping sufferers. Concealing his own anxiety, he maintained a serene and even cheerful countenance, encouraging his men by kind words, and holding forth confident anticipations of speedy relief. By his friendly and careful treatment, Columbus soon recruited both the health and spirits of his people, and brought them all into a condition to contribute to the common safety. Judicious regulations, calmly, but firmly enforced, maintained every thing in order. The men became sensible of the advantages of wholesome discipline, and perceived that the restraints imposed upon them by their commander

were for their own good, and ultimately productive of their own comfort.

Columbus had thus succeeded in guarding against the internal ills that threatened the safety of his little community, when alarming evils began to menage from without. The Indians being an improvident race, unused to lay up any stock of provisions, and unwilling to subject themselves to extra labour, found it difficult to furnish the quantity of food daily required for so many hungry men. The European trinkets, once so precious, lost their value, in proportion as they became common. The importance of the Admiral had been greatly diminished by the desertion of so many of his followers; and the malignant instigations of the rebels had awakened jealousy and enmity in several of the villages, which had been accustomed to furnish provisions.

By degrees, therefore, the supplies began to fail off. The arrangements for the daily delivery of certain quantities, made by Diego Mendez, were irregularly attended to, and at length ceased entirely. The Indians no longer thronged to the harbour with provisions, and often refused them when applied for. The Spaniards were obliged to forage about the neighbourhood for their daily food, but found more and more difficulty in procuring it, and now, in addition to their other causes for despondency, they began to entertain horrible apprehensions of famine.

The Admiral heard the melancholy forebodings of his men, and beheld the growing evil, but was at a loss for a remedy. To resort to force was an alternative full of danger, and of but temporary efficacy. It would require all those who were well enough to bear arms to sally forth, while he and the rest of the infirm would be left defenceless on board of the wreck, exposed to the vengeance of the natives.

In the mean time, the scarcity daily increased. The Indians perceived the wants of the white men, and had learnt from them the art of making bargains. They asked ten times the former quantity of European articles for any amount of provisions, and brought their supplies in scanty quantities, to enhance the eagerness of the hungry Spaniards. At length even this relief ceased, and there was an absolute distress for want of food. It appeared that the jealousy of the natives had been universally aroused by Porras and his followers, and they withheld all provisions, in hopes either of starving the Admiral and his people, or of driving them from the island.

In this extremity, a fortunate idea suddenly presented itself to Columbus. From his knowledge of astronomy, he ascertained that, within three days, there would be a total eclipse of the moon in the early part of the night. He sent, therefore, an Indian of the island of Hispaniola, who served as his interpreter, to summon the principal caciques to a grand conference, appointing for it the day of the eclipse. When all were assembled, he told them by his interpreter that he and his followers were the worshippers of a Deity who lived in the skies. That this Deity

## CHAPTER IV.

## MISSION OF DIEGO DE ESCOBAR TO THE ADMIRAL.

[ 1504. ]

EIGHT months had now elapsed since the departure of Mendez and Fiesco, yet no tidings had been received of their fate. For a long time the Spaniards had kept a wistful look-out upon the ocean, flattering themselves that every Indian canoe, gliding at a distance, might be the harbinger of deliverance. The hopes of the most sanguine were now fast sinking into despondency. What thousand perils awaited such frail barks, and so weak a party, on an expedition of the kind! Either the canoes had been swallowed up by boisterous waves and adverse currents, or their crews had perished among the rugged mountains and savage tribes of Hispaniola. To increase their despondency, they were informed that a vessel had been seen, bottom upwards, drifting with the currents along the coasts of Jamaica. This might be the vessel sent to their relief; and if so all their hopes were shipwrecked with it. This rumour, it is affirmed, was invented and circulated in the island by the rebels, that it might reach the ears of those who remained faithful to the Admiral, and reduce them to despair. It no doubt had its effect. Losing all hope of aid from a distance, and considering themselves abandoned and forgotten by the world, many of the men grew wild and desperate in their plans. Another conspiracy was formed by one Bernardo, an apothecary of Valencia, with two confederates, Alonso de Zamora and Pedro de Villatoro. They designed to imitate the attempt of Porras, to seize upon the remaining canoes, and seek their way to Hispaniola.\*

The mutiny was on the very point of breaking out, when one evening, towards dusk, a sail was seen standing towards the harbour. The transports of the poor Spaniards may be more easily conceived than described. The vessel was of small size; it kept out to sea, but sent its boat to visit the ships. Every eye was eagerly bent to hail the countenances of Christians and deliverers. As the boat approached, they descried in it Diego de Escobar, a man who had been one of the most active confederates of Roldan in his rebellion, who had been condemned to death under the administration of Columbus, and pardoned by his successor Bobadilla. There was bad omen in such a messenger.

Coming alongside of the ships, Escobar put a letter on board from Ovando, governor of Hispaniola, together with a barrel of wine and a side of bacon, sent as presents to the Admiral. He then drew off, and talked with Columbus from a distance. He told him that he was sent by the governor to express his great concern at his misfortunes, and his regret at not having in port a vessel of sufficient size to bring off himself and his people, but that he would send one

\* Hist. del Almirante. c. 104.

\* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. II, cap. 33.

ultimately productive of such as did well, but punished all transgressors. That as they must all have noticed, he had protected Diego Mendez and his companions in their voyage, they having gone in obedience to the orders of their commander; but that, on the other hand, he had visited Porras and his companions with all kind of afflictions, in consequence of their rebellion. That his great Deity was incensed against the Indians who had refused or neglected to furnish his faithful worshippers with provisions, and intended to chastise them with famine and pestilence. Lest they should believe this warning, a signal would be given that every night, in the heavens. They would behold the moon change its colour, and gradually lose its light; a token of the fearful punishment which awaited them.

Many of the Indians were alarmed at the solemnity of this prediction, others treated it with derision,—they, however, awaited with solicitude the coming of the night. When they beheld a dark shadow stealing over the moon, they began to tremble. Their fears increased with the progress of the eclipse; and when they saw a mysterious darkness covering the whole face of nature, there were no bounds to their terror. Seizing upon whatever provisions they could procure, they hurried to the ships, uttering cries and lamentations. They threw themselves at the feet of Columbus, implored him to intercede with his God to withhold the threatened calamities, and assured him that thenceforth they would bring him whatever he required. Columbus told them he would retire and commune with the Deity. Shutting himself up in his cabin, he remained there during the increase of the eclipse, the forests and shores all the while resounding with the howlings and supplications of the natives. When the eclipse was about to diminish, he came forth and informed the natives that he had interceded for them with his God, who, on condition of their fulfilling their promises, had deigned to pardon them: in sign of which he would withdraw the darkness from the moon.

When the Indians saw that planet restored presently to its brightness, and rolling in all its beauty through the firmament, they overwhelmed the Admiral with thanks for his intercession, and repaired their homes, joyful at having escaped such great disasters. They now regarded Columbus with awe and reverence, as a man in the peculiar favour and confidence of the Deity, since he knew upon earth what was passing in the heavens. They hastened to supplicate him with gifts, supplies again arrived daily to the harbour, and from that time forward, there was no want of provisions.†

† Hist. del Almirante, c. 103. Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. II, c. 33

His idea suddenly presented to his knowledge of astronomy within three days, the moon in the early part of the year, an Indian of the name of Teytaco served as his interpreter. He explained the signs and figures to a grand council of the natives, and the effect of the eclipse. When he had explained them by his interpreter to the worshippers of the Deity. That this Deity

as soon as possible. Escobar gave the Admiral assurances likewise, that his concerns in Hispaniola had been faithfully attended to. He requested him, if he had any letter to write to the governor in reply, to give it to him as soon as possible, as he wished to return immediately.

There was something extremely singular in this mission, but there was no time for comments; Escobar was urgent to depart. Columbus hastened, therefore, to write a reply to Ovando couched in the most friendly terms, depicting the dangers and distresses of his situation, increased as they were by the rebellion of Porras, but expressing his reliance on his promise to send him relief, confiding in which he should remain patiently on board of his wreck. He recommended Diego Mendez and Bartholomew Fiesco to his favour, assuring him that they were not sent to San Domingo with any artful design, but simply to represent his perilous situation, and to apply for succour. When Escobar received this letter, he returned immediately on board of his vessel, which made all sail, and soon disappeared in the gathering gloom of the night.

If the Spaniards had hailed the arrival of this vessel with transports, its sudden departure, and the mysterious conduct of Escobar, inspired no less wonder and consternation. He had kept aloof from all communication with them, as if he felt no interest in their welfare, or sympathy in their misfortunes. Columbus saw the gloom that had gathered in their countenances, and feared the consequences. He eagerly sought, therefore, to dispel their suspicions, professing himself satisfied with the communications received from Ovando, and assuring them that vessels would soon arrive to take them all away. In confidence of this, he said, he had declined to depart with Escobar, because his vessel was too small to take the whole, preferring to remain with them and share their lot; and had despatched the caravel in such haste, that no time might be lost in expediting the necessary ships. These assurances, and the certainty that their situation was known in San Domingo, cheered the hearts of the people. Their hopes again revived, and the conspiracy, which had been on the point of breaking forth, was completely disconcerted.

In secret, however, Columbus was exceedingly indignant at the conduct of Ovando. He had left him for many months in a state of the utmost danger, and most distressing uncertainty, exposed to the hostilities of the natives, the seditions of his men, and the suggestions of his own despair. He had, at length, sent a mere tantalizing message, by a man known to be one of his bitterest enemies, with a present of food, which, from its scantiness, seemed intended to mock their necessities.

Columbus believed that Ovando had purposely neglected him, hoping that he would perish on the island, being apprehensive that, should he return in safety, he would be reinstated in the government of

Hispaniola: and he considered Escobar merely as a spy sent by the governor to ascertain the state of himself and his crew, and whether they were yet in existence. Las Casas, who was then at San Domingo, expresses similar suspicions. He says that Escobar was chosen because Ovando was certain that from ancient enmity, he would have no sympathy for the Admiral. That he was ordered not to go on board of the vessels, nor to land, neither was he to hold conversation with any of the crew, or receive any letters, except those of the Admiral. In a word, that he was a mere scout to collect information.

Others have ascribed the long neglect of Ovando to extreme caution. There was a rumour prevalent that Columbus, irritated at the suspension of his duties by the court of Spain, intended to transfer the newly-discovered countries into the hands of his native republic, Genoa, or of some other power. Such rumours had long been current, and to their circulation Columbus himself alludes in his letter to the Sovereigns by Diego Mendez. The most plausible apology given is, that Ovando was absent for several months in the interior, occupied in war with the natives, and that there were no ships at San Domingo of sufficient burden to take Columbus and his crew to Spain. He may have feared that, should they come to reside for any length of time on the island, either the Admiral would interfere in public affairs, or endeavour to make a party in his favour; that in consequence of the number of his old enemies still resident there, former scenes of faction and turbulence might be revived. In the mean time the detention of Columbus in Jamaica, while it disposed of him quietly until vessels should arrive from Spain, could not, he may have thought, be hazardous. He had sufficient force and arms for defence, and he had made amicable arrangements with the natives for the supply of provisions, as Diego Mendez, who had made those arrangements, had no doubt informed him. Such may have been the reasoning by which Ovando, under the real influence of his interest, may have reconciled his conscience to a measure that excited the strong reprobation of his contemporaries, and has continued to draw upon him the suspicions of mankind.

## CHAPTER V.

VOYAGE OF DIEGO MENDEZ AND BARTHOLOMEW FIESCO IN A CANOE TO HISPANIOLA.

[ 1504. ]

It is proper to give here some account of the mission of Diego Mendez and Bartholomew Fiesco, and of the circumstances which prevented the latter from returning to Jamaica. When he had taken leave of the Adelantado at the east end of the island, they

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii, c. 33. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 1.  
<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, ubi sup. Hist. del Almirante, ubi sup.

Escobar merely ascertained the state whether they were yet was then at San Dapicions. He says the heat, therefore, became intolerable. They had no shelter from the sun, whose burning rays were reflected from the surface of the ocean, and seemed to scorch their very eyes. The Indians, exhausted by heat and toil, would often leap into the water to cool their glowing bodies and refresh themselves, and, after remaining there a short time, would return with new vigour to their labours. At the going down of the sun they lost sight of land. During the night the Indians took turns, one half to row while the others slept. The Spaniards, in like manner, divided their forces: while one half took repose, the others kept guard with weapons in hand, ready to defend themselves in case of any perfidy on the part of their savage companions.

Watching and toiling in this way through the night, they were exceedingly fatigued at the return of day. They beheld nothing around them but sea and sky. Their frail canoes, heaving up and down with the swelling and sinking of the ocean, seemed scarcely capable of sustaining the broad undulations of a calm; how would they be able to live amidst the waves and surges, should the wind arise? The commanders did all they could to keep up the flagging spirits of the men. Sometimes they permitted them a respite; at other times they took the paddles and shared their toils. But labour and fatigue were soon forgotten in a new source of suffering. During the preceding sultry day and night, the Indians, parched and fatigued, had drunk up all the water. They now began to experience the torments of thirst. In proportion as the sun arose, their thirst increased; the calm which favoured the navigation of the canoes rendered this misery the more intense. There was not a breeze to fan the air, or counteract the ardent rays of a tropical sun. Their sufferings were irritated by the prospect around them—nothing but water while they were perishing with thirst. At mid-day their strength failed them, and they could work no longer. Fortunately, at this time the commanders of the canoes found, or pretended to find, two small kegs of water, which they had perhaps secretly reserved for such an extremity. Administering the precious contents from time to time, in sparing mouthfuls to their companions, and particularly to the labouring Indians, they enabled them to resume their toils. They cheered them with the hopes of soon arriving at a small island called Navasa, which lay directly in their way, and was only eight leagues from Hispaniola. Here they would be able to procure water to allay their thirst, and might take repose. For the rest of the day they continued faintly and heavily labouring forward, and keeping an anxious look out for the island. The day passed away, the sun went down, yet there was no sign of land, not even a cloud on the horizon that might deceive them

into a hope. According to their calculations, they had certainly come the distance from Jamaica at which Navasa lay. They began to fear that they had deviated from their course. If so, they should miss the island entirely, and perish with thirst before they could reach Hispaniola.

The night closed upon them without any sight of the island. They now despaired of touching at it, for it was so small and low that, even if they were to pass near, they would scarcely be able to perceive it in the dark. One of the Indians sunk and died, under the accumulated sufferings of labour, heat, and raging thirst. His body was thrown into the sea. Others lay panting and gasping at the bottom of the canoes. Their companions, troubled in spirit, and exhausted in strength, feebly continued their toils. Sometimes they endeavoured to cool their parched palates by taking sea-water in their mouths, but its briny acrimony rather increased their thirst. Now and then, but very sparingly, they were allowed a drop of water from the kegs; but this was only in cases of the utmost extremity, and principally to those who were employed in rowing. The night had far advanced, but those whose turn it was to take repose were unable to sleep, from the intensity of their thirst; or if they slept, it was but to be tantalised with dreams of cool fountains and running brooks, and to awaken in redoubled torment. The last drop of water had been dealt out to the Indian rowers, but it had only served to irritate their sufferings. They scarce could move their paddles; one after another gave up, and it seemed impossible that they should live to reach Hispaniola.

The commanders, by admirable management, had hitherto kept up this weary struggle with suffering and despair: they now, too, began to despond. Diego Mendez sat watching the horizon, which was gradually lighting up with those faint rays which precede the rising of the moon. As that planet arose, he perceived it to emerge from behind some dark mass elevated above the level of the ocean. He immediately gave the animating cry of "land." His almost expiring companions were roused by it to new life. It proved to be the island of Navasa, but so small, and low, and distant, that had it not been thus revealed by the rising of the moon, they would never have discovered it. The error in their reckoning with respect to the island, had arisen from miscalculating the rate of sailing of the canoes, from not making sufficient allowance for the fatigue of the rowers and for the opposition of the current.

New vigour was now diffused throughout the crews. They exerted themselves with feverish impatience; by the dawn of day they reached the land, and, springing on shore, returned thanks to God for such signal deliverance. The island was a mere mass of rocks, half a league in circuit. There was neither tree, nor shrub, nor herbage, nor stream, nor fountain. Hurrying about, however, with anxious search, they found to their joy abundance of

R. V.

BARTHOLOMEW FIESCO IN  
HISPANIOLA.

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Some account of the  
Bartholomew Fiesco,  
prevented the latter  
when he had taken leave  
of the island, theyHist. del Almirante, cap.  
Almirante, ubi sup.



rain-water in the hollows of the rocks. Eagerly scooping it up with their calabashes, they quenched their burning thirst by immoderate draughts. It was in vain that the more prudent warned the others of their danger. The Spaniards were in some degree restrained; but the poor Indians, whose toils had increased the fever of their thirst, gave way to a kind of frantic indulgence. Several died upon the spot, and others fell dangerously ill.\*

Having allayed their thirst, they now looked about in search of food. A few shell-fish were found along the shore, and Diego Mendez, striking a light, and gathering drift wood, they were enabled to boil them, and to make a delicious banquet. All day they remained reposing in the shade of the rocks, refreshing themselves after their intolerable sufferings, and gazing upon Hispaniola, whose mountains were seen rising above the horizon, at eight leagues' distance.

In the cool of the evening they once more embarked, invigorated by repose, and arrived safely at Cape Tiburon on the following day, the fourth since their departure from Jamaica. Here they landed on the banks of a beautiful river, where they were kindly received and treated by the natives. Such are the particulars, collected from different sources,\* of this adventurous and interesting voyage, on the precarious success of which depended the deliverance of Columbus and his crews. The voyagers remained for two days among the hospitable natives on the banks of the river, to refresh themselves. Fiesco would have returned to Jamaica according to promise, to give assurance to the Admiral and his companions of the safe arrival of their messenger; but both Spaniards and Indians had suffered so much during the voyage, that nothing could induce them to encounter the perils of a return in the canoes.

Parting with his companions, Diego Mendez took six Indians of the island, and set off resolutely to coast in his canoe one hundred and thirty leagues to San Domingo. After proceeding for eighty leagues, with infinite toil, always against the currents, and subject to perils from the native tribes, he was informed that the governor had departed for Xaragua, fifty leagues distant. Still undaunted by fatigues and difficulties, he abandoned his canoe, and proceeded alone and on foot through forests and over mountains, until he arrived at Xaragua, achieving one of the most perilous expeditions ever undertaken by a devoted follower for the safety of his commander.

Ovando received him with great kindness, expressing the utmost concern at the unfortunate situation of Columbus. He made many promises of sending immediate relief, but suffered day after day, week after week, and even month after month to elapse, without

\* Not far from the island of Navasa there gushes up in the sea a pure fountain of fresh water that sweetens the surface for some distance: this circumstance was of course unknown to the Spaniards at the time. (Oviedo, *Cronica*, l. vi, c. 12.)

† *Hist. del Almirante*, c. 105. Las Casas, l. ii, c. 31. *Testament of Diego Mendez*. Navarrete, t. i.

carrying his promises into effect. He was at that time completely engrossed with his wars with the natives, and had a ready plea, that there were no ships of sufficient burden at San Domingo. Had he felt a proper zeal, however, for the safety of a man like Columbus, it would have been easy, within eight months, to have devised some means, if not of delivering him from his situation, at least of conveying to him ample reinforcements and supplies.

The faithful Mendez remained for seven months in Xaragua, detained there under various pretences by Ovando, who was unwilling that he should proceed to San Domingo; partly, as is intimated, from his having some jealousy of his being employed in secret agency for the Admiral, and partly from a desire to throw impediments in the way of his obtaining the required relief. At length, by daily importunity, he obtained permission to go to San Domingo, and await the arrival of certain ships which were expected, of which he proposed to purchase one on the account of the Admiral. He immediately set out on foot, a distance of seventy leagues, part of his toilsome journey lying through forests and among mountains infested by hostile and exasperated Indians. It was after his departure that Ovando despatched the caravel commanded by the pardoned rebel Escobar on that singular and equivocal visit, which, in the eyes of Columbus, had the air of a mere adventurous expedition to spy into the camp of an enemy.

## CHAPTER VI.

OVERTURES OF COLUMBUS TO THE MUTINEERS. BATTLE OF THE ADELANTADO WITH PORRAS AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

[ 1503. ]

WHEN Columbus had soothed the disappointments of his men, at the brief and unsatisfactory visit and sudden departure of the vessel of Escobar, he endeavoured to turn the event to some advantage with the rebels. He knew them to be disheartened by the inevitable miseries attending a lawless and dissolute life, that many longed to return to the safe and quiet path of duty, and that the most malignant, seeing how he had foiled all their intrigues among the natives to produce a famine, began to fear his ultimate triumph and his consequent vengeance. A favourable opportunity, he thought, now presented to take advantage of these feelings, and by gentle means to bring them back to their allegiance. He sent two of his people, therefore, who were most intimate with the rebels, to inform them of the recent arrival of a vessel with letters from the Governor of Hispaniola promising him a speedy deliverance from the island. He now offered a free pardon, kind treatment, and a passage with him in the expected ships, on condition of their immediate return to obedience. To convince them of the arrival of the vessel, he sent them

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Las Casas, l. i.



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VI.

MUTINEERS. BATTLE OF  
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a part of the bacon which had been brought by Es-  
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On the approach of these ambassadors, Francisco  
le Porras came forth to meet them, accompanied  
sely by a few of the ringleaders of his party. He  
imagined that there might be some propositions from  
the Admiral, and he was fearful of their being heard  
by the mass of his people, who, in their dissatisfied  
and repentant mood, would be likely to desert him  
on the least prospect of pardon. Having listened to  
the tidings and overtures brought by the messengers,  
Porras and his confidential confederates consulted for  
some time together. Perfidious in their own nature,  
they suspected the sincerity of the Admiral; and,  
conscious of the extent of their offences, they doubted  
his having the magnanimity to pardon them. They  
determined, therefore, not to confide in his proffered  
amnesty. They replied to the messengers, that they  
had no wish to return to the ships, but preferred liv-  
ing at large about the island. They offered to engage,  
however, to conduct themselves peaceably and amica-  
bly, on receiving a solemn promise from the Admi-  
ral, that should two vessels arrive, they should have  
one to depart in; should but one arrive, the half of it  
should be granted to them; and that, moreover, the  
Admiral should share with them the stores and the  
articles of Indian traffic which remained in the ships,  
they having lost all that they had in the sea. When  
it was observed that these demands were extravagant  
and inadmissible, they replied insolently that, if they  
were not peaceably conceded, they would take them  
by force; and with this menace they dismissed the  
ambassadors.<sup>1</sup>

This conference was not conducted so privately,  
but that the rest of the rebels learnt the whole pur-  
port of the mission, and the offer of pardon and de-  
liverance occasioned the greatest tumult and agita-  
tion. Porras, fearful of their desertion, had resort  
to all his eloquence, and to the most desperate false-  
hoods to delude them. He told them that these offers  
of the Admiral were all deceitful, that he was natu-  
rally cruel and vindictive, and only sought to get  
them into his power to wreak on them his vengeance.  
He exhorted them to persist in their opposition to his  
tyranny; reminding them, that those who had for-  
merly done so in Hispaniola, had eventually triumph-  
ed, and sent him home in irons; he assured them  
that they might do the same, and he again made  
flattering promises of protection in Spain, through the  
influence of his relatives. But the boldest of his as-  
sertions was with respect to the caravel of Escobar.  
It shows the ignorance of the age, and the supersti-  
tious awe which the common people entertained with  
respect to Columbus and his astronomical know-  
ledge. Porras assured them that no real caravel had  
arrived; that it was a mere phantasm conjured up by  
the Admiral, who was deeply versed in necromancy.  
In proof of this, he adverted to its arriving in the

dusk of the evening; its holding communication with  
no one but the Admiral, and its sudden disappearance  
in the night. Had it been a real caravel, the people  
of it would have sought to talk with their country-  
men; the Admiral, his son, and brother, would have  
eagerly embarked on board; and it would, at any  
rate, have remained a little while in port, and not  
have vanished so suddenly and mysteriously.<sup>2</sup>

By these and similar delusions, Porras succeeded  
in working upon the feelings and credulity of his fol-  
lowers. Fearful, however, that they might yield to  
after reflection, and to further offers from the Ad-  
miral, he determined to involve them in some act of  
violence that should commit them beyond all hope of  
forgiveness. He marched them, therefore, one day,  
to an Indian village, called Maima,<sup>3</sup> where after-  
wards was built a town called Seville, and which was  
about a quarter of a league from the ships. His in-  
tention is said to have been to plunder the stores re-  
maining on board the wreck, and to take the Admiral  
prisoner.<sup>3</sup>

Columbus had notice of the designs of the rebels,  
and of their approach. Being confined by his infirmi-  
ties, he sent his brother to endeavour with mild  
words to persuade them from their purpose, and to  
win them to obedience; but with sufficient force to  
resist any violence. The Adelantado, who was gen-  
erally a man rather of deeds than of words, took  
with him fifty followers, several of them men of tried  
resolution, and ready to fight in any cause. They  
were well armed and full of courage, though many  
were pale and debilitated from recent sickness, and  
from long confinement to the ships. Arriving on the  
side of a hill within a bow-shot of the village, the  
Adelantado discovered the rebels, and despatched  
the same two messengers to treat with them, who  
had already carried them the offer of pardon. Porras  
and his fellow-leaders, however, would not permit  
them to approach. They confided in the superiority  
of their numbers, in their men being, for the most  
part, hardy sailors, rendered robust and vigorous by  
the roving life they had been leading in the forest and  
the open air. They knew that many of those who  
were with the Adelantado were men brought up in a  
softer mode of life. They pointed to their pale coun-  
tenances, and persuaded their followers that they were  
mere household men, fair-weather troops, who could  
never stand before them. They did not reflect that,  
with such men, pride and lofty spirit often more than  
supply the place of bodily force, and they forgot that  
their adversaries had the incalculable advantage of  
justice and law upon their side. Deluded by their  
words, their followers were excited to a transient  
glow of courage, and, brandishing their weapons, re-  
fused to listen to the messengers.

Six of the stoutest of the rebels made a league to  
stand by one another and to attack the Adelantado,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 106. Las Casas, l. ii, c. 53.

<sup>2</sup> At present, Mammee Bay.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. del Almirante, ubi sup.

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, l. ii, cap. 53. Hist. del Almirante, c. 106.

for, he being killed, the rest would be easily defeated. The main body formed themselves into a squadron, drawing their swords and shaking their lances. They did not wait to be assailed, but, uttering shouts and menaces, rushed upon the enemy. They were so well received, however, that at the first shock four or five were killed, most of them the confederates who had leagued to attack the Adelantado. The latter, with his own hand, killed Juan Sanchez, the same powerful mariner who had carried off the cacique Quibian, and Juan Barber also, who had first drawn a sword against the Admiral in this rebellion. The Adelantado with his usual vigour and courage was dealing his blows about him in the thickest of the affray, where several lay killed and wounded, when he was assailed by Francisco de Porras. The rebel with a blow of his sword cleft the buckler of Don Bartholomew, and wounded him in the hand which grasped it. The sword remained wedged in the shield, and before Porras could withdraw it, the Adelantado closed upon him, grappled him, and being assisted by others, after a severe struggle, succeeded in taking him prisoner.

When the rebels beheld their leader a captive, their transient courage was at an end, and they fled in confusion. The Adelantado would have pursued them, but was persuaded to let them escape with the punishment they had received; especially as it was necessary to guard against the possibility of an attack from the Indians.

The latter had taken arms and drawn up in battle array, gazing with astonishment at this fight between white men, but without taking part on either side. When the battle was over, they approached the field, gazing upon the dead bodies of the beings they had once fancied immortal. They were curious in examining the wounds made by the Christian weapons. Among the wounded insurgents was Pedro Ledesma, the same pilot who so bravely swam ashore at Veragua, to procure tidings of the colony. He was a man of prodigious muscular force and a hoarse deep voice. As the Indians, who thought him dead, were inspecting the wounds with which he was literally covered, he suddenly uttered an ejaculation in his tremendous voice, at the sound of which the savages fled in dismay. This man having fallen into a cleft or ravine, was not discovered by the white men until the dawning of the following day, having remained all that time without a drop of water. The number and severity of the wounds he had received appeared incredible, but they are mentioned by Fernando Columbus, who was an eye-witness, and by Las Casas, who had the account from Ledesma himself. For want of proper remedies, his wounds were treated in the roughest manner; yet, through the aid of a most vigorous constitution, he completely recovered. Las Casas conversed with him several years afterwards at Seville, when he obtained from him various particulars concerning this voyage of Columbus. Some few

• Hist. del Almirante, c. 107. Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. ii, c. 33.

days after this conversation, however, he heard that Ledesma had fallen under the knife of an assassin.

The Adelantado, after his victory, returned in triumph to the ships, where he was received by the Admiral in the most affectionate manner, thanking him as his deliverer. He brought Porras and several of his followers prisoners. Of his own party only two had been wounded; himself in the hand, and the Admiral's steward, who had received an apparently slight wound with a lance, equal to one of the most insignificant of those with which Ledesma was covered; yet, in spite of careful treatment, he died.

On the next day, the 20th of May, the fugitives sent a petition to the Admiral, signed with all their names, in which, says Las Casas, they confessed all their misdeeds, and cruelties, and evil intentions, supplicating the Admiral to have pity on them and pardon them for their rebellion, for which God had already punished them. They offered to return to their obedience and to serve him faithfully in future, making an oath to that effect upon a cross and a missal, accompanied by an imprecation worthy of being recorded: "They hoped, should they break their oath, that no priest, or other Christian might ever confess them, that repentance might be of no avail, that they might be deprived of the holy sacraments of the church, that at their death they might receive no benefit from bulls or indulgences, that their bodies might be cast out into the fields like those of heretics and renegadoes, instead of being buried in holy ground; and that they might not receive absolution from the pope, nor from cardinals, nor archbishops, nor bishops, nor any other Christian priests." Such were the awful imprecations by which these men endeavoured to add validity to an oath. The wordlessness of a man's word may always be known by the extravagant means he uses to enforce it.

The Admiral saw by the abject nature of this petition, how completely the spirit of these misguided men was broken; with his wonted magnanimity, he readily granted their prayer, and pardoned their offences; but on one condition, that their ringleader, Francisco Porras, should remain a prisoner.

As it was difficult to maintain so many persons on board of the ships, and as quarrels might take place between persons who had so recently been at blows, Columbus put the late followers of Porras under the command of a discreet and faithful man; and giving in his charge a quantity of European articles for the purpose of purchasing food of the natives, he directed him to forage about the island until the expected vessels should arrive.

At length, after a long year of alternate hope and dependency, the doubts of the Spaniards were joyfully dispelled by the sight of two vessels standing into the harbour. One proved to be a ship which had been hired and well victualled, at the expense of the Admiral, by the faithful and indefatigable Diego

• Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii, c. 33.

• Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii, c. 33.

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Mendez; the other had been subsequently fitted out  
by Ovando, and put under the command of Diego de  
Salcedo, the Admiral's agent employed to collect his  
rents in San Domingo.

The long neglect of Ovando to attend to the relief  
of Columbus had, it seems, roused the public indig-  
nation, insomuch that animadversions had been made  
upon his conduct even in the pulpits. This is af-  
firmed by Las Casas, who was at San Domingo at  
the time. If the governor had really entertained  
hopes that, during the delay of relief, Columbus  
might perish in the island, the report brought back  
by Escobar must have completely disappointed him.  
No time was to be lost if he wished to claim any  
merit in his deliverance, or to avoid the disgrace of  
having totally neglected him. He exerted himself,  
therefore, at the eleventh hour, and despatched a  
caval at the same time with the ship sent by Diego  
Mendez. The latter having faithfully discharged this  
part of his mission, and seen the ships depart, pro-  
ceeded to Spain on the further concerns of the  
Admiral.

## BOOK XVII.

### CHAPTER I.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF OVANDO IN HISPANIOLA. OPPRESSION OF THE NATIVES.

[ 1505. ]

BEFORE relating the return of Columbus to Hispa-  
niola, it is proper to notice some of the principal oc-  
currences in that island, which took place under the

Some brief notice of the further fortunes of Diego Mendez may  
be interesting to the reader. When King Ferdinand heard of his  
father's services, says Oviedo, he bestowed rewards upon Mendez,  
and permitted him to bear a canoe in his coat of arms, as a me-  
mento of his loyalty. He continued devotedly attached to the Ad-  
miral, serving him zealously after his return to Spain, and during  
his last illness. Columbus retained the most grateful and affection-  
ate sense of his fidelity. On his death-bed he promised Mendez,  
that, in reward for his services, he should be appointed principal  
alguazil of the island of Hispaniola, an engagement which the  
Admiral's son Don Diego, who was present, cheerfully undertook  
to perform. A few years afterwards, when the latter succeeded to  
the office of his father, Mendez reminded him of the promise, but  
Don Diego informed him that he had given the office to his uncle  
Don Bartholomew; he assured him, however, that he should re-  
ceive something equivalent. Mendez shrewdly replied that the  
equivalent had better be given to Don Bartholomew and the office  
to himself, according to agreement. The promise, however,  
remained unperformed, and Diego Mendez unrewarded. He was  
afterwards engaged on voyages of discovery in vessels of his own,  
but met with many vicissitudes, and appears to have died in  
unperished circumstances. His last will, from which these  
particulars are principally gathered, was dated in Valladolid, the  
10th of June, 1536, by which it is evident he must have been in  
the prime of life at the time of his voyage with the Admiral. In  
his will he requested that the reward which had been promised  
to him should be paid to his children, by making his eldest son  
principal alguazil for life of the city of San Domingo, and his other

government of Ovando. A great crowd of adven-  
turers of various ranks had thronged his fleet—eager  
speculators, credulous dreamers, and broken-down  
gentlemen of desperate fortunes; all expecting to en-  
rich themselves suddenly in an island where gold  
was to be picked up from the surface of the soil, or  
gathered from the mountain-brooks. They had  
scarcely landed, says Las Casas, who accompanied  
the expedition, when they all hurried off to the mines,  
which were about eight leagues' distance. The  
roads swarmed like ant-hills, with adventurers of all  
classes. Every one had his knapsack of biscuit or  
flour, and his mining implements on his shoulders.  
Those hidalgos, or gentlemen, who had no servants  
to carry their burdens, bore them on their own backs,  
and lucky was he who had a horse for the journey;  
he would be able to bring back the greater load of  
treasure. They all set out in high spirits, eager who  
should first reach the golden land, thinking they had  
but to arrive at the mines, and collect riches; "for  
they fancied," says Las Casas, "that gold was to be  
gathered as easily and readily as fruit from the trees."  
When they arrived, however, they discovered, to  
their dismay, that it was necessary to dig painfully  
into the bowels of the earth—a labour to which most  
of them had never been accustomed; that it required  
experience and sagacity to detect the veins of ore;  
that, in fact, the whole process of mining was ex-  
ceedingly toilsome, demanding vast patience, much  
experience, and, after all, being full of uncertainty.  
They digged eagerly for a time, but found no ore.  
They grew hungry, threw by their implements, sat  
down to eat, and then returned to work. It was all  
in vain. "Their labour," says Las Casas, "gave  
them a keen appetite and quick digestion, but no  
gold." They soon consumed their provisions, ex-  
hausted their patience, cursed their infatuation, and  
in eight days set off drearily on their return along the

son lieutenant to the Admiral for the same city. It does not appear  
whether this request was complied with under the successors of  
Don Diego.

In another clause of his will, he desired that a large stone should  
be placed upon his sepulchre, on which should be engraved,  
"Here lies the honourable Cavalier Diego Mendez, who served  
greatly the royal crown of Spain, in the conquest of the Indies,  
with the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, of glorious memory,  
who made the discovery; and afterwards by himself, with ships at  
his own cost. He died, &c., etc. Bestow in charity a Pater  
noster, and an Ave Maria."

It is ordered that in the midst of this stone, there should be carved  
an Indian canoe, as given him by the King for armorial bearings  
in memorial of his voyage from Jamaica to Hispaniola, and above  
it should be engraved in large letters, the word "CANOA." He  
enjoined upon his heirs loyalty to the Admiral (Don Diego Colum-  
bus), and his lady, and gave them much ghostly counsel, mingled  
with pious benedictions. As an heir-loom in his family he be-  
queathed his library, consisting of a few volumes, which accom-  
panied him in his wanderings; viz. "The Art of Holy Dying, by  
Erasmus; A Sermon of the same author, in Spanish; The Lingua  
and the Colloquies of the same; the History of Josephus; The mo-  
ral Philosophy of Aristotle; the Book of the Holy Land; a Book  
called the Contemplation of the Passion of our Saviour; a Tract  
on the Vengeance of the Death of Agamemnon; and several other  
short treatises." This curious and characteristic testament is in  
the archives of the Duke of Veragua, in Madrid.

roads they had lately trod so exultingly. They arrived at San Domingo without an ounce of gold, half famished, downcast, and despairing. Such is too often the case of those who ignorantly engage in mining—of all speculations the most brilliant, promising, and fallacious.

Poverty soon fell upon these misguided men. They exhausted the little property they had brought from Spain. Many suffered extremely from hunger, and were obliged to exchange even their apparel for bread. Some formed connexions with the old settlers of the island, but the greater part were like men lost and bewildered, and just awakened from a dream. The miseries of the mind, as usual, heightened the sufferings of the body. Some wasted away and died broken-hearted; others were hurried off by raging fevers, so that there soon perished upwards of a thousand men.

Ovando was reputed a man of great prudence and sagacity, and he certainly took several judicious measures for the regulation of the island, and the relief of the colonists. He made arrangements for distributing the married persons and the families which had come out in his fleet, in four towns in the interior, granting them important privileges. He revived the drooping zeal for mining by reducing the royal share of the product from one-half to a third, and shortly after to a fifth; but he empowered the Spaniards to avail themselves, in the most oppressive manner, of the labour of the unhappy natives in working the mines. The charge of treating the natives with severity had been one of those chiefly urged against Columbus. It is proper, therefore, to notice, in this respect, the conduct of his successor, a man chosen for his prudence, and his supposed capacity to govern. It will be recollected, that when Columbus was in a manner compelled to assign lands to the rebellious followers of Francisco Roldan in 1499, he had made an arrangement, that the caciques in their vicinity should, in lieu of tribute, furnish a number of their subjects to assist them in cultivating their estates. This, as has been observed, was the commencement of the disastrous system of repartimientos, or distributions of the Indians. When Bobadilla administered the government, he constrained the caciques to furnish a certain number of Indians to each Spaniard, for the purpose of working the mines, where they were employed like beasts of burden. He made an enumeration of the natives, to prevent evasion, reduced them into classes, and distributed them among the Spanish inhabitants. The enormous oppressions which ensued have been noticed. They roused the indignation of Isabella, and when Ovando was sent out to supersede Bobadilla, in 1502, the natives were pronounced free. They immediately refused to labour in the mines.

Ovando represented to the Spanish Sovereigns, in 1503, that ruinous consequences resulted to the colony from this entire liberty granted to the Indians.

Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii, c. 6.

He stated that the tribute could not be collected, for the Indians were lazy and improvident; that the natives could only be kept from vices and irregularities by occupation; that they now kept aloof from the Spaniards, and from all instruction in the Christian faith.

The last representation had an influence with Isabella, and drew a letter from the Sovereigns to Ovando in 1503, in which he was ordered to spare no pains to attach the natives to the Spanish nation and the catholic religion. To make them labour moderately, if absolutely essential to their own good; but to temper authority with persuasion and kindness. To pay them regularly and fairly for their labour, and to have them instructed in religion on certain days.

Ovando availed himself of the powers given him by this letter, in their fullest extent. He assigned to each Castilian a certain number of Indians, according to the quality of the applicant, the nature of the application, or his own pleasure. It was arranged in the form of an order on a cacique for a certain number of Indians, who were to be paid by their employer, and instructed in the catholic faith. The pay was so small as to be little better than nominal; the instruction was little more than the mere ceremony of baptism; and the term of labour was at first six months, and then eight months in the year. Under cover of this hired labour, intended for the good both of their bodies and their souls, more intolerable toil was exacted from them, and more horrible cruelties were inflicted than in the worst days of Bobadilla. They were separated often the distance of several days' journey from their wives and children, doomed to intolerable labour of all kinds, extorted by the cruel infliction of the lash. For food they had the cassava-bread, an unsubstantial support for men obliged to labour; sometimes a scanty portion of port was distributed among a great number of them—scarce a mouthful to each. When the Spaniards who superintended the mines were at their repast, says Las Casas, the famished Indians scrambled under the table, like dogs, for any bone that might be thrown to them. After they had gnawed and sucked it, they pounded it between stones and mixed it with their cassava-bread, that nothing of so precious a morsel might be lost. As to those who laboured in the fields, they never tasted either flesh or fish; a little cassava-bread and a few roots were their support. While the Spaniards thus withheld the nourishment necessary to sustain their health and strength, they exacted a degree of labour sufficient to break down the most vigorous man. If the Indians fled from this incessant toil and barbarous coercion, and took refuge in the mountains, they were hunted out like wild beasts, scourged in the most inhuman manner, and laden with chains to prevent a second escape. Many perished long before their term of labour had expired. Those who survived their term of six or eight months, were permitted to return to their homes, until the next term commenced.

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But their homes were often forty, sixty, and eighty leagues distant. They had nothing to sustain them through the journey but a few roots or agi peppers, or a little cassava-bread. Worn down by long toil and cruel hardships, which their feeble constitutions were incapable of sustaining, many had not strength to perform the journey, but sank down and died by the way; some by the side of a brook, others under the shade of a tree, where they had crawled for shelter from the sun. "I have found many dead in the road," says Las Casas, "others gasping under the trees, and others in the pangs of death, faintly crying Hunger! hunger!" Those who reached their homes most commonly found them desolate. During the eight months that they had been absent, their wives and children had either perished or wandered away; the fields on which they depended for food were overrun with weeds, and nothing was left them but to lie down, exhausted, and despairing, and die at the threshold of their habitations.<sup>2</sup>

It is impossible to pursue any further the picture drawn by the venerable Las Casas, not of what he had heard, but of what he had seen—nature and humanity revolt at the details. Suffice it to say that, so intolerable were the toils and sufferings inflicted upon this weak and unoffending race, that they sunk under them, dissolving as it were from the face of the earth. Many killed themselves in despair, and even mothers overcame the powerful instinct of nature, and destroyed the infants at their breasts, to spare them a life of wretchedness. Twelve years had not elapsed since the discovery of the island, and several hundred thousands of its native inhabitants had perished, miserable victims to the grasping avarice of the white men.

## CHAPTER II.

### MASSACRE AT XARAGUA. FATE OF ANACAONA.

[ 1503. ]

THE sufferings of the natives under the civil policy of Ovando have been briefly shown: it remains to give a concise view of the military operations of this commander, so lauded by certain of the early historians for his prudence. By this notice a portion of the eventful history of this island will be recounted which is connected with the fortunes of Columbus, and which comprises the thorough subjugation, and, it may almost be said, extermination of the native inhabitants. And first, we must treat of the disasters of the beautiful province of Xaragua, the seat of hospitality, the refuge of the suffering Spaniards, and of the fate of the female cacique Anacaona, once the pride of the island, and the generous friend of the white men. Behechio, the ancient cacique of this province,

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii, cap. 14. MS.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, ubi sup.

being dead, Anacaona, his sister, had succeeded to the government. The marked partiality which she had once manifested for the Spaniards had been greatly weakened by the general misery they had produced in her country, and by the brutal profligacy exhibited in her immediate dominions by the followers of Roldan. The unhappy story of the lover of her beautiful daughter Higuamota with the young Spaniard Fernando de Guevara, had also caused her great affliction; and, finally, the various and enduring hardships inflicted on her once happy subjects by the grinding systems of labour enforced by Bobadilla and Ovando, had at length, it is said, converted her friendship into absolute detestation.

This disgust was kept alive and aggravated by the Spaniards who lived in her immediate neighbourhood, and had obtained grants of land there; a remnant of the rebel faction of Roldan, who retained the gross licentiousness and open profligacy in which they had been indulged under the loose misrule of that commander, and who made themselves odious to the inferior caciques, by exacting services tyrannically and capriciously under the baneful system of repartimientos.

The Indians of this province were uniformly represented as being a more intelligent, polite, and generous-spirited race than any others of the islands. They were the more prone to feel and resent the overbearing and insulting treatment to which they were subjected. Quarrels sometimes took place between the caciques and their oppressors. These were immediately reported to the governor as dangerous mutinies; and a resistance to any capricious and extortionate exaction was magnified into a rebellious resistance to the authority of government. Complaints of this kind were continually pouring in upon Ovando, until he was persuaded by some alarmist, or some designing mischief-maker, that there was a deep-laid conspiracy among the Indians of this province to rise upon the Spaniards.

Ovando immediately set out for Xaragua at the head of three hundred foot-soldiers, armed with swords, arquebuses, and cross-bows, and seventy horsemen, with cuirasses, bucklers, and lances. He pretended that he was going on a mere visit of friendship to Anacaona, and to make arrangements about the payment of tribute.

When Anacaona heard of the intended visit, she sent to all her tributary caciques, and to all her principal subjects, to assemble at her chief town, that they might receive the commander of the Spaniards with becoming homage and distinction. As Ovando, at the head of his little army, approached, she went forth to meet him, according to the custom of her nation, attended by a great train of her most distinguished subjects, male and female, who, as has been before observed, were noted for superior grace and beauty. They received the Spaniards with their popular areytos, their national songs; the young women waving palm branches and dancing before



them, in the same way that had so much charmed the followers of the Adelantado, on his first visit to the province.

Anacaona treated the governor with that natural graciousness and dignity for which she was celebrated. She gave him the largest house in the place for his residence, and his people were quartered in the houses adjoining. For several days the Spaniards were entertained with all the natural luxuries that the province afforded. National songs and dances and games were performed for their amusement, and there was every outward demonstration of the same hospitality, the same amity, that Anacaona had uniformly shown to white men.

Notwithstanding all this kindness, and notwithstanding her uniform integrity of conduct, and open generosity of character, Ovando was persuaded that Anacaona was secretly meditating a massacre of himself and his followers. Historians tell us nothing of the grounds for such a belief. It was too probably produced by the misrepresentations of the unprincipled adventurers who infested the province. Ovando should have paused and reflected before he acted upon it. He should have considered the improbability of such an attempt by naked Indians against so large a force of steel-clad troops, armed with European weapons; and he should have reflected upon the general character and conduct of Anacaona. At any rate, the example set repeatedly by Columbus and his brother the Adelantado, should have convinced him that it was a sufficient safeguard against the machinations of the natives, to seize upon their caciques and detain them as hostages. The policy of Ovando, however, was of a more rash and sanguinary nature; he acted upon suspicion as upon conviction. He determined to anticipate the alleged plot by a counter-artifice, and to overwhelm this defenceless people in an indiscriminate and bloody vengeance.

As the Indians had entertained their guests with various national games, Ovando invited them in return to witness certain games of his country. Among these was a tilting-match or joust with reeds, a chivalrous game which the Spaniards had learnt from the Moors of Granada. The Spanish cavalry in those days were as remarkable for the skilful management, as for the ostentatious caparison of their horses. Among the troops brought out from Spain by Ovando, one horseman had disciplined his steed to prance and curvet in time to the music of a viol.<sup>1</sup> The joust was appointed to take place on a Sunday after dinner, in the public square, before the house where Ovando was quartered. The cavalry and foot-soldiers had their secret instructions. The former were to parade, not merely with reeds or blunted tilting lances, but with weapons of a more deadly character. The foot-soldiers were to come apparently as mere spectators, but likewise armed, and ready for action at a concerted signal.

At the appointed time the square was crowded

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii. c. 9.

with the Indians, waiting to see this military spectacle. The caciques were assembled in the house of Ovando, which looked upon the square. None were armed; an unreserved confidence prevailed among them, totally incompatible with the dark treachery of which they were accused. To prevent all suspicion, and take off all appearance of sinister design, Ovando, after dinner, was playing at quoits with some of his principal officers, when the cavalry having arrived in the square, the caciques begged the governor to order the joust to commence.<sup>2</sup> Anacaona, and her beautiful daughter Iiguamota, with several of her female attendants, were present, and joined in the request.

Ovando left his game, and came forward to a conspicuous place. When he saw that everything was disposed according to his orders, he gave the fatal signal. Some say it was by taking hold of a piece of gold which was suspended about his neck; <sup>3</sup> others, by laying his hand on the cross of Alcantara, which was embroidered on his habit.<sup>3</sup> A trumpet was immediately sounded. The house in which Anacaona and all the principal caciques were assembled was surrounded by soldiery, commanded by Diego Velasquez and Rodrigo Mexiatrillo, and no one was permitted to escape. They entered, and seizing upon the caciques, bound them to the posts which supported the roof. Anacaona was led forth a prisoner. The unhappy caciques were then put to horrible tortures, until some of them, in the extremity of anguish, were made to accuse their queen and themselves of the plot with which they were charged. When this cruel mockery of judicial form had been executed, instead of preserving them for after-examination, fire was set to the house, and all the caciques perished miserably in the flames.

While these barbarities were practised upon the chieftains, a horrible massacre took place among the populace. At the signal of Ovando, the horsemen rushed into the midst of the naked and defenceless throng, trampling them under the hoofs of their steeds, cutting them down with their swords, and transfixing them with their spears. No mercy was shown to age or sex; it was a savage and indiscriminate butchery. Now and then a Spanish horseman, either through an emotion of pity or an impulse of avarice, caught up a child to bear it off in safety, but it was barbarously pierced by the lance of his companions. Humanity turns with horror from such atrocities, and would fain discredit them; but they are circumstantially and still more minutely recorded by the venerable bishop Las Casas, who was resident in the island at the time, and conversed with the principal actors in this tragedy. He must have coloured the picture strongly, in his usual indignation when the wrongs of the Indians are in question; yet, from all concurring accounts, and

<sup>1</sup> Oviedo, Cronica de las Indias, lib. iii, c. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii, c. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Charlevoix, Hist. San Domingo, l. xxiv, p. 235.

From many precise facts which speak for themselves, the scene must have been most sanguinary and atrocious. Oviedo, who is loud in extolling the justice, and devotion, and charity, and meekness of Ovando, and his kind treatment of the Indians, and who visited the province of Xaragua a few years afterwards, records several of the preceding circumstances; especially the cold-blooded game of quoits played by the governor on the verge of such a horrible scene, and the burning of the caciques, to the number, he says, of more than forty. Diego Mendez, who was at Xaragua at the time, and doubtless present on such an important occasion, says incidentally, in his last will and testament, that there were eighty-four caciques either burnt or hanged. Las Casas says, that there were eighty who entered the house with Anacaona. The slaughter of the multitude must have been great; and this was inflicted on an unarmed and unresisting throng. Several who escaped from the massacre fled in their canoes to an island about eight leagues distant, called Guanabo. They were pursued and taken, and condemned to slavery. As to the princess Anacaona, she was carried in chains to San Domingo. The mockery of a trial was given her, in which she was found guilty on the confessions which had been wrung by tortures from her subjects, and on the testimony of their butchers; and she was ignominiously hanged in the presence of the people whom she had so long and so signally benefited. Oviedo has sought to throw a stigma on the character of this unfortunate princess, accusing her of great licentiousness; but he was prone to criminate the character of the native princes who fell victims to the ingratitude and injustice of his countrymen. Contemporary writers of greater authority have concurred in representing Anacaona as remarkable for her native propriety and dignity. She was loved by her subjects, so as to hold a kind of dominion over them even during the life-time of her brother: she is said to have been skilled in composing the *cytos*, or legendary ballads of her nation, and may have conducted much towards producing that superior degree of refinement remarked among her people. Her grace and beauty had made her renowned throughout the island, and had excited the admiration of the savage and the Spaniard. Her magnanimous spirit was evinced in her amicable treatment of the white men, although her husband, the brave Guanabo, had perished a prisoner in their hands, and defenceless parties of them had been repeatedly in her power, and lived at large in her dominions. After being, for several years, neglected all safe opportunities of vengeance, she fell a victim to the absurd rage of having conspired against an armed force of nearly four hundred men, seventy of them horsemen, though to have subjugated large armies of naked Indians.

Relacion hecha por Don Diego Mendez Navar. Col., t. i, p. 514. Oviedo, Cron. de las Indias, lib. iii, c. 42. Las Casas, Hist. t. ii, c. 9.

After the massacre of Xaragua, the destruction of its inhabitants still continued. The favourite nephew of Anacaona, the cacique Guaora, who had fled to the mountains, was hunted like a wild beast until he was taken, and likewise hanged. For six months the Spaniards continued ravaging the country with horse and foot, under pretext of quelling insurrections; for wherever the affrighted natives took refuge in their despair, herding in dismal caverns and in their fastnesses of the mountains, they were represented as assembling in arms to make a head of rebellion. Having at length hunted them out of their retreats, destroyed many, and reduced the survivors to the most deplorable misery and abject submission, the whole of that part of the island was considered as restored to good order; and in commemoration of this great triumph, Ovando founded a town near to the lake, which he called Santa Maria de la Verdadera Paz (St Mary of the True Peace).<sup>1</sup>

Such is the tragical history of the delightful region of Xaragua, and of its amiable and hospitable people; a place which the Europeans, by their own account, found a perfect paradise, but which, by their vile passions, they filled with horror and desolation.

## CHAPTER III.

## WAR WITH THE NATIVES OF HIGUEY.

[ 1504. ]

THE subjugation of four of the Indian sovereignties of Hispaniola, and the disastrous fate of their caciques, has been already related. Under the administration of Ovando was also accomplished the downfall of Higüey, the last of those independent districts; a fertile province, which comprised the eastern extremity of the island.

The people of Higüey were of a more warlike spirit than those of the other provinces, having learned the effectual use of their weapons from frequent contests with their Carib invaders. They were governed by a cacique named Cotabanama. Las Casas describes this chieftain from actual observation, and draws the picture of a native hero. He was, he says, the strongest of his tribe, and more perfectly formed than one man in a thousand of any nation whatever. He was taller in stature than the tallest of his countrymen, a yard in breadth from shoulder to shoulder, and the rest of his body in admirable proportion. His aspect was not handsome, but grave and courageous. His bow was not easily bent by a common man, his arrows were three-pronged with the bones of fishes, and his weapons appeared to be intended for a giant. In a word, he was so nobly proportioned, as to be the admiration even of the Spaniards.

While Columbus was engaged in his fourth voyage, and shortly after the accession of Ovando to office,

<sup>1</sup> Oviedo, Cronica de las Indias, l. iii, c. 12.

there was an insurrection of this cacique and his people. A shallop, with eight Spaniards, was surprised at the small island of Saona, adjacent to Higüey, and all the crew slaughtered. This was in revenge for the death of a cacique, torn to pieces by a dog wantonly set upon him by a Spaniard, and for which the natives had in vain sued for redress.

Ovando immediately despatched Juan de Esquivel, a courageous officer, at the head of four hundred men to quell the insurrection, and punish the massacre. Cotabanama assembled his warriors, and prepared for vigorous resistance. Distrustful of the mercy of the Spaniards, the chieftain rejected all overtures of peace, and the war was prosecuted with some advantage to the natives. The Indians had now overcome their superstitious awe of the white men as supernatural beings, and though they could ill withstand the superiority of European arms, yet they manifested a courage and dexterity that rendered them enemies not to be despised. Las Casas and other historians relate a bold and romantic encounter between a single Indian and two mounted cavaliers named Valtenebro and Portovedra, in which the Indian, though pierced through the body by the lances and swords of both his assailants, retained his fierceness, and continued the combat, until he fell dead in possession of all their weapons. This gallant action, says Las Casas, was public and notorious.

The Indians were soon defeated and driven to their mountain retreats. The Spaniards pursued them into their recesses, discovered their wives and children, wreaked on them the most indiscriminate slaughter, and committed their chieftains to the flames. An aged female cacique of great distinction, named Higuanama, being taken prisoner, was hanged.

A detachment was sent in a caravel to the island of Saona, to take particular vengeance for the destruction of the shallop and its crew. The natives made a desperate defence and fled. The island was mountainous, and full of caverns, in which the Indians vainly sought for refuge. Six or seven hundred were imprisoned in a dwelling, and all put to the sword or poniarded. Those of the inhabitants who were spared were carried off as slaves; and thus, says Las Casas, was that island left desolate and deserted.

The natives of Higüey were driven to despair, seeing that there was no escape for them even in the bowels of the earth: they sued for peace, which was granted them, and protection promised on condition of their cultivating a large tract of land, and paying a great quantity of bread in tribute. The peace being concluded, Cotabanama visited the Spanish camp, where his gigantic proportions and martial demeanour made him an object of curiosity and admiration. He was received with great distinction by Esquivel, and they exchanged names; an Indian league of fraternity and perpetual friendship. The natives thenceforward called the cacique Juan de Esquivel, and the Spanish

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., t. II, cap. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, ubi sup.

commander Cotabanama. Esquivel then built a wooden fortress in an Indian village near the sea, and left in it nine men, with a captain, named Martín Villaman. After this the troops dispersed, every man returning home, with his proportion of slaves gained in this expedition.

The pacification was not of long continuance. About the time that succours were sent to Columbus to rescue him from the wrecks of his vessels at Jamaica, a new revolt broke out in Higüey, in consequence of the oppressions of the Spaniards, and violation of the treaty made by Esquivel. Martín Villaman demanded that the natives should not only raise the grain stipulated for by the treaty, but convey it to San Domingo, and he treated them with the greatest severity on their refusal. He connived at the licentious conduct of his men towards the Indian women; the Spaniards often taking from the natives their daughters, their sisters, and even their wives. The Indians, roused at last to fury, rose against their tyrants, slaughtered them, and burnt the wooden fortress to the ground. Only one of the Spaniards escaped, and bore the tidings of this catastrophe to the city of San Domingo.

Ovando gave immediate orders to carry fire and sword into the province of Higüey. The Spanish troops mustered from various quarters on the confines of that province, when Juan de Esquivel took the command, and had a great number of Indian warriors with him as allies. The towns of Higüey were generally built among the mountains. Those mountains rose in plains, or terraces, from ten to fifteen leagues in length and breadth; rough and rocky, interspersed with glens of a red soil, remarkably fertile, where they raised their cassava-bread. The ascent from plain to plain was about fifty feet; steep and precipitous, formed of the living rock, and resembling a wall wrought with tools into rough diamond points. Each village had four wide streets, a stone's-throw in length, forming a cross; the trees being cleared away from them, and from a public square in the centre.

When the Spanish troops arrived on the frontier, alarm-fires were made along the mountains by the natives, and columns of smoke spread the intelligence by day. The old men, the women, and children were sent off to the secret places of the forest and caverns, and the warriors prepared for battle. The Castilians paused in one of the plains clear of forests where their horses could be of use. They made prisoners of several of the natives, and tried to learn from them the plans and forces of the enemy. They applied tortures for the purpose, but in vain, so devoted was the loyalty of these people to their cacique. The Spaniards penetrated into the interior. They found the warriors of several towns assembled together, and drawn up in the streets with their bows and arrows, but perfectly naked, and without defensive armour. They uttered tremendous yells, and discharged a shower of arrows; but from such a

<sup>3</sup> Las Casas, ubi sup.

Esquibel then built a village near the sea, and the captain, named Martin de Casas, dispersed, every man a portion of slaves gained

of long continuance were sent to Columbus's vessels at Higüey, in consequence of the Spaniards, and by Esquibel. Martin de Casas natives should not obey the treaty, but contrary to the treaty, he treated them with cruelty. He connived at the men towards the Spaniards often taking from their sisters, and even their children, and at last to fury, rose against them, and burnt the village. Only one of the tidings of this calamity.

orders to carry fire and powder to Higüey. The Spaniards quarters on the confines of the island. Esquibel took the number of Indian warriors of Higüey were great. Those mountains were from ten to fifteen leagues high and rocky, interspersed with remarkably fertile, wheat, and bread. The ascent from the sea to the top of the mountain was fifty feet; steep and precipitous, and resembling a rough diamond point. The streets, a stone's-throw from the trees being cleared away, formed a public square in the centre. The Spaniards arrived on the frontiers of the mountains by the night, and spoke spread the intelligence to the women, and children of the places of the forest were prepared for battle. The Spaniards on the plains clear of forests, and of use. They made a great noise, and tried to kill the natives, and tried to kill the forces of the enemy. The Spaniards proposed, but in vain, so that the people to their caciques, and into the interior. The Spaniards general towns assembled in the streets with their bows drawn, and without defence, and without defence, tremendous yells, and cries; but from such a distance

Esquibel then built a village near the sea, and the captain, named Martin de Casas, dispersed, every man a portion of slaves gained

ance, that they fell short of their foe. The Spaniards replied with their cross-bows, and with two or three arquebusses, for at this time they had but few firearms. When the Indians saw several of their comrades fall dead, they took to flight, rarely waiting for the attack with swords: some of the wounded, in whose bodies the arrows from the cross-bows had penetrated to the very feather, drew them out with their hands, broke them with their teeth, and hurling them at the Spaniards with impotent fury, fell dead upon the spot.

The whole force of the Indians was routed and dispersed, each family, or band of neighbours, fled in their own direction, and concealed itself in the fastnesses of the mountains. The Spaniards pursued them, but found the chase difficult amidst the close forests, and the broken and stony heights. They took several prisoners as guides, and inflicted incredible torments on them to compel them to betray their countrymen. They drove them before them, secured by cords fastened round their necks; and some of them, as they passed along the brinks of precipices, suddenly threw themselves headlong down, in hopes of dragging after them the Spaniards. When at length the pursuers came upon the unhappy Indians in their concealments, they cared neither age nor sex; even pregnant women, and mothers with infants in their arms, fell beneath their merciless swords. The cold-blooded acts of cruelty which followed this first slaughter, it would be shocking to relate.

From hence Esquibel marched to attack the town where Cotabanama resided, and where that cacique had collected a great force to resist him. He proceeded direct for the place along the sea-coast, and came to where two roads led up the mountain to the town. One of the roads was open and inviting; the branches lopped, and all the underwood cleared away. Here the Indians had stationed an ambuscade to take the Spaniards in the rear. The other road was almost closed up by trees and bushes cut down and thrown across each other. Esquibel was wary and distrustful; he suspected the stratagem, and chose the encumbered road. The town was but a league and a half from the sea. The Spaniards made their way with great difficulty for the first half league. The rest of the road was free from embarrassment, which confirmed their suspicion of a stratagem. They now advanced with great rapidity, and, having arrived near the village, they suddenly turned into the other road, took the party in the bush by surprise, and made great havoc among them with their cross-bows.

The warriors now sallied from their concealment, and rushed out of the houses into the streets, and discharged flights of arrows, but from such a distance generally to fall harmless. They then approached nearer, and hurled stones with their hands, being acquainted with the use of slings. Instead of being dismayed at seeing their companions fall, it rather

increased their fury, and they uttered the most fearful yells. An irregular battle, probably little else than wild skirmishing and brisk fighting, was kept up from two o'clock in the afternoon until night. Las Casas was present on the occasion, and, from his account, the Indians must have shown instances of great personal bravery, though the inferiority of their weapons, and the want of all defensive armour, rendered their valour totally ineffectual. As the evening shut in, their hostilities gradually ceased, and they disappeared in the profound gloom and close thickets of the surrounding forest. A deep silence succeeded to their yells and war-whoops, and throughout the night the Spaniards remained in undisturbed possession of the village.

## CHAPTER IV.

CLOSE OF THE WAR WITH HIGÜEY. FATE OF COTABANAMA.

[ 1504. ]

On the morning after the battle, not an Indian was to be seen. Finding that even their great chief, Cotabanama, was incapable of vying with the prowess of the white men, they had given up the contest in despair, and had all fled to the mountains. The Spaniards, separating into small parties, hunted them like wild beasts; their object was to seize the caciques, and, above all, Cotabanama. They explored all the glens and concealed paths that led into the wild recesses where the fugitives had taken refuge. The Indians were cautious and stealthy in their mode of retreating, treading in each other's foot-prints, so that twenty would make no more track than one, and stepping so lightly as scarce to disturb the herbage; yet there were Spaniards so skilled in hunting Indians, that they could trace them even by the turn of a withered leaf, and among the confused tracks of a thousand animals.

They could scent afar off, also, the smoke of the fires which the Indians made whenever they halted, and thus they would come upon them in their most secret haunts. Sometimes they would hunt down a straggling Indian, and compel him, by torments, to betray the hiding-place of his companions, binding him and driving him before them as a guide. Whenever they discovered one of these places of refuge, filled with the aged and the infirm, with feeble women and helpless children, they massacred them without mercy. They wished to inspire terror throughout the land, and to frighten the whole tribe into submission. They cut off the hands of those whom they took roving at large, and sent them, as they said, to deliver them as letters to their friends, demanding their surrender. Numberless were those, says Las Casas, whose hands were amputated in this manner, and many of them sank down and died by the way, through anguish and loss of blood.

The conquerors delighted in exercising strange and



ingenious cruelties. They mingled horrible levity with their bloodthirstiness. They erected gibbets long and low, so that the feet of the sufferers might reach the ground, and their death be lingering. They hanged thirteen together, in reverence, says the indignant Las Casas, of our blessed Saviour and the twelve apostles. While their victims were suspended, and still living, they hacked them with their swords, to prove the strength of their arms and the edge of their weapons. They wrapped them in dry straw, and setting fire to it, terminated their existence by the fiercest agony.

These are horrible details, yet a veil is drawn over others still more detestable. They are related by the venerable Las Casas, who was an eye-witness of the scenes he describes. He was young at the time, but records them in his advanced years. "All these things," says he, "and others revolting to human nature, my own eyes beheld; and now I almost fear to repeat them, scarce believing myself, or whether I have not dreamt them."<sup>1</sup>

These details would have been withheld from the present work as disgraceful to human nature, and from an unwillingness to advance anything that might convey a stigma upon a brave and generous nation. But it would be a departure from historical veracity, having the documents before my eyes, to pass silently over transactions so atrocious, and vouched for by witnesses beyond all suspicion of falsehood. Such occurrences show the extremity to which human cruelty may extend, when stimulated by avidity of gain, by a thirst of vengeance, or even by a perverted zeal in the holy cause of religion. Every nation has in turn furnished proofs of this disgraceful truth. As in the present instance, they are commonly the crimes of individuals rather than of the nation. Yet it behoves governments to keep a vigilant eye upon those to whom they delegate power in remote and helpless colonies. It is the imperious duty of the historian to place these matters upon record, that they may serve as warning beacons to future generations.

Juan de Esquibel found that, with all his severities, it would be impossible to subjugate the tribe of Higney, as long as the cacique Cotabanama was at large. That chieftain had retired to the little island of Saona, about two leagues from the coast of Higney, in the centre of which, amidst a labyrinth of rocks and forests, he had taken shelter with his wife and children in a vast cavern.

A caravel, which had recently arrived from the city of San Domingo with supplies for the camp, was employed by Esquibel to entrap the cacique. He knew that the latter kept a vigilant look out, stationing scouts upon the lofty rocks of his island to watch the movements of the caravel; Esquibel departed by night, therefore, in the vessel, with fifty followers, and, keeping under the deep shadows cast by the land, arrived at Saona unperceived, at the dawn of morning. Here he anchored close in with the shore,

hid by its cliffs and forests, and landed forty men before the spies of Cotabanama had taken their station. Two of these were surprised and brought to Esquibel, who, having learnt from them that the cacique was at hand, poniarded one of the spies, and bound the other, making him serve as guide.

A number of Spaniards ran in advance, each anxious to signalise himself by the capture of the cacique. They came to two roads, and the whole party pursued that to the right, excepting one Juan Lopez, a powerful man, skilful in Indian warfare. He proceeded in a footpath to the left, winding among little hills, thickly wooded, that it was impossible to see any one at the distance of half a bow-shot. Suddenly, in a narrow pass, overshadowed by rocks and trees, he encountered twelve Indian warriors, armed with bows and arrows, and following each other in single file according to their custom. The Indians were confounded at the sight of Lopez, imagining that there must be a party of soldiers behind him. They might readily have transfixed him with their arrows, but they had lost all presence of mind. He demanded their chieftain. They replied that he was behind, and, opening to let him pass, Lopez beheld the cacique in the rear. At sight of the Spaniard, Cotabanama bent his gigantic bow, and was on the point of darting one of his three-pronged arrows, but Lopez rushed upon him and wounded him with his sword. The other Indians, struck with panic, had already fled. Cotabanama, dismayed at the keenness of the sword, cried out that he was Juan de Esquibel, claiming respect as having exchanged names with the Spanish commander. Lopez seized him with one hand by the hair, and with the other aimed a thrust at his body; but the cacique struck down the sword with his hand, and, grappling with his antagonist, thrust him with his back upon the rocks. As they were both men of great power, the struggle was long and violent. The sword was beneath them, but Cotabanama, seizing the Spaniard by the throat with his mighty hand, attempted to strangle him. The sound of the contest brought the other Spaniards to the spot. They found their companion writhing and gasping, and almost dead, in the gripe of the gigantic Indian. They seized the cacique, bound him, and carried him captive to a deserted Indian village in the vicinity. They found the way to his secret cave, but his wife and children had received notice of his capture by the fugitive Indians, and had taken refuge in another part of the island. In the cavern was found the chain with which a number of Indian captives had been bound, who had risen upon and slain three Spaniards, who had them in charge, and had made their escape to this island. There were also the swords of the same Spaniards, which they had brought off as trophies to their cacique. The chain was now employed to manacle Cotabanama.

The Spaniards prepared to execute the chieftain at the spot, in the centre of the deserted village. For this purpose a pyre was built of logs of wood

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, lib. ii, c. 17. MS.



and landed forty men, he had taken their surprise and brought them from them that the one of the spies, and serve as guide. In advance, each anxious capture of the cacique, the whole party pursued Juan Lopez, a powerful fare. He proceeded among little hills, impossible to see any shot. Suddenly, in rocky rocks and trees, warriors, armed with each other in single. The Indians were Lopez, imagining that behind him. They him with their arrows of mind. He demanded that he was behind Lopez beheld the of the Spaniard, Cotabana, and was on the point of arrows, but Lopez him with his sword with panic, had already at the keenness of Juan de Esquivel, claimed names with the Spaniard with one hand, aimed a thrust at his down the sword with his antagonist, through rocks. As they were struggle was long beneath them, but Columbus by the throat with to strangle him. The sooner Spaniards to the spot writhing and gasping of the gigantic Indian and him, and carried his village in the vicinity of a secret cave, but his will of his capture by the taken refuge in another cavern was found the Indian captives had been and slain three Spaniards had made their escape to the swords of the same brought off as trophies as now employed to execute the chieftain of the deserted village. Part of logs of wood had

crossways, in form of a gridiron, on which he was to be slowly broiled to death. On further consultation, however, they were induced to forego the pleasure of this horrible sacrifice. Perhaps they thought the cacique too important a personage to be executed thus obscurely. Granting him, therefore, a transient reprieve, they conveyed him to the caravel, and sent him, bound with heavy chains, to San Domingo. Ovando saw him in his power, and incapable of doing further harm, but he had not the magnanimity to forgive a fallen enemy, whose only crime was the defence of his native soil and lawful territory. He ordered him to be publicly hanged like a common culprit. In this ignominious manner was the cacique Cotabanama executed, the last of the five sovereign princes of Hayti. His death was followed by the complete subjugation of his people, and sealed the last struggle of the natives against their oppressors. The island was almost unpeopled of its original inhabitants, and meek and mournful submission and mute despair settled upon the scanty remnant that survived.

Such was the ruthless system which had been pursued, during the absence of the Admiral, by the commander Ovando, this man of boasted prudence and moderation, who was sent to reform the abuses of the island, and, above all, to redress the wrongs of the natives. The system of Columbus may have borne hard upon the Indians, born and brought up in untasked freedom, but it was never cruel nor sanguinary. He inflicted no wanton massacres nor vindictive punishments; his desire was to cherish and civilize the Indians, and to render them useful subjects, not to oppress, and persecute, and destroy them. When he beheld the desolation that had swept them from the land during his suspension from authority, he could not restrain the strong expression of his feelings. In a letter written to the King after his return to Spain, he thus expresses himself on the subject. "The Indians of Hispaniola were and are the riches of the island; for it is they who cultivate and make the bread and the provisions for the Christians, who dig the gold from the mines, and perform all the offices and labours both of men and beasts. I am informed that, since I left this island, six parts out of seven of the natives are dead, all through ill treatment and inhumanity; some by the sword, others by blows and cruel usage, others through hunger. The greater part have perished in the mountains and glens, whither they had fled, from not being able to support the labour imposed upon them." For his own part, he added, although he had sent many Indians to Spain to be sold, it was always with a view to their being instructed in the Christian faith, and in civilized arts and usages, and afterwards sent back to their island to assist in civilizing their countrymen.<sup>2</sup>

The brief view that has been given of the policy of Ovando in certain points on which Columbus was

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, l. ii, c. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, l. ii, c. 36.

censured, may enable the reader to judge more correctly of the conduct of the latter. It is not to be measured by the standard of right and wrong established in the present more enlightened age. We must consider him in connexion with the era in which he lived. By comparing his measures with those of men of his own times, praised for their virtues and abilities, placed in precisely his own situation, and placed there expressly to correct his faults, we shall be the better enabled to judge how virtuously and wisely, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, he may be considered to have governed.

## BOOK XVIII.

### CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE OF COLUMBUS FOR ST DOMINGO. HIS RETURN TO SPAIN.

[ 1504. ]

ON the 28th of June Columbus took a joyful leave of the wreck in which he had been so long immured, and all the Spaniards embarked, friend and foe, on board of the vessels, which made sail for St Domingo. Oviedo says, that the Indians wept when they beheld their departure; for they considered them as beings from the skies. From the Admiral, it is true, they had experienced nothing but kind treatment and continual benefits; and the idea of his immediate influence with the Deity, manifested by his prediction of the eclipse of the moon, may have made them consider his presence propitious to their island; but it is not easy to believe that a lawless gang, like that of Porras, could have been ranging for months among their villages without giving cause for the greatest joy at their departure.

The adverse winds and currents, which had opposed Columbus throughout this ill-starred expedition, still continued to harass him. After a weary struggle of several weeks, he reached, on the 5d of August, the little island of Beata, on the coast of Hispaniola. Between this place and St Domingo the currents are so violent, that vessels are often detained months, waiting for sufficient wind to enable them to stem the stream. From hence Columbus despatched a letter by land to Ovando, to inform him of his approach, and to remove certain absurd suspicions of his views, which he had learnt from Salcedo were still entertained by the governor, who feared his arrival in the island might lead to factions and disturbances. In this letter he expresses, with his usual warmth and simplicity, the joy he felt at his deliverance, which was so great, he says, that, since the arrival of Diego de Salcedo with succour, he had scarcely been able to sleep.

A favourable wind springing up, the vessels again made sail, and on the 15th of August anchored in the harbour of St Domingo. Whatever lurking enmity to Columbus there might be in the place, it was overpowered by the popular sense of his recent disasters. Misfortune atones for a multitude of faults, whereas the very merits of a prosperous man excite détraction. St Domingo, where Columbus in the day of his power had been surrounded by foes; from whence he had been ignominiously sent in chains, amidst the shouts and taunts of the rabble; from whence he had been excluded in a time of peril, when commander of a squadron; now that he arrived in the harbour of St Domingo, a broken-down and shipwrecked man, all forgot their past hostility, and were aroused to sudden enthusiasm in his favour. What had been denied to his merits was granted to his misfortunes; and even the envious, appeased by his present reverses, seemed to forgive him for having once been so triumphant.

The governor and all the principal inhabitants came forth to meet him, and received him with signal distinction. He was lodged as a guest in the house of Ovando, who treated him with the utmost courtesy and attention. The governor was a shrewd and discreet man, and much of a courtier; but there were too deep causes of jealousy and distrust between him and Columbus for their intercourse to be cordial. Both the Admiral and his son Fernando always pronounced the civility of Ovando overstrained and hypocritical, intended to obliterate the remembrance of past neglect, and to conceal his lurking enmity. While he professed the utmost friendship and sympathy for the Admiral, he set at liberty the traitor Porras, who was still a prisoner, to be taken to Spain for trial. He also talked of punishing those of the Admiral's people who had taken arms in his defence, had killed several of the mutineers, and taken others prisoners. These circumstances were loudly complained of by Columbus; but, in fact, they rose out of a question of jurisdiction between him and the governor. Their powers were so defined as to clash with each other, and they were both in a situation to be extremely punctilious. Ovando assumed a right to take cognizance of all transactions at Jamaica, as happening within the limits of his government, which included all the islands and terra firma. Columbus, on the other hand, asserted the absolute command, and the jurisdiction both civil and criminal given to him by the Sovereigns, over all persons who sailed in his expedition, from the time of departure until their return to Spain. To prove this, he produced his letter of instructions. The governor heard him with great courtesy and a smiling countenance; but observed, that the letter of instructions gave him no authority within the bounds of his government. He relinquished the idea, however, of investigating the conduct of the followers of Columbus, and sent

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Columbus to his son Diego, Seville, Nov. 21, 1504. Navarrete, Coll., t. i.

Porras to Spain, to be examined by the board which had the charge of the affairs of the Indies.

The sojourn of Columbus at St Domingo was but little calculated to yield him satisfaction. He was grieved at the desolation of the island by the oppressive treatment of the natives, and the horrible massacre which had been perpetrated by Ovando and his agents. Columbus had fondly hoped, at one time, to have rendered the natives civilized, industrious, and tributary subjects to the crown, and to have derived from their well-regulated labour a great and steady revenue. How different had been the event! The five great tribes which had peopled the mountains and the valleys at the time of the discovery, and had rendered, by their mingled towns and villages and tracts of cultivation, the rich levels of the Vega so many "painted gardens," had almost all passed away, and the native princes had perished chiefly by violent or ignominious deaths. Columbus regarded the affairs of the island with a different eye from Ovando. He had a paternal feeling for its prosperity, and his fortunes were implicated in its judicious management. He complained, in subsequent letters to the Sovereigns, that all the public affairs were ill-conducted; that the ore which was collected lay unguarded in large quantities in houses slightly built and thatched, inviting depredation; that Ovando was unpopular, the people were dissolute, and the property of the crown and the security of the island in continual risk from mutiny and sedition. While he saw all this, he had no power to interfere, and any observation or remonstrance on his part was apt to be ill received by the governor.

He found his own immediate concerns in great confusion. His rents and dues were either uncollected, or he could not obtain a clear account and a full liquidation of them. Whatever he could collect was appropriated to the fitting out of the vessels which were to convey himself and his crews to Spain. He accuses Ovando, in his subsequent letters, of having neglected, if not sacrificed, his interests during his long absence, and of having impeded those who were appointed to attend to his concerns. That he had some grounds for these complaints would appear from two letters still extant,<sup>2</sup> written by Queen Isabella to Ovando, on the 27th of November, 1505, in which she informs him of the complaint of Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal, that he was impeded in collecting the rents of the Admiral; and expressly commands Ovando to observe the capitulations granted to Columbus, to respect his agents, and to facilitate instead of obstructing his concerns. These letters, while they imply ungenerous conduct on the part of the governor towards his illustrious predecessor, evince likewise the personal interest taken by Isabella in the affairs of Columbus, during his absence. She had, in fact, signified her displeasure at his being excluded

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Columbus to his son Diego, dated Seville, 5th Dec. 1504. Navarrete, t. i. p. 541.

<sup>2</sup> Navarrete, Collec., t. ii. Decad. 181, 182.

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St Domingo was but satisfaction. He was island by the oppression and the horrible massacres by Ovando and his hoped, at one time, civilized, industrious, town, and to have de-labour a great and it had been the event! d peopled the moun-d of the discovery, and d towns and villages ch levels of the Vegas had almost all passed ad perished chiefly by Columbus regarded

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ate concerns in great were either uncollect-ear account and a full r he could collect was of the vessels which crews to Spain. Ha-ent letters, of having s interests during his peded those who were cerns. That he had ts would appear from y by Queen Isabella to mber, 1505, in which nt of Alonso Sanchez ed in collecting the expressly commands tions granted to Co-nd to facilitate inste- These letters, while on the part of the go- edecessor, evince like- by Isabella in the ab- sence. She had, in t his being excluded go, dated Seville, 5th Dec.

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from the port of St Domingo, when he applied there for succour for his squadron, and for shelter from a storm; and had censured Ovando for not taking his advice and detaining the fleet of Bobadilla, by which it would have escaped its disastrous fate. And here it may be observed, that the sanguinary acts of Ovando towards the natives, in particular the massacre at Xaragna, and the execution of the unfortunate Anacona, awakened equal horror and indignation in Isabella; she was languishing on her death-bed when she received the intelligence, and with her dying breath she exacted a promise from King Ferdinand that Ovando should immediately be recalled from his government. The promise was tardily and reluctantly fulfilled, after an interval of about four years, and not until induced by other circumstances; for Ovando contrived to propitiate the monarch, by forcing a revenue from the island.

The continual misunderstandings which took place between the Admiral and the governor, though always qualified on the part of the latter with great complaisance, induced Columbus to hasten as much as possible his departure from the island. The ship in which he had returned from Jamaica was repaired and fitted out, and put under the command of the Adelantado; another vessel was freighted, in which Columbus embarked with his son and his domestics. The greater part of his late crews remained at St Domingo; as they were in great poverty, he relieved their necessities with his own purse, and advanced the funds necessary for the voyage home of those who chose to return. Many thus relieved by his generosity had been among the most violent of the rebels.

On the 12th of September, he set sail; but had scarcely left the harbour when, in a sudden squall, the mast of his ship was carried away. He immediately went with his family on board of the vessel commanded by the Adelantado, and, sending back the damaged ship to port, continued on his course. Throughout the voyage he experienced the most tempestuous weather. In one storm the mainmast was sprung in four places. The Admiral was confined to his bed at the time by the gout; by his advice, however, and the activity of the Adelantado, the damage was skillfully repaired: the mast was shortened; the weak parts were fortified by wood taken from the castles or cabins, which the vessels in those days carried on the prow and stern; and the whole was well secured by cords. They were still more damaged in a succeeding tempest; in which the ship sprung her foremast. In this crippled state they had yet to traverse seven hundred leagues of a stormy ocean. Fortune continued to persecute Columbus to the end of this, his last, and most disastrous expedition. For several weeks he was tempest-tost—suffering at the same time the most excruciating pains from his mady—until, at length, on the seventh day of November, his crazy and shattered bark anchored in the harbour of San Lucar. From hence he had

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i. l. v. c. 12.

himself conveyed to Seville, where he hoped to enjoy repose of mind and body, and to recruit his health after such a long series of fatigues, anxieties, and hardships.

## CHAPTER II.

ILLNESS OF COLUMBUS AT SEVILLE. APPLICATION TO THE CROWN FOR A RESTITUTION OF HIS HONOURS. DEATH OF ISABELLA.

[ 1504. ]

BROKEN by age and infirmities, and worn down by the toils and hardships of his recent expedition, Columbus had looked forward to Seville as to a haven of rest, where he might repose awhile from his troubles. Care and sorrow, however, were destined to follow him by sea and land. In varying the scene he but varied the nature of his distress. "Wearisome days and nights" were appointed to him for the remainder of his life; and the very margin of his grave was destined to be strewn with thorns.

On arriving at Seville, he found all his affairs in confusion. Ever since he had been sent home in chains from San Domingo, when his house and effects had been taken possession of by Bobadilla, his rents and dues had never been properly collected; and such as had been gathered had been retained in the hands of the governor Ovando. "I have much vexation from the governor," says he, in a letter to his son Diego. "All tell me that I have there eleven or twelve thousand castellanos; and I have not received a quarto."\*\*\* I know well, that, since my departure, he must have received upwards of five thousand castellanos." He entreated that a letter might be written by the King, commanding the payment of these arrears without delay; for his agents would not venture even to speak to Ovando on the subject, unless empowered by a letter from the Sovereign.

Columbus was not of a mercenary spirit; but his rank and situation required large expenditure. The world thought him in the possession of sources of inexhaustible wealth, but to him, as yet, those sources had furnished but precarious and scanty streams. His last voyage had exhausted his finances, and involved him in perplexities. All that he had been able to collect of the money due to him in Hispaniola, to the amount of twelve hundred castellanos, had been expended in bringing home many of his late crew, who were in distress; and for the greater part of the sum the crown remained his debtor. While struggling to obtain his mere pecuniary dues, he was absolutely suffering a degree of penury. He repeatedly urges the necessity of economy to his son, Diego, until he can obtain a restitution of his property, and the payment of his arrears. "I receive nothing of the revenue due to me," says he, in

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 108. Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii. c. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Let. Seville, 15th Dec. 1504. Navarrete, v. i. p. 345.

one letter; "I live by borrowing." "Little have I profited," he adds, in another, "by twenty years of service, with such toils and perils; since, at present, I do not own a roof in Spain. If I desire to eat or sleep, I have no resort but an inn; and for the most times, have not wherewithal to pay my bill."

Yet in the midst of these personal distresses, he was still more solicitous for the payment of his seamen than of himself. He wrote strongly and repeatedly to the Sovereigns, entreating the discharge of their arrears; and he urged his son, Diego, who was at court, to exert himself likewise in their behalf. "They are poor," said he, "and it is now nearly three years since they left their homes. They have endured infinite toils and perils, and they bring invaluable tidings, for which their Majesties ought to give thanks to God and rejoice." Notwithstanding his generous solicitude for these men, he knew several of them to have been his enemies; nay, that some of them were at this very time disposed to do him harm rather than good; such was the magnanimity of his spirit, and his forgiving disposition.

The same zeal, also, for the interests of his Sovereigns, which had ever actuated his loyal mind, mingled with his other causes of solicitude. He represented in his letter to the King, the mismanagement of the royal rents in Hispaniola, under the administration of Ovando. Immense quantities of ore lay unprotected in slightly built houses, and liable to depredations. It required a person of vigour, and one who had an individual interest in the property of the island, to restore its affairs to order, and to draw from it the immense revenues which it was capable of yielding; and Columbus plainly intimated that he was the proper person.

In fact, as to himself, it was not so much pecuniary indemnification that he sought, as the restoration of his offices and dignities. He had received the royal promise that he should be reinstated in them; he regarded them as the trophies of his illustrious achievements; and he felt that as long as they were withheld, a tacit censure rested upon his name. Had he not been proudly impatient on this subject, he would have belied the loftiest part of his character; for he who can be indifferent to the wreath of triumph, is deficient in the noble ambition that incites to glorious deeds.

The unsatisfactory replies which he received to his letters disquieted the mind of Columbus. He knew that he had active enemies at court ready to turn all things to his disadvantage; and he felt the importance of being there in person to defeat their machinations; but his infirmities detained him at Seville. He made an attempt to set forth on the journey, but the severity of the winter and the virulence of his malady obliged him to relinquish it in despair. All that he could do was to reiterate his letters to the Sovereigns, and to entreat the intervention of his few but faithful friends. He feared the disastrous occurrences of the last voyage might be represented to his

prejudice. The great object of the expedition, the discovery of a strait in the Isthmus of Darien, had failed. The secondary object, the acquisition of gold, had not been completed. He had discovered the gold mines of Veragua, it is true, but he had brought home no treasure; because, as he said in one of his letters, "I would not rob or outrage the country; since reason requires that it should be so; and then the gold may be procured without violence."

He was especially apprehensive that the violent scenes in the island of Jamaica might, by the perversity of his enemies, and the effrontery of the delinquents, be wrested into matters of accusation against him, as had been the case with the rebellion of Roldan. Porras, the ringleader of the late faction, had been sent home by Ovando, to appear before the Board of the Indies; but without any written process, setting forth the offences charged against him. While at Jamaica, Columbus had ordered an inquest of the affair to be taken; and the notary of the squadron who took it, and the papers which he drew up, were on board of a ship in which the Admiral had sailed from Hispaniola, and which had put back dismasted. No cognizance of the case, therefore, was taken by the Council of the Indies; and Porras went at large, armed with the power and the disposition to do mischief. Being related to Morales, the royal treasurer, he had access to people in place, and an opportunity of enlisting their opinions and prejudices on his side. Columbus wrote to Morales enclosing him a copy of the petition which the rebels had sent to him when in Jamaica, acknowledging their culpability, and imploring his forgiveness; and he entreated the treasurer not to be swayed by the representations of his relation, nor to pronounce an opinion unfavourable to him, until he had an opportunity of being heard.

The faithful and indefatigable Diego Mendez was at this time at the court, as well as Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal, and an active friend of Columbus named Geronimo. He requested his son Diego to excite them all to support his interests, being capable of bearing the most important testimony as to his conduct. "I trust," said he, "that the truth and diligence of Diego Mendez will be of as much avail as the lies of Porras." Nothing can surpass the affecting earnestness and simplicity of his general declaration of loyalty, contained in one of his letters. "I have served their Majesties," says he, "with as much zeal and diligence as if it had been to gain Paradise; and if I have failed in any thing, it has been because my knowledge and powers went no further."

Whilst reading these touching appeals, we can scarcely realize the fact, that they should be written by Columbus; by the same extraordinary man who but a few years before had been idolized at this court as a benefactor, and received with almost royal honours. We can scarcely believe, that this is the discoverer of the New World, broken down by infirmities, and impoverished in his old age by his very success; that the man who added such vast and

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rearily and vainly applying to the court of Spain for  
his rights, and pleading almost like a culprit, in cases  
herein he had been so flagrantly injured.

At length the caravel bringing the official proceed-  
ings relative to the brothers Porras arrived at the  
Algarves, in Portugal, and Columbus looked forward  
with hope that all matters would soon be placed in a  
proper light. His anxiety to get to court became  
every day more intense. A litter was provided to  
convey him thither, and was actually at the door, but  
he was again obliged to abandon the journey from the  
clemency of the weather and his increasing infirmi-  
ties. His resource of letter-writing began to fail  
him: he could only write at night, for in the day-  
time the severity of his malady deprived him of the  
use of his hands. The tidings from the court were  
every day more and more adverse to his hopes: the  
stratagems of his enemies were prevailing; the cold-  
hearted Ferdinand treated all his applications with  
indifference; the generous Isabella lay dangerously  
ill. On her justice and magnanimity he still relied  
for the full restoration of his rights, and the redress  
of all his grievances. "May it please the Holy Trinity,"  
says he, "to restore our sovereign Queen to health;  
and by her will every thing be adjusted which is now  
in confusion." Alas! while writing that letter, his  
dear benefactress was a corpse!

The health of Isabella had long been undermined  
by the shocks of repeated domestic calamities. The  
death of her only son, the Prince Juan; of her beloved  
daughter and bosom friend, the Princess Isabella;  
and of her grandson and prospective heir, the Prince  
Ferdinand, had been three cruel wounds to a heart full  
of the tenderest sensibility. To these, was added the  
constant grief caused by the evident infirmity of in-  
tellect of her daughter Juana, and the domestic un-  
happiness of that princess with her husband, the Arch-  
duke Philip. The desolation which walks through  
the recesses of a palace admits not the familiar sympathies and sweet  
consolations which alleviate the sorrows of common  
life. Isabella pined in state, amidst the obsequious  
flatterers of a court, surrounded by the trophies of a  
glorious and successful reign, and placed at the sum-  
mit of earthly grandeur. A deep and incurable me-  
lancholy had settled upon her, which undermined  
her constitution, and gave a fatal acuteness to her  
doubtful maladies. After four months of illness, she  
died on the 26th of November, 1504, at Medina del  
Campo, in the fifty-fourth year of her age; but long  
before her eyes closed upon the world, her heart had  
been on all its pomps and vanities. "Let my body,"  
said she in her will, "be interred in the monastery  
of San Francisco, which is in the Alhambra of the  
city of Granada, in a low sepulchre, without any  
monument except a plain stone, with the inscription  
on it. But I desire and command, that if the King,  
my lord, should chuse a sepulchre in any church or  
monastery in any other part or place of these my king-  
doms, that my body shall be transported thither, and

buried beside the body of his highness, so that the  
union we have enjoyed while living, and which,  
through the mercy of God, we hope our souls will  
experience in heaven, may be represented by our  
bodies in the earth."

Such was one of several passages in the will of this  
admirable woman, which bespoke the chastened humi-  
lity of her heart; and in which, as has been well ob-  
served, the affections of conjugal love were delicately  
entwined with piety and with the most tender me-  
lancholy. She was one of the purest spirits that  
ever ruled over the destinies of a nation. Had she  
been spared, her benignant vigilance would have  
prevented many a scene of horror in the colonization  
of the New World, and have softened the lot of its  
native inhabitants. As it is, her fair name will ever  
shine with celestial radiance in the early dawning of  
its history.

The news of the death of Isabella reached Colum-  
bus when he was writing a letter to his son Diego.  
He notices it in a postscript or memorandum, written  
in the haste and brevity of the moment, but in beau-  
tifully touching and mournful terms. "A memorial,"  
he writes, "for thee, my dear son Diego, of what is  
at present to be done. The principal thing is to com-  
mend affectionately, and with great devotion, the  
soul of the Queen our Sovereign to God. Her life  
was always catholic and holy, and prompt to all  
things in his holy service: for this reason we may  
rest assured that she is received into his glory, and  
beyond the cares of this rough and weary world.  
The next thing is to watch and labour in all matters  
for the service of our Sovereign the King, and to en-  
deavour to alleviate his grief. His Majesty is the  
head of Christendom. Remember the proverb which  
says, when the head suffers, all the members suffer.  
Therefore all good Christians should pray for his  
health and long life; and we, who are in his employ,  
ought more than others to do this with all study and  
diligence."<sup>2</sup>

It is impossible to read without emotion this simply  
eloquent and mournful letter; in which, by such art-  
less touches, Columbus expresses his tenderness for the  
memory of his benefactress, his weariness under the  
gathering cares and ills of life, and his persevering  
and enduring loyalty to the Sovereign who was so un-  
gratefully neglecting him. It is in these unstudied  
and confidential letters that we read the heart of Co-  
lumbus.

<sup>1</sup> Elogio de la Reina Católica, por D. Diego Clemencia. Illus-  
tration 19.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to his son Diego, Dec. 3, 1504.



## CHAPTER III.

COLUMBUS ARRIVES AT COURT. FRUITLESS APPLICATION TO  
THE KING FOR REDRESS.

[ 1505. ]

THE death of Isabella was a fatal blow to the fortunes of Columbus. While she lived, he had every thing to anticipate from her high sense of justice, her regard for her royal word, her gratitude for his services, and her admiration of his character. With her illness, however, his interest had languished, and when she died, he was left to the justice and generosity of Ferdinand.

During the remainder of the winter and a part of the spring, he continued at Seville, detained by painful illness, and endeavouring to obtain redress from the government by ineffectual letters. His brother the Adelantado, who supported him with his accustomed fondness and devotion through all his trials, proceeded to court to attend to his interest, taking with him the Admiral's younger son Fernando, then aged about seventeen. The latter the affectionate father repeatedly represents to his son Diego as a man in understanding and conduct, though but a stripling in years; and inculcates the strongest fraternal attachment, alluding to his own brethren with one of those beautifully artless and affecting touches which speak the kindness of his heart. "To thy brother conduct thyself as the elder brother should unto the younger. Thou hast no other, and I praise God that this is such a one as thou dost need. Ten brothers would not be too many for thee. Never have I found a better friend than my brothers."

Among the persons whom Columbus employed at this time in his missions to the court, was Amerigo Vespucci. He describes him as a worthy but unfortunate man, who had not profited as much as he deserved by his undertakings, and who had always been disposed to render him service. His object in employing him appears to have been to prove the value of his last voyage, and that he had been in the most opulent parts of the New World; Vespucci having since touched upon the same coast, in a voyage with Alonso de Ojeda.

One circumstance occurred at this time which shed a gleam of hope and consolation over the gloomy prospects of the Admiral. His ancient and tried friend, Diego de Deza, who had been some time Bishop of Palencia, was expected at court. This was the same worthy friar who had aided him to advocate his theory before the board of learned men at Salamanca, and had assisted him with his purse when making his proposals to the Spanish court. He had just been promoted and made archbishop of Seville, but had not yet been installed in his new office. Columbus directs his son Diego to entrust his interests to this worthy prelate. "Two things," says he, "require particular attention. Ascertain whether the Queen, who is now with God, has said any thing

concerning me in her testament, and stimulate the Bishop of Palencia; he who was the cause that thy Highnesses obtained possession of the Indies, who induced me to remain in Castile when I was on the road to leave it." In another letter he says, "If the Bishop of Palencia has arrived, or should arrive, tell him how much I have been gratified by his prosperity, and that if I come, I shall lodge with his Grace, even though he should not invite me, for we must return to our ancient fraternal affection."

The incessant applications of Columbus, both by letter and by the intervention of friends, appear to have been listened to with cool indifference. No compliance was yielded to his requests, and no deference was paid to his opinions on various points, concerning which he interested himself. New instructions were sent out to Ovando, but not a word of their purport was mentioned to the Admiral. It was proposed to send out three bishops, and he entreated in vain to be heard previous to their election. In short, he was not in any way consulted in the affairs of the New World. He felt deeply this neglect, and became every day more impatient of his absence from court. To enable himself to perform the journey with more ease, he applied for permission to use a mule, a royal ordinance having prohibited the employment of those animals under the saddle, in consequence of their universal use having occasioned a decline in the breed of horses. A royal permission was accordingly granted to Columbus, in consideration that his age and infirmities incapacitated him from riding on horseback; but it was a considerable time before the state of his health would permit him to avail himself of that privilege.

The foregoing particulars, gleaned from letters of Columbus recently discovered, show the real state of his affairs, and the mental and bodily affliction he sustained during his winter's residence at Seville, and his return from his last disastrous voyage. He had generally been represented as reposing there from his toils and troubles. Never was honourable repose more merited, more desired, and less enjoyed.

It was not until the month of May that the Admiral was able, in company with his brother the Adelantado, to accomplish his journey to court, which was at that time held at Segovia. He who but a few years before had entered the city of Barcelona in triumph, attended by the nobility and chivalry of Spain, and hailed with rapture by the multitude, now arrived within the gates of Segovia, a wayworn, melancholy, and neglected man; oppressed more by sorrow than even by his years and infirmities. When he presented himself at court, he met with none of that distinguished attention, that cordial kindness, that cherishing sympathy, which his unparalleled services and his recent sufferings had merited.

The selfish Ferdinand had lost sight of all his

\* Letter of December 21, 1504. Navarrete, t. 4, p. 346.

† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii, c. 37. Herrera, Hist. Ind., t. i, lib. vi. c. 15.

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Navarrete, t. i, p. 346.  
Herrera, Hist. Ind., dec.

services, in what appeared to him the inconvenience  
of his present demands. He received him with many  
professions of kindness; but with those cold ineffec-  
tual smiles, which pass like wintry sunshine over the  
countenance, and convey no warmth to the heart.  
The Admiral now gave a particular account of his  
late voyage; describing the great tract of Terra  
firma, which he had explored, and the riches of the  
province of Veragua. He related also the disasters  
he had sustained in the island of Jamaica; the insur-  
rection of the Porras and their band; and all the  
other griefs and troubles of this unfortunate expedi-  
tion. He had but a cold-hearted auditor in the King;  
and the benignant Isabella was no more at hand to  
solace him with a smile of kindness, or a tear of sym-  
pathy. "I know not," says the venerable Las Casas,  
what could cause this dislike and this want of  
sincerely countenance in the King, towards one who  
had rendered him such pre-eminent benefits, unless  
it was that his mind was swayed by the false testi-  
monies which had been brought against the Admiral;  
which I have been enabled to learn something from  
persons much in favour with the Sovereign."

After a few days had elapsed, Columbus urged his  
claim in form: reminding the King of all that he had  
done; and all that had been promised him under the  
royal word and seal, and supplicating that the resti-  
tutions and indemnifications which had been so fre-  
quently solicited, might be awarded to him; offering  
to return to serve his Majesty devotedly for the short  
time he had yet to live; and trusting, from what he  
felt within him, and from what he thought he knew  
with certainty, to render services which should sur-  
pass all that he had yet performed a hundredfold. The  
King, in reply, acknowledged the greatness of his  
merits, and observed, that the matters in question  
could be left to the decision of some discreet and  
able person. The Admiral agreed, and proposed as  
arbitrator the Archbishop of Seville, Don Diego de Deza,  
who had always taken great interest in the affairs of  
the New World. The King consented to his arbi-  
tration; but the Admiral observed, that it was only  
the question of revenues and rents which he was will-  
ing to submit to the decision of learned men, not the  
question of the government of the Indies. "By which  
I understand," says Las Casas, "that he did not think  
it necessary to put the latter point in dispute, his right  
being too clearly manifest." In fact, it was on  
the subject of his dignities that Columbus was pecu-  
liarly tenacious; all other matters he considered as  
of minor importance. In a conversation with the  
King, he declared that he had no desire to enter into  
any process or pleading. He was willing to put all  
privileges and writings into the hands of the King,  
to receive out of the dues arising from them what-  
ever his Majesty thought proper. He prayed only  
that the matter might be speedily decided; that he  
might retire to some quiet corner, and seek that re-

pose which his great fatigues and infirmities required.  
Ferdinand, however, replied with mere compliments,  
and general evasive promises. "As far as actions  
went," observes Las Casas, "the King not merely  
showed him no signs of favour, but, on the contrary,  
discountenanced him as much as possible; yet he was  
never wanting in complimentary expressions."

Many months were passed by Columbus in un-  
availing attendance upon the court. He continued to  
receive outward demonstrations of respect from the  
King, and was noticed with due attention by the  
Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, and other  
principal personages; but he had learned to appre-  
ciate and distrust the hollow civilities of a court. His  
claims were referred to a tribunal called "The council  
of the discharges of the conscience of the deceased  
Queen, and of the King." This is a kind of tribunal  
commonly known by the name of the Junta de Descar-  
gos, composed of persons nominated by the Sovereign,  
to superintend the accomplishment of the last will of  
his predecessor, and the discharge of his debts.

Two consultations were held by this body, but  
nothing was determined. The wishes of the King  
were too well known to be thwarted. "It was be-  
lieved," says Las Casas, "that if the King could  
have done so with a safe conscience, and without de-  
triment to his fame, he would have respected few or  
none of the privileges which he and the Queen had  
conceded to the Admiral, and which had been so  
justly merited."

Columbus still flattered himself that, his claims  
being of such importance, and touching a question of  
sovereignty, the adjustment of them might be only  
postponed by the King until he could consult with  
his daughter Juana, who had succeeded to her moth-  
er as Queen of Castile, and who was daily expected  
from Flanders, with her husband, King Philip. He  
endeavoured, therefore, to bear his delays with pa-  
tience; but he had no longer the physical strength  
to contend with difficulties, and the glorious antici-  
pations to bear him above mortifications, which had  
once sustained him through his long application at  
this court. Life itself was drawing to a close.

He was once more confined to his bed by a tor-  
menting attack of the gout, aggravated by the sor-  
rows and disappointments which preyed upon his  
heart. From this couch of anguish he addressed one  
more appeal to the justice of the King. He no longer  
petitioned for himself: it was for his son Diego that he  
interceded. Nor did he dwell upon his pecuniary dues;  
it was the honourable trophies of his services, which  
he wished to secure and perpetuate in his family.  
He entreated that his son Diego might be appointed,  
in his place, to the government of which he had been  
so wrongfully deprived. "This," he said, "is a mat-  
ter which concerns my honour; as to all the rest, do  
as your Majesty thinks proper; give or withhold, as  
may be most for your interest, and I shall be content. I

believe it is the anxiety caused by the delay of this affair which is the principal cause of my ill health." A petition to the same purpose was presented at the same time by his son Diego, offering to take with him such persons for counsellors as the King should appoint, and to be guided by their advice.

These petitions were treated by Ferdinand with his usual professions and evasions. "The more applications were made to him," observes Las Casas, "the more favourably did he reply; but still he delayed, hoping, by exhausting their patience, to induce them to waive their privileges, and accept in place thereof titles and estates in Castile." Columbus rejected all propositions of the kind with indignation, as calculated to compromise those titles which were the trophies of his achievements. He saw, however, that all further hope of redress from Ferdinand was vain. From the bed to which he was confined, he addressed a letter to his constant friend Diego de Deza, expressive of his despair. "It appears that his Majesty does not think fit to fulfil that which he, with the Queen, who is now in glory, has promised me by word and seal. For me to contend for the contrary, would be to contend with the wind. I have done all that I could do. I leave the rest to God, whom I have ever found propitious to me in my necessities."

The cold and calculating Ferdinand beheld this illustrious man sinking under infirmity of body, heightened by that deferred hope which "maketh the heart sick." A little more delay, a little more disappointment, and a little more infliction of ingratitude, and this loyal and generous heart would cease to beat; he should then be delivered from the just claims of a well-tryed servant, who, in ceasing to be useful, was considered by him to have become importunate.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### DEATH OF COLUMBUS.

In the midst of illness and despondency, when both life and hope were expiring in the bosom of Columbus, a new gleam was awakened and blazed up for the moment with characteristic fervour. He heard with joy of the landing of King Philip and Queen Juana, who had just arrived from Flanders to take possession of their throne of Castile. In the daughter of Isabella he trusted once more to find a patroness and a friend. King Ferdinand and all the court repaired to Loreda to receive the youthful Sovereigns. Columbus would gladly have done the same, but he was confined to his bed by a severe return of his malady; neither could he dispense with the aid and ministry of his son Diego, in his painful and helpless situation. His brother, the Adelantado, therefore, his main dependence in all emergencies,

<sup>1</sup> Navarrete, Collec., l. 1.

was sent to represent him, and to present his homage and congratulations. Columbus wrote by him to the new King and Queen, expressing his grief at being prevented by illness from coming in person to manifest his devotion, but begging to be considered among the most faithful of their subjects. He expressed the hope that he should receive at their hands the restitution of his honours and estates; and assured them that, though cruelly tortured at present by disease, he should yet be able to render them services, the like of which had never been witnessed.

Such was the last sally of his sanguine and unquerable spirit; which disregarding age and infirmities, and all past sorrows and disappointments, spoke from his dying bed with all the confidence of youthful hope; and talked of still greater enterprises, as if he had a long and vigorous life before him. The Adelantado took leave of his brother, whom he would never to behold again, and set out on his mission to the new Sovereigns. He experienced the most gracious reception. The claims of the Admiral were treated with great attention by the young King and Queen, and flattering hopes were given of a speedy and prosperous termination to his suit.

In the mean time the cares and troubles of Columbus were drawing to a close. The momentary fire which had recently reanimated him soon expired, quenched by his accumulating infirmities. Immediately after the departure of the Adelantado, his illness increased in violence. His last voyage shattered beyond repair a frame already worn and wasted by a life of hardship; and, since his return a series of anxieties had robbed him of that repose so necessary to recruit the weariness and debility of age. The cold ingratitude of his Sovereigns had chilled his heart. The continued suspension of his honours, and the enmity and defamation he experienced at every turn, seemed to have thrown a deep shadow over that glory which had been the great object of his ambition. This shadow, it is true, could be but of transient duration; but it is difficult for the most illustrious man to look beyond the present cloud which may obscure his fame, and anticipate its permanent lustre in the admiration of posterity.

Being admonished by his failing strength and increasing sufferings that his end was approaching, he prepared to leave his affairs in order for the benefit of his successors.

It is said that on the 4th of May he wrote an informal testamentary codicil on the blank page of a little breviary, which had been given him by Pope Alexander VI. In this he bequeathed that book to the republic of Genoa, which he also appointed successor to his privileges and dignities, on the extinction of his male line. He directed likewise the erection of a hospital in that city with the produce of his possessions in Italy. The authenticity of this document is questioned, and has become a point of contest among commentators. It is now, however,

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of much importance. The paper is such as might readily have been written by a person like Columbus because the paroxysm of disease, when he imagined his end suddenly approaching, and shows the affection with which his thoughts were bent on his native city. It is termed among commentators a military codicil, because testamentary dispositions of this kind are executed by the soldier at the point of death, without the usual formalities required by the civil law. About two weeks after, on the eve of his death, he executed a final and regularly authenticated codicil, in which he bequeathed his dignities and estates with better judgment.

In these last and awful moments, when the soul has but a brief space in which to make up its accounts between heaven and earth, all dissimulation is at an end, and we read the most unequivocal evidences of the character. The last codicil of Columbus, made at the very verge of the grave, is stamped with his ruling passion and his benignant virtues. He repeats and enforces several clauses of his original testament, constituting his son Diego his universal heir. The entailed inheritance, or *mayorazgo*, in case he died without male issue, was to go to his brother Don Fernando, and from him, in like case, to pass to his uncle Don Bartholomew, descending always to the nearest male heir; in failure of which it was to pass to the female nearest in lineage to the Admiral. He enjoined upon whoever should inherit his estate never to alienate or diminish it, but to endeavour by all means to augment its prosperity and importance. He likewise enjoined upon his heirs to be prompt and devoted at all times, with person and estate, to serve their Sovereign and promote the Christian faith. He ordered that Don Diego should devote one-tenth of the revenues which might arise from his estate, when it came to be productive, to the relief of indigent relatives and of other persons in necessity; that, out of the remainder, he should yield certain yearly proportions to his brother Don Fernando, and his uncles Don Bartholomew and Don Diego; and that the part allotted to Don Fernando should be settled upon him and his male heirs in an entailed and unalienable inheritance. Having thus provided for the maintenance and perpetuity of his family and dignities, he ordered that Don Diego, when his estates should be sufficiently productive, should erect a chapel in the island of Hispaniola, which God had given to him so marvellously, at the town of Conception, in the Vega, where masses should be daily performed for the repose of the souls of himself, his father, his mother, his wife, and of all who died in the faith. Another clause recommends to the care of Don Diego, Beatrix Enriquez, the mother of his natural son Fernando. His connexion with her had never been sanctioned by matrimony, and either this circumstance, or some neglect of her, seems to have awakened deep compunction in his dying moments. He orders Don Diego to provide for her respectable maintenance; "and let this be done," he adds, "for the discharge

of my conscience, for it weighs heavy on my soul." Finally, he noted with his own hand several minute sums, to be paid to persons at different and distant places, without their being told from whence they received them. These appear to have been trivial debts of conscience, or rewards for petty services received in times long past. Among them is one of half a mark of silver to a poor Jew, who lived at the gate of the Jewry, in the city of Lisbon. These minute provisions evince the scrupulous attention to justice in all his dealings, and that love of punctuality in the fulfilment of duties, for which he was remarked. In the same spirit, he gave much advice to his son Diego, as to the conduct of his affairs, enjoining upon him to take every month an account with his own hand of the expenses of his household, and to sign it with his name; for a want of regularity in this, he observed, lost both property and servants, and turned the last into enemies.<sup>1</sup> His dying bequests were made in presence of a few faithful followers and servants, and among them we find the name of Bartholomew Fiesco, who had accompanied Diego Mendez in the perilous voyage in a canoe from Jamaica to Hispaniola.

Having thus scrupulously attended to all the claims of affection, loyalty, and justice upon earth, Columbus turned his thoughts to heaven; and having received the holy sacrament, and performed all the pious offices of a devout Christian, he expired with great resignation, on the day of Ascension, the 20th of May, 1506, being about seventy years of age.<sup>2</sup> His last words were, "*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum:*" Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.<sup>3</sup>

His body was deposited in the convent of St Francisco, and his obsequies were celebrated with funeral pomp in the parochial church of Santa Maria de la Antigua de Valladolid. His remains were transported afterwards, in 1515, to the Carthusian monastery of Las Cuevas of Seville, to the chapel of St Ann or of Santo Christo, in which chapel were likewise deposited those of his son Don Diego, who died in the village of Montalban, on the 25d of February, 1526. In the year 1536 the bodies of Columbus and his son Diego were removed to Hispaniola, and interred in the principal chapel of the cathedral of the city of St Domingo; but even here they did not rest in quiet, having since been again disinterred and conveyed to the Havanna, in the island of Cuba.

A cheap honour was decreed to Columbus by Ferdinand after his death. He ordered a monument to

<sup>1</sup> Diego, the son of the Admiral, notes in his own testament this bequest of his father, and says, that he was charged by him to pay Beatrix Enriquez 10,000 maravedies a-year, which for some time he had faithfully performed; but as he believes that for three or four years previous to her death he neglected to do so, he orders that the deficiency shall be ascertained and paid to her heirs. (Memorial ajustado sobre la propiedad del mayorazgo que fundó D. Christ. Colomb. § 243.)

<sup>2</sup> Memorial ajustado, § 248.

<sup>3</sup> Cura de los Palacios, cap. 121.

<sup>4</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii, c. 38. Hist. del Almirante, c. 108.



be erected to his memory, with this inscription:

POR CASTILLA Y POR LEON  
NUEVO MUNDO BALLÓ COLON.

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

a record of the great debt of gratitude due to the discoverer, which the monarch had so faithlessly neglected to discharge. Attempts have been made, in recent days, by loyal Spanish writers, to vindicate the conduct of Ferdinand towards Columbus. They were doubtless well intended, but they have been futile, nor is their failure to be regretted. To screen such injustice in so eminent a character from the reprobation of mankind, is to deprive history of one of its most important uses. Let the ingratitude of Ferdinand stand recorded in its full extent, and endure throughout all time. The dark shadow which it casts upon his brilliant renown, will be a lesson to all rulers, teaching them what is important to their own fame in their treatment of illustrious men.

#### CHAPTER V.

##### OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHARACTER OF COLUMBUS.

IN narrating the history of Columbus, it has been the endeavour of the author to place him in a clear and familiar point of view, detailing actions, however trivial, which appeared to develop his character; and seeking, by collateral illustrations, to throw light upon his views and motives. Many circumstances have been detailed which may be deemed gross errors of conduct, and which may have hitherto either been passed over in silence, or vaguely noticed by historians; but he who paints a great man merely in great and heroic traits, though he may produce a fine picture, will never present a faithful portrait. Distinguished men are composed of great and little qualities. Much of their greatness arises from their struggles against the imperfections of their nature, and their noblest actions are sometimes struck forth by the collision of their virtues and their foibles.

Columbus was a man of great and inventive genius. The operations of his mind were energetic, but irregular; bursting forth at times with that irresistible force which characterises intellects of such an order. His mind had grasped all kinds of knowledge connected with his pursuits; and though his information may appear limited at the present day, and some of his errors palpable, it is because that knowledge, in his peculiar department of science, was but scantily developed in his time. His own discoveries enlightened the ignorance of that age, guided conjecture to certainty, and dispelled numerous errors with which he himself had been obliged to struggle.

His ambition was lofty and noble. He was full of high thoughts, and anxious to distinguish himself by great achievements. It has been said that a mercenary feeling mingled with his views, and that his

stipulations with the Spanish court were selfish and avaricious. The charge is inconsiderate and unjust. He aimed at dignity and wealth in the same lofty spirit in which he sought renown; but they were to arise from the territories he should discover, and be commensurate in importance. No condition could be more just. He asked nothing of the Sovereigns but a command of the countries he hoped to give them, and a share of the profits to support the dignity of his command. If there should be no country discovered, his stipulated viceroyalty would be of no avail; and if no revenues should be produced, his labour and peril would produce no gain. If his command and revenues ultimately proved magnificent, it was from the magnificence of the regions he had attached to the Castilian crown. What monarch would not rejoice to gain empire on such conditions? But he did not merely risk a loss of labour, and a disappointment of ambition, in the enterprise;—on his motives being questioned, he voluntarily undertook, and, with the assistance of his coadjutors, actually defrayed one-eighth of the whole charge of the first expedition.

The gains that promised to arise from his discoveries, he intended to appropriate in the same princely and pious spirit in which they were demanded. He contemplated works and achievements of benevolence and religion: vast contributions for the relief of the poor of his native city; the foundations of churches, where masses should be said for the souls of the departed; and armies for the recovery of the holy sepulchre in Palestine.

In the discharge of his office he maintained the state and ceremonial of a viceroy, and was tenacious of his rank and privileges; not from a mere vulgar love of titles, but because he prized them as testimonials and trophies of his achievements: these he jealously cherished as his great rewards. In his repeated applications to the King, he insisted merely on the restitution of his dignities. As to his pecuniary dues, he would leave them to arbitration, or even to the disposition of the King; "but these things," said he, nobly, "affect my honour." In his testament, he enjoined on his son Diego, and whoever after him should inherit his estates, whatever dignities and titles might afterwards be granted by the King, always to sign himself simply "the Admiral," by way of perpetuating in the family its real source of greatness.

His conduct was characterised by the grandeur of his views, and the magnanimity of his spirit. Instead of traversing the newly-found countries, like a grasping adventurer eager only for immediate gain, as was too generally the case with contemporary discoverers, he sought to ascertain their soil and productions, their rivers and harbours: he was desirous of colonising and cultivating them; of conciliating and civilising the natives; of building cities, introducing the useful arts, subjecting every thing to the control of law, order, and religion; and thus of founding

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regular and prosperous empires. In this glorious  
 plan he was constantly defeated by the dissolute rab-  
 ble which it was his misfortune to command; with  
 whom all law was tyranny, and all order restraint.  
 They interrupted all useful works by their seditions;  
 provoked the peaceful Indians to hostility; and after  
 they had thus heaped misery and warfare upon their  
 own heads, and overwhelmed Columbus with the  
 ruins of the edifice he was building, they charged  
 him with being the cause of the confusion.

Well would it have been for Spain had those who  
 followed in the track of Columbus possessed his sound  
 policy and liberal views. The New World, in such  
 case, would have been settled by pacific colonists,  
 and civilised by enlightened legislators; instead of  
 being overrun by desperate adventurers, and deso-  
 lated by avaricious conquerors.

Columbus was a man of quick sensibility, liable to  
 great excitement, to sudden and strong impressions,  
 and powerful impulses. He was naturally irritable  
 and impetuous, and keenly sensible to injury and in-  
 justice; yet the quickness of his temper was coun-  
 teracted by the benevolence and generosity of his  
 heart. The magnanimity of his nature shone forth  
 through all the troubles of his stormy career. Though  
 continually outraged in his dignity, and braved in the  
 exercise of his command; though foiled in his plans,  
 and endangered in his person, by the seditions of  
 turbulent and worthless men, and that too at times  
 when suffering under anxiety of mind and anguish  
 of body sufficient to exasperate the most patient, he  
 restrained his valiant and indignant spirit, and, by  
 the strong powers of his mind, brought himself to  
 forbear, and reason, and even to supplicate: nor  
 should we fail to notice how free he was from all feel-  
 ing of revenge, how ready to forgive and forget, on  
 the least signs of repentance and atonement. He has  
 been extolled for his skill in controlling others; but  
 far greater praise is due to him for the firmness he  
 displayed in governing himself.

His natural benignity made him accessible to all  
 kinds of pleasurable sensations from external objects.  
 In his letters and journals, instead of detailing cir-  
 cumstances with the technical precision of a mere  
 navigator, he notices the beauties of nature with the  
 enthusiasm of a poet or a painter. As he coasts the  
 shores of the New World, the reader participates in the  
 enjoyment with which he describes, in his imperfect but  
 picturesque Spanish, the varied objects around him;  
 the blandness of the temperature, the purity of the  
 atmosphere, the fragrance of the air, "full of dew  
 and sweetness," the verdure of the forests, the mag-  
 nificence of the trees, the grandeur of the mountains,  
 and the limpidity and freshness of the running streams.  
 New delight springs up for him in every scene. He  
 proclaims that each new discovery is more beautiful  
 than the last, and each the most beautiful in the  
 world; until, with his simple earnestness, he tells  
 the Sovereigns, that, having spoken so highly of the  
 preceding islands, he fears that they will not credit

him, when he declares that the one he is actually  
 describing surpasses them all in excellence.

In the same ardent and unstudied way he expresses  
 his emotions on various occasions, readily affected by  
 impulses of joy or grief, of pleasure or indignation.  
 When surrounded and overwhelmed by the ingra-  
 titude and violence of worthless men, he often, in the  
 retirement of his cabin, gave way to bursts of  
 sorrow, and relieved his overladen heart by sighs  
 and groans. When he returned in chains to Spain,  
 and came into the presence of Isabella, instead of  
 continuing the lofty pride with which he had hitherto  
 sustained his injuries, he was touched with grief and  
 tenderness at her sympathy, and burst forth into sobs  
 and tears.

He was devoutly pious: religion mingled with the  
 whole course of his thoughts and actions, and shines  
 forth in all his most private and unstudied writings.  
 Whenever he made any great discovery, he celebrat-  
 ed it by solemn thanks to God. The voice of prayer  
 and melody of praise rose from his ships when they  
 first beheld the New World, and his first action on  
 landing was to prostrate himself upon the earth and  
 return thanksgivings. Every evening, the *Salve Re-*  
*gina*, and other vesper hymns, were chanted by his  
 crew, and masses were performed in the beautiful  
 groves that bordered the wild shores of this heathen  
 land. The religion thus deeply seated in his soul,  
 diffused a sober dignity and a benign composure over  
 his whole demeanour. His language was pure and  
 guarded, free from all imprecations, oaths, and other  
 irreverent expressions. All his great enterprises  
 were undertaken in the name of the Holy Trinity,  
 and he partook of the holy sacrament previous to en-  
 barkation. He observed the festivals of the church  
 in the wildest situations. The sabbath was with him  
 a day of sacred rest, on which he would never set  
 sail from a port unless in case of extreme necessity.  
 He was a firm believer in the efficacy of vows and  
 penances and pilgrimages, and resorted to them in  
 times of difficulty and danger; but he carried his re-  
 ligion still further, and his piety was darkened by  
 the bigotry of the age. He evidently concurred in  
 the opinion that all the nations who did not ac-  
 knowledge the Christian faith were destitute of  
 natural rights; that the sternest measures might be  
 used for their conversion, and the severest punish-  
 ments inflicted upon their obstinacy in unbelief. In  
 this spirit of bigotry he considered himself justified in  
 making captives of the Indians, and transporting them  
 to Spain to have them taught the doctrines of Chris-  
 tianity, and in selling them for slaves if they pre-  
 tended to resist his invasions. In doing the latter,  
 he sinned against the natural goodness of his character,  
 and against the feelings which he had originally en-  
 tertained and expressed towards this gentle and  
 hospitable people; but he was goaded on by the  
 mercenary impatience of the crown, and by the sneers  
 of his enemies at the unprofitable result of his en-  
 terprises. It is but justice to his character to observe,

that the enslavement of the Indians thus taken in battle was at first openly countenanced by the crown, and that, when the question of right came to be discussed at the entreaty of the Queen, several of the most distinguished jurists and theologians advocated the practice; so that the question was finally settled in favour of the Indians solely by the humanity of Isabella. As the venerable bishop Las Casas observes, where the most learned men have doubted, it is not surprising that an unlearned mariner should err.

These remarks, in palliation of the conduct of Columbus, are required by candour. It is proper to show him in connexion with the age in which he lived, lest the errors of the times should be considered as his individual faults. It is not the intention of the author, however, to justify Columbus on a point where it is inexcusable to err. Let it remain a blot on his illustrious name, and let others derive a lesson from it.

A peculiar trait in his rich and varied character remains to be noticed—that ardent and enthusiastic imagination which threw a magnificence over his whole course of thought. Herrera intimates that he had a talent for poetry, and some slight traces of it are on record in the book of prophecies which he presented to the Catholic Sovereigns. But his poetical temperament is discernible throughout all his writings and in all his actions. It spread a golden and glorious world around him, and tinged every thing with its own gorgeous colours. It betrayed him into visionary speculations, which subjected him to the sneers and cavillings of men of cooler and safer, but more groveling minds. Such were the conjectures formed on the coast of Paria about the form of the earth, and the situation of the terrestrial paradise; about the mines of Ophir in Hispaniola, and the Aurea Chersonesus in Veragua; and such was the heroic scheme of a crusade for the recovery of the holy sepulchre. It mingled with his religion, and filled his mind with solemn and visionary meditations on mystic passages of the scriptures, and the shadowy portents of the prophecies. It exalted his office in his eyes, and made him conceive himself an agent sent forth upon a sublime and awful mission, subject to impulses and supernatural intimations from the Deity; such as the voice which he imagined spoke to him in comfort amidst the troubles of Hispaniola, and in the silence of the night on the disastrous coast of Veragua.

He was decidedly a visionary, but a visionary of an uncommon and successful kind. The manner in which his ardent imagination and mercurial nature was controlled by a powerful judgment, and directed by an acute sagacity, is the most extraordinary feature in his character. Thus governed, his imagination, instead of exhausting itself in idle flights, lent aid to his judgment, and enabled him to form conclusions at which common minds could never have arrived, nay, which they could not perceive when pointed out.

To his intellectual vision it was given to read the

signs of the times, and to trace, in the conjectures and reveries of past ages, the indications of an unknown world; as soothsayers were said to read predictions in the stars, and to foretell events from the visions of the night. "His soul," observes a Spanish writer, "was superior to the age in which he lived. For him was reserved the great enterprise of traversing that sea which had given rise to so many fables, and of deciphering the mystery of his age."

With all the visionary fervour of his imagination, its fondest dreams fell short of the reality. He died in ignorance of the real grandeur of his discovery. Until his last breath he entertained the idea that he had merely opened a new way to the old resorts of opulent commerce, and had discovered some of the wild regions of the East. He supposed Hispaniola to be the ancient Ophir which had been visited by the ships of Solomon, and that Cuba and Terra Firma were but remote parts of Asia. What visions of glory would have broken upon his mind could he have known that he had indeed discovered a new continent, equal to the whole of the old world in magnitude, and separated by two vast oceans from all the earth hitherto known by civilised man! And how would his magnanimous spirit have been consoled, amidst the afflictions of age and the cares of penury, the neglect of a fickle public, and the injustice of an ungrateful king, could he have anticipated the splendid empires which were to spread over the beautiful world he had discovered; and the nations, and tongues, and languages which were to fill its lands with his renown, and to revere and bless his name to the latest posterity!

## APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

ILLUSTRATIONS AND DOCUMENTS.

### Nº I.

TRANSPORTATION OF THE REMAINS OF COLUMBUS FROM  
ST DOMINGO TO THE HAVANNA.

At the termination of a war between France and Spain, in 1763, all the Spanish possessions in the island of Hispaniola were ceded to the French crown by the ninth article of the treaty of peace. To assist in the accomplishment of this cession, a Spanish squadron was despatched to the island at the appointed time, commanded by Don Gabriel de Aristizabal, lieutenant-general of the royal armada. On the 14th December, 1763, that commander wrote to the lieutenant-marshal and governor, Don Joaquin Garcia, resident at St Domingo, that, being informed that the remains of the celebrated Admiral Don Christopher Columbus lay in the cathedral of that city, he felt it incumbent

\* Cladera, Investigaciones Históricas, p. 43.

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in him, as a Spaniard, and as commander-in-chief of  
 his Majesty's squadron of operations, to solicit the  
 removal of the mortal remains of that hero to the island  
 of Cuba, which had likewise been discovered by  
 him, and where he had first planted the standard of  
 the cross. He expressed a desire that this should be  
 done officially, and with great care and formality,  
 that it might not remain in the power of any one, by  
 carelessness or negligence, to lose a relique connected  
 with an event which formed the most glorious epoch  
 of Spanish history; and that it might be manifested  
 to all nations that Spaniards, notwithstanding the  
 lapse of ages, never ceased to pay all honours to the  
 memory of that "worthy and adventurous general of  
 the seas;" nor abandoned them when the various  
 public bodies representing the Spanish dominion emi-  
 grated from the island. As he had not time, without  
 great inconvenience, to consult the Sovereign on this  
 subject, he had recourse to the governor, as royal  
 co-patron of the island, hoping that his solicitation  
 might be granted, and the remains of the Admiral  
 humed and conveyed to the island of Cuba, in the  
 ship San Lorenzo.

The generous wishes of this high-minded Spaniard  
 met with warm concurrence on the part of the gover-  
 nor. He informed him, in reply, that the Duke of  
 Veragua, lineal successor of Columbus, had mani-  
 fested the same solicitude, and had sent directions  
 that the necessary measures should be taken at his  
 expense; and had, at the same time, expressed a wish  
 that the bones of the Adelantado, Don Bartholomew  
 Columbus, should likewise be exhumed—transmit-  
 ting inscriptions to be put upon the sepulchres of both.  
 He added, that although the King had given no orders  
 on the subject, yet the proposition being so accordant  
 with the grateful feelings of the Spanish nation, and  
 meeting with the concurrence of all the authorities  
 of the island, he was ready, on his part, to carry it  
 into execution.

The commandant-general, Aristizabal, then made  
 a similar communication to the Archbishop of Cuba,  
 Don Fernando Portillo y Torres, whose metropolis  
 is then the city of St Domingo, hoping to receive his  
 sanction and aid in this pious undertaking.

The reply of the archbishop was couched in terms  
 of high courtesy towards the gallant commander, and  
 deep reverence for the memory of Columbus, and  
 expressed a zeal in rendering this tribute of gratitude  
 in respect to the remains of one who had done so  
 much for the glory of the nation.

The persons empowered to act for the Duke of Ver-  
 agua, the venerable dean and chapter of the cathe-  
 dral, and all the other persons and authorities to  
 whom Don Gabriel de Aristizabal made similar com-  
 munications, manifested the same eagerness to assist  
 in the performance of this solemn and affecting rite.  
 The worthy commander, Aristizabal, having taken  
 these preparatory steps with great form and punc-  
 tuality, so as that the ceremony should be performed in  
 a public and striking manner, suitable to the fame of

Columbus, the whole was carried into effect with  
 becoming pomp and solemnity.

On the 20th of December, 1793, the most distin-  
 guished persons of the place, the dignitaries of the  
 church, and civil and military officers, assembled in  
 the metropolitan cathedral. In the presence of this  
 august assemblage a small vault was opened above  
 the chancel, in the principal wall on the right side of  
 the high altar: within were found the fragments of a  
 leaden coffin, a number of bones, and a quantity of  
 mould, evidently the remains of a human body. These  
 were carefully collected and put into a case of gilded  
 lead, about half an ell in length and breadth, and a  
 third in height, secured by an iron lock, the key of  
 which was delivered to the archbishop. The case  
 was enclosed in a coffin covered with black velvet,  
 and ornamented with lace and fringe of gold. The  
 whole was then placed in a temporary tomb or mau-  
 soleum.

On the following day there was another grand  
 commemoration at the cathedral, when the vigils and  
 masses for the dead were solemnly chanted by the  
 archbishop, accompanied by the commandant-general  
 of the armada, the Dominican and Franciscan friars,  
 and the friars of the Order of Mercy, together with  
 the rest of the distinguished assemblage. After this a  
 funeral sermon was preached by the archbishop.

On the same day, at four o'clock in the afternoon,  
 the coffin was transported to the ship with the utmost  
 state and ceremony, with a civil, religious, and mi-  
 litary procession, banners covered with crape, chants  
 and responses, and discharges of artillery. The most  
 distinguished persons of the several orders took turn  
 to support the coffin. The key was taken, with great  
 formality, from the hands of the archbishop, by the  
 governor, and given into the hands of the commander  
 of the Havanna, to be held in deposit until the plea-  
 sure of the king should be known. The coffin was  
 received on board of a brigantine called the Dis-  
 coverer, which, with all the other shipping, displayed  
 mourning signals, and saluted the remains with the  
 honours paid to an admiral.

From the port of St Domingo the coffin was con-  
 veyed to the bay of Ocoa, and there transferred to  
 the ship St Lorenzo. It was accompanied by a por-  
 trait of Columbus, sent from Spain by the Duke of  
 Veragua, to be suspended close by the place where  
 the remains of his illustrious ancestor should be de-  
 posited.

The ship immediately made sail, and arrived at  
 Havanna, in Cuba, on the 15th of January, 1796.  
 Here the same deep feeling of reverence to the me-  
 mory of the discoverer was evinced. The principal  
 authorities repaired on board of the ship, accompanied  
 by the superior naval and military officers. Every  
 thing was conducted with the same circumstantial  
 and solemn ceremonial. The remains were re-  
 moved with great reverence, and placed in a fe-  
 lucca, in which they were conveyed to land in the  
 midst of a procession of three columns of feluccas

IX,  
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 DOCUMENTS.

INS OF COLUMBUS FROM  
 E HAVANNA.

ar between France and  
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 ed to the French crown  
 aty of peace. To assist  
 cession, a Spanish squire  
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 Gabriel de Aristizabal,  
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 nder wrote to the field-  
 oaquin Garcia, resident  
 formed that the remains  
 n Christopher Columbus  
 ty, he felt it incumbent

s Históricas, p. 43.

and boats in the royal service, all properly decorated, containing distinguished military and ministerial officers. Two feluccas followed, in one of which was a marine guard of honour, with mourning-banners and muffled drums; and in the other were the commandant-general, the principal minister of marine, and the military staff. In passing the vessels of war in the harbour, they all paid the honours due to an admiral and captain-general of the navy. On arriving at the mole, the remains were met by the governor of the island, accompanied by the generals and the military staff. The coffin was then conveyed between files of soldiery which lined the streets to the obelisk on the Parade, where it was received in a hearse prepared for the purpose. Here the remains were formally delivered to the governor and captain-general of the island, the key given up to him, the coffin opened and examined, and the safe transportation of its contents authenticated. This ceremony being concluded, it was conveyed in grand procession, and with the utmost pomp, to the cathedral. Masses, and the solemn ceremonies of the dead, were performed by the bishop, and the mortal remains of Columbus deposited with great reverence in the wall, on the right side of the grand altar. "All these honours and ceremonies," says the document from whence this account is taken, "were attended by the ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries, the public bodies, and all the nobility and gentry of Havanna, in proof of the high estimation and respectful remembrance in which they held the hero who had discovered the New World, and had been the first to plant the standard of the cross on that island."

This is the last occasion that the Spanish nation has had to testify its feelings towards the memory of Columbus; and it is with deep satisfaction that the author of this work has been able to cite at large a ceremonial so solemn, affecting, and noble in its details, and so honourable to the national character. When we read of the remains of Columbus, thus conveyed from the port of St Domingo, after an interval of nearly three hundred years, as sacred national reliques, with civil and military pomp and high religious ceremonial, the most dignified and illustrious men striving who most should pay them reverence, we cannot but reflect that it was from this very port he was carried off loaded with ignominious chains, blasted apparently in fame and fortune, and followed by the revilings of the rabble. Such honours, it is true, are nothing to the dead, nor can they atone to the heart, now dust and ashes, for all the wrongs and sorrows it may have suffered; but they speak volumes of comfort to the illustrious yet slandered and persecuted living, encouraging them bravely to bear with present injuries, by showing them how true merit outlives all calumny, and receives its glorious reward in the admiration of after ages.

\* Navarrete, Collec., t. 2, p. 363.

## ACCOUNT OF THE DESCENDANTS OF COLUMBUS.

ON the death of Columbus, his son Diego succeeded to his rights, as viceroy and governor of the New World, according to the express capitulation between the Sovereigns and his father. He appears by the general consent of historians, to have been a man of great integrity, of respectable talents, and a frank and generous nature. Herrera speaks repeatedly of the gentleness and urbanity of his manners, and pronounces him of a noble disposition and without deceit. This absence of all guile frequently exposed him to the stratagems of crafty men, grown old in deception, who rendered his life a continued series of embarrassments; but the probity of his character, with the irresistible power of truth, bore him through difficulties in which more politic and subtle men would have been entangled and completely lost.

Immediately after the death of the Admiral, Diego came forward as lineal successor, and urged the restitution of the family offices and privileges which had been suspended during the latter years of his father's life. If the cold and wary Ferdinand, however, could forget his obligations of gratitude and justice to Columbus, he had less difficulty in turning a deaf ear to the solicitations of his son. For many years Don Diego pressed his suit with fruitless diligence. He felt the apparent distrust of the monarch the more sensibly from having been brought up under his eye, as a page in the royal household, where his character ought to be well known and appreciated. At length, on the return of Ferdinand from Naples, in 1508, he put to him a direct question with the frankness attributed to his character. He demanded "why his Majesty would not grant to him as a favour, that which was his right, and why he hesitated to confide in the fidelity of one who had been reared in his house?" Ferdinand replied, "he could not fully confide in himself, but that he could not repose so great a trust, at a venture, in his children and successors. To this Diego rejoined, that was contrary to all justice and reason to make him suffer for the sins of his children, who never might be born.

Still, though he had reason and justice on his side, the young admiral found it impossible to bring the wary monarch to a compliance. Finding all appeal to his ideas of equity or sentiments of generosity vain, he solicited permission to pursue his claim through the ordinary courts of law. The King could not refuse so reasonable a request, and Don Diego commenced a process against King Ferdinand before the Council of the Indies, founded on the repeated capitulations between the crown and his father, comprehending all the dignities and immunities conferred by them.

One ground of opposition to these claims was, that if the capitulation made by the Sovereigns, in 1492,

Extracts from the Muñoz MS. Further mention of Amerigo Vespucci



and granted a perpetual vicerealty to the Admiral and his heirs, such grant could not stand; being contrary to the interest of the state, and to an express law, promulgated in Toledo in 1480, wherein it was ordained that no office, involving the administration of justice, should be given in perpetuity; therefore that the vicerealty granted to the Admiral could only have been for his life; and that, even during that term, it had justly been taken from him for his misconduct. That such concessions were contrary to the inherent prerogatives of the crown, of which the government could not divest itself. To this Don Diego replied, that as to the validity of the capitulation, it was a binding contract, and that none of its privileges ought to be restricted. That as by royal cédulas, dated Villa Franca, June 21, 1506, and Almazan, August 28th, 1507, it had been ordered that he, Don Diego, should receive the tenth, so equally ought the other privileges to be granted to him. As to the allegation that his father had been deprived of his vicerealty for his demerits, it was contrary to all truth. It had been aulacity on the part of Bobadilla to send him a prisoner to Spain, in 1500, and contrary to the will and command of the sovereigns, as was proved by their letter dated from Valencia de la Torre, in 1502; in which they expressed grief at his arrest, and assured him that it could be redressed, and his privileges preserved entire to himself and his children.

This memorable suit was commenced in 1508, and continued for several years. In the course of it the claims of Don Diego were disputed, likewise, on the plea that his father was not the original discoverer of Terra Firma, but only subsequently, of certain portions of it. This, however, was completely controverted by overwhelming testimony. The claims of Don Diego were minutely discussed and rigidly examined, and the unanimous decision of the Council of the Indies in his favour, while it reflected honour on the justice and independence of that body, silenced any petty cavillers at the fair fame of Columbus. Withstanding this decision, the wily monarch invented neither means nor pretexts to delay the fulfilment of such vast powers, so repugnant to his cautious policy. The young admiral was finally inhibited for his success in this suit to previous success obtained in a suit of a different nature. He had become enamoured of Doña Maria de Toledo, daughter of Ferdinando de Toledo, grand commander of Leon, and niece to Don Fadrique de Toledo, celebrated Duke of Alva, chief favourite of the King. This was aspiring to a high connexion. The father and uncle of the lady were the most powerful princes of the proud kingdom of Spain, and cousin-german to Ferdinand. The glory, however, which Columbus had left behind rested upon his children,

and his claims, recently confirmed by the council, involved dignities and wealth sufficient to raise Diego to a level with the loftiest alliance. He found no difficulty in obtaining the hand of the lady, and thus was the foreign family of Columbus engrafted on one of the proudest races of Spain. The natural consequences followed. Diego had secured that magical power called "connexions," and the favour of Ferdinand, which had so long been withheld from him as the son of Columbus, shone upon him, though coldly, as the nephew of the Duke of Alva. The father and uncle of his bride succeeded, though with great difficulty, in conquering the repugnance of the monarch, and, after all, he but granted in part the justice they required. He ceded to Don Diego merely the dignities and powers enjoyed by Nicholas de Ovando, who was recalled, and he cautiously withheld the title of viceroy.

The recall of Ovando was not merely a measure to make room for Don Diego, it was the tardy performance of a promise made to Isabella on her death-bed. The expiring Queen had demanded it as a punishment for the massacre of her poor Indian subjects at Xaragna, and the cruel and ignominious execution of the female cacique Anacaona.

In complying with the request of the Queen, however, Ferdinand was favourable towards Ovando. He did not feel the same generous sympathies with his late consort, and, however Ovando had sinned against humanity in his treatment of the Indians, he had been a vigilant officer, and his very oppressions had in general proved profitable to the crown. Ferdinand directed that the fleet which took out the new governor should return under the command of Ovando, and that he should retain undisturbed enjoyment of any property or Indian slaves that might be found in his possession. Some have represented Ovando as a man far from mercenary; that the wealth wrung from the miseries of the natives was for his Sovereign, not himself; and it is intimated that one secret cause of his disgrace was his having made an enemy of the all-powerful and unforgiving Fonseca.

The new admiral embarked at San Lucar, June 9, 1509, with his wife, his brother Don Fernando, who was now grown to man's estate, and had been well educated, and his two uncles Don Bartholomew and Don Diego. They were accompanied by a numerous retinue of cavaliers, with their wives, and young ladies of rank and family, more distinguished, it is hinted, for high blood than large fortune, and who were sent out to find wealthy husbands in the New World.

Though the King had not granted Don Diego the dignity of viceroy, the title was generally given to him by courtesy, and his wife was universally addressed by that office-queen.

Don Diego commenced his rule with a degree of splendour hitherto unknown in the colony. The vice-

Extracts from the Minutes of the Process, taken by the historian Muñoz. MS.

Further mention will be found of this lawsuit in the article Amerigo Vespucci.

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix, ut supra, c. v, l. p. 272, id. 274.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas. l. ii, cap. 49. MS.



queen, who was a lady of great desert, surrounded by the noble cavaliers and the young ladies of family who had come in her retinue, established a sort of court which threw a degree of lustre over the half-savage island. The young ladies were soon married to the wealthiest colonists, and contributed greatly to soften those rude manners which had grown up in a state of society, destitute hitherto of the salutary restraint and pleasing decorum produced by female influence.

Don Diego had considered his appointment in the light of a viceroyalty; but the King soon took measures which showed that he admitted of no such pretension. Without any reference to Don Diego, he divided the Isthmus of Darien into two great provinces, separated by an imaginary line running through the Gulf of Uraba; appointing Alonso de Ojeda governor of the eastern province, which he called New Andalusia; and a cavalier, named Diego de Nicuesa, governor of the western province, which included the rich coast of Veragua, and which he called Castilla del Oro, or Golden Castile. Had the monarch been swayed by principles of justice and gratitude, the settlement of this coast would have been given to the Adelantado Don Bartholomew Columbus, who had assisted in the discovery of the country, and, together with his brother the Admiral, had suffered so greatly in the enterprise. Even his superior abilities for the task should have pointed him out to the policy of the monarch; but the cautious and calculating Ferdinand knew the lofty spirit of the Adelantado, and that he would be disposed to demand high and dignified terms. He passed him by, therefore, and preferred more eager and accommodating adventurers.

Don Diego was greatly aggrieved at this measure, thus adopted without his participation or knowledge. He justly considered it an infringement of the capitulations granted and repeatedly confirmed to his father and his heirs. He had further vexations and difficulties with respect to the government of the island of St Juan, or Porto Rico, which was conquered and settled about this time; but, after a variety of cross-purposes, the officers whom he appointed were ultimately recognised by the crown.

Like his father he had to contend with malignant factions in his government; for the enemies of the father transferred their enmity to the son. There was one Miguel Passamonte, the King's treasurer, who became his avowed enemy under the support and chiefly at the instigation of the bishop Fonseca, who continued to the son the implacable hostility which he had manifested to the Admiral. A variety of trivial circumstances contributed to embroil him with some of the petty officers of the colony; and there was a remnant of the followers of Roldan who arrayed themselves against him.

Two factions soon arose in the island, one of the Admiral, the other of the treasurer Passamonte. The

latter affected to call themselves the party of the King. They gave all possible molestation to Don Diego, and sent home the most virulent and absurd misrepresentations of his conduct. Among others, they represented a large house with many windows, which he was building, as intended for a fortress, and asserted that he had a design to make himself sovereign of the island. King Ferdinand, who was now advanced in years, had devolved the affairs of the Indies in a great measure on Fonseca,\* who had superintended them from the first, and he was greatly guided by the advice of that prelate, which was not likely to be favourable to the descendants of Columbus. The complaints from the colonies were so artfully enforced, therefore, that he established, in 1510, a sovereign court at St Domingo, called the royal audience, in which an appeal might be made from all sentences of the admiral, even in cases reserved hitherto exclusively for the crown. Don Diego considered this suspicious and injurious measure, intended to diminish his authority.

Frank, open, and unsuspecting, the young admiral was not formed for a contest with the crafty politicians arrayed against him, who were ready and adroit in laying hold of his slightest errors, and magnifying them into crimes. Difficulties were multiplied in his path which it was out of his power to overcome. He had entered upon office full of unanimous intentions, determined to put an end to oppression and correct all abuses; all good measures, therefore, had rejoiced at his appointment; but he soon found that he had overrated his strength, and undervalued the difficulties awaiting him. He calculated from his own good heart, but he had no idea of the wickedness of others. He opposed the "repartimientos" of Indians, that source of all kinds of inhumanity; but he found all the men of wealth in the colony, and most of the important persons of the court, interested in maintaining them. He perceived that the attempt to abolish them would be dangerous and the result questionable: at the same time, the injustice was a source of immense profit to himself. Self-interest, therefore, combined with other considerations, and what at first appeared difficult, seemed presently impracticable. The "repartimientos" continued in the state in which he found them, excepting that he removed such of the superintendants as had been cruel and oppressive, and substituted men of his own appointment, who probably proved equally worthless. His friends were disappointed, his enemies encouraged; a hue and cry was raised against him by the friends of those he had displaced, and it was even said that if Ovando had not died at this time, he would have been sent out to supply Don Diego.

The subjugation and settlement of the island of Cuba in 1510, was a fortunate event in the administration of the present admiral. He congratulated King Ferdinand on having acquired the largest

\* Herrera, decad. i. l. vii. c. 12.

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most beautiful island in the world, without losing a single man. The intelligence was highly acceptable to the King; but it was accompanied by a great number of complaints against the admiral. Little affection as Ferdinand felt for Don Diego, he was still aware that most of these representations were false, and had their origin in the jealousy and envy of his enemies. He judged it expedient, however, in 1512, to send out Don Bartholomew Columbus, with minute instructions to his nephew, the admiral.

Don Bartholomew still retained the office of Adelantado of the Indies, although Ferdinand, through selfish motives, detained him in Spain, while he employed inferior men in voyages of discovery. He now added to his appointments the property and government of the little island of Mona during life, and assigned him a repartimiento of two hundred Indians, with the superintendence of the mines which might be discovered in Cuba; an office which proved very lucrative.<sup>1</sup>

Among the instructions given by the King to Don Diego, he directed, that, in consequence of the representations of the Dominican friars, the labour of the natives should be reduced one-third; that negro slaves should be procured from Guinea as a relief to the Indians; and that Carib slaves should be branded on the leg to prevent other Indians from being confounded with them, and subjected to harsh treatment.<sup>2</sup>

The two governors, Ojeda and Nicenessa, whom the King had appointed to colonize and command at the Isthmus of Darien, in Terra Firma, having failed in their undertaking, the Sovereign, in 1514, wrote to Hispaniola, permitting the Adelantado, Don Bartholomew Columbus, if so inclined, to take charge of settling the coast of Veragua, and to govern that country under the Admiral Don Diego, conformably to his privileges. Had the King consulted his own interest, and the deference due to the talent and services of the Adelantado, this measure would have been taken at an earlier date. It was now too late: illness prevented Don Bartholomew from executing the enterprise, and his active and toilsome life was drawing to a close.

Many calumnies having been sent home to Spain by Passamonte and other enemies of Don Diego, and various measures being taken by government which he conceived derogatory to his dignity and injurious to his privileges, he requested and obtained permission to repair to court, that he might explain and vindicate his conduct. He departed accordingly on April 10th, 1515, leaving the Adelantado with the vice-queen, Doña Maria. He was received with great honour by the King, and he merited such a reception. He had succeeded in every enterprise he had undertaken or directed. The pearl fishery had been successfully established on the coast of Cubagua; the islands of Cuba and Jamaica had been subjected and brought

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix, Hist. St Domingo, p. 351.

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, Hist. ind., decad. i, l. ix, c. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*.

under cultivation without bloodshed; his conduct as governor had been upright; and he had only excited the representations made against him by endeavouring to lessen the oppression of the natives. The King ordered that all processes against him in the court of appeal and elsewhere, for damages done to individuals in regulating the repartimientos, should be discontinued, and the cases sent to himself for consideration. But with all these favours, as the admiral claimed a share of the profits of the provinces of Castilla del Oro, saying that it was discovered by his father, as the names of its places, such as Nombre de Dios, Puerto Bello, and El Retrete, plainly proved, the King ordered that interrogatories should be made among the mariners who had sailed with Christopher Columbus, in the hope of proving that he had not discovered the coast of Darien, or the Gulf of Uraba. "Thus," adds Herrera, "Don Diego was always involved in litigations with the fiscal, so that he might truly say he was heir to the troubles of his father."<sup>3</sup>

Not long after the departure of Don Diego from San Domingo, his uncle Bartholomew ended his active and laborious life. No particulars are given of his death, nor is there mention made of his age, which must have been great. King Ferdinand is said to have expressed great concern at the event, for he had a high opinion of the character and talents of the Adelantado. "He was a man," says Herrera, "of not less worth than his brother the Admiral, and who, if he had been employed, would have given great proofs of it, for he was an excellent seaman, valiant, and of a noble mind."<sup>4</sup> Charlevoix attributes the inaction in which Don Bartholomew had been suffered to remain for several years, to the jealousy and parsimony of the King. He found the family already too powerful; and the Adelantado, had he discovered Mexico, was a man to make as good conditions as had been made by the Admiral his brother.<sup>5</sup>

It was said, observes Herrera, that the King rather preferred to employ him in his European affairs, though it could only have been to divert him from other objects. On his death the King resumed the government of the island of Mona, which he had given to him for his life, and transferred his repartimiento of two hundred Indians to the vice-queen, Doña Maria.

While the admiral, Don Diego, was pressing for an audience in his vindication at court, King Ferdinand died, on the 23d of January, 1516. His grandson and successor, Prince Charles, afterwards the emperor Charles V, was in Flanders. The government rested for a time with Cardinal Ximenes, who would not undertake to decide on the representations and claims of the admiral. It was not until 1520, that he obtained from the emperor, Charles V, a recognition of his innocence of all the charges against him. The emperor, finding that what Passamonte and his party had written were

<sup>4</sup> Herrera, decad. 2, lib. i, c. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Herrera, decad. 1, lib. x, c. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Charlevoix, Hist. St Domingo, l. v.

notorious calumnies, ordered Don Diego to resume his charge, although the process with the fiscal was still pending, and that Passamonte should be written to, requesting him to forget all past vexations and differences, and to enter into amicable intercourse with Don Diego. Among other acts of indemnification, he acknowledged his rights to exercise the office of viceroy and governor in the island of Hispaniola, and in all places discovered by his father. His authority was, however, much diminished by new regulations, and a supervisor appointed over him, with the right to give information to the councils against him, but with no other powers. Don Diego sailed in the beginning of September, 1520, and on his arrival in St Domingo, finding that several of the governors, presuming on his long absence, had arrogated to themselves independence, and had abused their powers, he immediately sent persons to supersede them, and demanded an account of their administration. This made him a host of active and powerful enemies, both in the colonies and in Spain.

Considerable changes had taken place in the island of Hispaniola during the absence of the admiral. The mines had fallen into neglect; the cultivation of the sugar-cane having been found a more certain source of wealth. It became a by-word in Spain, that the magnificent palaces erected by Charles V at Madrid and Toledo, were built of the sugar of Hispaniola. Slaves had been imported in great numbers from Africa, being found more serviceable in the culture of the cane than the feeble Indians. The treatment of the poor negroes was cruel in the extreme, and they seem to have had no advocates even among the humane. The slavery of the Indians had been founded on the right of the strong; but it was thought that the negroes, from their colour, were born to slavery; and that from being bought and sold in their own country, it was their natural condition. Though a patient and enduring race, the barbarities inflicted on them at length roused the negroes to revenge; and on the 27th of December, 1522, there was the first African revolt in Hispaniola. It began in a sugar-plantation of the Admiral Don Diego, where about twenty slaves, joined by an equal number from a neighbouring plantation, got possession of arms, rose against their masters, massacred them, and sallied forth upon the country. It was their intention to pillage certain plantations, to kill the Spaniards, reinforce themselves by freeing their countrymen, and either to possess themselves of the town of Agua, or to escape to the mountains.

When tidings were brought to Don Diego at St Domingo of this revolt, he set out in search of the rebels, followed by several of the principal inhabitants. On the second day he stopped on the bank of the river Nizao to rest his party, and to give time for reinforcements to overtake him. Here one Melchor de Castro, who accompanied the admiral, learnt that the negroes had ravaged his plantations, sacked his

house, killed one of his men, and carried off his Indian slaves. Without asking leave of the admiral, he departed in the night with two companions, visited his plantations, found all in confusion, and pursuing the negroes, sent to the admiral for aid. Eight horsemen were hastily despatched to his assistance, armed with bucklers and lances, and having six of the infantry mounted behind them. De Castro had three horsemen besides this reinforcement, and at the head of this little band overtook the negroes at break of day. The insurgents put themselves in battle array, armed with stones and Indian spears, and uttering loud shouts and outcries. The Spanish horsemen braced their bucklers, couched their lances, and charged them at full speed. The negroes were soon routed, and fled to the rocks, leaving six dead and several wounded. De Castro also was wounded in the arm. The admiral coming up, assisted him in the pursuit of the fugitives. As fast as they were taken, they were hanged on the nearest trees, and remained suspended, as spectacles of terror to their countrymen. This prompt severity checked all further attempt at revolt among the African slaves.

In the mean time the various enemies whom Don Diego had created, both in the colonies and in Spain, were actively and successfully employed. His old antagonist, the treasurer Passamonte, had charged him with usurping almost all the powers of the royal audience, and with having given to the royal declaration, re-establishing him in his office of viceroy, an extent never intended by the Sovereign. These representations had weight at court; and in 1523 Don Diego received a most severe letter from the Council of the Indies, charging him with the various abuses and excesses alleged against him, and commanding him, under penalty of forfeiting all his privileges and titles, to revoke the innovations he had made, and to restore things to their former state. To prevent any plea of ignorance of this mandate, the royal audience was enjoined to promulgate it, and call upon all persons to conform to it, and to see that it was properly obeyed. The admiral received also a letter from the council, informing him that his presence was necessary in Spain to give information as to the foregoing matters, and advice relative to the reformation of various abuses, and to the treatment and preservation of the Indians; he was requested, therefore, to repair to court without waiting for further orders.

Don Diego understood this to be a peremptory recall, and obeyed accordingly. On his arrival in Spain, he immediately presented himself before the court at Victoria, with the frank and fearless spirit of an upright man, and pleaded his cause so well that the Sovereign and council acknowledged his innocence on all the points of accusation. He convinced them, moreover, of the fidelity with which he had discharged his duties; of his zeal for the public good and the

• Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. iii. l. iv. c. 9.

• Herrera, decad. i. lib. v. c. 4.

• Herrera, decad. 2. l. ix. c. 7.

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trusted that he would soon obtain justice as to all his  
claims. As these, however, involved a participation  
in the profits of vast and richly productive provinces,  
he experienced the delays and difficulties usual with  
such demands; for it is only when justice costs no-  
thing that it is readily rendered. His earnest solici-  
tations at length obtained an order from the emperor,  
that a commission should be formed, composed of the  
grand chancellor, the friar Loyasa, confessor to the  
emperor and president of the royal Council of the  
Indies, and a number of other distinguished person-  
ages. They were to inquire into the various points  
in dispute between the admiral and the fiscal, and into  
the proceedings which had taken place before the  
Council of the Indies, with the power of determining  
what justice required in the case.

The affair, however, was protracted to such a  
length, and accompanied by so many toils, vexations,  
and disappointments, that the unfortunate Diego,  
like his father, died in the pursuit. For two years  
he had followed the court from city to city during its  
migrations; from Victoria to Burgos, Valladolid, Ma-  
rid, and Toledo. In the winter of 1525, the em-  
peror set out from Toledo for Seville. The admiral  
undertook to follow him, though his constitution was  
broken by fatigue and vexation, and he was wasting  
away under the attack of a slow fever. Oviedo the  
historian saw him at Toledo, two days before his de-  
parture, and joined with his friends in endeavours to  
dissuade him from a journey in such a state of health,  
and at such a season. Their persuasions were in-  
vain. Don Diego was not aware of the extent of his  
malady: he told them that he should repair to Seville,  
passing by the church of our Lady of Guadalupe, to  
offer up his devotions at that shrine; and he trusted,  
through the intercession of the Mother of God, soon  
to be restored to health.<sup>2</sup> He accordingly left Toledo  
in a litter on the 21st of February, 1526, having pre-  
viously c. essed and taken the communion, and ar-  
rived the same day at Montalvan, distant about six  
leagues. There his illness increased to such a de-  
gree, that he saw his end approaching. He employed  
the following day in arranging the affairs of his con-  
science, and expired on February 23d, being little  
more than fifty years of age; his premature death  
having been hastened by the griefs and troubles he  
had experienced. "He was worn out," says Her-  
rera, "by following up his claims, and defending  
himself from the calumnies of his competitors, who,  
with many stratagems and devices, sought to obscure  
the glory of the father, and the virtue of the son."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix, Hist. St Domingo, l. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, decad. 5, l. viii. c. 45.

We have seen how the discovery of the New  
World rendered the residue of the life of Columbus  
a tissue of wrongs, hardships, and afflictions; and  
how the jealousy and enmity he had awakened were  
inherited by his son. It remains to show briefly in  
what degree the anticipations of perpetuity, wealth,  
and honour to his family were fulfilled.

When Don Diego Columbus died, his wife and  
family were at St Domingo. He left two sons, Luis  
and Christopher; and three daughters, Maria, who  
afterwards married Don Sancho de Cordova, Juana,  
who married Don Luis de Cuera, and Isabella, who  
married Don George of Portugal, Count of Gelves.  
He had also a natural son named Christopher.<sup>1</sup>

After the death of Don Diego, his noble-spirited vice-  
queen, left with a number of young children, endeav-  
oured to assert and maintain the rights of the family.  
Understanding that, according to the privileges ac-  
corded to Christopher Columbus, they had a just  
claim to the vicerealty of the province of Veragua,  
as having been discovered by him, she demanded a  
license from the royal audience of Hispaniola, to re-  
cruit men and fit out an armada to colonize that  
country. This the audience refused, and sent infor-  
mation of the demand to the emperor. He replied  
that the vice-queen should be kept in suspense until  
the justice of her claim could be ascertained; as, al-  
though he had at various times given commission to  
different persons to examine the doubts and objec-  
tions which had been opposed by the fiscal, no deci-  
sion had ever been made.<sup>2</sup> The enterprise thus con-  
templated by the vice-queen was never carried into  
effect.

Shortly afterwards she sailed for Spain to protect the  
claim of the eldest son, Don Luis, then six years of  
age. Charles V was absent, but she was most gra-  
ciously received by the empress. The title of Admi-  
ral of the Indies was immediately conferred on her  
son Don Luis, and the emperor augmented his re-  
venues, and conferred other favours on the family.  
Charles V, however, could never be prevailed upon  
to give Don Luis the title of viceroy, although that  
dignity had been decreed to his father, a few years  
previous to his death, as an hereditary right.<sup>3</sup>

In 1538 the young admiral, Don Luis, then about  
eighteen years of age, was at court, having instituted  
proceedings before the proper tribunals for the reco-  
very of the vicerealty; two years afterwards, the  
suit was settled by arbitration, his uncle Don Fer-  
nando and Cardinal Loyasa, president of the Council  
of the Indies, being umpires. By a compromise,

<sup>1</sup> Memorial ajustado sobre el Estado de Veragua.—Charlevoix  
mentions another son named Diego, and calls one of the daughters  
Philippine. Spotorno says that the daughter Maria took the veil,  
confounding her with a niece. These are trivial errors, merely  
noticed to avoid the imputation of inaccuracy. The account of  
the descendants of Columbus here given accords with a genealo-  
gical tree of the family, produced before the Council of the Indies  
in a great lawsuit for the estates.

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, decad. iv, lib. ii, c. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Charlevoix, Hist. St Domingo, l. vi, p. 147.



Don Luis was declared captain-general of Hispaniola, but with such limitations that it was little more than a bare title. Don Luis sailed for Hispaniola, but did not remain there long. He found his dignities and privileges mere sources of vexation, and finally entered into a compromise, which relieved himself and gratified the emperor. He gave up all pretensions to the vicerealty of the New World, receiving in its stead the titles of Duke of Veragua and Marquis of Jamaica.<sup>1</sup> He commuted also the claim to a tenth of the produce of the Indies for a pension of one thousand doubloons of gold.<sup>2</sup>

Don Luis did not long enjoy this substitution of a certain though moderate revenue, for a magnificent but unproductive claim. He died shortly afterwards, leaving no other male issue than an illegitimate son, named Christopher. He left two daughters by his wife Doña Maria de Mosquera, one named Philippa and the other Maria, who became a nun in the convent of St Quirce, at Valladolid.

Don Luis having no legitimate son, was succeeded by his nephew Diego, son to his brother Christopher. A litigation took place between this young heir and his cousin Philippa, daughter of the late Don Luis. The convent of St Quirce also put in a claim on behalf of its inmate Doña Maria, who had taken the veil. Christopher, natural son to Don Luis, likewise became a prosecutor in the suit, but was set aside on account of his illegitimacy. Don Diego and his cousin Philippa soon thought it better to join their claims and interests in wedlock, than to pursue a tedious contest. They were married, and their union was happy, though not fruitful. Diego died without issue in 1578, and with him the legitimate male line of Columbus became extinct.

One of the most important lawsuits that the world has ever witnessed now arose for the estates and dignities descended from the great discoverer. Don Diego had two sisters, Francisca and Maria, the former of whom, and the children of the latter, advanced their several claims. To these parties was added Bernard Colombo, of Cogoletto, who claimed as lineal descendant from Bartholomew Columbus, the Adelantado, brother to the discoverer. He was, however, pronounced ineligible, as the Adelantado had no acknowledged, and certainly no legitimate offspring.

Baldasser or Balthasar Colombo, of the house of Cuccaro and Conzano, in the dukedom of Montferat, in Piedmont, was an active and persevering claimant. He came from Italy into Spain, where he devoted himself during many years to the prosecution of this suit. He produced a genealogical tree of his family, in which was contained one Dominico Colombo, lord of Cuccaro, whom he maintained to be the identical father of Christopher Columbus the Admiral. He proved that this Dominico was living at the requisite era, and produced many witnesses, who

had heard that the navigator was born in the castle of Cuccaro; from whence, it was added, he and his two brothers had eloped at an early age, and had never returned.<sup>3</sup> A monk is also mentioned among the witnesses, who made oath that Christopher and his brothers were born in that castle of Cuccaro. This testimony was afterwards withdrawn by the prosecutor, as it was found that the monk's recollection must have extended back considerably upwards of a century.<sup>4</sup> The claim of Balthasar was negatived. His proofs that Christopher Columbus was a native of Cuccaro were rejected, as only hearsay or traditionary evidence. His ancestor Dominico, it appeared from his own showing, died in 1456; whereas it was established that Dominico, the father of the Admiral, was living upwards of thirty years after that date.

The cause was finally decided by the Council of the Indies on the 2d of December, 1608. The male line was declared to be extinct. Don Nuño or Nugno Gelves de Portugallo was put in possession, and became Duke of Veragua. He was grandson to Isabella, third daughter of Don Diego (son of the discoverer), by his vice-queen Doña Maria de Toledo. The descendants of the two elder sisters of Isabella had a prior claim, but their progeny became extinct previous to this decision of the suit. The first named, Isabella, had married Don George of Portugal, Count of Gelves. "Thus," says Charlevoix, "the dignities and wealth of Columbus passed into a branch of the Portuguese house of Braganza, established in Spain, of which the heirs are entitled *De Portugallo, Colon, Duke de Veragua, Marquis de la Jamaica, y Almirante de las Indias.*"<sup>5</sup>

The suit of Balthasar Colombo of Cuccaro was rejected, under three different forms, by the Council of the Indies; and his application for an allowance of support under the legacy of Columbus, in favour of poor relations, was also refused, although the other parties had assented to the demand.<sup>6</sup> He died in Spain, where he had resided many years in prosecution of this suit. His son returned to Italy, persisting in the validity of his claim; he said that it was in vain to seek justice in Spain; they were too much interested to keep those dignities and estates among themselves. But he gave out that he had received twelve thousand doubloons of gold in compromise from the other parties. Spotorno, under sanction of Ignazio de Giovanni, a learned canon, treats this assertion as a bravado to cover his defeat, being contradicted by his evident poverty.<sup>7</sup> The family of Cuccaro, however, still maintain their right, and express great veneration for the memory of their illustrious ancestor the Admiral; and travellers occasionally visit their old castle in Piedmont, with great reverence, as the birth-place of the discoverer of the New World.

<sup>1</sup> Bossi, Hist. Columb. Dissertations, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Charlevoix, Hist. St Domingo, t. 1, l. vi. p. 479.

<sup>4</sup> Bossi, Dissertation on the Country of Columbus.

<sup>5</sup> Spotorno, p. cxxvii.

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix, Hist. St Domingo, c. 1, lib. vi, pp. 446-7.

<sup>2</sup> Spotorno, Hist. Colomb., p. 125.

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N<sup>o</sup> III.

## FERNANDO COLUMBUS.

FERNANDO COLUMBUS (or Colon, as he is called in Spain), the natural son and the historian of the Admiral, was born in Cordova. There is an uncertainty about the exact time of his birth. According to his epitaph, it must have been on the 28th September, 1488, but, according to his original papers, preserved in the church at Seville, and which were examined by Don Diego Ortiz de Zuñiga, historian of that city, it would appear to have been on the 29th of August, 1487. His mother, Doña Beatrix Enriquez, was of a respectable family, but was never married to the Admiral, as has been stated by some of his biographers.

Early in 1494 Fernando was carried to court, together with his elder brother, Diego, by his uncle, Don Bartholomew, to enter the royal household in quality of page to the prince, Don Juan, son and heir to Ferdinand and Isabella. He and his brother remained in this situation until the death of the prince, when they were taken by Queen Isabella as pages into her own service. Their education of course was well attended to, and Fernando, in after life, gave proofs of being a learned man.

In the year 1502, at the tender age of thirteen or fourteen years, Fernando accompanied his father in his fourth voyage of discovery, and encountered all its singular and varied hardships with a fortitude that is mentioned with praise and admiration by the Admiral.

After the death of his father, it would appear that Fernando made two voyages to the New World; he also accompanied the emperor Charles V to Italy, Flanders, and Germany; and, according to Zuñiga (*Anales de Sevilla*, de 1503, N<sup>o</sup> 3), travelled over all Europe, and a part of Africa and Asia. Possessing talents, judgment, and industry, these opportunities were not lost upon him, and he acquired much information in geography, navigation, and natural history. Being of a studious habit and fond of books, he formed a select yet copious library of more than twenty thousand volumes, in print and in manuscript. With the sanction of the emperor Charles V, he undertook to establish an academy and college of mathematics at Seville; and for this purpose commenced the construction of a sumptuous edifice without the walls of the city, facing the Guadalquivir, in the place where the monastery of San Laureano is now situated. His constitution, however, had been broken by the sufferings he had experienced in his travels and voyages, and a premature death prevented the completion of his plan of the academy, and broke off other labours. He died at Seville on the 22th July, 1550, at the age, according to his epitaph, of fifty years, nine months, and fourteen days. He left no issue, and was never married. His body was interred, according to his request, in the cathedral church of Seville. He bequeathed his valuable li-

brary to the same establishment. "It was put," says Zuñiga, "in the Chapter-House of the church, a building which had formerly served for a royal chapel, and is adorned with book-cases of mahogany, beautifully carved, and the walls and vaults are painted in fresco; in which it remains, forgotten and neglected, yet withheld from the world."

Don Fernando devoted himself much to letters. According to the inscription on his tomb, he composed a work in four books or volumes, the title of which is defaced on the monument, and the work itself is lost. This is much to be regretted, as, according to Zuñiga, the fragments of the inscription specify it to have contained, among a variety of matters, historical, moral, and geographical, notices of the countries he had visited, but especially of the New World, and of the voyages and discoveries of his father.

His most important and permanent work, however, was a history of the Admiral, which he composed in Spanish. It was translated into Italian by Alonso de Ulloa; and from this Italian translation, or rather from the version of it again into Spanish, have proceeded the editions which have since appeared in various languages. It is singular that the work only exists in Spanish in form of a retranslation from that of Ulloa, and it is full of errors in the orthography of proper names, and in dates and distances.

Don Fernando was an eye-witness of some of the facts which he relates, particularly of the fourth voyage, wherein he accompanied his father. He had also the papers and charts of his father, and recent documents of all kinds, to extract from, as well as familiar acquaintance with the principal personages who were concerned in the event which he records. He was a man of probity and discernment, and writes more dispassionately than could be expected, when treating of matters which affected the honour, the interest, and happiness of his father. It is to be regretted, however, that he should have suffered the whole of his father's life, previous to his discoveries, a period of about fifty-six years, to remain in obscurity. He appears to have wished to cast a cloud over it, and only to have presented his father to the reader, after he had rendered himself illustrious by his actions, and his history had become in a manner identified with the history of the world. His work, however, is an invaluable document, entitled to great faith, and is the corner-stone of the history of the American continent.

N<sup>o</sup> IV.

## LINEAGE OF COLUMBUS.

THE ancestry of Christopher Columbus has formed a point of zealous controversy, which is not yet satis-

• Zuñiga. *Anales de Sevilla*, l. xiv. p. 496.

factorily settled. Several honourable families, possessing domains in Placentia, Montferrat, and the different parts of the Genoese territories, claim him as belonging to their houses; and to these has recently been added the noble family of Colombo in Modena. The natural desire to prove consanguinity with a man of distinguished renown has excited this rivalry; but it has been heightened, in particular instances, by the hope of succeeding to titles and situations of wealth and honour, when his male line of descendants became extinct. The investigation is involved in particular obscurity, as even his immediate relatives appear to have been in ignorance on the subject.

Fernando Columbus, in his biography of the Admiral, after a pompous prelude, in which he attempts to throw a vague and cloudy magnificence about the origin of his father, notices slightly the attempts of some to obscure his fame, by making him a native of various small and insignificant villages; and dwells with more complacency upon others, who make him a native of places in which there were persons of much honour of the name, and many sepulchral monuments with arms and epitaphs of the Colombos. He relates his having himself gone to the castle of Cugureo, to visit two brothers of the family of Colombo, who were rich and noble, the youngest of whom was above one hundred years of age, and who he had heard were relatives of his father; but they could give him no information upon the subject; whereupon he breaks forth into his professed contempt for these adventitious claims, declaring, that he thinks it better to content himself with dazing from the glory of the Admiral, than to go about inquiring whether his father "were a merchant, or one who kept his hawks;" since, adds he, of persons of similar pursuits there are thousands who die every day, whose memory, even among their own neighbours and relatives, perishes immediately, without its being possible afterwards to ascertain even whether they existed.

After this and a few more expressions of similar disdain for these empty distinctions, he indulges in vehement abuse of Agostino Gustiniani, whom he calls a false historian, an inconsiderate, partial, or malignant compatriot, for having in his Psalter traduced his father, by saying that in his youth he had been employed in mechanical occupations.

As, after all this discussion, Fernando leaves the question of his father's parentage in all its original obscurity, yet appears irritably sensitive to any derogatory suggestions of others, his whole evidence tends to the conviction that he really knew nothing to boast of in his ancestry.

Of the nobility and antiquity of the Colombo family, of which the Admiral probably was a remote

\* Spotorno, Hist. Mem., p. 3.

• Literally, in the original, *Casador de Volateria*, a falconer. Hawking was in those days an amusement of the highest classes, and to keep hawks was almost a sign of nobility.

descendant, we have some account in Herrera. "We learn," he says, "that the emperor Otto the Second, in 940, confirmed to the counts Pietro, Giovanni, and Alexandro Colombo, brothers, the feudatory possessions which they held within the jurisdiction of the cities of Ayqui, Savona, Aste, Montferrato, Turin, Viceli, Parma, Cremona, and Bergamo, and all others which they held in Italy. It appears that the Colombos of Cuccaro, Cucureo, and Placentia were the same, and that the emperor in the same year '940,' made donation to the said three brothers of the castles of Cuccaro, Conzano, Rosignano, and others, and of the fourth part of Bistano, which appertained to the empire."\*

One of the boldest attempts of those biographers bent on ennobling Columbus, has been to make him son of the lord of Cuccaro, a burgh of Montferrat in Piedmont, and to state that he was born in his father's castle at that place. From hence it is said Columbus and his brothers eloped at an early age, and never returned. This was asserted in the course of a suit, instituted by a certain Baldassare, or Balthasar Colombo, resident in Genoa, but originally of Cuccaro, claiming the title and estates on the death of Diego Colon, Duke of Veragua, in 1578, the great-grandson and last legitimate male descendant of the Admiral. The Council of the Indies decided against this claim to relationship. Some account of the lawsuit will be found in another part of this work.

This romantic story, like all others of the nobility of his parentage, is at utter variance with the subsequent events of the Admiral's life, his long struggles with indigence and obscurity, and the difficulties he endured from the want of family connexions. How can it be believed, says Bossi, that this same man, who, in his most cruel adversities, was incessantly taunted by his enemies with the obscurity of his birth, should not reply to this reproach by declaring his origin, if he were really descended from the lords of Cuccaro, Conzano, and Rosignano? a circumstance which would have obtained him the highest credit with the Spanish nobility.

The different families of Colombo which lay claim to the great navigator, seem to be various branches of one tree, and there is little doubt of his appertaining remotely to the same respectable stock.

It appears probable, however, that Columbus sprang immediately from a line of humble but industrious citizens, which had existed in Genoa even from the time of Giacomo Colombo, the wool-carder, in 1511, mentioned by Spotorno; nor is there any wise incompatible with the intimation of Fernando Columbus, that the family had been reduced from high estate to great poverty by the wars of Lombardy. The feuds of Italy, in those ages, had broken down and scattered many of the noblest families; and while some branches remained in the lordly herit-

• Herrera, decad. 1, l. i, c. 7.

• Dissertation, etc.

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Nº V.

BIRTH-PLACE OF COLUMBUS.

THERE has been much controversy about the birth-place of Columbus. The greatness of his renown has induced various places to lay claim to him as a native, and from motives of laudable pride; for nothing reflects greater lustre upon a city than to have given birth to distinguished men. The original and long established opinion was in favour of Genoa; but such strenuous claims were asserted by the states of Placentia, and in particular of Piedmont, that the Academy of Sciences and Letters of Genoa was induced, in 1812, to nominate three of its members, Signors Serra, Carrega, and Piaggio, commissioners, to examine into these pretensions.

The claims of Placentia had been first advanced in 1662, by Petro Maria Campi, in the ecclesiastical history of that place, who maintained that Columbus was a native of the village of Pradello in that vicinity. It appeared probable, on investigation, that Bertolino Colombo, great-grandfather to the Admiral, had owned a small property in Pradello, the rent of which had been received by Dominico Colombo of Genoa, and after his death by his sons Christopher and Bartholomew. Admitting this assertion to be correct, there was no proof that either the Admiral, his father, or grandfather, had ever resided on that estate. The very circumstances of the case indicated, on the contrary, that their home was in Genoa.

The claim of Piedmont was maintained with more plausibility. It was shown that a Dominico Colombo was lord of the castle of Cuccaro in Monterrat, at the time of the birth of Christopher Columbus, who, it was asserted, was his son, and born in his castle. Balthasar Colombo, a descendant of this person, instituted a lawsuit before the Council of the Indies for the inheritance of the Admiral when his male line became extinct. The Council of the Indies decided against him, as is shown in the preceding account of his claim. It was proved that Dominico Colombo, father of the Admiral, was resident in Genoa both before and many years after the death of this lord of Cuccaro, who bore the same name.

The three commissioners appointed by the Academy of Sciences and Letters of Genoa to examine into these pretensions, after a long and diligent investigation, gave a voluminous and circumstantial report in favour of Genoa. An ample digest of their inquest may be found in the History of Columbus by Signor Bossi, who, in an able dissertation on the question, confirms their opinion. It may be added, in further corroboration, that Peter Martyr and Bartholomew Las Casas, who were contemporaries and acquaintances

of Columbus, and Juan de Barros, the Portuguese historian, all make Columbus a native of the Genoese territories.

There has been a question fruitful of discussion among the Genoese themselves, whether Columbus was born in the city of Genoa, or in some other part of the territory. Finale, and Oneglia and Savona, towns on the Ligurian coast to the west, Boggiaseco, Cogoleto, and several other towns and villages, claim him as their own. His family possessed a small property at a village or hamlet between Quinto and Lervi, which bears the title of Torre dei Colombi.

Bartholomew Columbus, brother to the Admiral, styled himself of Terra Rubra, in a Latin inscription on a map which he presented to Henry VII of England; and Fernando Columbus states, in his history of the Admiral, that he was accustomed to subscribe himself in the same manner before he attained to his dignities.

Cogoleto at one time bore away the palm. The families there claim the discoverer, and preserve a portrait of him. One or both of the two admirals named Colombo, with whom he sailed, are stated to have come from that place, and to have been confounded with him, so as to have given support to this idea.<sup>2</sup>

Savona, a city in the Genoese territories, has claimed the same honour, and this claim has recently been very strongly brought forward. Signor Giovanni Battista Belloro, an advocate of Savona, has strenuously maintained this claim in an ingenious disputation, dated May 12th, 1826, in form of a letter to the Baron du Zach, editor of a valuable astronomical and geographical journal.<sup>3</sup>

Signor Belloro claims it as an admitted fact, that Dominico Colombo was for many years a resident and citizen of Savona, in which place one Christopher Columbus is shown to have signed a document in 1472.

He states that a public square in that city bore the name of Platea Columbi, towards the end of the fourteenth century; that the Ligurian government gave the name of "Jurisdizione di Coimbi" to that district of the republic, under the persuasion that the great navigator was a native of Savona, and that Columbus gave the name of Savona to a little island adjacent to Hispaniola, among his earliest discoveries.

He quotes many Savonese writers, principally poets, and various historians and poets of other countries; and thus established the point that Columbus was held to be a native of Savona by persons of respectable authority.

He lays particular stress on the testimony of the magnificent Francisco Spinola, as related by the learned prelate Filippo Alberto Pollero, stating that he had

<sup>1</sup> Bossi, French translation. Paris, 1824, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Idem.

<sup>3</sup> Correspondence Astronom. Geograph. du Baron du Zach, vol. 14, cahier 6, lettre 29. 1826.



seen the sepulchre of Christopher Columbus in the cathedral at Seville, and that the epitaph states him expressly to be a native of Savona:—"Hic jacet Christophorus Columbus Savonensis."

The proofs advanced by Signor Belloro show his zeal for the honour of his native city, but do not authenticate the fact he undertakes to establish. He shows clearly that many respectable writers believed Columbus to be a native of Savona; but a far greater number can be adduced, and many of them contemporary with the Admiral, some of them his intimate friends, others his fellow-citizens, who state him to have been born in the city of Genoa. Among the Savonese writers, Giulio Salinorio, who investigated the subject, comes expressly to the same conclusion—"Genova, città nobilissima, era la patria di Colombo."

Signor Belloro appears to be correct in stating that Dominico, the father of the Admiral, was several years resident in Savona. But it appears from his own dissertation, that the Christopher who witnessed the testament in 1472 styled himself of Genoa:—"Christopherus Columbus Lanerius de Janua." This incident is stated by other writers, who presume this Christopher to have been the navigator, when on a visit to his father, in the interval of his early voyages. In as far as the circumstance bears on the point, it supports the idea that he was born at Genoa.

The epitaph, on which Signor Belloro places his principal reliance, entirely fails. Christopher Columbus was not interred in the cathedral of Seville, nor was any monument erected to him in that edifice. The tomb to which the learned prelate Felippo Alberto Pollero alludes, may have been that of Fernando Columbus, son to the Admiral, who was buried in the cathedral of Seville, to which he bequeathed his noble library. A monument was erected to his memory in that church. The inscription quoted by Signor Belloro may have been erroneously written down from memory by the magnifico Francisco Spinola, under the mistaken idea that he had beheld the sepulchre of the Admiral. As Fernando was born at Cordova, the term Savonensis must have been another error of memory in the magnifico.

This question of birth-place has also been investigated with considerable minuteness, and a decision given in favour of Genoa, by D. Giovan' Batista Spotorno, of the royal university in that city, in his historical memoir of Columbus. He shows that the family of the Colombi had long been resident in Genoa. By an extract from the notarial register, it appeared that one Giacomo Colombo, a wool-carder, resided without the gate of St. Andrea, in the year 1511. An agreement also, published by the academy of Genoa, proved that, in 1489, Dominico Colombo possessed a house and shop, and a garden with a well, in the street of St. Andrew's-gate, anciently

\* Felippo Alberto Pollero, Epichierema, cioè breve discorso per difesa di sua persona a carattere. Torino, per Gio. Battista Zappata. MDCXCVI (read 1694), in 4to, p. 47.

without the walls, presumed to have been the same residence with that of Giacomo Colombo. He rented also another house from the monks of St. Stephen, in the Via Mulcento, leading from the street of St. Andrew to the Strada Giulia.

Signor Bossi states, that documents lately found in the archives of the monastery of St. Stephen, present the name of Dominico Colombo several times, from 1436 to 1459, and designate him as son of Giovanni Colombo, husband of Susanna Fontanarossa, and father of Christopher, Bartholomew, and Giacomo (or Diego). He states also, that the receipts of the canons show that the last payment of rent was made by Dominico Colombo for his dwelling in 1489. He surmises that the Admiral was born in a house belonging to the monks, situate in Via Mulcento, and that he was baptised in the church of St. Stephen. He adds that an ancient manuscript was submitted to the commissioners of the Genoese academy, in the margin of which the notary had stated that the name of Christopher was on the register of the parish as having been baptised in that church.

Andreas Bernaldez, the curate of Los Palacios, who was an intimate friend of Columbus, says that he was of Genoa.<sup>4</sup> Agostino Giustiniani, a contemporary of Columbus, likewise asserts it in his Polyglot Psalter, published in Genoa in 1516. Antonio de Herrera, an author of great accuracy, who, though not a contemporary, had access to the best documents, asserts decidedly that he was born in the city of Genoa.

To these names may be added that of Alexander Geraldini, brother to the nuncio, and instructor to the children of Ferdinand and Isabella, a most intimate friend of Columbus;<sup>5</sup> also Antonio Gallo,<sup>6</sup> Bartholomeo Seneraya,<sup>7</sup> and Uberto Foglietto,<sup>8</sup> all contemporaries with the Admiral, and natives of Genoa, together with an anonymous writer, who published an account of his voyage of discovery at Venice in 1509.<sup>9</sup> It is unnecessary to mention historians of later date agreeing in the same fact, as they must have derived their information from some of these authorities.

The question in regard to the birth-place of Columbus has been treated thus minutely, because it has been, and still continues to be, a point of warm controversy. It may be considered, however, as conclusively decided by the highest authority, the evidence of Columbus himself. In a will executed in 1498, which has been admitted in evidence before the Spanish tribunals in certain lawsuits among his descendants, he twice declares that he was a native

<sup>1</sup> Spotorno, Eng. transl., p. xi. xii.

<sup>2</sup> Bossi, French transl., p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Bossi, French transl., p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> Cura de Los Palacios, MS. c. 118.

<sup>5</sup> Alex. Geraldini, Itin. ad Reg. sabb. Equinoce.

<sup>6</sup> Antonio Gallo, Annals of Genoa. Muratori, t. 25.

<sup>7</sup> Seneraya. Muratori, t. 24.

<sup>8</sup> Foglietto, Flog. Clar. Ligur.

<sup>9</sup> Grineus, Nov. Orb.

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of the city of Genoa: "*Siendo yo nacido en Genova,*" "I being born in Genoa;" and again he repeats the assertion, as a reason for enjoining certain conditions on his heirs, which manifest the interest he takes in his native place. "I command the said Don Diego, my son, or the person who inherits the said mayoralty (or entailed estate) that he maintain always in the city of Genoa a person of our lineage (who shall be domiciled there with his wife), and to furnish him with an income on which he can live decently, as a person connected with our family, and hold footing and root in that city as a native of it, so that he may have aid and favour in that city in case of need, for from thence I came and there was born." \*

In another part of his testament he expresses himself with a filial fondness in respect to Genoa. "I command the said Don Diego, or whoever shall possess the said mayoralty, that he labour and strive always for the honour, and welfare, and increase of the city of Genoa, and employ all his abilities and means in defending and augmenting the welfare and honour of her republic, in all matters which are not contrary to the service of the church of God, and the state of the King and Queen our sovereigns, and their successors."

An informal codicil, executed by Columbus at Valladolid, May 4th, 1506, sixteen days before his death, was discovered, about 1785, in the Corsini Library at Rome. It is termed a military codicil, from being made in the manner which the civil law allows to the soldier who executes such an instrument on the eve of battle, or in expectation of death. It was written on the blank page of a little breviary presented to Columbus by Pope Alexander VII. Columbus leaves the book "to his beloved country, the republic of Genoa."

He directs the erection of an hospital in that city for the poor, with provision for its support, and he declares that republic his successor in the admiralty of the Indies, in the event of his male line becoming extinct.

The authenticity of this paper has been questioned. It has been said that there was no probability of Columbus having resort to a usage with which he was most likely unacquainted. The objections are not cogent. Columbus was accustomed to the peculiarities of a military life, and he repeatedly wrote letters, in critical moments, as a precaution against some fatal occurrence that seemed to impend. The present codicil, from its date, must have been written a few days previous to his death, perhaps at a moment when he imagined himself at extremity. This may account for any difference in the hand-writing, es-

\* "Item.—Mando el dicho Don Diego mi hijo, ó á la persona que heredare el dicho mayoralgo, que tenga y sostenga siempre en la ciudad de Genova una persona de nuestro linage que tenga casa y muger, ó le ordene renta con que pueda vivir honestamente, como persona tan llegada á nuestro linage, y haga pley en la dicha ciudad como natural della, porque podrá haber de dicha ciudad ayuda e favor en las cosas del menester suyo, pues yo della sali y en ella nasci."

pecially as he was at times so affected by the gout in his hands as not to be able to write except at night. Particular stress has been laid on the signature; but it does not appear that he was uniform in regard to that, and it is a point to which any one who attempted a forgery would be attentive. It does not appear likewise that any advantage could have been obtained by forging the paper, or that any such was attempted.

In 1502, when Columbus was about to depart on his fourth and last voyage, he wrote to his friend, Doctor Nicolo Oderigo, formerly ambassador from Genoa to Spain, and forwarded to him copies of all his grants and commissions from the Spanish Sovereigns, authenticated before the alcaldes of Seville. He at the same time wrote to the bank of San Giorgio, at Genoa, assigning a tenth of his revenues to be paid to that city, in diminution of the duties on corn, wine, and other provisions.

Why should Columbus feel this strong interest in Genoa, had he been born in any of the other Italian states which have laid claim to him? He was under no obligation to Genoa. He had resided there but a brief portion of his early life, and his proposition for discovery, according to some writers, had been scornfully rejected by that republic. There is nothing to warrant so strong an interest in Genoa, but the filial tie which links the heart of a man to his native place, however he may be separated from it by time or distance, and however little he may be indebted to it for patronage.

Again: had Columbus been born in any of the towns and villages of the Genoese coast which have claimed him for a native, why should he have made these bequests in favour of the city of Genoa, and not of his native town or village?

These bequests were evidently dictated by a mingled sentiment of pride and affection, which would be without all object if not directed to his native place. He was at this time elevated above all petty pride on the subject. His renown was so brilliant that it would have shed a lustre on any hamlet, however obscure; and the strong love of country here manifested would never have felt satisfied, until it had singled out the spot, and nestled down in the very cradle of his infancy. These appear to be powerful reasons, drawn from natural feeling, for deciding in favour of Genoa.

## No VI.

## THE COLUMBOS.

DURING the early part of the life of Columbus, there were two other navigators, bearing the same name, of some rank and celebrity, with whom he occasionally sailed. According to Fernando Columbus (Hist. del Almirante, ch. 4) they were relatives of his

father; and Columbus, in one of his letters, says, "I am not the first admiral of our family."

These two were uncle and nephew: the latter is termed by historians, Colombo the younger (by the Spanish historians, Colombo el Mozo).

The elder of them was in the French service; probably he entered it at the time that Genoa was under the protection, or rather the domination, of France. It is said that he was engaged in the expeditions of John of Anjou against Naples, and that Columbus sailed with him.

Mention is made of the elder Colombo in Zurita's Annals of Aragon (l. xix, p. 261), in the war between Spain and Portugal, on the subject of the claim of the Princess Juana to the crown of Castile. In 1476, the King of Portugal determined to go to the Mediterranean coast of France, to incite his ally Louis XI to prosecute the war in the province of Guipuzcoa.

The king left Toru, says Zurita, on the 18th June, and went by the river to the city of Porto, in order to await the armada of the King of France, the captain of which was Colon (Colombo), who was to navigate by the straits of Gibraltar to pass to Marseilles.

After some delays, Colombo arrived, at the latter part of July, with the French armada, at Borneo, on the coast of Biscay, where he encountered a violent storm, lost his principal ship, and ran to the coast of Galicia with an intention of attacking Ribaldo, and lost many of his men. From thence he went to Lisbon to receive the King of Portugal, who embarked in the fleet in August with a number of his noblemen, and took two thousand two hundred foot-soldiers, and four hundred and seventy horse, to strengthen the Portuguese garrisons along the Barbary coast. There were in the squadron twelve ships and five caravels.

After touching at Ceuta, the fleet proceeded to Colibre, where the King disembarked in the middle of September, the weather not permitting them to proceed to Marseilles (Zurita, l. xix, c. 51).

This Colombo is evidently the naval commander of whom the following mention is made by Jacques Georges Chauffepié, in his Supplement to Bayle (vol. ii, p. 426).

"I do not know what dependence," says Chauffepié, "is to be placed on a fact reported in the *Ducatianna* (part. i, p. 145), that Columbus was, in 1474, captain of several ships for Louis XI, and that, as the Spaniards had made at that time an irruption into Roussillon, he thought that for reprisal, and without contravening the peace between the two crowns, he could run down Spanish vessels. He attacked, therefore, and took two galleys of that nation, freighted on the account of various individuals. On complaints of this action being made to King Ferdinand, he wrote on the subject to Louis XI: his letter is dated the 9th December, 1474. Ferdinand terms Christopher Columbus a subject of Louis; this was because, as is well known, Columbus was a Genoese, and Louis was sovereign of Genoa, although that city and Sa-

vona were held of him in fief by the duke of Milan."

It is highly probable that it was the squadron of this same Colombo which appeared in the Levant in 1475 and 1476, and on one occasion attacked the Venetian squadron stationed to protect the island of Cyprus; mention of which was made in a letter of two Milanese gentlemen to the duke of Milan, dated 1476, cited by Bossi, and after him by Spotorno.

The nephew of this Colombo, called by the Spaniards Colombo el Mozo, commanded likewise, a few years afterwards, a squadron in the French service, and became formidable in the Mediterranean, as will appear in a subsequent illustration. The names of these two Colombos, uncle and nephew, appearing vaguely at intervals during the obscure period of the Admiral's life, have been confounded with his name by historians. Fernando Columbus says that his father sailed for several years with Colombo the younger. It is probable that he may, at various times, have had an inferior command in the squadrons of both uncle and nephew, and that he may have been present on the above-cited occasions.

#### NO VII.

#### EXPEDITION OF JOHN OF ANJOU.

ABOUT the time that Columbus had attained his twenty-fourth year, his native city was in a state of great alarm and peril from the threatened invasion of Alphonso V of Aragon, King of Naples. Finding itself too weak to contend singly with such a foe, and having in vain looked for assistance from Italy, it placed itself under the protection of Charles VII of France. That monarch sent to its assistance John of Anjou, son of René, or Renato, King of Naples, who had been dispossessed of his crown by Alphonso. John of Anjou, otherwise called the Duke of Calabria,<sup>1</sup> immediately took upon himself the command of the city, repaired its fortifications, and defended the entrance of the harbour with strong chains. In the meantime Alphonso had prepared a large land force, and had assembled an armament of twenty ships and ten galleys at Ancona, on the frontiers of Genoa. The situation of the latter was considered imminently perilous, when Alphonso suddenly fell of a calenture and died, leaving the kingdoms of Aragon and Sicily to his brother John, and the kingdom of Naples to his son Ferdinand.

The death of Alphonso and the subsequent division of his dominions, while they relieved the fears of the Genoese, gave rise to new hopes on the part of the house of Anjou; and the duke John, encouraged by emissaries from various powerful partisans among the Neapolitan nobility, determined to make a bold at-

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, cap. v.

<sup>2</sup> Duke of Calabria was the title of the son and heir of the King of Naples, being similar to that of Prince of Wales in England.

the duke of Milan." The squadron was sent to the Levant in 1480, and attacked the Venetian island of Crete to protect the island of Rhodes. A letter of the duke of Milan, dated 1480, is preserved in the Vatican by Spotorno. It is called by the Spaniards likewise, a few years before the French service, in the Mediterranean, as will be seen. The names of the duke's nephew, appearing in an obscure period of the reign, added with his name. Columbus says that his father, with Colombo the younger, in the month of May, at various times, and in the squadron, that he may have been on several occasions.

OF ANJOU.

John had attained his majority in a state of threatened invasion of Naples. Finding himself with such a foe, and distance from Italy, the son of Charles VII. at its assistance John of Anjou, who was crowned by Alphonso the Duke of Calabria himself the commander, and defended with strong chains. He prepared a large land armament of twenty thousand, on the frontiers of the latter was considered. Alphonso suddenly fell from the kingdoms of Aragon, John, and the King of Sicily. The subsequent division of the kingdom relieved the fears of the French on the part of the King of Aragon, and John, encouraged by the French partisans among the nobles, to make a bold at-

tempt upon Naples for the recovery of the crown. The Genoese entered into his cause with spirit, furnishing him with ships, galleys, and money. His father, René, or Renato, fitted out twelve galleys for the expedition in the harbour of Marseilles, and sent him assurance of an abundant supply of money, and of the assistance of the King of France. The brilliant nature of the enterprise attracted the attention of the daring and restless spirits of the times. The chivalrous nobleman, the soldier of fortune, the hardy corsair, the bold adventurer, or the mercenary partizan, enlisted under the banners of the Duke of Calabria. It is stated by historians that Columbus served in the armament from Genoa, in a squadron commanded by one of the Colombos, his relations.

The expedition against Naples sailed in October, 1480, and arrived off Sessa, between the mouths of the Garigliano and the Volturno. The news of its arrival was the signal of universal revolt; the factious barons and their vassals hastened to join the standard of Anjou; and the duke soon saw the finest provinces of the Neapolitan dominions at his command, and with his army and squadron menaced the city of Naples itself.

In the history of this expedition, we meet with one hazardous action of the fleet in which Columbus had embarked.

The army of John of Anjou being closely invested by a superior force, was in a perilous predicament at the mouth of the Sarno. In this conjuncture, the captain of the armada landed with his men and occupied the neighbourhood, hoping to awaken in the populace their former enthusiasm for the banner of Anjou, and perhaps to take Naples by surprise. The troops from the fleet were sent against them. Having little of the discipline of regular soldiery and much of the freebooting disposition of maritime rovers, they had scattered themselves about the country, intent chiefly upon spoil. They were attacked by the infantry and put to the rout, with the loss of many killed and wounded. Endeavouring to make their way back to the ships, they found the passes seized and blocked up by the people of Sorrento, who assailed them with dreadful havoc. Their flight now became desperate and headlong; many, it is said, seized with the madness of despair, threw themselves from rocks and precipices into the sea, and but a small portion regained the ships.

The contest of John of Anjou for the crown of Naples lasted four years. For a time fortune favoured him, and the prize seemed almost within his grasp: but reverses succeeded; he was defeated at various points; the factious nobles, one by one, deserted him and returned to their allegiance to Alphonso, and the duke was finally compelled to retire to the island of Sicily. Here he remained for some time, guarded by eight galleys, which likewise harassed the Bay of Naples. In this squadron, which loyally adhered

to him until he ultimately abandoned this unfortunate enterprise, it is supposed Columbus may have served.

#### NO VIII.

##### CAPTURE OF THE VENETIAN GALLEYS BY COLOMBO THE YOUNGER.

As the account of the sea-fight by which Fernando Columbus asserts that his father was first thrown upon the shores of Portugal has been adopted by various respectable historians, it is proper to give particular reasons for discrediting it.

Fernando expressly says that it was in an action mentioned by Marco Antonio Sabellico, in the eighth book of his tenth Decade; that the squadron in which Columbus served was commanded by a famous corsair called Columbus the younger (Colombo el Mozo); and that an embassy was sent from Venice to thank the King of Portugal for the succour he afforded to the Venetian captains and crews. All this is certainly recorded in Sabellicus; but the battle took place in 1485, a year after Columbus had left Portugal. Zurita, in his Annals of Aragon, under the date of 1485, mentions this same action. He says, "At this time four Venetian galleys sailed from the island of Cadiz, and took the route for Flanders; they were laden with merchandise from the Levant, especially from the island of Sicily, and, passing by Cape St Vincent, they were attacked by a French corsair, son of Captain Colon (Colombo), who had seven vessels in his armada; and the galleys were captured the twenty-first of August."

A much fuller account is given in the life of King John II of Portugal, by Garcia de Reesende, who likewise records it as happening in 1485. He says the Venetian galleys were taken and robbed by the French, and the captains and crews, wounded, plundered, and maltreated, were turned on shore at Cascoes. Here they were succoured by Doña Maria de Meneses, countess of Monsanto. When King John II heard of the circumstance, being much grieved that such an event should have happened on his coast, and being disposed to show his friendship for the republic of Venice, he ordered that the Venetian captains should be furnished with rich raiment of silk and costly cloths, and provided with horses and mules, that they might make their appearance before him in a style befitting themselves and their country. He received them with great kindness and distinction, expressing himself with princely courtesy, both as to themselves and the republic of Venice; and having heard their account of the battle, and of their destitute situation, he assisted them with a large sum of money to ransom their galleys from the French cruisers. The latter took all the merchandise on board of their ships; but King John prohibited any

• Columbus, Hist. Cap., l. vii. c. 17.

• Zurita, lib. xx. c. 64.



of the spoil from being purchased within his dominions. Having thus generously relieved and assisted the captains, and administered to the necessities of their crews, he enabled them all to return in their own galleys to Venice.

The dignitaries of the republic were so highly sensible of this munificence on the part of King John, that they sent a stately embassy to that monarch with rich presents and warm expressions of gratitude. Geronimo Donato was charged with this mission, a man eminent for learning and eloquence. He was honourably received and entertained by King John, and dismissed with royal presents, among which were genets and mules, with sumptuous trappings and caparisons, and many negro slaves richly clad.<sup>1</sup>

The following is the account of this action, as given by Sabellicus in his History of Venice:<sup>2</sup>

“Erano andate quatro Galce delle quali Bartolomeo Minio era capitano. Queste navigando per l’Iberico mare, Colombo il più giovane, nipote di quel Colombo famoso corsale, fecesi incontro a’ Venetiani di notte appresso il Sacro Promontorio, che chiamasi hora Capo di San Vicenzo, con sette navi guarnite da combattere. Egli quantunque nel primo incontro avesse seco disposto d’opprimere le navi Veneziane, si ritenne però dal combattere sin al giorno, tuttavia per esser alla battaglia piu acconcio così le seguiva, che le prode del corsale toccavano le poppe de’ Veneziani. Venuto il giorno incontanente i Barbari diedero l’assalto, sostennero i Veneziani allora l’empito del nemico, per numero delle navi e de’ combattenti superiore, e durò il conflitto atroce per molte ore. Rare fiate fu combattuto contro simili nemici con tanta uccisione, perchè a pena si costuma d’attacarsi contro di loro se non per occasione. Affermano alcuni, che vi furono presenti, esser morti delle ciurme Veneziane da trecento uomini.

“Altri dicono che fu meno. Morì in quella zuffa Lorenzo Michele capitano d’una galera, e Giovanni Delfino d’altro capitano fratello. Era durata la zuffa dal fare del giorno fin’ ad ore venti, ed erano le genti Veneziane mal trattate. Era già la nave Delfina in potere de’ nemici quando le altre ad una si renderono. Narrano alcuni, che furono di quell’ aspro conflitto partecipi, aver numerato neli loro navi da proda a poppa ottanta valorosi uomini estinti, i quali dal nemico veduti, lo mossero a gemere e dire con isdegno, che così avevano voluto i Veneziani. I corpi morti furono gettati nel mare, e i feriti posti nel lido. Quei che remasero vivi, seguirono con le navi il Capitano vittorioso sin’ a Lisbona ed ivi furono tutti

<sup>1</sup> Ohras de Garcia de Reesende, c. 58. Evora, 1554.

<sup>2</sup> Marco Antonio Cocceio, better known under the name of Sabellicus,—a cognomen which he adopted on being crowned poet in the pedantic academy of Pomponius Laetus. He was a contemporary of Columbus, and makes brief mention of his discoveries in the eighth book of the tenth decade of his Universal History. By some writers he is called the Livy of his time; others accuse him of being full of misrepresentations in favour of Venice. The elder Sealiger charges him with venality, and with being influenced by Venetian gold.

licenciati. \* \* \* \* \*  
 Quivi furono i Veneziani benignamente ricevuti dal Re, gli infermi furono medicati, gli altri ebbero abiti e denari secondo la loro condizione. \* \* \* \* \*  
 Oltre ciò vietò in tutto il Regno, che alcuno non comprasse deita preda Veneziana, portata da i corsali. La nuova dell’ avuta rovina non poco afflisse la città, erano perduti in quella mercatanza da duecento mila ducati; ma il danno particular degli uomini uccisi diede maggior afflizione.”

*Marc. Ant. Sabellico, Hist. Venet. Decad. 10, l. 3.*

#### Nº IX.

#### AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

AMONG the earliest and most intelligent of the navigators who followed the track of Columbus, was Amerigo Vespucci. He has been considered by many as the first discoverer of the southern continent, and, by a singular caprice of fortune, his name has been given to the whole of the New World. It has been strenuously insisted, however, that he had no claim to the title of a discoverer; that he merely sailed in a subordinate capacity, in squadrons commanded by others; that the account of his first voyage is a fabrication; and that he did not visit the main land until after it had been discovered and coasted by Columbus. As this question has been made a matter of warm and voluminous controversy, it is proper to take a summary view of it in the present work.

Amerigo Vespucci was born in Florence, March 9th, 1451, of a noble, but not at that time a wealthy family: his father’s name was Anastasio; his mother’s was Elisabetta Mini. He was the third of their sons, and received an excellent education under his uncle, Giorgio Antonio Vespucci, a learned friar of the fraternity of San Marco, who was instructor to several illustrious personages of that period.

Amerigo Vespucci visited Spain, and took up his residence in Seville, to attend to some commercial transactions on account of the family of the Medici of Florence, and to repair, by his ingenuity, the losses and misfortunes of an unskilful brother.<sup>1</sup>

The date of his arrival in Spain is uncertain; but from comparing dates and circumstances mentioned in his letters, he must have been at Seville when Columbus returned from his first voyage.

Padre Stanislaus Canova, professor of mathematics at Florence, who has published the life and voyages of Amerigo Vespucci, says that he was commissioned by King Ferdinand, and sent with Columbus in his second voyage in 1495. He states this on the authority of a passage in the Cosmography of Sebastian Munster, published at Basle in 1550;<sup>2</sup> but Munster

<sup>1</sup> Bandini, Vita d’Amerigo Vespucci.

<sup>2</sup> Cosm. Munst., p. 1108.

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<sup>1</sup> These partic from the royal ar

mentions Vespucci as having accompanied Columbus in his first voyage; the reference of Canovai is therefore incorrect; and the suggestion of Munster is disproved by the letters of Vespucci, in which he states his having been stimulated by the accounts brought of the newly-discovered regions. He never mentions such a voyage in any of his letters, which he most probably would have done, or rather would have made it the subject of a copious letter, had he actually performed it.

The first notice of a positive form which we have of Vespucci as resident in Spain, is early in 1496. He appears, from documents in the royal archives at Seville, to have acted as agent or factor for the house of Juanoto Berardi, a rich Florentine merchant, resident in Seville; who had contracted to furnish the Spanish Sovereigns with three several armaments, of four vessels each, for the service of the newly-discovered countries. He may have been one of the principals in this affair, which was transacted in the name of this established house. Berardi died in December, 1495, and in the following January we find Amerigo Vespucci attending to the concerns of the expedition, and settling with the masters of the ships for their pay and maintenance, according to the agreements made between them and the late Juanoto Berardi. On the 12th of January, 1496, he received on this account 10,000 maravedies from Bernardo Pirelo, the royal treasurer. He went on preparing all things for the despatch of four caravels, to sail under the same contract between the Sovereigns and the house of Berardi, and sent them to sea on the 3d of February, 1496; but, on the 18th, they met with a storm, and were wrecked; the crews were saved, with the loss of only three men. While thus employed, Amerigo Vespucci, of course, had occasional opportunities of conversing with Columbus, with whom, according to the expression of the Admiral himself, in one of his letters to his son Diego, he appears to have been always on friendly terms. From these conversations, and from his agency in these expeditions, he soon became excited to visit the newly-discovered countries, and to participate in enterprises which were the theme of every tongue. Having made himself well acquainted with geographical and nautical science, he prepared to launch into the career of discovery. It was not very long before he carried this design into execution.

In 1498, Columbus, in his third voyage, discovered the coast of Paria, on Terra Firma; which he at that time imagined to be a great island, but that a vast continent lay immediately adjacent. He sent to Spain specimens of pearls found on this coast, and gave the most sanguine accounts of the supposed riches of the country.

In 1499, an expedition of four vessels, under command of Alonso de Ojeda, was fitted out from Spain, and sailed for Paria with the assistance of charts and

letters sent to the government by Columbus. These were communicated to Ojeda by his patron, the bishop Fonseca, who had the superintendence of Indian affairs, and who furnished him also with a warrant to undertake the voyage.

It is presumed that Vespucci aided in fitting out the armament, and sailed in a vessel belonging to the house of Berardi, and in this way was enabled to take a share in the gains and losses of the expedition; for Isabella, as Queen of Castile, had strictly forbidden all strangers from trading with her transatlantic possessions, not even excepting the natives of the kingdom of Aragon.

This squadron visited Paria and several hundred miles of the coast, which they ascertained to be terra firma. They returned in June, 1500, and on the 18th of July, in that year, Amerigo Vespucci wrote an account of his voyage to Lorenzo di Pier Francisco de Medici, of Florence, which remained concealed in manuscript, until brought to light and published by Bandini, in 1745.

In his account of this voyage, and in every other narrative of his different expeditions, Vespucci never mentions any other person concerned in the enterprise. He gives the time of his sailing, and states that he went with two caravels, which were probably his share of the expedition, or rather vessels sent by the house of Berardi. He gives an interesting narrative of the voyage, and of the various transactions with the natives, which corresponds in many substantial points with the accounts furnished by Ojeda and his mariners of their voyage, in a lawsuit hereafter mentioned.

In May, 1504, Vespucci, having suddenly left Spain, sailed in the service of Emanuel, King of Portugal; in the course of which expedition he visited the coast of Brazil. He gives an account of this voyage in a second letter to Lorenzo di Pier Francisco de Medici, which also remained in manuscript, until published by Bartolozzi, in 1780.

No record or notice of any such voyage, undertaken by Amerigo Vespucci, at the command of Emanuel, is to be found in the archives of the Torre do Tombo, the general archives of Portugal, which have been repeatedly and diligently searched for the purpose. It is singular, also, that his name is not to be found in any of the Portuguese historians, who in general were very particular in naming all navigators who held any important station among them, or rendered any distinguished services. That Vespucci did sail along the coasts, however, is not questioned. His nephew, after his death, in the course of evidence on some point in dispute, gave the correct altitude of Cape St Augustine, which he said he had extracted from his uncle's journal.

In 1504, Vespucci wrote a third letter to the same Lorenzo de Medici, containing a more extended account of the voyage just alluded to, in the service of Portugal. This was the first of his narratives that

<sup>1</sup> These particulars are from manuscript memoranda, extracted from the royal archives, by the late accurate historian Muñoz.

<sup>2</sup> Bartolozzi, Ricerche storiche. Firenze. 1780.

appeared in print. It appears to have been published in Latin at Strassburgh, as early as 1503, under the title of "Americus Vesputius, de Orbe Antartica per Regem Portugallia pridem invento."

An edition of this letter was printed in Vicenza, in 1507, in an anonymous collection of voyages, edited by Francanzio di Monte Alhoddo, an inhabitant of Vicenza. It was reprinted in Italian, in 1508, at Milan; and also in Latin, in a book entitled *Itinerarium Portugalensium*. In making the present illustration, the Milan edition in Italian\* has been consulted, and also a Latin translation of it, by Simon Grinaeus, in his *Novus Orbis*, published at Basle, in 1532. It relates entirely to the first voyage of Vespucci, from Lisbon to the Brazils, in 1491.

It is from this voyage to the Brazils that Amerigo Vespucci was first considered the discoverer of Terra Firma; and his name was at first applied to these southern regions, though afterwards extended to the whole continent. The merits of his voyage were, however, greatly exaggerated. The Brazils had been previously discovered, and formally taken possession of for Spain, in 1500, by Pinzon, and also in the same year, by Pedro Alvarez Cabral, on the part of Portugal; circumstances unknown, however, to Vespucci and his associates. The country remained in possession of Portugal, in conformity to the line of demarcation agreed on between the two nations.

Vespucci made a second voyage in the service of Portugal. He says, that he commanded a caravel in a squadron of six vessels, destined for the discovery of Malacca; which they had heard to be the great depôt and magazine of all the trade between the Ganges and the Indian Sea. Such an expedition did sail about this time, under the command of Gonzalo Coelho. The squadron sailed, according to Vespucci, on the 40th of May, 1505. It stopped at the Cape de Verde Islands for refreshments, and afterwards sailed by the coast of Sierra Leone; but was prevented from landing by contrary winds and a turbulent sea. Standing to the south-west, they ran three hundred leagues, until they were three degrees to the southward of the equinoctial line, where they discovered an uninhabited island, about two leagues in

\* Panzer, tom. vi, p. 33, apud *Esame Critico*, p. 88. Anotazione.

† This rare book, in the possession of O. Rich, Esq., is believed to be the oldest printed collection of voyages extant. It has not the pages numbered, the sheets are merely marked with a letter of the alphabet at the foot of each eighth page. It contains the earliest account of the voyages of Columbus, from his first departure, until his arrival at Cadiz in chains. The letter of Vespucci, to Lorenzo de Medici, occupies the fifth book of this little volume. It is stated to have been originally written in Spanish, and translated into Italian by a person of the name of Jocondo. An earlier edition is stated to have been printed in Venice, by Alberto Verzellose, in 1504. The author is said to have been Angelo Trivigiani, secretary to the Venetian ambassador in Spain. This Trivigiani appears to have collected many of the particulars of the voyages of Columbus from the manuscript *Decades* of Peter Martyr, who erroneously lays the charge of the plagiarism to Aloysius Cadamosto, whose voyages are inserted in the same collection. The book was entitled, "*Abretto di tutta la Navigazione del Re de Spagna, delle Isole, e Terreni nuovamente trovati.*"

length and one in breadth. Here, on the 40th of August, by mismanagement, the commander of the squadron ran his vessel on a rock, and lost her. While the other vessels were assisting to save the crew and property from the wreck, Amerigo Vespucci was despatched in his caravel, to search for a safe harbour in the island. He departed in his vessel, without his long-boat, and with less than half of his crew, the rest having gone in the boat to the assistance of the wreck. Vespucci found a harbour, but waited in vain for several days for the arrival of the ships. Standing out to sea, he met with a solitary vessel, and learnt that the ship of the commander had sunk, and the rest had proceeded onwards. In company with this vessel, he stood for the Brazils, according to a command of the King, in case that any vessel should be parted from the fleet. Arriving on the coast, he discovered the famous Bay of All Saints, where he remained upwards of two months, in hopes of being joined by the rest of the fleet. He at length ran 200 leagues farther south, where he remained five months, building a fort, and taking in a cargo of Brazil wood. Then, leaving in the fortress a garrison of twenty-four men, with arms and ammunition, he set sail for Lisbon, where he arrived in June, 1504. The commander of the squadron, and the other four ships, were never heard of afterwards.

Vespucci does not appear to have received the reward from the King of Portugal that his services merited; for we find him at Seville early in 1505, on his way to the Spanish court in quest of employment; and he was bearer of a letter from Columbus to his son Diego, dated February 3, which, while it speaks warmly of him as a friend, intimates his having been unfortunate. The following is the letter:

"MY DEAR SON,

"Diego Mendez departed from hence on Monday the third of this month. After his departure, I conversed with Amerigo Vespucci, the bearer of this, who goes there (to court), summoned on affairs of navigation. Fortune has been adverse to him, as to many others. His labours have not profited him so much as they reasonably should have done. He goes on my account, and with much desire to do something that may result to my advantage, if within his power. I cannot ascertain here in what I can employ him that will be serviceable to me, for I do not know what may be there required. He goes with the determination to do all that is possible for me. See in what he may be of advantage, and co-operate with him; that he may say and do every thing, and put his plans in operation; and let all be done secretly, that he may not be suspected. I have said every thing to him that I can say touching the business; and have informed him of the pay I have received, and what is due, etc."

† Letter of Vespucci to Saderrini or Tencé. Edit. of Canova.

‡ Navarrete, *Collec. Viag.*, t. i, p. 531.

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About this time Amerigo Vespucci received letters of naturalization from King Ferdinand, and shortly afterwards he and Pinzon were named captains of an armada about to be sent out in the spice trade, and to make discoveries. There is a royal order dated Toro, 14th April, 1505, for 42,000 maravedies, as an outfit for "Amerigo de Vespucci, resident of Seville." Preparations were made for this voyage, and vessels procured and fitted out; but it was eventually abandoned. There are memoranda existing concerning it, dated in 1505, 1507, and 1508; from which it appears that Amerigo Vespucci remained at Seville, attending to the fluctuating concerns of this squadron, until the destination of the vessels was changed, their equipments sold, and the accounts settled. During this time he had a salary of 30,000 maravedies. On the 22d of March, 1508, he received the appointment of principal pilot, with a salary of 75,000 maravedies. His chief duties were to prepare charts, examine pilots, superintend the fitting out of expeditions, and prescribe the route that vessels were to pursue in their voyages to the New World. He appears to have remained at Seville, and to have retained this office until his death, on the 22d of February, 1512. His widow, Maria Corezo, enjoyed a pension of 40,000 maravedies. After his death, his nephew, Juan Vespucci, was nominated pilot, with a salary of 20,000 maravedies commencing on the 22d of May, 1512. Peter Martyr speaks with high commendation of this young man. "Young Vesputius is one to whom Americus Vesputius, his uncle, left the exact knowledge of the mariner's faculties, as it were by inheritance, after his death; for he was a very expert master in the knowledge of his card, his compass, and the elevation of the pole star by the quadrant."\*\*\*\* Vesputius is my very familiar friend, and a witty young man, in whose company I take great pleasure, and therefore use him oftentimes for my guest. He hath also made many voyages into these coasts, and diligently noted such things as he hath seen."

Vespucci the nephew continued in this situation during the lifetime of Fonseca, who had been the patron of his uncle and his family. He was divested of his pay and his employ, by a letter of the council, dated the 18th of March, 1525, shortly after the death of the bishop. No further notice of Vespucci is to be found in the archives of the Indies.

Such is a brief view of the career of Amerigo Vespucci; it remains to notice the points in controversy. Shortly after his return from his last expedition to the Brazils, he wrote a letter, dated Lisbon, 4th of September, 1504, containing a summary account of all his voyages. This letter is of special importance to the matters under investigation, as it is the only one known that relates the disputed voyage, which would establish him as the discoverer of Terra Firma. It appears to have been written in Latin, and was addressed to René, Duke of Lorraine,

who assumed the title of King of Sicily and Jerusalem.

The earliest known edition of this letter was published in Latin in 1507, at St. Diez, in Lorraine. A copy of it has been found in the library of the Vatican (No 0688), by the Abbé Cancellieri. In preparing the present illustration, a reprint of this letter in Latin has been consulted, inserted in the *Novus Orbis* of Grinaeus, published at Basle in 1532. The letter contains a spirited narrative of four voyages, which he asserts to have made to the New World. In the prologue he excuses the liberty of addressing King René, by calling to his recollection the ancient intimacy of their youth, when studying the rudiments of science together, under the paternal uncle of the voyager; and adds, that if the present narratives should not altogether please his majesty, he must plead to him, as Pliny said to Mæcenæ, "that he used formerly to be amused with his trillings."

In the prologue to this letter, he informs René that affairs of commerce had brought him to Spain, where he had experienced the various changes of fortune attendant on such transactions, and was induced to abandon that pursuit, and direct his labours to objects of a more elevated and stable nature. He therefore purposed to contemplate various parts of the world, and to behold the marvels which it contains. To this object both time and place were favourable; for King Ferdinand was then preparing four vessels for the discovery of new lands in the west, and appointed him among the number of those who went in the expedition. "We departed," he adds, "from the port of Cadiz, May 20, 1497, taking our course on the great ocean; in which voyage we employed eighteen months, discovering many lands and innumerable islands, chiefly inhabited, unknown to antiquity."

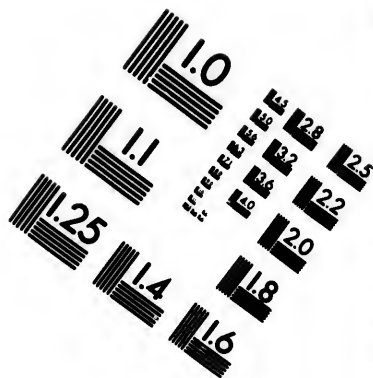
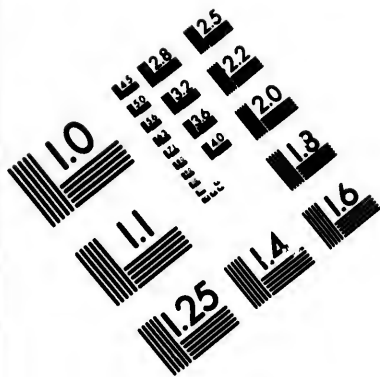
A duplicate of this letter appears to have been sent at the same time (written, it is said, in Italian) to Piero Soderini, afterwards gonfalonier of Florence, which was some years subsequently published in Italy, not earlier than 1510, and entitled "Lettera da Amerigo Vespucci, delle Isole nuovamente trovate in quatro suoi viaggi." We have consulted the edition of this letter in Italian, inserted in the publication of Padre Stanislaus Canovai, already referred to.

It has been suggested by an Italian writer, that this letter was written by Vespucci to Soderini only, and the address altered to King René, through the flattery or mistake of the Lorraine editor, without perceiving how unsuitable the reference to former intimacy intended for Soderini was when applied to a sovereign. The person making this remark can hardly have read the prologue to the Latin edition, in which the title of "your majesty" is frequently repeated, and the term "illustrious king" employed. It was first published also in Lorraine, the domains of René; and the publisher would not probably have presumed to take such a liberty with his sovereign's name. It becomes a question, whether Vespucci addressed the same letter to King René and to Piero Soderini, both of them having

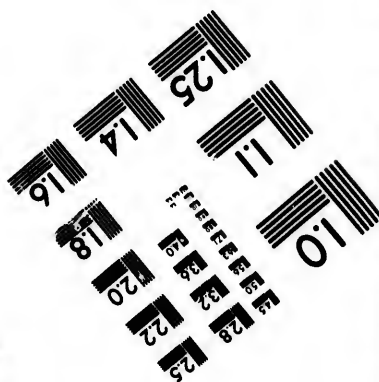
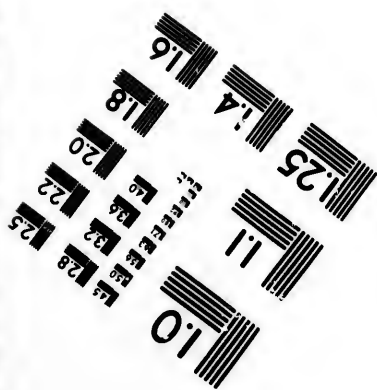
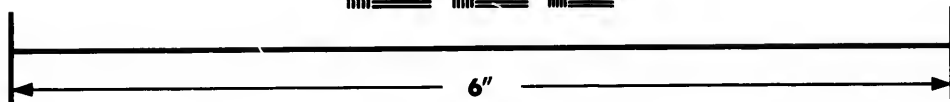
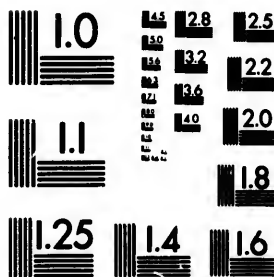
\* P. Martyr, decad. 5, l. 8.—Eden's English Transl.







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been educated with him, or whether he sent a copy of this letter to Soderini, which subsequently found its way into print. The address to Soderini may have been substituted through mistake by the Italian publisher. Neither of the publications could have been made under the supervision of Vespucci.

The voyage specified in this letter, as having taken place in 1497, is the great point in controversy. It is strenuously asserted that no such voyage took place; and that the first expedition of Vespucci to the coast of Paria was in the enterprise commanded by Ojeda in 1499. The log-books of the armada existing in the archives of the Indies at Seville have been diligently examined; but no record of such voyage has been found, nor any official documents that relate to it. Those most experienced in Spanish colonial regulations insist that no command like that pretended by Vespucci could have been given to a stranger, until he had first received letters of naturalization from the Sovereigns for the kingdom of Castile; and he did not obtain such until 1503, when they were granted to him as preparatory to giving him the command in conjunction with Pinzon.

His account of a voyage made by him in 1497, therefore, is alleged to be a fabrication, for the purpose of claiming the discovery of Paria; or rather it is affirmed, that he has divided the voyage which he actually made with Ojeda in 1499 into two; taking a number of incidents from his real voyage, altering them a little, and enlarging them with descriptions of the countries and people, so as to make a plausible narrative, which he gives as a distinct voyage; and antedates his departure to 1497, so as to make himself appear the first discoverer of Paria.

In support of this charge, various coincidences have been pointed out between his voyage said to have taken place in 1497, and that described in his first letter to Lorenzo de Medici as being made in 1499. These coincidences are with respect to places visited, transactions and battles with the natives, and the number of Indians carried to Spain and sold as slaves.

But the credibility of this voyage has been put to a stronger test. About 1508, a suit was instituted against the crown of Spain by Don Diego, son and heir of Columbus, for the government of certain parts of Terra Firma, and for a share in the revenue arising from them, conformably to the capitulations made between the Sovereigns and his father. It was the object of the crown to disprove the discovery of the coast of Paria and the Pearl Islands by Columbus, as it was maintained that unless he had discovered them, the claim of his heir with respect to them would be of no validity.

In the course of this suit, a particular examination of witnesses took place in 1512-13, in the fiscal court. Alonso de Ojeda, and nearly a hundred other persons, were interrogated on oath; that voyager having been the first to visit the coast of Paria after Columbus had left it, and that within a very few months.

The depositions of these witnesses are still extant in the archives of the Indies at Seville, amongst the papers belonging to the Admiral Don Luis Colon, and forming part of the proceedings relating to the preservation of his privileges, from 1515 to 1564. The author of the present work has two several copies of those interrogatories lying before him; one made by the late historian Muñoz, and the other made in 1820, and signed by Don Tote de la Higuera y Lara, keeper of the general archives of the Indies in Seville. In the course of this testimony, the fact that Amerigo Vespucci accompanied Ojeda in this voyage of 1499 appears manifest, first from the deposition of Ojeda himself. The following are the words of the record: "In this voyage, which this said witness made, he took with him Juan de la Cosa and Morigo Vespuche (Amerigo Vespucci), and other pilots." Another argument is drawn from the coincidence of many parts of the narrative of Vespucci with events in this voyage of Ojeda. Among these coincidences, one is particularly striking. Vespucci, in his letter to Lorenzo de Medici, and also in that to René or Soderini, says that his ships, after leaving the coast of Terra Firma, stopped at Hispaniola, where they remained about two months and a half procuring provisions; during which time, he adds, we had many perils and troubles with the very Christians who were in that island with Columbus (and I believe through envy).<sup>1</sup>

Now it is well known that Ojeda passed some time on the western end of the island, victualling his ships; and that serious dissensions took place between him and the Spaniards in those parts, and the party sent by Columbus under the command of Roldan to keep a watch upon his movements. If then Vespucci, as is stated upon oath, really accompanied Ojeda in this voyage, the inference appears almost irresistible, that he had not made the previous voyage in 1497. For the fact would have been well known to Ojeda; he would have considered Vespucci as the original discoverer, and would have had no motive for depriving him of the merit of it to give it to Columbus, with whom Ojeda was not upon friendly terms.

Ojeda, however, expressly declares that the coast had been discovered by Columbus. On being asked how he knew the fact, he replied, because he saw the chart of the country discovered, which Columbus sent at the time to the King and Queen, and that he came off immediately on a voyage of discovery, and found what was therein set down as discovered by the Admiral was correct.<sup>2</sup>

Another witness, Bernaldo de Haro states, that he

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<sup>2</sup> Per la necessità del mantenimento fummo all' Isola d'Antiglia (Hispaniola) che è questa che discoprese Cristoval Colombo più anni fa, dove facemmo molto mantenimento e stemmo due mesi e 17 giorni, dove passammo molti pericoli e travagli con li medesimi Cristiani che in questa isola stavano col Colombo (credo per invidia).—Letter of Vespucci. Edit. of Canova.

<sup>3</sup> Preguntado como lo sabe, dijo, que lo sabe porque vió este

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had been with the Admiral, and had written (or rather copied) a letter for the Admiral to the King and Queen, designating, in an accompanying chart, the track by which he had arrived at Paria; and that this witness had heard that from this chart others had been made, and that Pedro Alonso, Niño, and Ojeda, and others who had since visited these countries, had been guided by the same.

Francisco de Morales, one of the best and most credible of all the pilots, testified that he saw a sea-chart which Columbus had made of the coast of Paria, and he believed that all governed themselves by it.

Numerous witnesses examined in this suit testify to the fact that Paria was first discovered by Columbus. Las Casas, who has been at the pains of counting them, says that the fact was established by twenty-five eye-witnesses, and sixty ear-witnesses. Many of them testify also, that the coast south of Paria, and that extending west to the island of Margarita away to Venezuela, which Vespucci states to have been discovered by himself in 1497, was now first discovered by Ojeda, and had never before been visited either by the Admiral, "or any other Christian whatever."

Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal says, that all the voyages of discovery which were made to the Terra Firma, were made by persons who had sailed with the Admiral, or been benefited by his instruction and directions, following the course he had laid down; and the same is testified by many other pilots and mariners of reputation and experience.

It would be a singular circumstance if none of these witnesses, many of whom must have sailed in the same squadron with Vespucci along this coast in 1499, should have known that he had discovered and explored it two years previously. If that had really been the case, what motive could he have for concealing the fact? and why, if they knew it, should they not proclaim it? Vespucci states his voyage in 1497 to have been made with four caravels; that they returned in October, 1498, and that he sailed again with two caravels in May, 1499 (the date of Ojeda's departure). Many of the mariners would therefore have been present in both voyages. Why, too, should Ojeda

and the other pilots guide themselves by the charts of Columbus, when they had a man on board so learned in nautical science, and who, from his own recent observation, was practically acquainted with the coast? Not a word, however, is mentioned of the voyage and discovery of Vespucci by any of the pilots, though every other navigator and discoverer is cited: nor does there ever a seaman appear who has accompanied him in his asserted voyage.

Another strong circumstance against the reality of this voyage is, that it was not brought forward in this trial to defeat the claims of the heirs of Columbus. Vespucci states the voyage to have been undertaken with the knowledge and countenance of King Ferdinand; it must therefore have been avowed and notorious. Vespucci was living at Seville in 1506, at the time of the commencement of this suit, and for four years afterwards, a salaried servant of the crown. Many of the pilots and mariners must have been at hand who sailed with him in his pretended enterprise. If this voyage had once been proved, it would completely have settled the question, as far as concerned the coast of Paria, in favour of the crown. Yet no testimony appears ever to have been taken from Vespucci while living; and when the interrogatories were made in the fiscal court in 1512-13, not one of his seamen is brought up to give evidence. A voyage so important in its nature, and so essential to the question in dispute, is not even alluded to; while useless pains are taken to wrest evidence from the voyage of Ojeda, undertaken at a subsequent period.

It is a circumstance worthy of notice, that Vespucci commences his first letter to Lorenzo de Medici in 1500, within a month after his return from the voyage he had actually made to Paria, and apologizes for his long silence, by saying that nothing had occurred worthy of mention ("è gran tempo che non ho scritto a vostra magnificenza, e non lo ha causato altra cosa nessuna, salvo non mi essere accorso cosa degna di memoria"), and proceeds eagerly to tell him the wonders he had witnessed in the expedition from which he had but just returned. It would be a singular forgetfulness to say that nothing had occurred of importance, if he had made a previous voyage of eighteen months in 1497-8 to this newly discovered world; and it would be almost equally strange that he should not make the slightest allusion to it in this letter.

It has been the endeavour of the author to examine this question dispassionately; and after considering the statements and arguments advanced on either side, he cannot resist a conviction that the voyage stated to have been made in 1497 did not take place, and that Vespucci has no title to the first discovery of the coast of Paria.

The question is extremely perplexing, from the difficulty of assigning sufficient motives for so gross a deception. When Vespucci wrote his letters, there was no doubt entertained but that Columbus had discovered the main land in his first voyage; Cuba

testigo la figura que el dicho Almirante al dicho tiempo envió á Castilla al Rey é Reina Nuestros Señores do lo que habla descubierto, y porque este testigo luego vino á descubrir y halló que era verdad lo que dicho tiene que el dicho Almirante descubrió.

MS. Process of D. Diego Colon, pregunta 2.

Este testigo escribió una carta que el Almirante escribiera al Rey é Reina N.N.S.S. haciéndoles saber las perlas é cosas que habla hallado, y le embió señalado con la dicha carta en una carta de marear, los rumbos é vientos por donde habla llegado á la Paria, y que este testigo oyó decir como por aquella carta se habian hecho otras ó por ellas habian venido Pedro Alonso Merino (Niño) é Ojeda, y otros que despues han ido á aquellas partes.

MS. Process of D. Diego Colon, pregunta 9.

Que en todos los viages que algunos hicieron descubriendo en la dicha tierra que ovieron navegado con el dicho Almirante y á ellos mostró muchas cosas de marear, y ellos por limitacion é industria del dicho Almirante las aprendian y aprendieron o seguenlo ago, que el dicho Almirante los habla mostrado, hicieron los viages que descubrieron en la Tierra Firme.

Process, pregunta 10.

being always considered the extremity of Asia, until circumnavigated in 1508. Vespucci may have supposed Brazil, Paria, and the rest of that coast part of a distinct continent, and have been anxious to arrogate to himself the fame of its discovery. It has been asserted, that, on his return from his voyage to the Brazils, he prepared a maritime chart, in which he gave his name to that part of the main land; but this assertion does not appear to be well substantiated. It would rather seem that his name was given to that part of the continent by others, as a tribute paid to his supposed merit, in consequence of having read his own account of his voyages.<sup>1</sup>

It is singular that Fernando, the son of Columbus, in his biography of his father, should bring no charge against Vespucci of endeavouring to supplant the Admiral in this discovery. Herrera has been cited as the first to bring the accusation, in his History of the Indies, first published in 1604; and has been much criticised in consequence by the advocates of Vespucci, as making the charge on his mere assertion. But, in fact, Herrera did but copy what he found written by Las Casas, who had the proceedings of the fiscal court lying before him, and was moved to indignation against Vespucci, by what he considered proofs of great imposture.

It has been suggested, that Vespucci was instigated to this deception at the time when he was seeking employment in the colonial service of Spain; that he did it to conciliate the bishop Fonseca, who was desirous of any thing that might injure the interests of Columbus. In corroboration of this opinion, the patronage is cited which was ever shown by Fonseca to Vespucci and his family. This is not, however, a satisfactory reason, since it does not appear that the bishop ever made any use of the fabrication. Perhaps some other means might be found of accounting for this spurious narration, without implicating the veracity of Vespucci. It may have been the blunder of some editor, or the interpolation of some book-maker, eager, as in the case of Trivigiani with the manuscripts of Peter Martyr, to gather together disjointed materials, and fabricate a work to gratify the prevalent passion of the day.

In the various editions of the letters of Vespucci, the grossest variations and inconsistencies in dates will be found, evidently the errors of hasty and careless publishers. Several of these have been judiciously corrected by the modern authors who have inserted these letters in their works.<sup>2</sup> The same disregard to

<sup>1</sup> The first suggestion of the name appears to have been in the Latin work already cited, published in St Diez in Lorraine in 1507, in which was inserted the letter of Vespucci to King René. The author, after speaking of the other three parts of the world, Asia, Africa, and Europe, recommends that the fourth shall be called Amerige or America, after Vespucci, whom he imagined its discoverer.

<sup>2</sup> An instance of these errors may be cited in the edition of the letter of Amerigo Vespucci to King René, inserted by Grinaus in his *Novus Orbis* in 1532. In this Vespucci is made to state that he sailed from Cadiz, on May 20, MCCCXCVII (1497), that he was eighteen months absent and returned to Cadiz, October 15,

exactness which led to these blunders may have produced the interpolation of this voyage, garbled out of the letters of Vespucci, and the accounts of other voyagers. This is merely suggested as a possible mode of accounting for what appears so decidedly to be a fabrication, yet which we are loth to attribute to a man of the good sense, the character, and the reputed merit of Vespucci.

After all, this is a question more of curiosity than of real moment, although it is one of those perplexing points about which grave men will continue to write weary volumes, until the subject acquires a fictitious importance from the mountain of controversy heaped upon it. It has become a question of local pride with the literati of Florence; and they emulate each other with patriotic zeal to vindicate the fame of their distinguished countryman. This zeal is laudable when kept within proper limits; but it is to be regretted that some of them have so far been heated by controversy, as to become irascible against the very memory of Columbus, and to seek to disparage his general fame, as if the ruin of it would add any thing to the reputation of Vespucci. This is discreditably to their discernment and their liberality; it injures their cause, and shocks the feelings of mankind, who will not willingly see a name like that of Columbus lightly or petulantly assailed in the course of these literary contests. It is a name consecrated in history, and is no longer the property of a city, or a state, or a nation, but of the whole world.

Neither should those who have a proper sense of the merit of Columbus put any part of his great renown at issue upon this minor dispute. Whether or not he was the first discoverer of Paria was a question of interest to his heirs, as a share in the government and revenues of that country depended upon it; but it is of no importance to his fame. In fact, the European who first reached the main land of the New World was most probably Sebastian Cabot, a native of Venice, sailing in the employ of England. In 1497 he coasted its shores from Labrador to Florida; yet neither the Venetians nor the English have set up any pretensions on his account. The glory of Columbus embraces the discovery of the whole western world; others may subdivide it. With respect to him, Vespucci is as Yañez Pinzon, Bastides, Ojeda, Cabot, and the crowd of secondary discoverers that followed in his track. When Columbus first touched the shore of the western hemisphere, he had achieved his enterprise, he had accomplished all that was necessary to his fame: the great problem was solved, the New World was discovered.

MCCCXCIX (1499), which would constitute an absence of twenty-nine months. He states his departure from Cadiz, on his second voyage, Sunday, May 11, MCCCCLXXXIX (1489), which would have made his second voyage precede his first by eight years. If we substitute 1499 for 1489, the departure on his second voyage would still precede his return from his first by five months. Genovai, in his edition, has altered the date of the first return to 1494, to limit the voyage to eighteen months.

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## No X.

MARTIN ALONZO PINZON.

In the course of the trial in the fiscal court between Don Diego and the crown, a feeble attempt was made to depreciate the merit of Columbus, and to ascribe the success of the great enterprise of discovery to the intelligence and spirit of Martin Alonso Pinzon.

Arias Perez Pinzon, son of Martin Alonso, declared, that "being once in Rome with his father on commercial affairs, before the time of the discovery, they had frequent conversations with a person learned in cosmography, who was in the service of Pope Innocent VIII, and that, being in the library of the Pope, this person showed them many manuscripts, from one of which his father gathered intimation of these new lands; for there was a passage by an historian as old as the time of Solomon, which said, 'Navigate the Mediterranean Sea to the end of Spain, and thence towards the setting of the sun in a direction between north and south, until ninety-five degrees of distance, and you will find the land of Cingango, fertile and abundant, and in greatness equal to Africa and Europe.' A copy of this writing," he added, "his father brought from Rome, with an intention of going in search of that land, and frequently expressed such determination; and that, when Columbus came to Palos with his project of discovery, Martin Alonso Pinzon showed him the manuscript, which encouraged him greatly in his enterprise; and moreover he furnished him with money to go to court to make his propositions." It is probable that this manuscript, of which Arias Perez gives so vague an account from recollection, may have been the work of Marco Polo, which Columbus had already seen, with accompanying speculations concerning Ophir and Tarshish, and the voyages made by the ships of Solomon; and it is also questionable whether this visit of Martin Alonso Pinzon to Rome was not after his mind had been heated by conversations with Columbus in the convent of La Rabida: Arias Perez always mentions the manuscript as imparted to Columbus after he had come to Palos, with an intention of proceeding on the discovery.

Several witnesses concur in declaring that Martin Alonso Pinzon was all-efficient in procuring ships and mariners for Columbus. Among others, Francisco Garcia Vallego testified, that, had it not been for Martin Alonso Pinzon, who aided him in the enterprise, together with his relations and friends, the Admiral could never have sailed on his voyage, for nobody would have gone with him; but that through the great desire which Martin Alonso had to serve the sovereigns, he entreated his brother and this witness, and other persons, to go with him, and that therefore his witness engaged in the voyage.

The son of Pinzon, and his friend and adherent, his same Francisco Garcia, went so far as to intimate, that had it not been for Martin Alonso, the Admiral

would have turned back in the course of his voyage, when he had run seven or eight hundred leagues without finding land, and was threatened with mutiny and open rebellion on board of his ship. The characteristic fortitude and perseverance of Columbus, as well as the daily minutes of his journal, furnish sufficient refutation of this charge, which the partisans of Pinzon would have been much gratified to establish.

It appears beyond a doubt, however, that Martin Alonso Pinzon was an able and enterprising navigator; that he entered with zeal into the great idea of Columbus, and was of essential service in fitting out the armament. In the whole course of the voyage out he acted with spirit and fidelity, seconding and encouraging the Admiral when harassed by the murmurs and menaces of his crew. It was only after land had been discovered, and when the prospect of immediate treasures was held out, that the cupidity of Pinzon became aroused, that he forgot the subordination so indispensable to the success of every enterprise, and of such vital importance in an expedition of this extraordinary and critical nature.

## No XI.

RUMOUR OF THE PILOT SAID TO HAVE DIED IN THE HOUSE OF COLUMBUS.

AMONG the various attempts to injure Columbus by those who were envious of his fame was one intended to destroy all his merit as an original discoverer. It was said that he had received information of the existence of land in the western parts of the ocean, from a tempest-tost pilot, who had been driven there by violent easterly winds, and who, on his return to Europe, had died in the house of Columbus, leaving in his possession the chart and journal of his voyage, by which he was guided to his discovery.

This story was first noticed by Oviedo, a contemporary of Columbus, in his history of the Indies, published in 1555. He mentions it as a rumour circulating among the vulgar, without foundation in truth.

Fernando Lopez de Gomara first brought it forward against Columbus, in his History of the Indies, published in 1552. He repeats the rumour in the vaguest terms, manifestly from Oviedo, but without the contradiction given to it by that author. He says that the name and country of the pilot were unknown, some terming him an Andalusian, sailing between the Canaries and Madeira, others a Discayan trading to England and France; and others a Portuguese, voyaging between Lisbon and Mina, on the coast of Guinea. He expresses equal uncertainty whether the pilot brought the caravel to Portugal, to Madeira, or to one of the Azores. The only point on which the circulators of the rumour agreed, was that he died in the house of Columbus. Gomara adds, that by this

event Columbus was led to undertake his voyage to the new countries.<sup>1</sup>

The other early historians who mention Columbus and his voyages, and were his contemporaries, viz, Sabellicus, Peter Martyr, Giustiniani, Bernaldes, commonly called the curate of Los Palacios, Las Casas, Fernando the son of the Admiral, and the anonymous author of a voyage of Columbus, translated from the Italian into Latin, by Madreguno,<sup>2</sup> are all silent as to this report.

Benzone, whose History of the New World was published 1565, repeats the story from Gomara, with whom he was contemporary, but decidedly expresses his opinion, that Gomara had mingled up much falsehood with some truth, for the purpose of detracting from the fame of Columbus, through jealousy that any one but a Spaniard should enjoy the honour of the discovery.<sup>3</sup>

Acosta notices the circumstance slightly in his Natural and Moral History of the Indies, published in 1591, and takes it evidently from Gomara.<sup>4</sup>

Mariana, in his History of Spain, published in 1592, also mentions it, but expresses a doubt of its truth, and derives his information manifestly from Gomara.<sup>5</sup>

Herrera, who published his History of the Indies in 1604, takes no notice of the story. By not noticing it he may be considered as rejecting it; for he is distinguished for his minuteness; and he was well acquainted with Gomara's history, which he expressly contradicts on a point of considerable interest.<sup>6</sup>

Garcilasso de la Vega, a native of Cusco in Peru, revived the tale with very minute particulars, in his Commentaries of the Incas, published in 1609. He tells it smoothly and circumstantially; fixes the date of the occurrence, 1484, "one year more or less;" states the name of the unfortunate pilot, Alonso Sanchez de Huelva; the destination of his vessel, from the Canaries to Madeira; and the unknown land to which they were driven, the island of Hispaniola. The pilot, he says, landed, took an altitude, and wrote an account of all he saw, and all that had occurred in the voyage. He then took in wood and water, and set out to seek his way home. He succeeded in returning, but the voyage was long and tempestuous, and twelve died of hunger and fatigue, out of seventeen, the original number of the crew. The five survivors arrived at Terceira, where they were hospitably entertained by Columbus, but all died in his house, in consequence of the hardships which they had sustained, the pilot last, leaving his host heir to

<sup>1</sup> Gomara, Hist. Ind., c. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Navigatio Christophori Columbi, Madrugano Interprete. It is contained in a collection of voyages, called Novus Orbis Regionum, edition of 1333, but was originally published in Italian, as written by Montalbodo Fracanzana (or Francapano de Montalbo) in a collection of voyages, entitled Nuevo Mundo, in Vicenza, 1507.

<sup>3</sup> Girolamo Benzoni, Hist. del Nuevo Mundo, l. i, fo. 12, in Venetia, 1572.

<sup>4</sup> Padre Joseph de Acosta, Hist. Ind., l. i, c. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Juan de Mariana, Hist. España, l. 26, c. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 2, l. iii, c. 1.

his papers. Columbus kept them profoundly secret, and, by pursuing the route therein prescribed, obtained the credit of discovering the New World.<sup>1</sup>

Such are the material points of the circumstantial relation furnished by Garcilasso de la Vega, 120 years after the event. In regard to authority, he recollects to have heard the story when he was a child, as a subject of conversation between his father and the neighbours, and he refers to the histories of the Indies by Acosta and Gomara for confirmation. As the conversations to which he listened must have taken place sixty or seventy years after the date of the report, there had been sufficient time for the vague rumours to become arranged into a regular narrative; and thus we have not only the name, country, and destination of the pilot, but also the name of the unknown land to which his vessel was driven.

This account, given by Garcilasso de la Vega, has been adopted by many old historians, who have felt a confidence in the peremptory manner in which he relates it, and in the authorities to whom he refers. These have been echoed by others of more recent date, and thus a weighty charge of fraud and imposture has been accumulated against Columbus, apparently supported by a crowd of respectable accusers.

The whole charge is to be traced to Gomara, who loosely repeated a vague rumour, without noticing the pointed contradictions given to it seventeen years before, by Oviedo, an ear-witness, from whose book he appears to have actually gathered the report.

It is to be remarked that Gomara bears the character among historians, of inaccuracy and of great credulity in adopting unfounded stories.<sup>2</sup>

It is unnecessary to give further refutation to this charge, especially as it is clear that Columbus communicated his idea of discovery to Paulo Toscanelli of Florence in 1474, ten years previous to the date assigned by Garcilasso de la Vega for this occurrence.

<sup>1</sup> Comentarios de los Incas, lib. 1, c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Names of historians who have either adopted this story in full, or the charge against Columbus drawn from it:

Bernardo Aldrete, Antigüedad de España, l. 4, c. 17, l. 57.

Rodrigo Caro, Antigüedad, lib. 5, cap. 76.

Juan de Solorzano, Ind. Jure, tom. 1, l. 1, c. 5.

Fernando Pizarro, Varones Ilust. del Nuevo Mundo, c. 2.

Agostino Torniel, Annual. Sacr., tom. 1, Ann. Mund. 1651, p. 48.

Pet. Damarez, or De Maliz, dial. 4, de Var. Hist., cap. 4.

Gregorio Garcia, Orig. de los Indios, lib. 1, c. 4, § 1.

Juan de Torquemada, Monarch. Ind., l. 18, c. 1.

John Baptiste Riccioli, Geograph. Reform., l. 5.

To this list of old authors may be added many others of more recent date.

<sup>3</sup> Hijos de Sevilla, No 2, p. 42, let. F. The same is stated in Historia de España Nova, l. 1, l. 437. Bernal Diaz del Castillo, Hist. de la Conquista de la Nueva España, fin de cap. 18. Juan Bautista Muñoz, Hist. N. Mundo, Prologo XVIII.

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No XII.

MARTIN BEHEM.

Thus able geographer was born in Nuremberg, in Germany, about the commencement of the year 1430. His ancestors came from the circle of Pilsner, in Bohemia; hence he is called by some writers, Martin of Bohemia; and the resemblance of his own name to that of the country of his ancestors frequently occasions a confusion in the appellation.

It has been said by some that he studied under Philip Bervalde the elder, and by others, under John Muller, otherwise called Regiomontanus; though De Murr, who has made diligent inquiry into his history, discredits both assertions. According to a correspondence between Behem and his uncle, discovered of late years by De Murr, it appears that the early part of his life was devoted to commerce. Some have given him the credit of discovering the island of Fayal; but this is an error, arising probably from the circumstance, that Job de Huertar, father-in-law of Behem, colonized that island in 1466.

He is supposed to have arrived at Portugal in 1481, while Alphonso V was still on the throne: it is certain, that, shortly afterwards, he was in high repute for his science in the court of Lisbon, insomuch that he was one of the council appointed by King John II to improve the art of navigation; and by some he has received the whole credit of the memorable service rendered to commerce by that council, in the introduction of the astrolabe into nautical use.

In 1484, King John sent an expedition under Diego Cam, as Barros calls him, Cano according to others, to prosecute discoveries along the coast of Africa. In this expedition Behem sailed as cosmographer. They crossed the equinoctial line, discovered the coast of Congo, advanced to twenty-two degrees forty-five minutes of south latitude; and erected two columns, on which were engraved the arms of Portugal, in the mouth of the river Zagra, in Africa, which thence, for some time, took the name of the river of Columns.

For the services rendered on this and on previous occasions, it is said that Behem was knighted by King John in 1485, though no mention is made of such a circumstance in any of the contemporary historians. The principal proof of his having received this mark of distinction is his having given himself the title, on his own globe, of *Eques Lusitanus*.

In 1486 he married, at Fayal, the daughter of Job de Huertar, and is supposed to have remained there for some few years, where he had a son, named Martin, born in 1489. During his residence at Lisbon and Fayal, it is probable the acquaintance took place between him and Columbus to which Herrera and others allude; and the Admiral may have heard from him some of the rumours current in the islands, of the productions of western lands floating to their shores.

• Murr, Notice sur M. Behaim.

In 1491 he returned to Nuremberg to see his family, and while there, in 1492, he finished a terrestrial globe, considered a master-piece in those days, which he had undertaken at the request of the principal magistrates of his native city.

In 1495 he returned to Portugal, and from thence proceeded to Fayal.

In 1494, King John II, who had a high opinion of him, sent him to Flanders to his natural son Prince George, the intended heir of his crown. In the course of his voyage, Behem was captured and carried to England, where he remained for three months detained by illness. Having recovered, he again put to sea, but was again captured by a corsair, and carried to France. Having ransomed himself, he proceeded to Antwerp and Bruges, but returned almost immediately to Portugal. Nothing more is known of him for several years, during which time it is supposed he remained with his family in Fayal, too old to make further voyages. In 1506 he went from Fayal to Lisbon, where he died.

The assertion that Behem had discovered the Western World previous to Columbus, in the course of the voyage with Cam, was founded on the misinterpretation of a passage interpolated in the chronicle of Hartmann Schedel, a contemporary writer. This passage mentions, that when the navigators were in the Southern Ocean, not far from the coast, and had passed the line, they came into another hemisphere, where, when they looked towards the east, their shadows fell towards the south, on their right hand; that here they discovered a new world, unknown until then, and which for many years had never been sought, except by the Genoese, and by them unsuccessfully.

“Hii duo, bono Deorum auspicio, mare meridionale sulcantes, a littore non longe evagantes, superato circulo equinoctiali, in alterum orbem excepti sunt. Ubi ipsis stantibus orientem versus, umbra ad meridiem et dextram projiciebatur. Aperuere igitur sua industriâ alium orbem hactenus nobis incognitum et multis annis, a nullis quam Januensibus, licet frustra temptatum.”

These lines are part of a passage which it is said is interpolated, by a different hand, in the original manuscript of the chronicle of Schedel. De Murr assures us they are not to be found in the German translation of this book by George Alt, which was finished the 5th of October, 1495: but even if they were, they merely relate to the discovery which Diego Cam made of the southern hemisphere, previously unknown, and of the coast of Africa beyond the equator, all which appeared like a new world, and as such was talked of at the time. The Genoese alluded to, who had made an unsuccessful attempt, were Antonio de Nolle, with Bartholomew his brother, and Raphael de Nolle his nephew. Antonio was of a noble family, and, for some disgust, left his country and went to Lisbon with his before-mentioned relatives, in two caravels; from whence, sail-



ing in the employ of Portugal, they discovered the island of St Jago, etc.'

This interpolated passage of Schedel was likewise inserted into the work *De Europa* sub Frederico III, of Aeneas Silvius, afterwards pope Pius II, who died in 1464, long before the voyage in question. The misinterpretation of this passage first gave rise to the incorrect assertion that Behem had discovered the New World prior to Columbus; as if it were possible that such a circumstance could have happened without Behem's laying claim to the glory of the discovery, and without the world immediately resounding with so important an event! This error had been adopted by various authors without due examination; some of whom had likewise taken from Magellan the credit of having discovered the strait which goes by his name, and had given it to Behem. The error was too palpable to be generally prevalent, but it was suddenly revived, in the year 1786, by a French gentleman of highly respectable character, of the name of Otto, then resident in New York, who addressed a letter to Dr Franklin, to be submitted to the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, in which he undertook to establish the title of Behem to the discovery of the New World. His memoir was published in the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. ii, for 1786, article No 53, and has been copied into the journals of most of the nations of Europe.

The authorities cited by M. Otto in support of his assertion are generally fallacious, and for the most part given without particular specification. His assertion has been diligently and satisfactorily refuted by Don Christoval Cladera.\*

The grand proof of M. Otto is a globe which Behem made during his residence in Nuremberg, in 1492, the very year that Columbus set out on his first voyage of discovery. This globe, according to M. Otto, is still preserved in the library of Nuremberg, and on it are painted all the discoveries of Behem, which are so situated that they can be no other than the coast of Brazil and the Straits of Magellan. This authority staggered many, and, if supported, would demolish the claims of Columbus.

Unluckily for M. Otto, in his description of the globe, he depended on the inspection of a correspondent. The globe in the library of Nuremberg was made in 1520, by John Schoener, professor of Mathematics,<sup>1</sup> long after the discoveries and death of Columbus and Behem. The real globe of Behem, made in 1492, does not contain any of the islands or shores of the New World, and thus proves that he was totally unacquainted with them. A copy of planisphere of Behem's globe is given by Cladera in his *Investigations*.

\* Barros, decad. i, l. ii, c. 4. Lisbon, 1532.

<sup>1</sup> *Investigaciones Históricas*, Madrid, 1794.

<sup>2</sup> Cladera, *Investig.* Hist., p. 115.

## VOYAGES OF THE SCANDINAVIANS.

MANY elaborate dissertations have been written to prove that discoveries were made by the Scandinavians on the northern coast of America long before the era of Columbus; but the subject appears still to be wrapped in much doubt and obscurity.

It has been asserted that the Norwegians, as early as the ninth century, discovered a great tract of land to the west of Iceland, which they called Grand Iceland, but this has been pronounced a fabulous tradition. The most plausible account is one given by Snorro Sturleson, in his *Saga* or *Chronicle of King Olaus*. According to this writer, one Biorn of Iceland, sailing to Greenland in search of his father, from whom he had been separated by a storm, was driven by tempestuous weather far to the southwest, until he came in sight of a low country, covered with wood, with an island in its vicinity. The weather becoming favourable, he turned to the northeast without landing, and arrived safe at Greenland. His account of the country he had beheld, it is said, excited the enterprise of Leif, son of Eric Rauda, or Redhead, the first settler of Greenland. A vessel was fitted out, and Leif and Biorn departed together in quest of this unknown land. They found a rocky and sterile island, to which they gave the name of Helleland; also a low sandy country covered with wood, to which they gave the name of Markland; and two days afterwards they observed a continuance of the coast, with an island to the north of it. This last they described as fertile, well wooded, producing agreeable fruits, and particularly grapes, a fruit with which they were unacquainted. On being informed by one of their companions, a German, of its qualities and name, they called the country, from it, Vinland. They ascended a river well stored with fish, particularly salmon, and came to a lake from which the river took its origin, where they passed the winter. The climate appeared to them mild and pleasant, being accustomed to the rigorous climates of the north. On the shortest day, the sun was eight hours above the horizon: hence it has been concluded that the country was about the 49th degree of north latitude, and was either Newfoundland, or some part of the coast of North America, about the Gulf of St Lawrence.<sup>1</sup> It is added that the relatives of Leif made several voyages to Vinland; that they traded with the natives for furs; and that, in 1121, a bishop named Eric went from Greenland to Vinland to convert the inhabitants to Christianity. From this time, says Forster, we know nothing of Vinland; and there is every appearance that the tribe which still exists in the interior of Newfoundland, and which is so different from the other savages of North America, both in their appearance and mode of living, and always in a state of warfare with the Esquimaux of the

<sup>1</sup> Forster's *Northern Voyages*, b. ii, c. 2.

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northern coast, are descendants of the ancient Norwegians.

The author of the present work has not had the means of tracing this story to its original sources. He gives it on the authority of M. Malte-Brun and Mr Forster. The latter extracts it from the *Saga* or *Chronicle of Snorro*, who was born in 1179, and wrote in 1215; so that his account was formed long after the event is said to have taken place. Forster says, the facts which we report have been collected from a great number of Icelandic manuscripts, and transmitted to us by Torfeus in his two works entitled, *Veteris Grœnlandiæ Descriptio*, Hafnia, 1700, and *Historia Winlandiæ Antiquæ*, Hafnia, 1703. Forster appears to have no doubt of the authenticity of the facts. As far as the author of the present work has had experience in tracing these stories of early discoveries of portions of the New World, he has generally found them very confident deductions, drawn from very vague and questionable facts. Learned men are too prone to give substance to mere shadows, when they assist some preconceived theory. Most of these accounts, when divested of the erudite comments of their editors, have proved little better than the traditional fables, noticed in another part of this work, respecting the imaginary islands of St Brandan and of the Seven Cities.

There is no great improbability, however, that such enterprising and roving voyagers as the Scandinavians may have wandered to the northern shores of America about the coast of Labrador, or the shores of Newfoundland; and if the Icelandic manuscripts, said to be of the thirteenth century, can be relied upon as genuine, free from modern interpolation, and correctly quoted, they would appear to prove the fact. But granting the truth of the alleged discoveries, they led to no more result than would the interchange of communication between the natives of Greenland and the Esquimaux. The knowledge of them appears not to have extended beyond their own nation, and to have been soon neglected and forgotten by themselves.

Another pretension to an early discovery of the American continent has been set up, founded on an alleged map and narrative of two brothers of the name of Zeno, of Venice; but it seems more invalid than those just mentioned. The following is the substance of this claim.

Nicolo Zeno, a noble Venetian, is said to have made a voyage to the north, in 1380, in a vessel fitted out at his own cost, intending to visit England and Flanders; but, meeting with a terrible tempest, was driven for many days he knew not whither, until he was cast away upon Friseland, an island much in dispute among geographers, but supposed to be the archipelago of the *Ferœe Islands*. The shipwrecked voyagers were assailed by the natives, but rescued by Zichmni, a prince of the islands lying on the south side of Friseland, and duke of another district lying over-against Scotland. Zeno entered into the ser-

vice of this prince, and aided him in conquering Friseland and other northern islands. He was soon joined by his brother, Antonio Zeno, who remained fourteen years in those countries.

During his residence in Friseland, Antonio Zeno wrote to his brother Carlo, in Venice, giving an account of a report brought by a certain fisherman about a land to the westward. According to the tale of this mariner, he had been one of a party who sailed from Friseland about twenty-six years before, in four fishing-boats. Being overtaken by a mighty tempest, they were driven about the sea for many days, until the boat containing himself and six companions was cast upon an island called *Estotiland*, about one thousand miles from Friseland. They were taken by the inhabitants, and carried to a fair and populous city, where the king sent for many interpreters to converse with them, but none that they could understand, until a man was found who had likewise been cast away upon the coast, and who spoke Latin. They remained several days upon the island, which was rich and fruitful, abounding with all kinds of metals, and especially gold. There was a high mountain in the centre, from which flowed four rivers, which watered the whole country. The inhabitants were intelligent, and acquainted with the mechanical arts of Europe. They cultivated grain, made beer, and lived in houses built of stone. There were Latin books in the king's library, though the inhabitants had no knowledge of that language. They had many cities and castles, and carried on a trade with Greenland for pitch, sulphur, and peltry. Though much given to navigation, they were ignorant of the use of the compass, and finding the Friselanders acquainted with it, held them in great esteem; and the king sent them with twelve barks to visit a country to the south called *Drogeo*. They nearly perished in a storm, but were cast away upon the coast of *Drogeo*. They found the people to be cannibals, and were on the point of being killed and devoured, but were spared on account of their great skill in fishing.

The fisherman described this *Drogeo* as being a country of vast extent, or rather a new world; that the inhabitants were naked and barbarous, but that far to the south-west there was a more civilized region and temperate climate, where the inhabitants had a knowledge of gold and silver, lived in cities, erected splendid temples to idols, and sacrificed human victims to them, which they afterwards devoured.

After the fisherman had resided many years on this continent, during which time he had passed from the service of one chieftain to another, and traversed various parts of it, certain boats of *Estotiland* arrived on the coast of *Drogeo*. The fisherman went on board of them, acted as interpreter, and followed the trade

\* This account is taken from Hackluyt, vol. iii, p. 123. The passage about gold and other metals is not to be found in the original Italian of Ramusio (t. ii, p. 23), and is probably an interpolation.

between the main land and Estotiland for some time, until he became very rich; then he fitted out a bark of his own, and, with the assistance of some of the people of the island, made his way back across the thousand intervening miles of ocean, and arrived safe at Friseland. The account he gave of these countries determined Zichmni, the prince of Friseland, to send an expedition thither, and Antonio Zeno was to command it. Just before sailing, the fisherman, who was to have acted as guide, died; but certain mariners who had accompanied him from Estotiland were taken in his place. The expedition sailed under the command of Zielmni; the Venetian Zeno merely accompanied it. It was unsuccessful. After having discovered an island called Icaria, where they met with a rough reception from the inhabitants, and were obliged to withdraw, the ships were driven by a storm to Greenland. No record remains of any further prosecution of the enterprise.

The countries mentioned in the account of Zeno were laid down on a map originally engraved on wood. The island of Estotiland has been supposed, by M. Malte-Brun, to be Newfoundland; its partially civilized inhabitants, the descendants of the Scandinavian colonists of Vinland; and the Latin books in the king's library, to be the remains of the library of the Greenland bishop who emigrated thither in 1121. Drogeo, according to the same conjecture, was Nova Scotia and New England. The civilized people to the south-west, who sacrificed human victims in rich temples, he surmises to have been the Mexicans, or some ancient nation of Florida or Louisiana.

The premises do not appear to warrant this deduction. The whole story abounds with improbabilities, not the least of which is the civilization prevalent among the inhabitants, their houses of stone, their European arts, the library of their king, no traces of which were to be found on this subsequent discovery. Not to mention the information about Mexico, penetrating through the numerous savage tribes of a vast continent; it is proper to observe that this account was not published until 1558, long after the discovery of Mexico. It was given to the world by Francisco Marcolini, a descendant of the Zeni, from the fragments of letters said to have been written by Antonio Zeno to Carlo his brother. "It grieves me," says the editor, "that the book and divers other writings concerning these matters are miserably lost; for being but a child when they came to my hands, and not knowing what they were, I tore them and rent them in pieces, which now I cannot call to remembrance without exceeding grief."

This garbled statement by Marcolini derived considerable authority by being introduced by Abraham Ortelius, an able geographer, in his *Theatrum Orbis*; but the whole story has been condemned by able commentators as a gross fabrication. Mr Forster resents this as an instance of obstinate incredulity, saying that it is impossible to doubt the existence of

• Hackluyt, Collect., vol. iii, p. 127.

the country of which Carlo Nicolo and Antonio Zeno talk: as original acts in the archives of Venice prove that the chevalier undertook a voyage to the north; that his brother Antonio followed him; that Antonio traced a map which he brought back and hung up in his house, where it remained subject to public examination until the time of Marcolini, as an incontestable proof of the truth of what he advanced. Granting all this, it merely proves that Antonio and his brother were at Friseland and Greenland. Their letters never assert that Zeno made the voyage to Estotiland. The fleet was carried by a tempest to Greenland, after which we hear no more of him; and his account of Estotiland and Drogeo rests simply on the tale of the fisherman, after whose descriptions his map must have been conjecturally projected. The whole story resembles much the fables circulated shortly after the discovery of Columbus, to arrogate to other nations and individuals the credit of the achievement.

M. Malte-Brun intimates, that the alleged discovery of Vinland may have been known to Columbus when he made a voyage in the North Sea in 1477, and that the map of Zeno being in the national library at London, in a Danish work, at the time when Bartholomew Columbus was in that city employed in making maps, he may have known something of it, and have communicated it to his brother. Had M. Malte-Brun examined the history of Columbus with his usual accuracy, he would have perceived, that, in his correspondence with Paolo Toscanelli in 1474, he had expressed his intention of seeking India by a route directly to the west. His voyage to the north did not take place until three years afterwards. As to the residence of Bartholomew in London, it was not until after Columbus had made his propositions of discovery to Portugal, if not to the courts of other powers. Granting, therefore, that he had subsequently heard the dubious stories of Vinland and of the fisherman's adventures, as related by Zeno, or at least by Marcolini, they evidently could not have influenced him in his great enterprise. His route had no reference to them, but was a direct western course, not towards Vinland and Estotiland and Drogeo, but in search of Cipango and Cathay, and the other countries described by Marco Polo as lying at the extremity of India.

#### NO XIV.

##### CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA BY THE ANCIENTS.

THE knowledge of the ancients with respect to the Atlantic coast of Africa is considered by modern investigators much less extensive than had been ima-

• Malte-Brun, *Hist. de Géog.*, t. 1, l. 17.

• *Id.*, *Géog.*, Universelle, t. xiv, note sur la découverte de l'Amérique.

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gined, and it is doubted whether they had any practical authority for the belief that Africa was circumnavigable. The alleged voyage of Eudoxus of Cyzicus from the Red Sea to Gibraltar, though recorded by Pliny, Pomponius Mela, and others, is given entirely on the dictum of Cornelius Nepos, who does not tell from whence he derived his information. Possidonius (cited by Strabo) gives an entirely different account of this voyage, and rejects it with contempt.

The famous voyage of Hanno the Carthaginian is supposed to have taken place about a thousand years before the Christian era. The *Periplus Hannonis* remains a brief and obscure record of this expedition, and a subject of great comment and controversy. By some it has been pronounced a fictitious work, fabricated among the Greeks, but its authenticity has been ably vindicated. It appears to be satisfactorily proved, however, that the voyage of this navigator has been greatly exaggerated; and that he never circumnavigated the extreme end of Africa. Mons. de Bougainville traces his route to a promontory, which he named the West Horn, and which was supposed to be Cape Palmas, about five or six degrees north of the equinoctial line; from whence he proceeded to another promontory, under the same parallel, which he called the South Horn, supposed to be Cape de Tres Puntas. Mons. Gosselin, however, in his *Researches into the Geography of the Ancients* (t. 4, p. 162, etc.) after a rigid examination of the *Periplus* of Hanno, determines that he had not sailed farther south than Cape Non. Pliny, who makes Hanno range the whole coast of Africa, from the Straits to the confines of Arabia, had never seen his *Periplus*, but took his idea from the works of Xenophon of Lampsaco. The Greeks surcharged the narration of the voyager with all kinds of fables, and on their unfaithful copies Strabo founded many of his assertions. According to M. Gosselin, the itineraries of Hanno, of Scylax, Polybius, Statius, Sebosus, and Juba; the recitals of Plato, of Aristotle, of Pliny, of Plutarch, and the tables of Ptolemy, all bring us to the same results, and, notwithstanding their apparent contradictions, fix the limits of southern navigation about the neighbourhood of Cape Non, or Cape Bojador.

The opinion that Africa was a peninsula, which existed among the Persians, the Egyptians, and, perhaps, the Greeks, several centuries prior to the Christian era, was not, in his opinion, founded upon any known facts, but merely on conjecture, from considering the immensity and unity of the ocean; or, perhaps, on mere ancient traditions; or on ideas produced by the Carthaginian discoveries beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, and those of the Egyptians beyond the Gulf of Arabia. He thinks that there was a very remote period when geography was much more perfect than in the time of the Phœnicians and the Greeks, whose knowledge was but confused traces of what had previously been better known.

The opinion that the Indian Sea joined the ocean

\* *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, t. xxvi.

was admitted among the Greeks, and in the school of Alexandria, until the time of Hipparchus. It seemed authorized by the direction which the coast of Africa took after Cape Aromata, always tending westward, as far as it had been explored by navigators. It was supposed that the western coast of Africa rounded off to meet the eastern, and that the whole was bounded by the ocean much to the northward of the equator. Such was the opinion of Crates, who lived in the time of Alexander; of Aratus, of Cleanthes, of Cleomedes, of Strabo, of Pomponius Mela, of Macrobius, and many others.

Hipparchus proposed a different system, and let the world into an error which for a long time retarded the maritime communication of Europe and India. He supposed that the seas were separated into distinct basins; and that the eastern shores of Africa made a circuit round the Indian Sea, so as to join those of Asia beyond the mouth of the Ganges. Subsequent discoveries, instead of refuting this error, only placed the junction of the continents at a greater distance. Narinius of Tyre and Ptolemy adopted this opinion in their works, and illustrated it in their maps, which for centuries controlled the general belief of mankind, and perpetuated the idea that Africa extended onward to the south pole, and that it was impossible to arrive by sea at the coasts of India. Still there were geographers who leaned to the more ancient idea of a communication between the Indian Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. It had its advocates in Spain, and was maintained by Pomponius Mela, and by Isidore of Seville. It was believed also by some of the learned in Italy in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, and thus was kept alive until it was acted upon so vigorously by Prince Henry of Portugal, and at length triumphantly demonstrated by Vasco de Gama, in his circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope.

## No XV.

## OF THE SHIPS OF COLUMBUS.

IN remarking on the smallness of the vessels with which Columbus made his first voyage, Dr Robertson observes, "that in the fifteenth century the bulk and construction of vessels were accommodated to the short and easy voyages along the coast, which they were accustomed to perform." We have many proofs, however, that, even anterior to the fifteenth century, there were large ships employed by the Spaniards, as well as by other nations. In an edict published in Barcelona, in 1354, by Pedro IV, enforcing various regulations for the security of commerce, mention is made of Catalonian merchant-ships of two and three decks, and from 8,000 to 12,000 quintals burthen.

In 1419, Alonso of Aragon hired several merchant-ships to transport artillery, horses, etc. from

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Barcelona to Italy; among which were two, each of which carried one hundred and twenty horses, which it is computed would require a vessel of at least 600 tons.

In 1465, mention is made of a Venetian ship which arrived at Barcelona from England laden with wheat, and being of 700 tons burthen.

In 1407, a Castilian vessel arrived there, of 12,000 quintals burthen. These arrivals, incidentally mentioned among others of similar size, as happening at one port, show that large ships were in use in those days. Indeed, at the time of fitting out the second expedition of Columbus, there were prepared in the port of Borneo a carrack of 1250 tons, and four ships of from 150 to 450 tons burthen. Their destination, however, was altered, and they were sent to convey Muley Boabdil, the last Moorish king of Granada, from the coast of his conquered territory to Africa.\*

It was not for want of large vessels in the Spanish ports, therefore, that those of Columbus were of so small a size. He considered them best adapted to voyages of discovery, as they required but little depth of water, and therefore could more easily and safely coast unknown shores, and explore bays and rivers. He had some purposely constructed of a very small size for this service; such was the caravel which, in his third voyage, he despatched to look out for an opening to the sea at the upper part of the gulf of Paria, when the water grew too shallow for his vessel of one hundred tons burthen.

The most singular circumstance with respect to the ships of Columbus is, that they should be open vessels; for it seems difficult to believe that a voyage of such extent and peril should be attempted in barks of so frail a construction. This, however, is expressly mentioned by Peter Martyr in his *Decades*, written at the time; and mention is made occasionally in the memoirs relative to the voyages, written by Columbus and his son, of certain of his vessels being without decks. He sometimes speaks of the same vessel as a ship and a caravel. There has been some discussion of late as to the precise meaning of the term caravel. The Chevalier Bossi, in his *Dissertations on Columbus*, observes that, in the Mediterranean, caravel designates the largest class of ships of war among the Mussulmans; and that in Portugal it means a small vessel of from 120 to 140 tons burthen; but Columbus sometimes applies it to a vessel of forty tons.

Du Cange, in his *Glossary*, considers it a word of Italian origin. Bossi thinks it either Turkish or Arabic, and probably introduced into the European languages by the Moors. Mr Edward Everett, in a note to his *Plymouth Oration*, considers that the true origin of the word is given in *Ferrarii Origines Linguae Italicae*: "Caravela, navigii minoris genus. Lat. Carabus; Græce Καράβος."

That the word caravel was intended to signify a vessel of a small size, is evident from a naval classifi-

\* Capomani, *Cuestiones Criticas*, c.uest. 6.

Archives de Ind. en Sevilla.

cation made by King Alonso in the middle of the thirteenth century. In the first class he enumerates *Naos*, or large ships, which go only with sails; some of which have two masts, and others but one. In the second class, smaller vessels, as *Caraccas*, *Fustas*, *Ballenares*, *Pinazas*, *Carabelas*, etc. In the third class, vessels with sails and oars, as *Galleyes*, *Galeots*, *Tardantes*, and *Seatias*.'

Bossi gives a copy of a letter written by Columbus to Don Raphael Xansis, treasurer of the King of Spain; an edition of which exists in the public library at Milan. With this letter he gives several wood-cuts of sketches made with a pen, which accompanied this letter, and which he supposes to have been from the hand of Columbus. In these are represented vessels which are probably caravels. They have high bows and sterns, with castles on the latter. They have short masts, with large square sails. One of them, besides sails, has benches of oars, and is probably intended to represent a galley. They are all evidently vessels of small size and light construction.

In a work called "*Recherches sur le Commerce*," published in Amsterdam, 1770, is a plate representing a vessel of the latter part of the 15th century. It is taken from a picture in the church of S. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice. The vessel bears much resemblance to those said to have been sketched by Columbus: it has two masts, one of which is extremely small, with a latine sail. The main-mast has a large square sail. The vessel has a high poop and prow, is decked at each end, and is open in the centre.

It appears to be the fact, therefore, that most of the vessels with which Columbus undertook his long and perilous voyages were of this light and frail construction; and little superior to the small craft which ply on rivers and along coasts in modern days.

#### Nº XVI.

##### ROUTE OF COLUMBUS IN HIS FIRST VOYAGE.'

It has hitherto been supposed that one of the Bahama Islands, at present bearing the name of San Salvador, and which is also known as Cat Island, was the first point where Columbus came in contact with the New World. Don Martin Navarrete, however, director of the hydrographical dépôt at Madrid, etc., etc., in his introduction to the "*Collection of Spanish Voyages and Discoveries*," recently published at Madrid, has endeavoured to show that it must have been Turk's Island, one of the same group, situated about 100 leagues (of 20 to the degree) S.E.

\* Capomani, *Cuest. Crit.*

The author of this work is indebted for this able examination of the route of Columbus to an officer of the navy of the United States, whose name he regrets the not being at liberty to mention. He has been greatly benefited, in various parts of this history, by nautical information from the same intelligent source.

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the middle of the class he enumerates only with sails; some others but one. In Caraccas, Fustas, etc. In the third as Galleys, Galeots,

written by Columbus brother of the King of Cast in the public library he gives several with a pen, which he supposes to have been. In these are really caravels. They have castles on the late with large square sails, benches of oars, and went a galley. They all size and light con-

es sur le Commerce," is a plate representing the 15th century. It is the march of S. Giovanni bears much resemblance sketched by Columbus of which is extremely main-mast has a large high poop and prow, before, that most of the undertook his long and light and frail canoes the small craft which modern days.

#### FIRST VOYAGE.

and that one of the Baring the name of San known as Cat Island, Columbus came in contact with Martin Navarrete, how- ical dépôt at Madrid, to the "Collection of Voyages," recently published to show that it was one of the same group, 0 to the degree) S.E.

for this able examination of the navy of the United being at liberty to mention the parts of this history, by intelligent source.

of San Salvador. Great care has been taken to examine candidly the opinion of Navarrete, comparing it with the journal of Columbus, as published in the above-mentioned work, and with the personal observations of the writer of this article, who has been much among these islands.

Columbus describes Guanahani, on which he landed, and to which he gave the name of San Salvador, as being a beautiful island, and very large; as being level, and covered with forests, many of the trees of which bore fruit; as having abundance of fresh water, and a large lake in the centre; that it was inhabited by a numerous population; that he proceeded for a considerable distance in his boats along the shore, which tended to the N.N.E., and as he passed, was visited by the inhabitants of several villages. Turk's Island does not answer to this description.

Turk's island is a low key composed of sand and rocks, and lying north and south, less than two leagues in extent. It is utterly destitute of wood, and has not a single tree of native growth. It has no fresh water, the inhabitants depending entirely on cisterns and casks in which they preserve the rain; neither has it any lake, but several salt ponds, which furnish the sole production of the island. Turk's island cannot be approached on the east or north-east side, in consequence of the reef that surrounds it. It has no harbour, but has an open road on the west side, which vessels at anchor there have to leave and put to sea whenever the wind comes from any other quarter than that of the usual trade breeze of N.E. which blows over the island; for the shore is so bold that there is no anchorage except close to it; and when the wind ceases to blow from the land, vessels remaining at their anchors would be swung against the rocks, or forced high upon the shore, by the terrible surf that then prevails. The unfrequented road of the Hawk's Nest, at the south end of the island, is even more dangerous. This island, which is not susceptible of the slightest cultivation, furnishes a scanty subsistence to a few sheep and horses. The inhabitants draw all their consumption from abroad, with the exception of fish and turtle, which are taken in abundance, and supply the principal food of the slaves employed in the salt-works. The whole wealth of the island consists in the produce of the salt-ponds, and in the salvage and plunder of the many wrecks which take place in the neighbourhood. Turk's Island, therefore, would never be inhabited in a savage state of society, where commerce does not exist, and where men are obliged to draw their subsistence from the spot which they people.

Again: when about to leave Guanahani, Columbus was at a loss to chuse which to visit of a great number of islands in sight. Now there is no land visible from Turk's Island, excepting the two salt keys which lie south of it, and with it form the group known as Turk's Islands. The journal of Columbus

does not tell us what course he steered in going from Guanahani to Concepcion, but he states, that it was five leagues distant from the former, and that the current was against him in sailing to it: whereas, the distance from Turk's Island to the Gran Caico, supposed by Navarrete to be the Concepcion of Columbus, is nearly double, and the current sets constantly to the W. N. W. among these islands, which would be favourable in going from Turk's Island to the Caicos.

From Concepcion Columbus went next to an island which he saw nine leagues off in a westerly direction, to which he gave the name of Fernandina. This Navarrete takes to be Little Inagua, distant no less than twenty-two leagues from Gran Caico. Besides, in going to Little Inagua, it would be necessary to pass quite close to three islands, each larger than Turk's Island, none of which are mentioned in the journal. Columbus describes Fernandina as stretching twenty-eight leagues S. E. and N. W.: whereas Little Inagua has its greatest length of four leagues in a S. W. direction. In a word, the description of Fernandina has nothing in common with Little Inagua. From Fernandina Columbus sailed S. E. to Isabella, which Navarrete takes to be Great Inagua: whereas this latter bears S. W. from Little Inagua, a course differing 90° from the one followed by Columbus.

Again: Columbus, on the 20th of November, takes occasion to say that Guanahani was distant eight leagues from Isabella: whereas Turk's Island is thirty-five leagues from Great Inagua. Leaving Isabella, Columbus stood W. S. W. for the island of Cuba, and fell in with the *Islas Aunas*. This course drawn from Great Inagua, would meet the coast of Cuba about Port Nipe: whereas Navarrete supposes that Columbus next fell in with the keys south of the *Jumentos*, and which bear W. N. W. from Inagua; a course differing 45° from the one steered by the ships. After sailing for some time in the neighbourhood of Cuba, Columbus finds himself, on the 14th of November, in the sea of *Nuestra Señora*, surrounded by so many islands that it was impossible to count them: whereas, on the same day, Navarrete places him off Cape Moa, where there is but one small island, and more than fifty leagues distant from any group that can possibly answer the description.

Columbus informs us that San Salvador was distant from Port Principe forty-five leagues: whereas Turk's Island is distant from the point, supposed by Navarrete to be the same, eighty leagues.

On taking leave of Cuba, Columbus remarks that he had followed its coast for an extent of 420 leagues. Deducting twenty leagues for his having followed its windings, there still remain 400. Now, Navarrete only supposes him to have coasted this island an extent of seventy leagues.

Such are the most important difficulties which the theory of Navarrete offers, and which appear insurmountable. Let us now take up the route of Colum-

bus as recorded in his journal, and, with the best charts before us, examine how it agrees with the popular and traditional opinion, that he first landed on the island of San Salvador.

We learn from the journal of Columbus that, on the 14th of October, 1492, he continued steering W. S. W. until sunset, when he returned to his old course of west, the vessels running at the rate of three leagues an hour. At ten o'clock he and several of his crew saw a light, which seemed like a torch carried about on land. He continued running on four hours longer, and had made a distance of twelve leagues farther west, when at two in the morning land was discovered a-head, distant two leagues. The twelve leagues which they ran since ten o'clock, with the two leagues' distance from the land, form a total, corresponding essentially with the distance and situation of Watling's Island from San Salvador; and it is thence presumed, that the light seen at that hour was on Watling's Island, which they were then passing. Had the light been seen on land a-head, and they had kept running on four hours, at the rate of three leagues an hour, they must have run high and dry on shore. As the Admiral himself received the royal reward for having seen this light, as the first discovery of land, Watling's Island is believed to be the point for which this premium was granted.

On making land, the vessels were hove to until daylight of the same 12th of October; they then anchored off an island of great beauty, covered with forests and extremely populous.

It was called Guanahani by the natives, but Columbus gave it the name of San Salvador. Exploring its coast, where it ran to the N. N. E., he found a harbour capable of sheltering any number of ships. This description corresponds minutely with the S. E. part of the island known as San Salvador, or Cat Island, which lies east and west, bending at its eastern extremity to the N. N. E., and has the same verdant and fertile appearance. The vessels had probably drifted into this bay at the S. E. side of San Salvador, on the morning of the 12th, while lying to for daylight; nor did Columbus, while remaining at the island, or when sailing from it, open the land so as to discover that what he had taken for its whole length was but a bend at one end of it, and that the main body of the island lay behind, stretching far to the N. W. From Guanahani, Columbus saw so many other islands that he was at a loss which next to visit. The Indians signified that they were innumerable, and mentioned the names of above a hundred. He determined to go to the largest in sight, which appeared to be about five leagues distant; some of the others were nearer, and some further off. The island thus selected, it is presumed, was the present island of Concepcion; and that the others were that singular belt of small islands, known as La Cadena (or the chain), stretching past the island of San Salvador in a S. E. by N. W. direction: the nearest of the group being nearer than Concepcion, while the rest are more distant.

Leaving San Salvador in the afternoon of the 14th for the island thus selected, the ships lay by during the night, and did not reach it until late in the following day, being retarded by adverse currents. Columbus gave this island the name of Santa Maria de la Concepcion: he does not mention either its bearings from San Salvador, or the course which he steered in going to it. We know that in all this neighbourhood the current sets strongly and constantly to the W. N. W.; and since Columbus had the current against him, he must have been sailing in an opposite direction, or to the E. S. E. Besides, when near Concepcion, Columbus sees another island to the westward, the largest he had yet seen; but he tells us that he anchored off Concepcion, and did not stand for this larger island, because he could not have sailed to the west. Hence it is rendered certain that Columbus did not sail westward in going from San Salvador to Concepcion; for, from the opposition of the wind, as there could be no other cause, he could not sail towards that quarter. Now, on reference to the chart, we find the island at present known as Concepcion situated E. S. E. from San Salvador, and at a corresponding distance of five leagues.

Leaving Concepcion on the 16th October, Columbus steered for a very large island seen to the westward nine leagues off, and which extended itself twenty-eight leagues in a S. E. and N. W. direction. He was becalmed the whole day, and did not reach the island until the following morning, 17th October. He named it Fernandina. At noon he made sail again, with a view to run round it, and reach another island called San Juan; but the wind being at S. E. by S., the course he wished to steer, the natives signified that it would be easier to sail round this island by running to the N. W. with a fair wind. He therefore bore up to the N. W., and having run two leagues found a narvellous port, with a narrow entrance, or rather with two entrances, for there was an island which shut it in completely, forming a noble basin within. Sailing out of this harbour by the opposite entrance at the N. W., he discovered that part of the island which runs east and west. The natives signified to him that this island was smaller than Samoet, and that it would be better to return towards the latter. It had now become calm, but shortly after there sprung up a breeze from W. N. W., which was a-head for the course they had been steering; so they bore up and stood to the E. S. E. in order to get an offing; for the weather threatened a storm, which however dissipated itself in rain. The next day, being the 18th October, they anchored opposite the extremity of Fernandina.

The whole of this description answers most accurately to the island of Exuma, which lies south from San Salvador, and S. W. by S. from Concepcion. The only inconsistency is, that Columbus states that Fernandina bore nearly west from Concepcion, and was twenty-eight leagues in extent. This mistake must have proceeded from his having taken the long

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chain of keys called La Cadena for part of the same Exuma; which continuous appearance they naturally assume when seen from Concepcion, for they run in the same S. E. and N. W. direction. Their bearing, when seen from the same point, is likewise westerly as well as south-westerly. As a proof that such was the case, it may be observed, that after having approached these islands, instead of the extent of Fernandina being increased to his eye, he now remarks that it was twenty leagues long, whereas before it was estimated by him at twenty-eight; he now discovers that instead of one island there were many, and alters his course southerly to reach the one that was most conspicuous.

The identity of the island here described with Exuma is irresistibly forced upon the mind. The distance from Concepcion, the remarkable port with an island in front of it, and farther on its coast turning off to the westward, are all so accurately delineated, that it would seem as though the chart had been drawn from the description of Columbus.

On the 19th October, the ships left Fernandina, steering S. E. with the wind at north. Sailing three hours on this course, they discovered Samoet to the east, and steered for it, arriving at its north point before noon. Here they found a little island surrounded by rocks, with another reef of rocks lying between it and Samoet. To Samoet Columbus gave the name of Isabella, and to the point of it opposite the little island, that of Cabo del Isleo; the cape at the S. W. point of Samoet Columbus called Cabo de Laguna, and off this last his ships were brought to anchor. The little island lay in the direction from Fernandina to Isabella, east and west. The coast from the small island lay westerly twelve leagues to a cape, which Columbus called Fernosa from its beauty; this he believed to be an island apart from Samoet or Isabella, with another one between them. Leaving Cabo Laguna, where he remained until the 20th October, Columbus steered to the N. E. towards Cabo del Isleo, but meeting with shoals inside the small island, he did not come to anchor until the day following. Near this extremity of Isabella they found a lake, from which the ships were supplied with water.

This island of Isabella, or Samoet, agrees so accurately in its description with Isla Larga, which lies east of Exuma, that it is only necessary to read it with the chart unfolded to become convinced of the identity.

Having resolved to visit the island which the natives called Cuba, and described as bearing W. S. W. from Isabella, Columbus left Cabo del Isleo at midnight, the commencement of the 24th October, and shaped his course accordingly to the W. S. W. The wind continued light, with rain, until noon, when it freshened up, and in the evening Cape Ferde, the S. W. point of Fernandina, bore N. W. distant seven leagues. As the night became tempestuous, he lay to until morning, drifting according to the reckoning only two leagues.

On the morning of the 25th he made sail again to W. S. W., until nine o'clock, when he had run five leagues; he then steered west until three, when he had run eleven leagues, at which hour land was discovered, consisting of seven or eight keys lying north and south, and distant five leagues from the ships. Here he anchored the next day, south of these islands, which he called *Islas de Arena*; they were low, and five or six leagues in extent.

The distances run by Columbus, added to the departure taken from Fernandina and the distance from these islands of *Arena* at the time of discovering, give a sum of thirty leagues. This sum of thirty leagues is about three less than the distance from the S. W. point of Fernandina or Exuma, whence Columbus took his departure, to the group of *Mucaras*, which lie east of *Cayo Lobo* on the grand bank of *Bahama*, and which correspond to the description of Columbus. If it were necessary to account for the difference of three leagues in a reckoning where so much is given on conjecture, it would readily occur to a seaman, that an allowance of two leagues for drift, during a long night of blowy weather, is but a small one. The course from Exuma to the *Mucaras* is about S. W. by W. The course followed by Columbus differs a little from this, but as it was his intention, on setting sail from *Isabella*, to steer W. S. W., and since he afterwards altered it to west, we may conclude that he did so in consequence of having been run out of his course to the southward, while lying to the night previous.

Oct. 27.—At sunrise Columbus set sail from the isles *Arenas* or *Mucaras*, for an island called *Cuba*, steering S. S. W. At dark having made seventeen leagues on that course, he saw the land, and hove his ships to until morning.

In this part of the journal, Columbus does not describe the localities with that accuracy with which he had hitherto noted every thing; the text also is in several places obscure.

The ships having remained hove to until morning, they made sail on the 28th, at S. S. W. entering a beautiful river with a fine harbour, which they named *San Salvador*. This part of *San Salvador* we take to be the one now known as *Caravelas Grandes*, situated eight leagues west of *Nuevitao del Principe*. Its bearings and distance from the *Mucaras* coincide exactly with those run by Columbus; and its description coincides, as far as can be ascertained by charts, with the port which he visited.

Oct. 29.—Leaving this port, Columbus stood to the west, and having sailed six leagues, he came to a point of the island running N. W., which we take to be the *Punta Gorda*; and, ten leagues farther, another stretching easterly, which will be *Punta Curiana*. One league farther he discovered a small river, and beyond this another very large one, to which he gave the name of *Rio de Maus*. This river emptied into a fine basin in the form of a lake, having a bold entrance: it had for land-marks two round

mountains at the S.W., and to the W. N.W. a bold promontory, suitable for a fortification, which projected far into the sea. This we take to be the fine harbour and river situated west of Point Curiana; its distance corresponds with that run by Columbus from Caravelas Grandes, which we have supposed identical with the port of San Salvador. Leaving Rio de Maus the 30th of October, Columbus stood to the N.W. for fifteen leagues, when he saw a cape, to which he gave the name of Cabo de Palmas. This, we believe, is the one which forms the eastern entrance to Laguna de Moron. Beyond this cape was a river; distant, according to the natives, four days' journey from the town of Cuba; Columbus determined therefore to make for it.

Having lain to all night, he reached the river on the 31st of October, but found that it was too shallow to admit his ships. This is supposed to be what is now known as Laguna de Moron. Beyond this was a cape surrounded by shoals, and another projected still farther out. Between these two capes was a bay capable of receiving small vessels. The identity here of the description with the coast near Laguna de Moron seems very clear. The cape east of Laguna de Moron coincides with Cape Palmas, the Laguna de Moron with the shoal river described by Columbus; and in the western point of entrance, with the island of Cabrion opposite it, we recognise the two projecting capes he speaks of, with what appeared to be a bay between them. This all is a remarkable combination, difficult to be found any where but in the same spot which Columbus visited and described. Further, the coast from the port of San Salvador had run west to Rio de Maus, a distance of seventeen leagues, and from Rio de Maus it had extended N. W. fifteen leagues to Cabo de Palmas; all of which agrees fully with what has been here supposed. The wind having shifted to north, which was contrary to the course they had been steering, the vessels bore up and returned to Rio de Maus.

On the 42th of November the ships sailed out of Rio de Maus to go in quest of Babeque, an island believed to abound in gold, and to lie E. by S. from that port. Having sailed eight leagues with a fair wind, they came to a river, in which may be recognised the one which lies just west of Punta Gorda. Four leagues farther they saw another, which they called Rio del Sol. It appeared very large, but they did not stop to examine it, as the wind was fair to advance. This we take to be the river now known as Sabana. Columbus was now retracing his steps, and had made twelve leagues from Rio de Maus; but in going west from port San Salvador to Rio de Maus, he had run seventeen leagues. San Salvador therefore remains five leagues east of Rio del Sol; and accordingly, on reference to the chart, we find Caravelas Grandes situated a corresponding distance from Sabana.

Having run six leagues from Rio del Sol, which makes in all eighteen leagues from Rio de Maus,

Columbus came to a cape which he called Cabo de Cuba, probably from supposing it to be the extremity of that island. This corresponds precisely in distance from Punta Casiana with the lesser island of Guajava, situated near Cuba, and between which and the greater Guajava Columbus must have passed in running in for Port San Salvador. Either he did not notice it, from his attention being engrossed by the magnificent island before him, or, as is also possible, his vessels may have been drifted through the passage, which is two leagues wide, while lying to the night previous to their arrival at Port San Salvador.

On the 45th of November, having hove to all night, in the morning the ships passed a point two leagues in extent, and then entered into a gulf that made into the S. S.W., and which Columbus thought separated Cuba from Bohio. At the bottom of the gulf was a large basin between two mountains. He could not determine whether or not this was an arm of the sea; for not finding shelter from the north wind, he put to sea again. Hence it would appear that Columbus must have partly sailed round the smaller Guajava, which he took to be the extremity of Cuba, without being aware that a few hours' sail would have taken him, by this channel, to Port San Salvador, his first discovery in Cuba, and so back to the same Rio del Sol which he had passed the day previous. Of the two mountains seen on both sides of this entrance, the principal one corresponds with the peak called Alto de Juan Daune, which lies seven leagues west of Punta de Maternillos. The wind continuing north, he stood east fourteen leagues from Cape Cuba, which we have supposed the lesser island of Guajava. It is here rendered sure that the point of Little Guajava was believed by him to be the extremity of Cuba; for he speaks of the land mentioned as lying to leeward of the above-mentioned gulf as being the island of Bohio, and says that he discovered twenty leagues of it running E. S. E. and W. N. W.

On the 44th November, having lain to all night with a N. E. wind, he determined to seek a port, and if he found none, to return to those which he had left in the island of Cuba; for it will be remembered that all east of Guajava he supposed to be Bohio. He steered E. by S. therefore six leagues, and then stood in for the land. Here he saw many ports and islands; but as it blew fresh, with a heavy sea, he dared not enter, but ran the coast down N. W. by W. for a distance of eighteen leagues, where he saw a clear entrance and a port, into which he stood S. S. W. and afterwards S. E., the navigation being all clear and open. Here Columbus beheld so many islands that it was impossible to count them. They were very lofty, and covered with trees. Columbus called the neighbouring sea Mar de Nuestra Señora, and to the harbour near the entrance to these islands he gave the name of Port Principe. This harbour, he says, he did not enter until the Sunday following, which was four days after. This part of the

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text of Columbus's journal is confused, and there are also anticipations, as if it had been written subsequently, or mixed together in copying. It appears evident, that while lying to the night previous, with the wind at N. E., the ships had drifted to the N. W., and been carried by the powerful current of the Bahama channel far in the same direction. When they bore up, therefore, to return to the ports which they had left in the island of Cuba, they fell in to leeward of them, and now first discovered the numerous group of islands of which Cayo Romano is the principal. The current of this channel is of itself sufficient to have carried the vessels to the westward a distance of 20 leagues, which is what they had run easterly since leaving Cape Cuba, or Guajava, for it had acted upon them during a period of thirty hours. There can be no doubt as to the identity of these keys with those about Cayo Romano; for they are the only ones in the neighbourhood of Cuba that are not of a low and swampy nature, but large and lofty. They enclose a free, open navigation, and abundance of fine harbours, in late years the resort of pirates, who found security and concealment for themselves and their prizes in the recesses of these lofty keys. From the description of Columbus, the vessels must have entered between the islands of Baril and Pacedon, and sailing along Cayo Romano on a S. E. course, have reached in another day their old cruising-ground in the neighbourhood of lesser Guajava. Not only Columbus does not tell us here of his having changed his anchorage amongst these keys, but his journal does not even mention his having anchored at all, until the return from the ineffectual search after Babeque. It is clear, from what has been said, that it was not in Port Principe that the vessels anchored on this occasion; but it could not have been very distant, since Columbus went from the ships in his boats on the 18th November, to place a cross at its entrance. He had probably seen the entrance from without, when sailing east from Guajava on the 15th of November. The identity of this port with the one now known as Nuevitas el Principe seems certain from the description of its entrance. Columbus, it appears, did not visit its interior.

On the 19th November the ships sailed again, in quest of Babeque. At sunset Port Principe bore S. S. W. distant seven leagues, and having sailed all night at N. E. by N. and until ten o'clock of the next day (20th November), they had run a distance of fifteen leagues on that course. The wind blowing from E. S. E., which was the direction in which Babeque was supposed to lie, and the weather being foul, Columbus determined to return to Port Principe, which was then distant twenty-five leagues. He did not wish to go to Isabella, distant only twelve leagues, lest the Indians whom he had brought from San Salvador, which lay eight leagues from Isabella, should make their escape. Thus in sailing N. E. by N. from near Port Principe, Columbus had approached within a short distance of Isabella. That island was

then, according to his calculations, thirty-seven leagues from Port Principe; and San Salvador was forty-five leagues from the same point. The first differs but eight leagues from the truth, the latter none; or from the actual distance of Nuevitas el Principe from Isla Larga and San Salvador. Again, let us now call to mind the course made by Columbus in going from Isabella to Cuba; it was first W. S. W., then west, and afterwards S. S. W. Having consideration for the different distances run on each, these yield a medium course not materially differing from S. W. Sailing then S. W. from Isabella, Columbus had reached Port San Salvador, on the coast of Cuba. Making afterwards a course of N. E. by N. from off Port Principe, he was going in the direction of Isabella. Hence we deduce that Port San Salvador, on the coast of Cuba, lay west of Port Principe, and the whole combination is thus bound together and established. The two islands seen by Columbus at ten o'clock of the same 20th November, must have been some of the keys which lie west of the Jumentos. Running back towards Port Principe, Columbus made it at dark, but found that he had been carried to the westward by the currents. This furnishes a sufficient proof of the strength of the current in the Bahama channel; for it will be remembered that he ran over to Cuba with a fair wind. After contending for four days, until the 24th November, with light winds against the force of these currents, he arrived at length opposite the level island whence he had set out the week before when going to Babeque.

We are thus accidentally informed that the point from which Columbus started in search of Babeque was the same island of Guajava the lesser, which lies west of Nuevitas el Principe. Further: at first he dared not enter into the opening between the two mountains, for it seemed as though the sea broke upon them; but having sent the boat a-head, the vessels followed in at S. W. and then W. into a fine harbour. The level island lay north of it, and with another island formed a secure basin capable of sheltering all the navy of Spain. This level island resolves itself then into our late Cape Cuba, which we have supposed to be Little Guajava, and the entrance east of it becomes identical with the gulf above-mentioned which lay between two mountains, one of which we have supposed the Alto de Juan Daune, and which gulf appeared to divide Cuba from Bohio. Our course now becomes a plain one. On the 26th of November, Columbus sailed from Santa Catalina (the name given by him to the port last described) at sunrise, and stood for the cape at the S. E. which he called Cabo de Pico. In this it is easy to recognise the high peak already spoken of as the Alto de Juan Daune. Arrived off this he saw another cape, distant fifteen leagues, and still farther another five leagues beyond it, which he called Cabo de Campana. The first must be that now known as Point Padre, the second Point Mulas: their distances from Alto de Juan Daune are underrated; but it requires no little experience to



estimate correctly the distances of the bold head-lands of Cuba, as seen through the pure atmosphere that surrounds the island.

Having passed Point Mulas in the night, on the 27th, Columbus looked into the deep bay that lies S. E. of it, and seeing the bold projecting head-land that makes out between Port Nipe and Port Banes, with those deep bays on each side of it, he supposed it to be an arm of the sea dividing one land from another with an island between them.

Having landed at Taco for a short time, Columbus arrived in the evening of the 27th at Baracoa, to which he gave the name of Puerto Santo. From Cabo del Pico to Puerto Santo, a distance of sixty leagues, he had passed no fewer than nine good ports and five rivers to Cape Campana, and thence to Puerto Santo eight more rivers each with a good port; all of which may be found on the chart between Alto de Juan Daune and Baracoa. By keeping near the coast he had been assisted to the S. E. by the eddy current of the Bahama channel. Sailing from Puerto Santo or Baracoa on the 4th of December, he reached the extremity of Cuba the following day, and striking off upon a wind to the S. E. in search of Babeque which lay to the N. E., he came in sight of Bohio, to which he gave the name of Espaniola.

On taking leave of Cuba, Columbus tells us that he had coasted it a distance of 420 leagues. Allowing twenty leagues of this distance for his having followed the undulations of the coast, the remaining 400 measured from Point Maysi fall exactly upon Cabrion Key, which we have supposed the western boundary of his discoveries.

The astronomical observations of Columbus form no objection to what has been here advanced; for he tells us that the instrument which he made use of to measure the meridian altitudes of the heavenly bodies was out of order and not to be depended upon. He places his first discovery, Guanahani, in the latitude of Ferro, which is about  $27^{\circ} 30'$  north. San Salvador we find in  $24^{\circ} 30'$ , and Turk's Island in  $21^{\circ} 30'$ : both are very wide of the truth, but it is certainly easier to conceive an error of three than one of six degrees.

Laying aside geographical demonstration, let us now examine how historical records agree with the opinion here supported, that the island of San Salvador was the first point where Columbus came in contact with the New World. Herrera, who is considered the most faithful and authentic of Spanish historians, wrote his History of the Indies towards the year 1600. In describing the voyage of Juan Ponce de Leon, made to Florida in 1512, he makes the following remarks: "Leaving Aguada in Porto Rico, they steered to the N. W. by N., and in five days arrived at an island called el Viejo, in latitude  $22^{\circ} 30'$  north. The next day they arrived at a small island of the Lucayos, called Caycos. On the eighth day

they anchored at another island called Yaguna in  $24^{\circ}$ , on the eighth day out from Porto Rico. Thence they passed to the island of Manuega, in  $24^{\circ} 30'$ , and on the eleventh day they reached Guanahani, which is in  $25^{\circ} 40'$  north. This island of Guanahani was the first discovered by Columbus on his first voyage, and which he called San Salvador." This is the substance of the remarks of Herrera, and is entirely conclusive as to the location of San Salvador. The latitudes, it is true, are all placed higher than we now know them to be; that of San Salvador being such as to correspond with no other land than that now known as the Berry Islands, which are seventy leagues distant from the nearest coast of Cuba: whereas Columbus tells us that San Salvador was only forty-five leagues from Port Principe. But in those infant days of navigation, the instruments for measuring the altitudes of the heavenly bodies, and the tables of declinations for deducing the latitude, must have been so imperfect as to place the most scientific navigator of the time below the most mechanical one of the present.

The second island arrived at by Ponce de Leon, in his north-western course, was one of the Caycos; the first one, then, called El Viejo, must have been Turk's Island, which lies S. E. of the Caycos. The third island they came to was probably Mariguana; the fourth, Crooked Island; and the fifth, Isla Larga. Lastly they came to Guanahani, the San Salvador of Columbus. If this be supposed identical with Turk's Island, where do we find the succession of islands touched at by Ponce de Leon on his way from Porto Rico to San Salvador? No stress has been laid, in these remarks, on the identity of name which has been preserved to San Salvador, Concepcion, and Port Principe, with those given by Columbus, though traditional usage is of vast weight in such matters. Geographical proof, of a conclusive kind it is thought, has been advanced, to enable the world to remain in its old hereditary belief that the present island of San Salvador is the spot where Columbus first set foot upon the New World. Established opinions of the kind should not be lightly molested. It is a good old rule, that ought to be kept in mind in curious research as well as territorial dealings, "Do not disturb the ancient landmarks."

#### NO XVII.

PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH THE SUMS MENTIONED IN THIS WORK HAVE BEEN REDUCED INTO MODERN CURRENCY.

In the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the mark of silver, which was equal to eight ounces, or to fifty castillanos, was divided into sixty-five reals, and each

In the first chapter of Herrera's description of the Indies, appended to his history, is another scale of the Bahama Islands, which corroborates the above. It begins at the opposite end, at the N. W., and runs down to the S. E. It is thought unnecessary to cite it particularly.

<sup>1</sup> Herrera's Hist. Ind., decad. i. l. ix. c. 40.

alled Yaguna in 24° Rico. Thence they in 24° 50', and on Guanahani, which is Guanahani was the his first voyage, and This is the substance entirely conclusive. The latitudes, it we now know them g such as to corres- at now known as the leagues distant from as Columbus tells us y-five leagues from t days of navigation, the altitudes of the f declinations for de- en so imperfect as to or of the time below resent.

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Isabella, the mark nt ounces, or to fifty -five reals, and each description of the Indies, e of the Bahama Islands, e at the opposite end, at t is thought unnecessary

real into thirty-four maravedies; so that there were 2,210 maravedies in the mark of silver. Among other silver coins, there was the real of eight, which, consisting of eight reals, was, within a small fraction, the eighth part of a mark of silver, or one ounce. Of the gold coins then in circulation, the *castillano*, or *dobra de la Vanda*, was worth 400 maravedies, and the *ducado* 393 maravedies.

If the value of the maravedi had remained unchanged in Spain down to the present day, it would be easy to reduce a sum of the time of Ferdinand and Isabella into a correspondent sum of current money; but by the successive depreciations of the coin of Yellon, or mixed metals, issued since that period, the real and maravedi of Yellon, which have replaced the ancient currency, were reduced, towards the year 1700, to about a third of the value of the old *real* and maravedi, now known as the *real* and maravedi of silver. As, however, the ancient piece of eight reals was equal approximately to the ounce of silver, and the *duro*, or dollar of the present day, is likewise equal to an ounce, they may be considered identical. Indeed, in Spanish America, the dollar, instead of being divided into twenty reals, as in Spain, is divided into only eight parts, called reals; which evidently represent the real of the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, as the dollar does the real of eight. But the ounce of silver was anciently worth  $276\frac{1}{4}$  maravedies; the dollar, therefore, is likewise equal to  $276\frac{1}{4}$  maravedies. By converting, then, the sums mentioned in this work into maravedies, they have been afterwards reduced into dollars by dividing by  $276\frac{1}{4}$ .

There is still, however, another calculation to be made, before we can arrive at the actual value of any sum of gold and silver mentioned in former times. It is necessary to notice the variation which has taken place in the value of the metals themselves. In Europe, previous to the discovery of the New World, an ounce of gold commanded an amount of food or labour which would cost three ounces at the present day; hence an ounce of gold was then estimated at three times its present value. At the same time an ounce of silver commanded an amount which at present costs four ounces of silver. It appears from this, that the value of gold and silver varied with respect to each other, as well as with respect to all other commodities. This is owing to there having been much more silver brought from the New World, with respect to the quantity previously in circulation, than there has been of gold. In the fifteenth century, an ounce of gold was equal to about twelve of silver; and now, in the year 1827, it is exchanged against sixteen.

Hence, in giving an idea of the relative value of the sums mentioned in this work, it has been found necessary to multiply them by 3, when in gold, and by 4, when expressed in silver.

It is expedient to add, that the dollar is reckoned

See Caballero, *Pesos y Medidas*. J. B. Say, *Economie Polit.*

in this work at 100 cents of the United States of North America, and four shillings and sixpence of England.

## Nº XVIII.

## MARCO POLO.

THE travels of Marco Polo, or Paolo, furnish a key to many parts of the voyages and speculations of Columbus, which, without it, would hardly be comprehensible.

Marco Polo was a native of Venice, who, in the thirteenth century, made a journey into the remote, and, at that time, unknown regions of the East, and filled all Christendom with curiosity by his account of the countries he had visited. He was preceded in his travels by his father, Nicholas, and his uncle, Matteo Polo. These two brothers were of an illustrious family in Venice, and embarked, in the year 1250, on a commercial voyage to the East. Having sailed up the Mediterranean and through the Bosphorus, they stopped for a short time at Constantinople. From hence they proceeded by the Euxine to Armenia, where they remained for a year, entertained with great favour at the court of a Tartar prince. A war breaking out between their patron and a neighbouring potentate, and the former being defeated, they were embarrassed how to extricate themselves from the country, and return home in safety. After various wanderings, they at length reached Bochara, in the Gulf of Persia, where they resided for three years. While here, there arrived an ambassador from one of the inferior Tartar powers on his way to the court of the great khan. Finding that the two brothers were well acquainted with the Tartar tongue, he prevailed upon them to accompany him. After a march of several months, being delayed by snows and inundations, they arrived at the court of Cublai, otherwise called the great khan, which signifies king of kings, being the sovereign potentate of the Tartars. This magnificent prince received them with great distinction; he made inquiries about the countries and princes of the West, their civil and military government, and the manners and customs of the Latin nations. Above all he was curious on the subject of the Christian religion. He was so much struck by their replies, that, after holding a council with the chief persons of his kingdom, he entreated the two brothers to go on his part as ambassadors to the pope, to entreat him to send a hundred learned men, well instructed in the Christian faith, to impart a knowledge of it to the sages of his empire. He also entreated them to bring him a little oil from the lamp of our Saviour in Jerusalem, which he concluded must have marvellous virtues. Having given them letters to the pope, written in the Tartar language, he appointed one of the principal noblemen of his

\* Ramusio, tome ii, p. 17, ed. Venet. 1606.

court to accompany them in their mission. On their taking leave, he furnished them with a tablet of gold, on which was engraved the royal arms; this was to serve as a passport, at sight of which the governors of the various provinces were to entertain them, to furnish them with escorts through dangerous places, and render them all other necessary services at the expense of the great khan.

They had scarce proceeded twenty miles when the nobleman who accompanied them fell ill, and they were obliged to leave him and continue on their route. Their golden passport procured them every attention and facility throughout the dominions of the great khan. They arrived safely at Acre, in April, 1260. Here they received news of the recent death of pope Clement IV, at which they were much grieved, fearing it would cause delay in their mission. There was at that time in Acre a legate of the holy chair, Tebaldo de Visconti of Placentia, to whom they gave an account of their embassy. He heard them with great attention and interest; and advised them to await the election of a new pope, which must soon take place, before they proceeded to Rome on their mission.

They accordingly departed for Negropont, and from thence to Venice, where great changes had taken place in their domestic concerns during their long absence. The wife of Nicholas, whom he had left pregnant, had died in giving birth to his son Marco, who was now nineteen years of age.

As the contested election for the new pontiff remained pending for two years, they began to be uneasy lest the Emperor of Tartary should grow impatient at so long a postponement of the conversion of himself and his people; they determined, therefore, not to wait the election of a pope, but to proceed to Acre, and get such despatches and such ghostly ministry for the grand khan as the legate could furnish. On this second journey, Nicholas Polo took with him his son Marco, who afterwards wrote an account of these travels.

They were again received with great favour by the legate Tebaldo, who, anxious for the success of their mission, furnished them with letters to the grand khan, in which the doctrines of the Christian faith were fully expounded. With these, and with a supply of the holy oil from the sepulchre, they once more set out, in September, 1274, for the remote parts of Tartary. They had not long departed, however, when missions arrived from Rome, informing the legate of his own election to the holy chair. He took the name of Gregory X, and decreed that, in future, on the death of a pope, the Cardinals should be shut up in conclave until they elected a successor; a wise regulation, which has since continued, enforcing a prompt decision, and preventing intrigue.

Immediately on receiving intelligence of his election, he despatched a courier to the King of Armenia, requesting that the two Venetians might be sent back to him if they had not departed. They joyfully returned, and were furnished with new letters to the khan. Two eloquent friars also, Nicholas Vincenti

and Gilbert de Tripoli, were sent with them, with powers to ordain priests and bishops, and to grant absolution. They had presents of crystal vases and other costly articles, to deliver to the grand khan; and thus well provided, they once more set forth on their journey.

Arriving in Armenia, they ran great risks of their lives from the war which was raging, the sultan of Babylon having invaded the country. They took refuge for some time with the superior of a monastery; here the two reverend fathers, losing all courage to prosecute so perilous an enterprise, determined to remain, and the Venetians continued their journey. They were a long time on the way, and exposed to great hardships and sufferings from floods and snow-storms, it being the winter season. At length they reached a town in the dominions of the khan. When that potentate heard of their approach, he sent officers to meet them at forty days' distance from the court, and to provide quarters for them during their journey.\* He received them with great kindness; was highly gratified with the result of their mission, and with the letters of the pope; and having received from them some oil from the lamp of the holy sepulchre, he had it locked up and guarded as a precious treasure.

The three Venetians, father, brother, and son, were treated with such distinction by the khan, that the courtiers were filled with jealousy. Marco soon, however, made himself popular, and was particularly esteemed by the emperor. He acquired the various languages of the country; and was of such remarkable capacity, that, notwithstanding his youth, the khan employed him in various missions and in important affairs. In this way he gathered all kinds of information respecting that vast empire.

After residing many years in Tartary, the Venetians at length longed to return to their native country. It was with great difficulty that the khan could be prevailed on to part with them. They set out on their return in the suite of certain envoys of the King of the Indies, who were conveying home a princess of Tartary to be espoused to their monarch. They were again provided by the munificent khan with tablets of gold, to serve, not merely as passports, but as orders upon all commanders in his territories for all necessary accommodations and supplies. They embarked in a fleet of fourteen sail, and coasted the shores of Asia to an island which they called Java; from thence they traversed the Indian Sea, and arrived at the court of the monarch of the Indies. After passing some time here, they had fresh tablets of gold given them by that sovereign to carry them in safety and honour through his kingdom. They had a long and difficult journey to Constantinople

\* Ramusio, t. iii.

• Bergeron, by a blunder in his translation from the original Latin, has stated that the khan sent 40,000 men to escort them. This has drawn the ire of the critics upon Marco Polo, who has cited it as one of his monstrous exaggerations.

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from whence they set sail for Venice, and arrived  
here in 1295, in good health, and literally laden with  
riches.

Ramusio, in his preface to the narrative of Marco  
Polo, gives a variety of particulars concerning their  
arrival, which he compares to that of Ulysses. They  
were poorly clad, in coarse clothes made after the  
fashion of the Tartars. When they arrived at Ven-  
ice, they were known by nobody. So many years  
had elapsed since their departure without any tidings  
of them, that they were either forgotten or consider-  
ed dead. Beside their foreign garb, the influence of  
southern suns, and the similitude which men acquire  
to those among whom they reside for any length of  
time, had given them the look of Tartars rather than  
Italians.

They repaired to their own house, which was a  
noble palace, afterwards known by the name of La  
Porte de la Milione. They found several of their  
relatives still inhabiting it; but they were slow in re-  
collecting the travellers, not knowing of their wealth,  
and probably considering them poor adventurers, re-  
turned to be a charge upon their families. The  
Polos, however, took an effectual mode of quickening  
the memories of their friends, and ensuring them-  
selves a loving reception. They invited them all to  
a grand banquet. When their guests arrived, they  
received them richly dressed in garments of crimson  
of oriental fashion. When the company were  
summoned to table, the travellers, who had retired,  
appeared again in still richer robes of crimson damask.  
The first dresses were cut up and distributed among  
the servants, being of such length that they swept  
the ground; "which," says Ramusio, "was the  
mode in those days with dresses worn within doors."  
After they had tasted of the viands they again retired,  
and came in dressed in crimson velvet, the second  
dresses being likewise given to the domestics; and  
the same was done at the end of the feast with their  
velvet robes, when they appeared in the Venetian  
dress of the day. The guests were lost in astonish-  
ment, and could not comprehend the meaning of this  
sequerade; when, having dismissed all the attend-  
ants, Marco Polo brought forth the coarse Tartar  
dresses in which they had arrived: slashing these in  
several places with a knife, and ripping open the  
silks and lining, there fell out a vast quantity of pre-  
cious jewels, such as rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and  
diamonds. The whole table glittered with ines-  
timable wealth, which they had acquired from the  
munificence of the grand khan, and which they had  
secretly conveyed through the perils of their  
journey.

"The company," observes Ramusio, "were filled  
with amazement, and now clearly perceived, what  
they had at first doubted, that these in very truth  
were those honoured and valiant gentlemen the Polos,  
and accordingly, paid them great respect and rever-  
ence."

The account of this curious feast is from Ramusio,

who gives it on traditional authority; having heard it  
many times related by the illustrious Gasparo Mali-  
piero, a very ancient gentleman and a senator, who  
had it from his father, who had it from his grand-  
father, and so on up to the fountain-head.

When the fame of this banquet came to be divulged  
throughout Venice, and the wealth also of the tra-  
vellers, all the city, noble and simple, crowded to see  
the Polos, to caress and honour them. Matteo, who  
was the eldest, was admitted to the dignity of the  
magistracy. The youth of the city came every day  
to visit and converse with Marco Polo, who was ex-  
tremely amiable and communicative. They were in-  
satisfiable in their inquiries about Cathay and the grand  
khan, which he answered with great courtesy, and  
gave them details with which they were vastly de-  
lighted; and as he always spoke of the wealth of the  
grand khan in round numbers, they gave him the  
name of Messer Marco Milioni.

Some months after their return, Lampa Doria,  
commander of the Genoese navy, appeared in the vi-  
cinity of the island of Cuzzola with seventy galleys.  
Andrea Dandolo, the Venetian Admiral, was sent  
against him. Marco Polo commanded a galley of the  
fleet. His usual good fortune deserted him. Ad-  
vancing the first in the line with his galley, and not  
being properly seconded, he was taken prisoner,  
thrown in irons, and carried to Genoa. Here he was  
detained for a long time in prison, and all offers of  
ransom rejected. His imprisonment gave great  
uneasiness to his father and uncle, fearing that he  
might never return. Seeing themselves in this un-  
happy state, with so much treasure and no heirs, they  
consulted together. They were both very old men,  
but Nicolo, observes Ramusio, was of a galliard com-  
plexion: it was determined he should take a wife.  
He did so; and, to the wonder of his friends, in four  
years had three children.

In the meanwhile the fame of Marco Polo's travels  
had circulated in Genoa. His prison was daily crowded  
with nobility, and he was supplied with every thing  
that could cheer him in his confinement. A Genoese  
gentleman, who visited him every day, at length pre-  
vailed upon him to write an account of what he had  
seen. He had his papers and journals sent to him  
from Venice, and, with the assistance of his friends,  
produced the work which afterwards made such a  
noise throughout the world.

The merit of Marco Polo at length procured him  
his liberty. He returned to Venice, where he found  
his father with a house full of children. He took it  
in good part, followed the old man's example, mar-  
ried, and had two daughters, Moretta and Fantina.  
The three sons of his father by the second marriage  
died without male issue, and the family of Polo was  
extinguished in 1447.

Such are the principal particulars known of Marco  
Polo; a man whose travels for a long time made a  
great noise in Europe, and will be found to have had  
a great effect on modern discovery. His splendid



account of the extent, wealth, and population of the Tartar territories, filled every one with admiration. The possibility of bringing all those regions under the dominion of the church, and rendering the grand khan an obedient vassal to the holy chair, was for a long time a favourite topic among the enthusiastic missionaries of Christendom; and there were many who undertook to effect the conversion of this magnificent infidel.

Even at the distance of two centuries, when the enterprises for the discovery of a new route to India had excited so many speculations about these remote regions of the East, the conversion of the grand khan became again a popular theme; and it was too speculative and romantic an enterprise not to catch the vivid imagination of Columbus. In all his voyages he will be found continually to be seeking after the territories of the grand khan; and even after his last expedition, when nearly worn out by age, hardships, and infirmities, he offered, in a letter to the Spanish monarchs, written from a bed of sickness, to conduct any missionary to the territories of the Tartar emperor who would undertake his conversion.

## No XIX.

## THE WORK OF MARCO POLO.

THE work of Marco Polo is stated by some to have been originally written in Latin, though the most probable opinion is that it was written in Italian. Copies of it in manuscript were multiplied and rapidly circulated; translations were made into various languages, until the invention of printing enabled it to be widely diffused throughout Europe.

In the course of these translations and successive editions, the original text, according to Purchas, has been much vitiated; and it is probable many extravagancies in numbers and measurements, with which Marco Polo is charged, may be the errors of translators and printers.

When the work first appeared, it was considered by some as made up of fictions and extravagancies; but Vossius assures us that it was at one time highly esteemed among the learned.

Francis Pepin, author of the Brandenburgh version, styles Polo a man commendable for his devotness, prudence, and fidelity. Athanasius Kircher, in his account of China, says, that none of the ancients have described the kingdoms of the remote parts of the East with more exactness. Various other learned men have borne testimony to his character, and most of the substantial points of his work have been authenticated by subsequent travellers. It is manifest, however, that he dealt much in exaggeration. The historical part of his work is full of errors and fables. He confuses the names of places, is very inexact as to

distances, and gives no latitudes of the places he visited.

It has been strongly doubted whether he really visited all the countries he described, and whether his account of Tartary and Cathay, and of different parts of India and the African coasts, were not taken from Mahometan narrations.

Ramusio thinks that a great part of the third book was collected by him from narrations of mariners of the Indian seas. Athanasius Kircher is at a loss to know why he makes no mention of the great wall of China, which he must have passed, unless he visited that country by water.

The most probable opinion given concerning him is, that he really visited part of the countries which he describes, and collected information from various sources concerning the others; that he kept no regular journal, but after his return home composed his work from various memorandums, and from memory. Thus what he had seen and what he had heard became mixed up in his mind; and floating fables of the East were noted down with as much gravity and authority as well ascertained facts. Much has been said of a map brought from Cathay by Marco Polo, which was preserved in the convent of St Michael de Murano in the vicinity of Venice, and in which the Cape of Good Hope and the island of Madagascar were indicated; countries which the Portuguese claim the merit of having discovered two centuries afterwards. It has been suggested also that Columbus had visited the convent and examined the map, from whence he derived some of his ideas concerning the coast of India. According to Ramusio, however, who had been at the convent, and was well acquainted with the prior of it, the map preserved there was one copied by a friar from the original one of Marco Polo, and many alterations and additions had since been made by other hands, so that for a long time it lost all credit with judicious people, until, in company with the work of Marco Polo, it was found in the main to agree with his descriptions. The Cape of Good Hope was doubtless among the alterations made subsequent to the discoveries of the Portuguese. Columbus makes no mention of this map, which he most probably would have done had he seen it. He seems to have been entirely guided by the one furnished by Paulo Toscanelli, and which was apparently projected after the original map, or after the descriptions of Marco Polo and the maps of Ptolemy.

When the attention of the world was turned towards the remote parts of Asia in the fifteenth century, and the Portuguese were making their attempts to circumnavigate Africa, the narration of Marco Polo again rose to notice. This, with the travels of Nicolo le Conte, the Venetian, and of Hieronimo da San Stefano, a Genoese, are said to have afforded the information by which the Portuguese guided themselves in their voyages.\*

\* Prevost, *Hist. des Voyages*, t. xxvii, l. 4, ch. 3. Paris, 1349.

\* Ramusio, v. ii, p. 47. \* *Hist. des Voyages*, t. xi, l. 11, c.

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Above all, the influence which the work of Marco Polo had over the mind of Columbus gives it particular interest and importance. It was evidently an oracular work with him. He is supposed to have had a manuscript copy by him. He frequently quotes it; and on his voyages, supposing himself to be on the Asiatic coast, he is continually endeavouring to discover the islands and main lands described in it, and to find the famous Cipango.

It is proper therefore to specify some of those places, and the manner in which they are described by the Venetian traveller, that the reader may more fully understand the anticipations which were haunting the mind of Columbus in his voyages among the West Indian islands, and along the coast of Terra Firma.

The principal residence of the great khan, according to Marco Polo, was in the city of Cambalu, (since ascertained to be Pekin,) in the province of Cathay. This city, he says, was twenty-four miles square, and admirably built. It was impossible, according to Marco Polo, to describe the vast amount and variety of merchandise and manufactures brought there; it would seem as if there were enough to furnish the universe.

"Here are to be seen in wonderful abundance the precious stones, the pearls, the silks, and the diverse perfumes of the East: scarce a day passes that there does not arrive nearly a thousand cars laden with silks, of which they make admirable stuffs in this city.

"The palace of the great khan is magnificently built, and four miles in circuit. It is rather a group of palaces. In the interior it is resplendent with gold and silver; and in it are guarded the precious vases and jewels of the sovereign." All the appointments of the khan for war, for the chase, for various festivities, are described in gorgeous terms.

But though Marco Polo is magnificent in his description of the province of Cathay and its imperial city of Cambalu, he outdoes himself when he comes to describe the province of Mangi. This province is supposed to be the southern part of China. It contained, he says, twelve hundred cities. The capital, Quinsai, supposed to be the city of Hang-chen, was twenty-five miles from the sea; but communicated by a river, with a port situated on the sea-coast, and had great trade with India.

The name Quinsai, according to Marco Polo, signifies the city of heaven; he says he has been in it, and examined it diligently, and affirms it to be the largest in the world; and so it undoubtedly is, if the measurement of the traveller is to be taken for truth. He declares that it is one hundred miles in circuit; that it is built upon little islands like Venice, and has twelve thousand stone bridges,\* the arches of which are so

\* Mandeville, speaking of Cambalu, says it is ten miles of Lombardy in circuit, which makes eight miles.

\* Another blunder in translation has drawn upon Marco Polo the indignation of George Horn's, who, in his *Origin of Ameri-*

high that the largest vessels can pass under them without lowering their masts. It has three thousand baths. It has six hundred thousand families. It abounds with magnificent houses, and has a lake thirty miles in circuit within its walls, on the banks of which are superb palaces of people of rank. The inhabitants of Quinsai are very voluptuous, and indulge in all kinds of luxuries and delights, particularly the women, who are extremely beautiful. There are many merchants and artisans; but the masters do not work, they employ servants to do all their labour. The province of Mangi was conquered by the great khan, who divided it into nine kingdoms, appointing to each a tributary king. He drew from it an immense revenue, for the country abounded in gold, silver, silks, sugar, spices, and perfumes.

#### ZIPANGU, ZIPANGRI, OR CIPANGO.

FIFTEEN hundred miles from the shores of Mangi, in the ocean, lay the great island of Zipangri, or as Columbus writes it, Cipango, and which is supposed to be Japan. Marco Polo describes it as abounding in gold, which, however, the king seldom permits to be transported out of the island. The king has a magnificent palace covered with plates of gold, as in other countries the roofs of the palaces are covered with sheets of lead or copper. The halls and chambers are likewise covered with gold; the windows adorned with it; the very floors paved with it, sometimes in plates of the thickness of two fingers. The island also produces vast quantities of the largest and finest pearls, together with a variety of precious stones, so that in fact it abounds in riches. The great khan made several attempts to conquer this island, but in vain; which is not to be wondered at if what Marco Polo relates be true, that the inhabitants had certain stones of a charmed virtue tied to their arms, which, through the power of diabolical enchantments, rendered them invulnerable. The island of Cipango was an object of diligent search to Columbus.

About the island of Zipangri or Cipango, and between it and the coast of Mangi, the sea, according to Marco Polo, is studded with small islands, to the number of seven thousand four hundred and forty-eight, of which the greater part are inhabited. There is not one which does not produce odoriferous trees, and perfumes in abundance. Columbus thought himself at one time in the midst of these islands.

These are the principal places, described by Marco Polo, which occur in the letters and journals of Columbus. The island of Cipango was the first land he expected to make, and he intended to visit afterwards

ca. lv. 3, exclaims, "Who can believe all that he says of the city of Quinsay? As for example, that it has stone bridges twelve thousand miles high!" etc. It is probable that many of the exaggerations in the accounts of Marco Polo are in fact the errors of his translators. Mandeville, speaking of this same city, which he calls Cansal, says it is built on the sea like Venice, and has 1200 bridges, on each of which is a tower.

the province of Mangi, and to seek the great khan in his city of Cambalu in the province of Cathay.

Unless the reader bears in mind these sumptuous descriptions of Marco Polo, of countries teeming with wealth, and cities whose very domes and palaces flamed with gold, he will have but a faint idea of the splendid anticipations of Columbus, when he discovered, as he supposed, the extremity of Asia.

It was this confident expectation of soon arriving at these countries, and realizing the account of the Venetian, that induced him to hold forth those promises of immediate wealth to the Sovereigns which caused so much disappointment, and brought upon him the frequent reproach of exciting false hopes and indulging in wilful exaggeration.

#### Nº XX.

SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE.

NEXT to Marco Polo, the travels of Sir John Mandeville, and his account of the territories of the great khan along the coast of Asia, seem to have been treasured up in the mind of Columbus.

Mandeville was born in the town of St Albans. He was devoted to study from his earliest childhood, and, after finishing his general education, applied himself to medicine. Having a great desire to see the remotest parts of the earth then known, that is to say, Asia and Africa, and above all to visit the Holy Land, he left England in 1352, and, passing through France, embarked at Marseilles. According to his own account, he visited Turkey, Armenia, Egypt, Upper and Lower Libya, Syria, Persia, Chaldea, Ethiopia, Tartary, Amazonia, and the Indies, residing in their principal cities. But most, he says, he delighted in the Holy Land, where he remained for a long time, examining it with the greatest minuteness, and endeavouring to follow all the traces of our Saviour. After an absence of thirty-four years he returned to England, but found himself forgotten and unknown by the greater part of his countrymen, and a stranger in his native place. He wrote a history of his travels in three languages, English, French, and Latin, for he was master of many tongues. He addressed his work to Edward III. His wanderings do not seem to have made him either pleased with the world at large, or contented with his home. He railed at the age, saying that there was no more virtue extant; that the church was ruined, error prevalent among the clergy, simony upon the throne, and, in a word, that the devil reigned triumphant. He soon returned to the continent, and died at Liege in 1372. He was buried in the abbey of the Gulielmites, in the suburbs of that city, where Ortelius in his *Itinerarium Belgicæ* says that he saw his monument, on which was the effigy, in stone, of a man with a forked beard and his hands raised

towards his head, probably folded as in prayer, according to the manner of old tombs, and a lion at his feet. There was an inscription stating his name, quality, and calling, viz. professor of medicine, that he was very pious, very learned, and very charitable to the poor, and that, after having travelled over the whole world, he had died at Liege. The people of the convent showed also his spurs, and the housing of the horses which he had ridden on his travels.

The descriptions given by Mandeville of the grand khan, of the province of Cathay, and the city of Cambalu, are scarcely less extravagant than those of Marco Polo. The royal palace was more than two leagues in circumference. The grand hall had twenty-four columns of copper and gold. There were more than three hundred thousand men occupied, and living in and about the palace, of which more than one hundred thousand were employed in taking care of the elephants, of which there were ten thousand, and of a vast variety of other animals, birds of prey, falcons, parrots, and parroquets. On days of festival there were even twice the number of men employed. The title of this potentate in his letters was, "Khan, the son of God, exalted possessor of all the earth, master of those who are masters of others." On his seal was engraved, "God reigns in heaven, Khan upon earth."

Mandeville has become proverbial for indulging in a traveller's exaggerations; yet his accounts of the countries which he visited have been found far more veracious than had been imagined. His descriptions of Cathay, and the wealthy province of Mangi, agreeing with those of Marco Polo, had great authority with Columbus.

#### Nº XXI.

THE ZONES.

THE zones were imaginary bands or circles in the heavens, producing an effect of climate on corresponding belts on the globe of the earth. The polar circles and the tropics mark these divisions.

The central region lying beneath the track of the sun, was termed the torrid zone; the two regions between the tropics and the polar circles were termed the temperate zones; and the remaining parts, between the polar circles and the poles, the frigid zones.

The frozen regions near the poles were considered uninhabitable and un navigable, on account of the extreme cold. The burning zone, or rather the central part of it, immediately about the equator, was considered uninhabitable, unproductive, and impassable, in consequence of the excessive heat. The temperate zones, lying between them, were supposed to be fertile and salubrious, and suited to the purposes of life.

The globe was divided into two hemispheres by the equator, an imaginary line encircling it at equal

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distance from the poles. The whole of the world known to the ancients was contained in the temperate zone of the northern hemisphere.

It was imagined, that if there should be inhabitants in the temperate zone of the southern hemisphere, there could still be no communication with them on account of the burning zone which intervened.

Parmenides, according to Strabo, was the inventor of this theory of the five zones, but he made the torrid zone extend on each side of the equator beyond the tropics. Aristotle supported this doctrine of the zones. In his time, nothing was known of the extreme northern parts of Europe and Asia, nor of interior Ethiopia, and the southern part of Africa, extending beyond the tropic of Capricorn to the Cape of Good Hope. Aristotle believed that there was habitable earth in the southern hemisphere, but that it was for ever divided from the part of the world already known, by the impassable zone of scorching heat at the equator.\*

Pliny supported the opinion of Aristotle concerning the burning zones. "The temperature of the central region of the earth," he observes, "where the sun runs his course, is burnt up as with fire. The temperate zones, which lie on either side, can have no communication with each other in consequence of the fervent heat of this region."†

Strabo (lib. ii), in mentioning this theory, gives it likewise his support; and others of the ancient philosophers, as well as the poets, might be cited, to show the general prevalence of the belief.

It must be observed that, at the time when Columbus defended his proposition before the learned at Salamanca, the ancient theory of the burning zone had not yet been totally disproved by modern discovery. The Portuguese, it is true, had penetrated within the tropics; but though the whole of the space between the tropic of Cancer and that of Capricorn in common parlance was termed the torrid zone, the uninhabitable and impassable part, strictly speaking, according to the doctrine of the ancients, only extended a limited number of degrees on each side of the equator, forming about a third, or at most the half of the zone. The proofs which Columbus endeavoured to draw, therefore, from the voyages made to St George la Mina, were not conclusive with those who were bigoted to the ancient theory, and who placed this scorching region still farther southward and immediately about the equator.

#### Nº XXII.

##### OF THE ATALANTIS OF PLATO.

THE island of Atalantis is mentioned by Plato in his dialogue of Timæus. Solon, the Athenian law-

\* Aristotle, Met. ii, cap. 3.  
† Pliny, lib. i, c. 61.

giver, is supposed to have travelled into Egypt. He is in an ancient city on the Delta, the fertile island formed by the Nile, and is holding converse with certain learned priests on the antiquities of remote ages, when one of them gives him a description of the island of Atalantis and of its destruction, which he describes as having taken place before the conflagration of the world by Phaeton.

This island, he was told, had been situated in the Western Ocean, opposite to the Straits of Gibraltar. There was an easy passage from it to other islands, which lay adjacent to a large continent, exceeding in size all Europe and Asia. Neptune settled in this island, from whose son, Atlas, its name was derived, and he divided it among his ten sons. His descendants reigned here in regular succession for many ages. They made irruptions into Europe and Africa, subduing all Libya as far as Egypt, and all Europe to Asia Minor.

They were resisted, however, by the Athenians, and driven back to their Atlantic territories. Shortly after this there was a tremendous earthquake, and an overflowing of the sea, which continued for a day and a night. In the course of this, the vast island of Atalantis and all its splendid cities and warlike nations were swallowed up and sunk to the bottom of the sea, which, spreading its waters over the chasm, formed the Atlantic Ocean. For a long time, however, the sea was not navigable, on account of rocks and shelves, of mud and slime, and of the ruins of that drowned country.

Many, in modern times, have considered this a mere fable: others suppose that Plato, while in Egypt, had received some vague accounts of the Canary Islands; and, on his return to Greece, finding those islands so entirely unknown to his countrymen, had made them the seat of his political and moral speculations. Some, however, have been disposed to give greater weight to this story of Plato. They imagine that such an island may really have existed, filling up a great part of the Atlantic, and that the continent beyond it was America, which, in such case, was not unknown to the ancients. Kireher supposes it to have been an island extending from the Canaries to the Azores: that it was really engulfed in one of the convulsions of the globe, and that those small islands are mere shattered fragments of it.

As a further proof that the New World was not unknown to the ancients, many have cited the singular passage in the Medea of Seneca, which is wonderfully apposite, and shows at least how nearly the warm imagination of a poet may approach to prophecy. The predictions of the ancient oracles were rarely so unequivocal.

#### Veniens annis

Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus  
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens  
Pateat tellus, Typhisque novos  
Detegat orbis, nec sit terris  
Ultima Thule.

Gosselin, in his able research into the voyages of the ancients, supposes the Atalantis of Plato to have been nothing more nor less than one of the nearest of the Canaries, viz. Fortaventura or Lanzerote.

## No XXIII.

## THE IMAGINARY ISLAND OF ST BRANDAN.

ONE of the most singular geographical illusions on record is that which, for a long while, haunted the imaginations of the inhabitants of the Canaries. They fancied they beheld a mountainous island, of about ninety leagues in length, lying far to the westward. It was only seen at intervals, though in perfectly clear and serene weather. To some it seemed one hundred leagues distant, to others forty, to others only fifteen or eighteen.

On attempting to reach it, however, it somehow or other eluded the search, and was nowhere to be found. Still there were so many persons of credibility who concurred in testifying to their having seen it, and the testimony of the inhabitants of different islands agreed so well as to its form and position, that its existence was generally believed; and geographers inserted it in their maps. It is laid down on the globe of Martin Behem, projected in 1492, as delineated by M. de Murr, and it will be found in most of the maps of the time of Columbus, placed commonly about two hundred leagues west of the Canaries. During the time that Columbus was making his proposition to the court of Portugal, an inhabitant of the Canaries applied to King John II for a vessel to go in search of this island. In the archives of the Torre di Tombo,<sup>2</sup> also, there is a record of a contract made by the crown of Portugal with Fernando de Ulmo, cavalier of the royal household, and captain of the island of Terceira, wherein he undertakes to go, at his own expense, in quest of an island, or islands, or terra firma, supposed to be the Island of the Seven Cities, on condition of having jurisdiction over the same, for himself and his heirs, allowing one-tenth of the revenues to the King. This Ulmo, finding the expedition above his capacity, associated one Juan Alphonso del Estreito in the enterprise. They were bound to be ready to sail with two caravels in the month of March, 1487.<sup>3</sup> The fate of their enterprise is unknown.

The name of St Brandan, or Borondan, given to this imaginary island from time immemorial, is said to be derived from a Scotch abbot, who flourished in the sixth century, and who is called sometimes by the foregoing appellations, sometimes St Blandano or St Blandanus. In the martyrology of the order of St Augustine, he is said to have been the patriarch of

3,000 monks. About the middle of the sixth century, he accompanied his disciple, St Maclovio or St Malo, in search of certain islands, possessing the delights of paradise, which they were told existed in the midst of the ocean, and were inhabited by infidels. After these most adventurous saints-errant had wandered for a long time upon the ocean, they at length landed upon an island called Ima. Here St Malo found the body of a giant lying in a sepulchre. He reanimated him, and had much interesting conversation with him, the giant informing him that the inhabitants of that island had some notions of the Trinity, and moreover giving him an account of the torments which Jews and pagans suffered in the infernal regions. Finding the giant so docile and reasonable, St Malo expounded to him the doctrines of the Christian religion, converted him, and baptized him by the name of Mildum. The giant, however, either through weariness of life, or eagerness to enjoy the benefits of his conversion, begged permission, at the end of fifteen days, to die again, which was granted him.

According to another account, the giant told them he knew of an island in the ocean defended by walls of burnished gold, so resplendent that they shone like crystal, but to which there was no entrance. At their request he undertook to guide them to it, and taking the cable of their ship, threw himself into the sea. He had not proceeded far, however, when a tempest arose and obliged them all to return, and shortly after the giant died.<sup>4</sup> A third legend makes the saint pray to Heaven, on Easter-day, that they may be permitted to find land where they may celebrate the offices of religion with becoming state: an island immediately appears, on which they land, perform a solemn mass, and the sacrament of the Eucharist; after which, re-embarking and making sail, they behold to their astonishment the supposed island suddenly plunge to the bottom of the sea, being nothing else than a monstrous whale.<sup>5</sup> When the rumour circulated of an island seen from the Canaries, which always eluded the search, the legends of St Brandan were revived, and applied to this unapproachable land. We are told also, that there was an ancient Latin manuscript in the archives of the cathedral church of the Grand Canary, in which the adventures of these saints were recorded. Through carelessness, however, this manuscript has disappeared.<sup>6</sup> Some have maintained that this island was known to the ancients, and was the same mentioned by Ptolemy among the Fortunate or Canary Islands, by the name of Apositus,<sup>4</sup> a Greek word, signifying inaccessible; and which, according to friar Diego Philipo, in his book on the incarnation of Christ, shows that it possessed the same quality in ancient times of deluding the eye, and being unat-

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Gregorio Garcia. Origen de los Indios, l. i. c. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Sigeberto. Epist. ad Teitmar. Abbat.

<sup>3</sup> Nuñez de la Peña, Conquist de la Gran Canaria.

<sup>4</sup> Ptolemy, l. iv. t. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Teyjoo, Theatro Critico, tomo iv. d. 10, § 29.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iv. de la Chancelleria del Rey Don Juan II, fol. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Torre di Tombo. Lib. das Yllas, f. 119.



the sixth century, clovio or St Malo, being the delights of the island in the midst of infidels. After a long and wandering voyage at length landed at St Malo found the island. He resuscitated conversation with the inhabitants of the Trinity, and of the torments in the infernal regions and reasonable doctrines of the Christian baptized him by the name of St. John, however, either unwillingness to enjoy the permission, at the which was granted

the giant told them defended by walls that they shone like no entrance. At the side them to it, and drew himself into the cave however, when a man came to return, and the third legend makes it clear, that they were here they may be becoming state: an island which they land, the sacrament of the ark and making the supposed island of the sea, being a whale.\* When the island was seen from the Canary, the legends of the island applied to this unapologetic, that there was in the archives of the Canary, in which the island was recorded. Through the manuscript has disappeared that this island was the same mentioned in the Canary is, a Greek word, according to friar the incarnation of the same quality in the island, and being unat-

tainable to the feet of mortals. But whatever belief the ancients may have had on the subject, it is certain that it took a strong hold on the faith of the moderns during the prevalent rage for discovery; nor did it lack abundant testimonials. Don Joseph de Viera y Clavijo says, there never was a more difficult paradox or problem in the science of geography; since to affirm the existence of this island is to trample upon sound criticism, judgment, and reason; and to deny it, one must abandon tradition and experience, and suppose that many persons of credit had not the proper use of their senses.

The belief in this island has continued long since the time of Columbus. It was repeatedly seen, and by various persons at a time, always in the same place and the same form. In 1520, an expedition set off from the Canaries in quest of it, commanded by Fernando de Troya and Fernando Alvarez. They cruised in the wonted direction, but in vain; and their failure ought to have undeceived the public. "The phantasm of the island, however," says Viera, "had such a secret enchantment for all who beheld it, that the public preferred doubting the good conduct of the explorers than their own senses." In 1570 the appearances were so repeated and clear, that there was a universal fever of curiosity awakened among the people of the Canaries, and it was determined to send forth another expedition. That they might not appear to act upon light grounds, an exact investigation was previously made of all the persons of talent and credibility who had seen these apparitions of land, or who had other proofs of its existence.

Alonso de Espinosa, governor of the island of Ferro, accordingly made a report, in which more than one hundred witnesses, several of them persons of the highest respectability, deposed that they had beheld the unknown island about forty leagues to the northwest of Ferro; that they had contemplated it with calmness and certainty, and had seen the sun set behind one of its points.

Testimonials of still greater force came from the islands of Palma and Teneriffe. There were certain Portuguese who affirmed that, being driven about by a tempest, they had come upon the island of St Borondon. Pedro Vello, who was the pilot of the vessel, asserted, that, having anchored in a bay, he landed with several of the crew. They drank fresh water from a brook, and beheld in the sand the print of footsteps, double the size of those of an ordinary man, and the distance between them was in proportion. They found a cross nailed to a neighbouring tree, near to which were three stones placed in form of a triangle, with signs of fire having been made among them, probably to cook shell-fish. Having seen much cattle and sheep grazing in the neighbourhood, two of their party, armed with lances, went into the woods in pursuit of them. The night was approaching, the heavens began to lower, and a harsh wind

arose. The people on board the ship cried out that she was dragging her anchor, whereupon Vello entered the boat, and hurried on board. In an instant they lost sight of land, being, as it were, swept away in the hurricane. When the storm had passed away, and sea and sky were again serene, they searched in vain for the island; not a trace of it was to be seen, and they had to pursue their voyage, lamenting the loss of their two companions who had been abandoned in the wood.

A learned licentiate, Pedro Ortiz de Funez, inquisitor of the Grand Canary, while on a visit at Teneriffe, summoned several persons before him, who testified having seen the island. Among them was one Marcos Verde, a man well known in those parts. He stated, that in returning from Barbary, and arriving in the neighbourhood of the Canaries, he beheld land, which, according to his maps and calculations, could not be any of the known islands. He concluded it to be the far-famed St Borondon. Overjoyed at having discovered this land of mystery, he coasted along its spell-bound shores, until he anchored in a beautiful harbour, formed by the mouth of a mountain ravine. Here he landed with several of his crew. "It was now," he said, "the hour of the Ave-Maria, or of vespers. The sun being set, the shadows began to spread over the land. The navigators having separated, wandered about in different directions, until out of hearing of each other's shouts. Those on board, seeing the night approaching, made signals to summon back the wanderers to the ship. They re-embarked, intending to resume their investigations on the following day. Scarcely were they on board, however, when a whirlwind came rushing down the ravine with such violence as to drag the vessel from her anchor, and hurry her out to sea; and they never saw any thing more of this hidden and inhospitable island."

Another testimony remains on record in a manuscript of one Abreu Galindo; but whether taken at this time does not appear. It was that of a French adventurer, who, many years before, making a voyage among the Canaries, was overtaken by a violent storm which carried away his masts. At length the furious winds drove him to the shores of an unknown island covered with stately trees. Here he landed with part of his crew, and choosing a tree proper for a mast, cut it down, and began to shape it for his purpose. The guardian power of the island, however, resented as usual this invasion of his forbidden shores. The heavens assumed a dark and threatening aspect; the night was approaching; and the mariners, fearing some impending evil, abandoned their labour, and returned on board. They were borne away as usual from the coast, and the next day arrived at the island of Palma.

The mass of testimony collected by official authority in 1570 seemed to satisfactory, that another expedi-

\* Fr. D. Philipo, lib. viii. fol. 25.

† Hist. Isl. Can., t. i. c. 20.

‡ Nuñez de la Peña, l. i. c. 1. Viera, Hist. Isl. Can., t. i. c. 28.

§ Nuñez, Conquist de la Gran Canaria. Viera, Hist., etc.

Indios, l. i. c. 9.

† Fran Caularia.



tion was fitted out in the same year in the island of Palma. It was commanded by Fernando de Villalobos, regidor of the island; but was equally fruitless with the preceding. St Borondon seemed disposed only to tantalize the world with distant and serene glimpses of his ideal paradise, or to reveal it amidst storms to tempest-tost mariners; but to hide it completely from the view of all who diligently sought it. Still the people of Palma adhered to their favourite chimera. Thirty-four years afterwards, in 1603, they sent another ship on the quest, commanded by Gaspar Perez de Acosta, an accomplished pilot, accompanied by the Padre Lorenzo Pinedo, a holy Franciscan friar, skilled in natural science. San Borondon, however, refused to reveal his island to either monk or mariner. After cruising about in every direction, sounding, observing the skies, the clouds, the winds, every thing that could furnish indications, they returned without having seen any thing to authorize a hope.

Upwards of a century now elapsed without any new attempt to seek this fairy island. Every now and then, it is true, the public mind was agitated by fresh reports of its having been seen. Lemons and other fruits, and the green branches of trees, which floated to the shores of Gomara and Ferro, were pronounced to be from the enchanted groves of San Borondon. At length, in 1721, the public infatuation again rose to such a height, that a fourth expedition was sent, commanded by Don Gaspar Dominguez, a man of probity and talent. As this was an expedition of solemn and mysterious import, he had two holy friars as apostolical chaplains. They made sail from the island of Teneriffe towards the end of October, leaving the populace in an indescribable state of anxious curiosity. The ship, however, returned from its cruise as unsuccessful as all its predecessors.

We have no account of any expedition being since undertaken, though the island still continued to be a subject of speculation, and occasionally to reveal its shadowy mountains to the eyes of favoured individuals. In a letter written from the island of Gomara, 1750, by a Franciscan monk to one of his friends, he relates having seen it from the village of Alaxero, at six in the morning of the third of May. It appeared to consist of two lofty mountains, with a deep valley between; and on contemplating it with a telescope, the valley or ravine appeared to be filled with trees. He summoned the curate, Antonio Joseph Manrique, and upwards of forty other persons, all of whom beheld it plainly.<sup>2</sup>

Nor is this island delineated merely in ancient maps of the time of Columbus. It is laid down as one of the Canary Islands in a French map published in 1704; and Mons. Gantier, in a geographical chart annexed to his Observations on Natural History, published in 1753, places it five degrees to the west of the island of Ferro, in the 29th degree of N. latitude.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Viera, Hist. Isl. Can., t. i, c. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Viera, Hist. Isl. Can., t. i, c. 28. <sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Such are the principal facts existing relative to the island of St Brandan. Its reality was for a long time a matter of firm belief. It was in vain that repeated voyages and investigations proved its non-existence: the public, after trying all kinds of sophistry, took refuge in the supernatural, to defend their favourite chimera. They maintained that it was rendered inaccessible to mortals, by divine providence, or by diabolical magic. Most inclined to the former. All kinds of extravagant fancies were indulged concerning it: some confounded it with the fabled island of the Seven Cities, situated somewhere in the bosom of the ocean, where, in old times, seven bishops and their followers had taken refuge from the Moors. Some of the Portuguese imagined it to be the abode of their lost king Sebastian. The Spaniards pretended that Roderick, the last of their Gothic kings, had fled thither from the Moors, after the disastrous battle of the Guadalete. Others suggested that it might be the seat of the terrestrial paradise; the place where Enoch and Elijah remained in a state of blessedness until the final day; and that it was made at times apparent to the eyes, but invisible to the search of mortals. Poetry, it is said, has owed to this popular belief one of its beautiful fictions; and the garden of Armida, where Rinaldo was detained enchanted, and which Tasso places in one of the Canary Islands, has been identified with the imaginary San Borondon.<sup>2</sup>

The learned father Feyjoo<sup>3</sup> has given a philosophical solution to this geographical problem. He attributes all these appearances, which have been so numerous and so well authenticated as not to admit of doubt, to certain atmospheric deceptions, like that of the Fata Morgana, seen at times in the Straits of Messina, where the city of Reggio and its surrounding country is reflected in the air above the neighbouring sea; a phenomenon which has likewise been witnessed in front of the city of Marseilles. As to the tales of the mariners who had landed on these forbidden shores, and been hurried from thence in whirlwinds and tempests, he considers them as mere fabrications.

As the populace, however, reluctantly give up any thing that partakes of the marvellous and mysterious, and as the same atmospheric phenomena which first gave birth to the illusion may still continue, it is not improbable that a belief in the island of St Brandan may still exist among the ignorant and credulous of the Canaries, and that they at times behold its fairy mountains rising above the distant horizon of the Atlantic.

<sup>1</sup> Viera, ubi sup.

<sup>2</sup> Viera, Hist. Isl. Can.

<sup>3</sup> Theatro Critico, t. iv, d. 10.

ONE of which was that recorded in the conquest of the inhabitable island of St Brandan, where the Moors, after their flight from the island of St Brandan, were pursued by the Spaniards, and were taken to the island of St Brandan, where they were confined in a prison, and were afterwards sent to Portugal, where they were sold as slaves. The present time is the first time that information has been received of the bishops, who were common in Portugal, and who were sent to the island of St Brandan, and who were sold as slaves. The present time is the first time that information has been received of the bishops, who were common in Portugal, and who were sent to the island of St Brandan, and who were sold as slaves.

## No XXIV.

## THE ISLAND OF THE SEVEN CITIES.

ONE of the popular traditions concerning the ocean which were current during the time of Columbus, was that of the island of the Seven Cities. It was recorded in an ancient legend, that at the time of the conquest of Spain and Portugal by the Moors, when the inhabitants fled in every direction to escape from slavery, seven bishops, followed by a great number of their people, took shipping, and abandoned themselves to their fate on the high seas. After tossing about for some time, they landed upon an unknown island in the midst of the ocean. Here the bishops burnt the ships to prevent the desertion of their followers, and founded seven cities. Various pilots of Portugal, it was said, had reached that island at different times, but had never returned to give any information concerning it, having been detained, according to subsequent accounts, by the successors of the bishops, to prevent pursuit. At length, according to common report, at the time that Prince Henry of Portugal was prosecuting his discoveries, several seafaring men presented themselves one day before him, and stated that they had just returned from a voyage, in the course of which they had landed upon the island. The inhabitants, they said, spoke their language, and carried them immediately to church, to ascertain whether they were Catholics, and were rejoiced at finding them of the true faith. They then made earnest inquiries to know whether the Moors still retained possession of Spain and Portugal. While part of the crew were at church, the rest gathered round on the shore for the use of the kitchen, and found, to their surprise, that one-third of it was gold. The islanders were anxious that the crew should remain with them a few days, until the return of their governor, who was absent; but the mariners, afraid of being detained, embarked and made sail. Such was the story they told to Prince Henry, hoping to receive reward for their intelligence. The prince, it is said, expressed displeasure at their hasty departure from the island, and ordered them to return and procure further information; but the men, apprehensive no doubt of having the falsehood of their tale discovered, made their escape, and nothing more was heard of them.

This story had much currency. The island of the Seven Cities was identified with the island mentioned by Aristotle as having been discovered by the Carthaginians; and was inserted in the early maps about the time of Columbus under the name of Antilla.

At the time of the discovery of New Spain, extravagant reports were brought to Hispaniola of the civilization of the country; that the people wore clothing, that their houses and temples were solid, spacious, and often magnificent, and that crosses were occasionally found among them. Juan de Grivalja being de-

spatched to explore the coast of Yucatan, reported that in sailing along it, he beheld with great wonder stately and beautiful edifices of lime and stone, and many high towers that shone at a distance. For a time the old tradition of the Seven Cities was revived, and many thought that they were to be found in the same part of New Spain.

## No XXV.

## DISCOVERY OF THE ISLAND OF MADEIRA.

THE discovery of Madeira by Macham rests principally upon the authority of Francisco Alcaforado, an esquire of Prince Henry of Portugal, who composed an account of it for that prince. It does not appear to have obtained much faith among Portuguese historians. No mention is made of it in Barros: he attributes the first discovery of the island to Joam Gonzalez and Tristam Vaz, who, he said, descried it from Porto Santo, resembling a cloud in the horizon.<sup>1</sup>

The Abbé Prevost, however, in his *General History of Voyages*, vol. vi, seems inclined to give credit to the account of Alcaforado. "It was composed," he observes, "at a time when the attention of the public would have exposed the least falsities; and no one was more capable than Alcaforado of giving an exact detail of this event, since he was of the number of those who participated in the second discovery." The narrative, as originally written, was overcharged with ornaments and digressions: it was translated into French, and published in Paris in 1671. The French translator had retrenched the ornaments, but scrupulously retained the facts. The story, however, is cherished in the island of Madeira, where a painting in illustration of it is still to be seen. The following is the purport of the French translation: I have not been able to procure the original of Alcaforado.

During the reign of Edward III of England, a young man of great courage and talent, named Robert Macham, fell in love with a young lady of rare beauty, of the name of Anne Dorset. She was his superior in birth, and of a proud and aristocratic family; but the merit of Macham gained him the preference over all his rivals. The family of the young lady, to prevent her making an inferior alliance, obtained an order from the King to have Macham arrested and confined, until, by arbitrary means, they married his mistress to a man of quality. As soon as the nuptials were celebrated, the nobleman conducted his beautiful and afflicted bride to his seat near Bristol. Macham was now restored to liberty. Indignant at the wrongs he had suffered, and certain of the affections of his mistress, he prevailed upon several friends to

<sup>1</sup> Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, l. iv, c. 4. Origen de los Indios, por Fr. Gregorio García, l. iv, cap. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Barros, *Asia*, decal. l. l. l. cap. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. del Almirante, c. 10.

assist him in a project for the gratification of his love and his revenge. They followed hard on the traces of the new-married couple to Bristol: one of the friends obtained an introduction into the family of the nobleman in quality of a groom: he found the young bride full of tender recollections of her lover, and of dislike to the husband thus forced upon her. Through the means of this friend, Macham had several communications with her, and concerted means for their escape to France, where they might enjoy their mutual love unmolested.

When all things were prepared, the young lady rode out one day, accompanied only by the fictitious groom, under pretence of taking the air. No sooner were they out of sight of the house than they galloped to an appointed place on the shore of the Channel, where a boat awaited them. They were conveyed on board a vessel which lay with anchor a-trip and sails unfurled, ready to put to sea. Here the lovers were once more united. Fearful of pursuit, the ship immediately weighed anchor; they made their way rapidly along the coast of Cornwall, and Macham anticipated the triumph of soon landing with his beautiful prize on the shores of gay and gullant France. Unfortunately, an adverse and stormy wind arose in the night; at day-break they found themselves out of sight of land; the mariners were ignorant and inexperienced; they knew nothing of the compass, and it was a time when men were unaccustomed to traverse the high seas. For thirteen days the lovers were driven about on a tempestuous ocean, at the mercy of wind and wave. The fugitive bride was filled with terror and remorse, and looked upon this uproar of the elements as the anger of Heaven directed against her. All the efforts of her lover could not remove from her mind a dismal presage of some approaching catastrophe.

At length the tempest subsided. On the fourteenth day, at dawn, the mariners perceived what appeared to be a tuft of wood rising out of the sea; they joyfully steered for it, supposing it to be an island; they were not mistaken. As they drew near, the rising sun shone upon noble forests, the trees of which were of a kind unknown to them; flights of birds also came hovering about the ship, and perched upon the yards and rigging without any signs of fear.

The boat was sent on shore to reconnoitre, and soon returned with such accounts of the beauty of the country, that Macham determined to take his drooping companion to the land, in hopes her health and spirits might be restored by refreshment and repose. They were accompanied on shore by the faithful friends who had assisted in their flight: the mariners remained on board to guard the ship.

The country was indeed delightful: the forests were stately and magnificent; there were trees laden with excellent fruits, others with aromatic flowers; the waters were cool and limpid; the sky serene; and there was a balmy sweetness in the air. The animals that they met with showed no signs of alarm

or ferocity; from which they concluded that the island was uninhabited. On penetrating a little distance they found a beautifully sheltered meadow, the green bosom of which was bordered by laurels, and refreshed by a mountain brook which ran sparkling over pebbles: in the centre was a majestic tree, the wide branches of which afforded shade from the rays of the sun. Here Macham had bowers constructed, and determined to pass a few days, hoping that the sweetness of the country, and the serene tranquillity of this delightful solitude, would recruit the drooping health and spirits of his companion.

Three days, however, had scarcely passed, when a violent storm arose from the north-east, and raged all night over the island. On the succeeding morning Macham repaired to the sea side, but nothing of the ship was to be seen, and he concluded that it had foundered in the tempest.

Consternation fell upon the little band thus left in an uninhabited island in the midst of the ocean. The blow fell most severely on the timid and repentant bride. She had reproached herself with being the cause of all their misfortunes, and from the first had been haunted by dismal forebodings. She now considered them about to be accomplished, and her horror was so great as to deprive her of speech: she expired in three days, without uttering a word.

Macham was struck with despair at beholding the tragical end of this tender and beautiful being. He upbraided himself in the transports of his grief, with tearing her from her home, her country, and her friends, to perish upon a savage coast: all the efforts of his companions to console him were in vain; he died within five days, broken-hearted, begging, as a last request, that his body might be interred beside that of his mistress, at the foot of a rustic altar which they had erected under the great tree. They set up a large wooden cross on the spot, on which was placed an inscription written by Macham himself, relating, in a few words, his piteous adventure, and praying any Christians who might arrive there to build a chapel in the place, dedicated to Jesus the Saviour.

After the death of their commander, his followers consulted about the means to escape from the island. The ship's boat remained on the shore: they repaired it, and put it in a state to bear a voyage, and then made sail, intending to return to England. Ignorant of their situation, and carried about by the winds, they were cast upon the coast of Morocco, where, their boat being shattered upon the rocks, they were captured by the Moors and thrown into prison. Here they understood that their ship had shared the same fate, having been driven from her anchorage in the tempest, and carried to the same inhospitable coast, where all her crew were made prisoners.

The prisons of Morocco were in those days filled with captives of all nations, taken by their cruizers. Here the English prisoners met with an experienced

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pilot, a Spaniard of Seville, named Juan de Morales : he listened to their story with great interest, inquired into the situation and description of the island they had discovered, and subsequently, on his redemption from prison, communicated the circumstances, it is said, to Prince Henry of Portugal.

There is a difficulty in the above narrative of Alcaforado in reconciling dates. The voyage is said to have taken place during the reign of Edward III, which commenced in 1327, and ended in 1378. Morales, to whom the English communicated their voyage, is said to have been in the service of the Portuguese on the second discovery of Madeira in 1418 and 1420. Even if the voyage and imprisonment had taken place in the last year of King Edward's reign, this leaves a space of forty years.

Hackluyt gives an account of the same voyage, taken from Antonio Galvano : he varies in certain particulars. "It happened," he says, "in the year 1344, in the time of Peter IV of Aragon. Macham cast anchor in a bay since called after him Machio. The lady being ill, he took her on shore, accompanied by some of his friends, and the ship sailed without them. After the death of the lady, Macham made a canoe out of a tree, and ventured to sea in it with his companions : they were cast upon the coast of Africa, where the Moors, considering it as a kind of miracle, carried them to the king of their country, who sent him to the King of Castile. In consequence of the traditional accounts remaining of this voyage, Henry II of Castile sent people, in 1395, to rediscover the island."

## Nº XXVI.

## LAS CASAS.

BARTHOLOMEW LAS CASAS, bishop of Chiapa, so often cited in all histories of the New World, was born at Seville, in 1474, and was of French extraction. The family name was Casaus. The first of the name who appeared in Spain served under the standard of Ferdinand III, surnamed the Saint, in his wars with the Moors of Andalusia. He was at the taking of Seville from the Moors, when he was rewarded by the King, and received permission to establish himself there. His descendants enjoyed the prerogatives of nobility, and suppressed the letter *u* in their name, to accommodate it to the Spanish tongue.

Antonio, the father of Bartholomew, went to Hispaniola with Columbus, in 1493, and returned rich to Seville in 1498. It has been stated by one of the biographers of Bartholomew Las Casas that he accompanied Columbus in his third voyage, in 1498, and returned with him in 1500. This, however, is incorrect. He was during that time completing his education at Salamanca, where he was instructed in Latin, dialectics, logic, metaphysics, ethics, and

• Navarrete, Collec. Vlag., t. I. Introd. p. lxx.

physics, after the supposed method and principles of Aristotle. While at the university, he had as a servant an Indian slave given him by his father, who had received him from Columbus. When Isabella, in her transport of virtuous indignation, ordered the Indian slaves to be sent back to their country, this one was taken from Las Casas. The young man was aroused by the circumstance, and, on considering the nature of the case, became inflamed with a zeal in favour of the unhappy Indians, which never cooled throughout a long and active life. It was excited to tenfold fervour when, at about the age of twenty-eight years, he accompanied the commander Ovando to Hispaniola, in 1502, and was an eye-witness to many of the cruel scenes which took place under his administration. The whole of his future life, a space exceeding sixty years, was devoted to vindicating the cause and endeavouring to ameliorate the sufferings of the natives. As a missionary, he traversed the wilderness of the New World in various directions, seeking to convert and civilize them; as a protector and champion, he made several voyages to Spain, vindicated their wrongs before courts and monarchs, wrote volumes in their behalf, and exhibited a zeal, and constancy, and intrepidity, worthy of an apostle. He died at the advanced age of ninety-two years, and was buried at Madrid, at the church of the Dominican convent of Atocha, of which fraternity he was a member.

Attempts have been made to decry the consistency and question the real philanthropy of Las Casas, in consequence of one of the expedients to which he resorted to relieve the Indians from the cruel bondage imposed upon them. This occurred in 1517, when he arrived in Spain on one of his missions to obtain measures in their favour from government. On his arrival in Spain he found Cardinal Ximenes, who had been left regent on the death of King Ferdinand, too ill to attend to his affairs. He repaired therefore to Valladolid, where he awaited the coming of the new monarch, Charles, archduke of Austria, afterwards the emperor Charles V. He had strong opponents to encounter in various persons high in authority, who, holding estates and repartimientos in the colonies, were interested in the slavery of the Indians; among those, and not the least energetic, was the bishop Fonseca, president of the Council of the Indies.

At length the youthful sovereign arrived, accompanied by various Flemings of his court, particularly his grand chancellor, Doctor Juan de Salvagio, a learned and upright man, whom he consulted on all affairs of administration and justice. Las Casas soon became intimate with the chancellor, and stood high in his esteem; but so much opposition arose on every side, that he found his various propositions for the relief of the natives but little attended to. In his doubt and anxiety, he had now recourse to an expedient which he considered as justified by the circumstances

• J. A. Lorente, *Cœuvres de Las Casas*, p. 11. Paris, 1822.



of the case.<sup>1</sup> The chancellor Salvagio and the other Flemings, who had accompanied the youthful sovereign, had obtained from him, before quitting Flanders, licenses to import slaves from Africa to the colonies: a measure which had recently, in 1510, been prohibited by a decree of Cardinal Ximenes, while acting as regent. The chancellor, who was a humane man, reconciled it to his conscience by a popular opinion that one negro would perform, without detriment to his health, the labour of several Indians, and that, therefore, it was a great saving of human suffering. So easy it is for interest to wrap itself up in plausible argument! He might moreover have thought the welfare of the Africans but little affected by the change. They were accustomed to slavery in their own country, and they were said to thrive in the New World. "The Africans," observes Herrera, "prospered so much in the island of Hispaniola, that it was the opinion, unless a negro should happen to be hanged, he would never die; for as yet none had been known to perish from infirmity. Like oranges, they found their proper soil in Hispaniola, and it seemed even more natural to them than their own native Guinea."<sup>2</sup>

Las Casas, finding all other means ineffectual, endeavoured to turn these interested views of the grand chancellor to the benefit of the Indians. He proposed that the Spaniards resident in the colonies might be permitted to procure negroes for the labour of the farms and the mines, and other severe toils, which were above the strength and destructive of the lives of the natives.<sup>3</sup> He evidently considered the poor Africans as little better than mere animals; and he acted like others, on an arithmetical calculation of diminishing human misery, by substituting one strong man for three or four of feebler nature. He moreover esteemed the Indians as a nobler and more intellectual race of beings, and their preservation and welfare of higher importance to the general interests of humanity.

It is this expedient of Las Casas which has drawn down severe censure upon his memory. He has been charged with gross inconsistency, and even with having originated "this inhuman traffic in the New World." This last is a grievous charge; but historical facts and dates remove the original sin from his door, and prove that the practice existed in the colonies, and was authorized by royal decrees, long before he took a part in the question.

Las Casas did not go to the New World until 1502. By a royal ordinance passed in 1501, negro slaves were permitted to be taken there, provided they had

been born among Christians.<sup>4</sup> By a letter written by Ovando, dated 1503, it appears that there were numbers in the island of Hispaniola at that time, and he entreats that none more might be permitted to be brought. In 1506, the Spanish government forbade the introduction of negro slaves from the Levant, or those brought up amongst the Moors, and stipulated that none should be taken to the colonies but those from Seville, who had been instructed in the Christian faith, that they might contribute to the conversion of the Indians.<sup>5</sup> In 1510, King Ferdinand, being informed of the physical weakness of the Indians, ordered fifty Africans to be sent from Seville to labour in the mines.<sup>6</sup> In 1511, he ordered that a great number should be procured from Guinea, and transported to Hispaniola, understanding that one negro could perform the work of four Indians.<sup>4</sup> In 1512 and 1513, he signed further orders relative to the same subject. In 1516, Charles V granted licenses to the Flemings to import negroes to the colonies. It was not until the year 1517 that Las Casas gave his sanction to the traffic. It already existed, and he countenanced it solely with a view to having the hardy Africans substituted for the feeble Indians. It was advocated at the same time, and for the same reasons, by the Geronimite friars, who were missionaries in the colonies. The motives of Las Casas were purely benevolent, though founded on erroneous notions of justice. He thought to permit evil, that good might spring out of it; to chuse between two existing abuses, and to eradicate the greater by resorting to the lesser. His reasoning, however fallacious it may be, was considered satisfactory and humane by some of the most learned and benevolent men of the age, among whom was the Cardinal Adrian, afterwards elevated to the papal chair, and characterized by gentleness and humanity. The traffic was permitted; inquiries were made as to the number of slaves required, which was limited to four thousand; and the Flemings obtained a monopoly of the trade, which they afterwards farmed out to the Genoese.

Dr Robertson, in noticing this affair, draws a contrast between the conduct of the Cardinal Ximenes, and that of Las Casas, strongly to the disadvantage of the latter. "The cardinal," he observes, "when solicited to encourage this commerce, peremptorily rejected the proposition, because he perceived the iniquity of reducing one race of men to slavery, when he was consulting about the means of restoring liberty to another; but Las Casas, from the inconsistency natural to men who hurry with headlong impetuosity towards a favourite point, was incapable of making this distinction. In the warmth of his zeal to save the Americans from the yoke, he pronounced

<sup>1</sup> Herrera states this as an expedient adopted when all others failed. "Bartholome de las Casas, viendo que sus conceptos hallaban en todas partes dificultad, y que las opiniones que tenia, por mucha familiaridad que habla seguido, y gran crédito con el gran cancler, no podian haber efecto, se volvió á otros expedientes," etc.—Decad. 2, l. ii. c. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., d. 2, l. iii, cap. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, d. 2, l. ii, c. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 2, l. ii, c. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Idem, d. 1, l. vi, c. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Idem, d. 1, l. viii, c. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Idem, d. 1, l. ix, c. 3.

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it to be lawful and expedient to impose one still heavier upon the Africans."<sup>1</sup>

This distribution of praise and censure is not perfectly correct. Las Casas had no idea that he was imposing a heavier, or so heavy, a yoke upon the Africans. The latter were considered more capable of labour, and less impatient of slavery. While the Indians sunk under their tasks, and perished by thousands in Hispaniola, the negroes, on the contrary, thrived there. Herrera, to whom Dr Robertson refers as his authority, assigns a different motive, and one of mere finance, for the measure of Cardinal Ximenes. He says that he ordered that no one should take negroes to the Indies, because, as the natives were decreasing, and it was known that one negro did more work than four of them, there would probably be a great demand for African slaves, and a tribute might be imposed upon the trade, from which profit would result to the royal treasury.<sup>2</sup> This measure was presently after carried into effect, though subsequent to the death of the cardinal, and licenses were granted by the sovereign for pecuniary considerations. Flechier, in his life of Ximenes, assigns another but a more political motive for this prohibition. The cardinal, he says, objected to the importation of negroes into the colonies, as he feared they would corrupt the natives, and by confederacies with them render them formidable to government. De Marsolier, another biographer of Ximenes, gives equally politic reasons for this prohibition. He cites a letter written by the cardinal on the subject, in which he observed that he knew the nature of the negroes: they were a people capable, it was true, of great fatigue, but extremely prolific and enterprising; and that, if they had time to multiply in America, they would infallibly revolt, and impose on the Spaniards the same chains which they had compelled them to bear.<sup>3</sup> These facts, while they take from the measure of the cardinal that credit for exclusive philanthropy which has been bestowed upon it, manifest the clear foresight of that able politician, whose predictions, with respect to negro revolt, have been so strikingly fulfilled in the island of Hispaniola.

Cardinal Ximenes, in fact, though a wise and upright statesman, was not troubled with scruples of conscience on these questions of natural right; nor did he possess more toleration than his contemporaries towards savage and infidel nations. He was grand inquisitor of Spain, and was very efficient, during the latter years of Ferdinand, in making slaves of the refractory Moors of Granada. He authorized, by express instructions, expeditions to seize and en-

slave the Indians of the Caribbee Islands, whom he termed only suited to labour, enemies of the Christians, and cannibals. Nor will it be considered a proof of a gentle and tolerant policy, that he introduced the tribunal of the Inquisition into the New World. These circumstances are not cited to cast reproach upon the character of Cardinal Ximenes, but to show how incorrectly he has been extolled at the expense of Las Casas. Both of them must be judged in connexion with the customs and opinions of the age in which they lived.

Las Casas was the author of many works, but few of which have been printed. The most important is a General History of the Indies, from their discovery to the year 1520, in three volumes. It exists only in manuscript, but is the fountain from which Herrera and most of the other historians of the New World have drawn large supplies. The work, though prolix, is valuable, as the author was an eye-witness of many of the facts, had others from persons who were concerned in the transactions recorded, and possessed copious documents. It displays great erudition, though somewhat crudely and diffusely introduced. His history was commenced in 1527, at fifty-three years of age, and was finished in 1559, when eighty-five. As many things are set down from memory, there is occasional inaccuracy; but the whole bears the stamp of sincerity and truth. The author of the present work, having had access to this valuable manuscript, has made great use of it, drawing forth many curious facts hitherto neglected; but he has endeavoured to consult it with caution, collating it with other authorities, and omitting whatever appeared to be dictated by prejudice or overheated zeal.

Las Casas has been accused of high colouring and extravagant declamation, in those passages which relate to the barbarities practised on the natives; nor is the charge entirely without foundation. The same zeal in the cause of the Indians is expressed in his writings that shone forth in his actions; always pure, often vehement, and occasionally unseasonable; still, however, when he errs, it is in a generous and righteous cause. If one-tenth part of what he says he "witnessed with his own eyes" be true, and his veracity is above all doubt, he would have been wanting in the natural feelings of humanity, had he not expressed himself in terms of indignation and abhorrence.

In the course of his work, when Las Casas mentions the original papers lying before him, from which he drew many of his facts, it makes one lament that they should be lost to the world. Besides the journals and letters of Columbus, he says he had numbers of the letters of the Adelantado Don Bartholomew, who wrote better than his brother, and whose writings must have been full of energy. Above all, he had the map, formed from study and conjecture, by which Columbus sailed on his first voyage. What a precious document would this be for the world!

<sup>1</sup> Robertson. Hist. America, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> "Porque como iban faltando los Indios, y se conoia que un negro trabajaba mas que cuatro, por lo qual habia gran demanda de ellos, parecia que se podia poner algun tributo en la saca, de que resultaria provecho á la real hacienda."—Herrera, decad. 2. l. II, c. 8.

<sup>3</sup> De Marsolier, Hist. du Ministère du Cardinal Ximenes, l. vi. Toulouse, 1694.

These writings may still exist neglected and forgotten among the rubbish of some convent in Spain. Little hope can be entertained of discovering them in the present state of degeneracy of the cloister. The monks of Atocha, in a recent conversation with one of the royal princes, betrayed an ignorance that this illustrious man was buried in their convent, nor can any of the fraternity point out this place of sepulture to the stranger.\*

The publication of this work of Las Casas has not been permitted in Spain, where every book must have the sanction of a censor before it is committed to the press. The horrible pictures it exhibits of the cruelties inflicted on the Indians would, it was imagined, excite an odium against their conquerors. Las Casas himself seems to have doubted the expediency of publishing it; for, in 1500, he made a note with his own hand, which is preserved in the two first volumes of the original, mentioning that he left them, in confidence, to the college of the order of the Predicadores of St Gregorio in Valladolid, begging of its prelates that no secular person, nor even the collegians, should be permitted to read his history for the space of forty years; and that after that term it might be printed, if consistent with the good of the Indians and of Spain.†

For the foregoing reason the work has been cautiously used by Spanish historians, passing over in silence, or with brief notice, many passages of disgraceful import. This feeling is natural, if not commendable; for the world is not prompt to discriminate between individuals and the nation of whom they are but a part. The laws and regulations for the government of the newly-discovered countries, and the decisions of the Council of the Indies on all contested points, though tinctured in some degree with the bigotry of the age, were distinguished for wisdom, justice, and humanity, and do honour to the Spanish nation. It was only in the abuse of them by individuals to whom the execution of the laws was intrusted, that these atrocities were committed. It should be remembered also, that the same nation which gave birth to the sanguinary and rapacious adventurers who perpetrated these cruelties, gave birth likewise to the early missionaries, like Las Casas, who followed the sanguinary course of discovery, binding up the wounds inflicted by their countrymen: men who, in a truly evangelical spirit, braved all kinds of perils and hardships, and even death itself, not through a prospect of temporal gain or glory, but through a desire to ameliorate the condition and save the souls of barbarous and suffering nations. The dauntless enterprises and fearful peregrinations of many of these virtuous men, if properly appreciated, would be found to vie in romantic daring with the

heroic achievements of chivalry, excited by motives of a purer and far more exalted nature.

#### Nº XXVII.

PETER MARTYR.

PETER MARTYR, or MARTYR, of whose writings much use has been made in this history, was born at Anghierra, in the territory of Milan, in Italy, on the second of February, 1455. He is commonly termed Peter Martyr of *Angleria*, from the Latin name of his native place. He is one of the earliest historians that treat of Columbus, and was his contemporary and intimate acquaintance. He was educated at Rome; and in 1487, having acquired a distinguished reputation for learning, he was invited by the Spanish ambassador, the Count de Tendilla, to accompany him to Spain. He willingly accepted the invitation, and was presented to the Sovereigns at Saragossa. Isabella, amidst the cares of the war with Granada, was anxious for the intellectual advancement of her kingdom, and wished to employ Martyr to instruct the young nobility of the royal household. With her peculiar delicacy, however, she first made her confessor, Hernando de Talavera, inquire of Martyr in what capacity he desired to serve her. Contrary to her expectation, Martyr replied, "in the profession of arms." The Queen complied; and he followed her in her campaigns, as one of her household and military suite, but without distinguishing himself, and perhaps without having any particular employ in a capacity so foreign to his talents. After the surrender of Granada, when the war was ended, the Queen, through the medium of the grand cardinal of Spain, prevailed upon him to undertake the instruction of the young nobles of her court.

Martyr was acquainted with Columbus while making his application to the Sovereigns, and was present at his triumphant reception by Ferdinand and Isabella in Barcelona, on his return from his first voyage. He was continually in the royal camp during the war with the Moors, of which his letters contain many interesting particulars. He was sent ambassador extraordinary by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1501 to Venice, and thence to the grand sultan of Egypt. The sultan, in 1490 or 1491, had sent an embassy to the Spanish Sovereigns, threatening that, unless they desisted from the war against Granada, he would put all the Christians in Egypt and Syria to death, overturn all their temples, and destroy the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem. Ferdinand and Isabella pressed the war with tenfold energy, and brought it to a triumphant conclusion in the next campaign, while the sultan was still carrying on a similar negotiation with the Pope. They afterwards sent Peter Martyr ambassador to the sultan to explain and justify their measure. Martyr discharged the duties of

\* In this notice, the author has occasionally availed himself of the interesting memoir of Mons. J. A. Llorente, prefixed to his collection of the works of Las Casas; collating it with the History of Herrera, from which its facts are principally derived.

† Navarrete, Collec. Vlag., t. 1, Intro. p. lxxv.

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his embassy with great ability; obtained permission from the sultan to repair the holy places at Jerusalem, and an abolition of various extortions to which Christian pilgrims had been subjected. While on this embassy he wrote his work *De Legatione Babylonica*, which includes a history of Egypt in those times.

On his return to Spain, he was rewarded with places and pensions, and in 1524 was appointed a minister of the Council of the Indies. His principal work is an account of the discoveries of the New World, in eight decades, each containing ten chapters. They are styled *Decades of the New World*, or *Decades of the Ocean*, and, like all his other works, were originally written in Latin, though since translated into various languages. He had familiar access to letters, papers, journals, and narratives of the early discoverers, and was personally acquainted with many of them, gathering particulars from their conversation. In writing his *Decades*, he took great pains to obtain information from Columbus himself, and from others, his companions.

In one of his epistles (No 453, January 1494, to Pomponius Lætus) he mentions having just received a letter from Columbus, by which it appears he was in correspondence with him. Las Casas says that great credit is to be given to him with respect to those voyages of Columbus, although his *Decades* contain some inaccuracies relative to subsequent events in the Indies. Muñoz allowed him great credit as a contemporary author, grave, well cultivated, instructed in the facts of which he treats, and of entire probity. He observes, however, that his writings, being composed on the spur or excitement of the moment, often related circumstances which subsequently proved to be erroneous; that they were written without method or care, often confusing dates and events, so that they must be read with some caution.

Martyr was in the daily habit of writing letters to distinguished persons, relating the passing occurrences of the busy court and age in which he lived. In several of these Columbus is mentioned, and also some of the chief events of his voyages, as promulgated at the very moment of his return. These letters not being generally known or circulated, or frequently cited, it may be satisfactory to the reader to have a few of the main passages which relate to Columbus. They have a striking effect in carrying us back to the very time of the discoveries.

In one of his epistles, dated Barcelona, May 1st, 1493, and addressed to C. Borromeo, he says, "Within these few days a certain Christopher Columbus has arrived from the western antipodes: a man of Liguria, whom my Sovereigns reluctantly intrusted with three ships, to seek that region; for they thought that what he said was fabulous. He has returned and brought specimens of many precious things, but particularly gold, which those countries naturally produce."

In another letter, dated likewise from Barcelona

\* Opus Epist. P. Martyris Anglerii. Epist. 151.

in September following, he gives a more particular account. It is addressed to Count Tendilla, governor of Granada, and also to Hernando Talavera, archbishop of that diocese, and the same to whom the propositions of Columbus had been referred by the Spanish Sovereigns.

"Listen," says Peter Martyr in his epistle, "to a new discovery. You remember Columbus the Ligurian, appointed in the camp by our Sovereigns to search for a new hemisphere of land at the western antipodes. You ought to recollect, for you had some agency in the transaction; nor would the enterprise, as I think, have been undertaken without your counsel. He has returned in safety, and relates the wonders he has discovered. He exhibits gold as proof of the mines in those regions; gosampine cotton also, and aromatics, and pepper more pungent than that from Caucasus. All these things, together with scarlet dye-wood, the earth produces spontaneously. Pursuing the western sun from Gades five thousand miles, as he relates, he fell in with sundry islands, and took possession of one of them, of greater circuit, he asserts, than the whole of Spain. Here he found a race of men living contented in a state of nature, subsisting on fruits and vegetables, and bread formed from roots. These people have kings, some greater than others, and they war occasionally among themselves, with bows and arrows, or lances sharpened and hardened in the fire. The desire of command prevails among them, though they are naked. They have wives also. What they worship, except the divinity of heaven, is not ascertained," etc.

In another letter, dated likewise in September, 1493, and addressed to the cardinal and vice-chancellor Ascanius Sforza, he says:

"So great is my desire to give you satisfaction, illustrious prince, that I consider it a gratifying occurrence in the great fluctuations of events, when any thing takes place among us in which you may take an interest. The wonders of this terrestrial globe, round which the sun makes a circuit in the space of four-and-twenty hours, have, until our time, as you are well aware, been known only in regard to one hemisphere, merely from the golden Chersonesus to our Spanish Gades. The rest has been given up as unknown by cosmographers; and if any mention of it has been made, it has been slight and dubious. But now, O blessed enterprise! under the auspices of our Sovereigns, what has hitherto lain hidden since the first origin of things, has at length begun to be developed. The event has thus occurred. Attend, illustrious prince! A certain Christopher Columbus, a Ligurian, despatched to those regions with three vessels by my Sovereigns, pursuing the western sun above five thousand miles from Gades, achieved his way to the antipodes. Three-and-thirty successive days they navigated, with nought but sky and water. At length, from the mast-head of the largest vessel, in which Columbus himself sailed, those on the look

\* Opus Epist. P. Martyris Anglerii. Epist. 154.



out proclaimed the sight of land. He coasted along six islands, one of them, as all his followers declare, beguiled perchance by the novelty of the scene, is larger than Spain." Martyr proceeds to give the usual account of the productions of the islands, and the manners and customs of the natives, particularly the wars which occurred among them; "as if *meum* and *tuum* had been introduced among them as among us, and expensive luxuries, and the desire of accumulating wealth; for what, you will think, can be the wants of naked men? What further may take place," he adds, "I will in future relate. Farewell."

In another letter, dated Valladolid, February 1st, 1494, to Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, he observes, "The King and Queen, on the return of Columbus to Barcelona, from his honourable enterprise, appointed him admiral of the ocean sea, and caused him, on account of his illustrious deeds, to be seated in their presence; an honour and a favour, as you know, the highest with our Sovereigns. They have despatched him again to those regions, furnished with a fleet of eighteen ships. There is prospect of great discoveries at the western antarctic antipodes."<sup>2</sup>

In a subsequent letter to Pomponius Lætus, dated from Alcalá de Henares, December 9th, 1494, he gives the first news of the success of this expedition.

"Spain," says he, "is spreading her wings, augmenting her empire, and extending her name and glory to the antipodes. \* \* \* \* \*

Of eighteen vessels despatched by my Sovereigns with the Admiral Columbus, in his second voyage to the western hemisphere, twelve have returned, and have brought gosampine cotton, huge trees of dyewood, and many other articles held with us as precious, the natural productions of that hitherto hidden world; and, besides all other things, no small quantity of gold. Upon the surface of that earth are found rude masses of native gold, of weight almost passing belief. Some weigh 250 ounces, and they hope to discover others of a much larger size, from what the naked natives intimate, when they extol their gold to our people. Nor are the Lestrigonians nor Polyphemi, who feed on human flesh, any longer doubtful. When he proceeded from the Fortunate Islands, now termed the Canaries, to Hispaniola, the island on which he first set foot, turning his prow a little towards the south, he arrived at innumerable islands of savage men, whom they call cannibals, or Caribbees; and these, though naked, are courageous warriors. They fight skilfully with bows and clubs, and have boats hollowed from a single tree, yet very capacious, in which they make fierce descents on neighbouring islands, inhabited by milder people. They attack their villages, from which they carry off the men and devour them."<sup>3</sup>

Another letter to Pomponius Lætus on the same

<sup>1</sup> Opus Epist. P. Martyris Anglerii. Epist. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, Epist. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, Epist. 147.

subject has been cited at large in the body of this work. It is true these extracts give nothing that has not been stated more at large in the Decades of the same author; but they are curious as the very first announcements of the discoveries of Columbus, and as showing the first stamp of these extraordinary events upon the mind of one of the most learned and liberal men of the age.

A collection of the letters of Peter Martyr was published in 1550, under the title of *Opus Epistolarium Petri Martyris Anglerii*. It is divided into thirty-eight books, each containing the letters of one year. The same objections have been made to his letters as to his Decades, but they bear the same stamp of candour, probity, and great information. They possess peculiar value from being written at the moment, before the facts they record were distorted or discoloured by prejudice or misrepresentation. His works abound in interesting particulars, not to be found in any contemporary historian. They are rich in thought, but still richer in fact, and are full of urbanity, and of the liberal feeling of a scholar who has mingled with the world. He is a fountain from which others draw, and from which, with a little precaution, they may draw securely. He died in Valladolid, in 1526.

#### No XXVIII.

OVIEDO.

GONZALO FERNANDEZ de Oviedo y Valdes, commonly known as Oviedo, was born in Madrid, 1478, and died in Valladolid, in 1557, aged seventy-nine years. He was of a noble Asturian family, and in his boyhood (in 1490) was appointed one of the pages to Prince Juan, heir-apparent of Spain, the only son of Ferdinand and Isabella. He was in this situation at the time of the siege and surrender of Granada, was consequently at court at the time that Columbus made his agreement with the Catholic Sovereigns, and was in the same capacity at Barcelona, and witnessed the triumphant entrance of the discoverer, attended by a number of the natives of the newly-found countries.

In 1515 he was sent out to the New World by Ferdinand to superintend the gold founderies. For many years he served there in various offices of trust and dignity, both under Ferdinand and his grandson and successor Charles V. In 1535 he was made alcaide of the fortress of St Domingo, in Hispaniola, and afterwards was appointed historiographer of the Indies. At the time of his death he had served the crown upwards of forty years, thirty-four of which were passed in the colonies; and he had crossed the ocean eight times, as he mentions in various parts of his writings. He wrote several works: the most important is a *Chronicle of the Indies*, in fifty books, divided into three parts. The first part, containing

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Peter Martyr was published in Opus Epistolarium divided into thirty letters of one year. made to his letters as the same stamp of authentication. They possess written at the moment, are distorted or misrepresented. His works are not to be found in they are rich in thought, full of urbanity, and of who has mingled with from which others draw, a precaution, they may Valladolid, in 1526.

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Oviedo y Valdes, commonly born in Madrid, 1478, 1537, aged seventy-nine Asturian family, and appointed one of the pages of Spain, the only son. He was in this situation at the surrender of Granada, the time that Columbus was the Catholic Sovereigns, at Barcelona, and witness of the discovery, and natives of the newly-

to the New World by the gold founderies. For in various offices of trust in and his grandson. In 1535 he was made Domingo, in Hispaniola, and historiographer of the death he had served the years, thirty-four of which he had crossed the oceans in various parts of several works: the most the Indies, in fifty books. The first part, containing

nineteen books, was printed at Seville in 1533, and reprinted in 1547 at Salamanca, augmented by a twentieth book containing shipwrecks. The remainder of the work exists in manuscript. The printing of it was commenced at Valladolid in 1557, but was discontinued in consequence of his death. It is one of the unpublished treasures of Spanish colonial history.

He was an indefatigable writer, laborious in collecting and recording facts, and composed a multitude of volumes, which are scattered through the Spanish libraries. His writings are full of events which happened under his own eye, or were communicated to him by eye-witnesses; but he was deficient in judgment and discrimination. He collected his facts without caution, and often from sources unworthy of credit. In his account of the first voyage of Columbus he falls into several egregious errors, in consequence of taking the verbal information of a pilot named Herman Perez Matheo, who was in the interest of the Pinzons, and adverse to the Admiral. His work is not much to be depended upon in matters relative to Columbus. When he treats of a more advanced period of the New World, from his own actual observation, he is much more satisfactory, though he is accused of listening too readily to popular fables and misrepresentations. His account of the natural productions of the New World and of the customs of its inhabitants, is full of curious particulars; and the best narratives of some of the minor voyages which succeeded those of Columbus are to be found in the unpublished part of his work.

## No XXIX.

CURA DE LOS PALACIOS.

ANDREZ BERNALDEZ, or Bernal, generally known by the title of the Curate of Los Palacios, from having been curate of the town of Los Palacios from about 1488 to 1515, was born in the town of Fuentes, and was for some time chaplain to Diego Deza, Archbishop of Seville, one of the greatest friends to the application of Columbus. Bernaldez was well acquainted with the Admiral, who was occasionally his guest, and, in 1496, left many of his manuscripts and journals with him, which the curate made use of in a history of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, in which he introduced an account of the voyages of Columbus. In his narrative of the Admiral's coasting along the southern side of Cuba, the curate is more minute and accurate than any other historian. His work exists only in manuscript, but is well known to historians, who have made frequent use of it. In the possession of O. Rich, Esq. of Madrid, is a very curious manuscript chronicle, already quoted in this work, made up from this history of the Curate of Los Palacios, and from various other historians of the

times, by some contemporary writer. In his account of the voyage of Columbus, he differs in some trivial particulars from the regular copy of the manuscript of the curate. These variations have been carefully examined by the author of this work, and wherever they appear to have been for the better, have been adopted.

## No XXX.

“NAVIGAZIONE DEL RE DE CASTIGLIA DELLE ISOLE E PAESE NUOVAMENTE RITROVATE.”

“NAVIGATIO CHRISTOPHORI COLUMBI.”

THE above are the titles, in Italian and in Latin, of the earliest narrative of the first and second voyages of Columbus that appeared in print. It was anonymous, and there are some curious particulars in regard to it. It was originally written in Italian by Montalbodo Fracanzo, or Fracanzano, or by Francapano de Montabaldo, for writers differ in regard to the name, and was published in Vicenza, in 1507, in a collection of voyages entitled, *Mondo Novo, e Paese Nuovamente Ritrovate*.

The collection was republished at Milan, in 1508, both in Italian and in a Latin translation made by Archangelo Madrignano, under the title of *Itinerarium Portugallensium*; this title being given because the work related chiefly to the voyages of Luigi Cadamosto, a Venetian in the service of Portugal.

The collection was afterwards augmented by Simon Grinæus with other travels, and printed in Latin, at Basle, in 1533, by Hervagio, entitled, *Novus Orbis Regionum*, etc. The edition of Basle, 1533, and the Italian edition of Milan in 1508, have been consulted in the course of this work.

Peter Martyr (*decad. II, cap. 7*) alludes to this publication under the first Latin title of the book, *Itinerarium Portugallensium*; and accuses the author, whom by mistake he terms Cadamosto, of having stolen the materials of his book from the three first chapters of his first Decade of the Ocean, of which he says he granted copies in manuscript to several persons, and in particular to certain Venetian ambassadors. Martyr's *Decades* were not published until 1516.

This narrative of the voyages of Columbus is referred to by Geo. Batista Spotorno, in his *Historical Memoir of Columbus*, as having been written by a companion of Columbus.

It is manifest, from a perusal of the narrative, that though the author may have helped himself freely from the manuscript of Martyr, he must have had other sources of information. His description of the person of Columbus, as a man tall of stature and large of frame, of a ruddy complexion and lengthened visage, is not copied from Martyr, nor from any other writer. No historian had indeed preceded him ex-

cept Sabellicus, in 1504, and the portrait agrees with that subsequently given of Columbus in the biography written by his son.

It is probable that this narrative, which appeared only a year after the death of Columbus, was a piece of literary job-work, written for the collection of voyages published at Vicenza; and that the materials were taken from oral communication, from the account given by Sabellicus, and particularly from the manuscript copy of Martyr's first decade.

No XXXI.

ANTONIO DE HERRERA.

ANTONIO HERRERA de Tordesillas, one of the authors most frequently cited in this work, was born in 1505, of Roderick Tordesillas and Agnes de Herrera, his wife. He received an excellent education, and entered into the employ of Vespasian Gonzaga, brother to the Duke of Mantua, who was viceroy of Naples for Philip the Second of Spain. He was for some time secretary to this statesman, and intrusted with all his secrets. He was afterwards grand historiographer of the Indies to Philip II, who added to that title a large pension. He wrote various books; but the most celebrated is a General History of the Indies, or American Colonies, in four volumes, containing eight decades. When he undertook this work, all the public archives were thrown open to him, and he had access to documents of all kinds. He has been charged with great precipitation in the production of his two first volumes, and with negligence in not making sufficient use of the indisputable sources of information thus placed within his reach. The fact was, that he met with historical tracts lying in manuscript which embraced a great part of the first discoveries, and he contented himself with stating events as he found them therein recorded. It is certain that a great part of his work is little more than a transcript of the manuscript history of the Indies by Las Casas, sometimes reducing and improving the language when tumid; omitting the impassioned sallies of the zealous father, when the wrongs of the Indians were in question; and suppressing various circumstances degrading to the character of the Spanish discoverers. The author of the present work has, therefore, frequently put aside the history of Herrera, and consulted the source of his information, the manuscript history of Las Casas.

Muñoz observes, "that in general Herrera did little more than join together morsels and extracts, taken from various parts, in the way that a writer arranges chronologically the materials from which he intends to compose a history." He adds, "that had not Herrera been a learned and judicious man, the precipitation with which he put together these materials would have led to innumerable errors." The

remark is just; yet it is to be considered, that to select and arrange such materials judiciously, and treat them learnedly, was no trifling merit in the historian.

Herrera has been accused also of flattering his nation; exalting the deeds of his countrymen, and softening and concealing their excesses. There is nothing very serious in this accusation. To illustrate the glory of his nation is one of the noblest offices of the historian; and it is difficult to speak too highly of the extraordinary enterprises and splendid actions of the Spaniards in those days. In softening their excesses, he fell into an amiable and pardonable error, if it were indeed an error for a Spanish writer to endeavour to sink them in oblivion.

Vossius passes a high eulogium on Herrera. "No one," he says, "has described with greater industry and fidelity the magnitude and boundaries of provinces, the tracts of sea, position of capes and islands, of ports and harbours, the windings of rivers and dimensions of lakes, the situation and peculiarities of regions, with the appearance of the heavens, and the designation of places suitable for the establishment of cities." He has been called among the Spaniards the prince of the historians of America; and it is added, that none have risen since his time capable of disputing with him that title. Much of this praise will appear exaggerated by such as examine the manuscript histories, from which he transferred chapters and entire books, with very little alteration, to his volumes; and a great part of the eulogiums passed on him for his work on the Indies will be found really due to Las Casas, who has too long been eclipsed by his copyist. Still, Herrera has left voluminous proofs of industrious research, extensive information, and great literary talent. His works bear the mark of candour, integrity, and a sincere desire to record the truth.

He died in 1625, at sixty years of age, after having obtained from Philip IV the promise of the first place of secretary of state that should become vacant.

No XXXII.

BISHOP FONSECA.

The singular malevolence displayed by Bishop Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca towards Columbus and his family, and which was one of the secret and principal causes of their misfortunes, has been frequently noticed in the course of this work. It originated, as has been shown, in some dispute between the Admiral and Fonseca at Seville, in 1493, on account of the delay in fitting out the armament for the second voyage, and in regard to the number of domestics to form the household of the Admiral. Fonseca received a letter from the Sovereigns, tacitly reproving him and ordering him to show all possible attention to the wishes of Columbus, and to see that he was treat-

ed with honour and deference. Fonseca never forgot this affront, and, what with him was the same thing, never forgave it. His spirit appears to have been of that ungracious kind which has none of the balm of forgiveness, and in which a wound once made for ever rankles. The hostility thus produced continued with increasing virulence throughout the life of Columbus, and at his death was transferred to his son and successor. This persevering animosity has been illustrated in the course of this work by facts and observations cited from authors, some of them contemporary with Fonseca, but who were apparently restrained, by motives of prudence, from giving full vent to the indignation which they evidently felt. Even at the present day, a Spanish historian would be cautious of expressing his feelings freely on the subject, lest they should prejudice his work in the eyes of the ecclesiastical censors of the press. In this way Bishop Fonseca has, in a great measure, escaped the general odium his conduct merited.

This prelate had the chief superintendence of Spanish colonial affairs, both under Ferdinand and Isabella, and the emperor Charles V. He was an active and intrepid, but selfish, overbearing, and perfidious man. His administration bears no marks of enlarged and liberal policy; but is full of traits of arrogance and meanness. He opposed the benevolent attempts of Las Casas to ameliorate the condition of the Indians, and to obtain the abolition of repartimientos; treating him with personal haughtiness and asperity. The reason assigned is, that Fonseca was enriching himself by those very abuses, retaining large numbers of the miserable Indians in slavery to work in his possessions in the colonies.

To show that his character has not been judged with undue severity, it is expedient to point out his invidious and persecuting conduct towards Hernando Cortez. The bishop, while ready to foster rambling adventurers who appeared under his patronage, had never the head or the heart to appreciate the merits of illustrious commanders like Columbus and Cortez.

At a time when disputes arose between Cortez and Diego Velasquez, governor of Cuba, and the latter sought to arrest the conqueror of Mexico in the midst of his brilliant career, Fonseca, with entire disregard of the merits of the case, took a decided part in favour of Velasquez. Personal interest was at the bottom of this favour; for a marriage was negotiating between Velasquez and a sister of the bishop. Complaints and misrepresentations had been sent to Spain by Velasquez of the conduct of Cortez, who was represented as a lawless and unprincipled adventurer, attempting to usurp absolute authority in New Spain. The true services of Cortez had already excited admiration at court; but such was the influence of Fonseca, that, as in the case of Columbus, he succeeded in prejudicing the mind of the sovereign against one of the most meritorious of

his subjects. One Christoval de Tapia, a man destitute of talent or character, but whose great recommendation was his having been in the employ of the bishop, was invested with powers similar to those once given to Bobadilla, to the prejudice of Columbus. He was to inquire into the conduct of Cortez; and in case he thought fit, to seize him, sequester his property, and supersede him in command. Not content with the regular official letters furnished to Tapia, the bishop, shortly after his departure, sent out Juan Bono de Quexo with blank letters, signed by his own hand, and with others directed to various persons, charging them to admit Tapia for governor, and assuring them that the King considered the conduct of Cortez as disloyal. Nothing but the sagacity and firmness of Cortez prevented this measure from completely interrupting, if not defeating, his enterprises.

When the disputes between Cortez and Velasquez came to be examined and decided upon in Spain, the father of Cortez and his lawyers objected to Fonseca's being one of the arbitrators, alleging his enmity to Cortez, his patronage of Velasquez, and his being on the point of giving his sister in marriage to the latter. Cardinal Adrian examined the matter thoroughly, and decided that their request ought to be granted. Fonseca was ordered, therefore, not to preside in these affairs; "it being likewise alleged," says Herrera, "that he had publicly called Cortez a traitor; that he had prevented his representations from being attended to in the Council of the Indies; and had declared that they should never come there while he lived; that he had not given the King complete information in matters relative to these points of service; and that he had ordered the India-house at Seville not to permit arms, merchandise, or people, to go to New Spain." Cortez himself subsequently declared, "that he had experienced more trouble and difficulty from the menaces and affronts of the ministers of the King, than it had cost him to earn his victory."<sup>4</sup>

A charge of a still darker nature against Fonseca may be found lurking in the pages of Herrera, though so obscure as to have escaped the notice of succeeding historians. He points to the bishop as the instigator of a desperate and perfidious man, who conspired against the life of Hernando Cortez. This was one Antonio de Villafañá, who fomented a conspiracy to assassinate Cortez, and elect Francisco Verdugo, brother-in-law of Velasquez, in his place. While the conspirators were waiting for an opportunity to poniard Cortez, one of them, relenting, apprised him of his danger. Villafañá was arrested. He attempted to swallow a paper containing a list of the conspirators; but being seized by the throat, a part of it was forced from his mouth containing fourteen names of persons

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, Hist. Ind., d. 3, l. i, c. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, d. 3, l. iii, c. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, d. 3, l. iv, c. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Idem, d. 3, l. i, c. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, decad. 2, l. ii, c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, decad. 3, l. iv, c. 9.



of importance. Villafaña confessed his guilt; but tortures could not make him inculpate the persons whose names were on the list, who he declared were ignorant of the plot. He was hanged by order of Cortez.' In the investigation of the disputes between Cortez and Velasquez, which took place in 1522 before a special tribunal, composed of the grand chancellor and other persons of note, this execution of Villafaña was magnified into a cruel and wanton act of power; and in their eagerness to criminate Cortez, the witness on the part of Alvarez declared that Villafaña had been instigated to what he had done by letters from Bishop Fonseca (*que se movió á lo que hizo con cartas del Obispo de Burgos*).<sup>1</sup> It is not probable that Fonseca had recommended assassination; but it shows the character of his agents, and what must have been the malignant nature of his instructions, when these men thought that such an act would accomplish his wishes.

Fonseca died at Burgos on the 4th of November, 1524, and was interred at Coca.

#### NO XXXIII.

##### ON THE SITUATION OF THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE.

THE speculations of Columbus on the situation of the terrestrial paradise, extravagant as they may appear, were such as have occupied many grave and learned men. A slight notice of their opinions on this curious subject may be acceptable to the general reader, and may take from the apparent wildness of the ideas expressed by Columbus.

The abode of our first parents was anciently the subject of anxious inquiry; and indeed, mankind have always been prone to picture some place of perfect felicity, where the imagination, disappointed in the coarse realities of life, might revel in an elysium of its own creation. It is an idea not confined to our religion, but is found in the rude creed of the most savage nations, and it prevailed generally among the ancients. The speculations concerning the situation of the garden of Eden resemble those of the Greeks concerning the garden of the Hesperides; that region of delight, which they for ever placed on the most remote verge of the known world, which their poets embellished with all the charms of fiction, after which they were continually longing, and which they could never find. At one time it was in the grand Oasis of Arabia. The exhausted travellers, after crossing the parched and sultry desert, hailed this verdant spot with rapture; they refreshed themselves under its shady bowers and beside its cooling streams, as the crew of a tempest-tost vessel repose on the shores of some green island in the deep; and from its being thus isolated amidst an ocean of sand,

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, *Hist. Ind.*, decad. 3, l. i, c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, decad. 3, l. iv, c. 3.

they gave it the name of the Island of the Blessed. As geographical knowledge increased, the situation of the Hesperian gardens was continually removed to a greater distance. It was transferred to the borders of the great Syrtis, in the neighbourhood of Mount Atlas. Here, after traversing the frightful deserts of Barca, the traveller found himself in a fair and fertile country, watered by rivulets and gushing fountains. The oranges and citrons transported hence to Greece, where they were as yet unknown, delighted the Athenians by their golden beauty and delicious flavour, and they thought none but the garden of the Hesperides could produce such glorious fruit. In this way the happy region of the ancients was transported from place to place, but still in the most remote and obscure extremity of the world, until it was fabled to visit the Canaries, thence called the Fortunate, or the Hesperian Islands. Here it remained, because discovery advanced no farther, and because these islands were so distant, and so little known, as to allow full latitude to the fictions of the poet.'

In like manner, the situation of the terrestrial paradise or garden of Eden, was long a subject of curious disputation, and occupied the laborious attention of the most learned theologians. Some placed it in Palestine, or the Holy Land; others in Mesopotamia, in that rich and beautiful tract of country embraced by the wanderings of the Tigris and the Euphrates; others in Armenia, in a valley surrounded by precipitous and inaccessible mountains, and imagined that Enoch and Elijah were transported thither, out of the sight of mortals, to live in a state of terrestrial bliss, until the second coming of our Saviour. There were others who gave it situations widely remote, such as in the Taprobana of the ancients, at present known as the island of Ceylon; or in the island of Sumatra; or in the Fortunate or Canary Islands; or in one of the islands of Sunda; or in some favoured spot under the equinoctial line.

Great difficulty was encountered by these speculators to reconcile the allotted place with the description given in Genesis of the garden of Eden; particularly of the great fountain which watered it, and which afterwards divided itself into four rivers, the Pison or Phison, the Gihon, the Euphrates, and the Heddekel. Those who were in favour of the Holy Land, supposed that the Jordan was the great river which afterwards divided itself into the Phison, Gihon, Tigris, and Euphrates; but that the sands have choked up the ancient beds by which those streams were supplied; that originally the Phison traversed Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, from whence it pursued its course to the Gulf of Persia; that the Gihon bathed northern or Stony Arabia, and fell into the Arabian Gulf or the Red Sea; that the Euphrates and the Tigris passed by Eden to Assyria and Chaldea, from whence they discharged themselves into the Persian Gulf.

By most of the early commentators, the river Gihon

<sup>1</sup> Gosselyn, *Recherch. sur la Géog. des Anciens*, t. 1.

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<sup>1</sup> Teyjoo, *Theo*

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. l. 1.

is supposed to be the Nile. The source of this river was not known, but was evidently far distant from the spots from whence the Tigris and the Euphrates arose. This difficulty, however, was ingeniously overcome, by giving it a subterranean course of some hundreds of leagues from the common fountain, until it issued forth to day-light in Abyssinia. In like manner subterranean courses were given to the Tigris and Euphrates, passing under the Red Sea, until they sprang forth in Armenia, as if just issuing from one common source. So, also, those who placed the terrestrial paradise in islands, supposed that the rivers which issued from it, and formed those heretofore named, either traversed the surface of the sea, as fresh water, by its greater lightness, may float above the salt; or that they flowed through deep veins and channels of the earth, as the fountain of Arethusa was said to sink into the ground in Greece, and rise in the island of Sicily; while the river Alphus, pursuing it, but with less perseverance, rose somewhat short of it in the sea.

Some contended that the deluge had destroyed the garden of Eden, and altered the whole face of the earth; so that the rivers had changed their beds, and had taken different directions from those mentioned in Genesis. Others, however, amongst whom was St Augustine, who, in his Commentary upon the Book of Genesis, maintained that the terrestrial paradise still existed, with its original beauty and delights, but that it was inaccessible to mortals, being on the summit of a mountain of stupendous height, reaching into the third region of the air, and approaching the moon; being thus protected by its elevation from the ravages of the deluge.

By some this mountain was placed under the equinoctial line, or under that band of the heavens metaphorically called by the ancients "the table of the sun," comprising the space between the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, beyond which the sun never passed in his annual course. Here would reign a uniformity of nights and days, and seasons, and the elevation of the mountain would raise it above the heats and storms of the lower regions. Others transported the garden beyond the equinoctial line, and placed it in the southern hemisphere, supposing that the torrid zone might be the flaming sword appointed to defend its entrance against mortals. They had a fanciful train of argument to support their theory. They observed that the terrestrial paradise must be in the noblest and happiest part of the globe; that part must be under the noblest part of the heavens; as the merits of a place do not so much depend upon the virtues of the earth as upon the happy influences of the stars and the favourable and benign aspect of the heavens. Now, according to philosophers, the world was divided into two hemispheres. The southern they considered the head, and the northern the feet or under part; the right hand the

east, from whence commenced the movement of the primum mobile, and the left the west, towards which it moved. This supposed, they observed that it was manifest, that as the head of all things, natural and artificial, is always the best and noblest part, governing the other parts of the body, so the south, being the head of the earth, ought to be superior and nobler than either east, or west, or north; and, in accordance with this, they cited the opinion of various philosophers among the ancients, and more especially of Ptolemy, that the stars of the southern hemisphere were larger, more resplendent, more perfect, and of course of greater virtue and efficacy than those of the northern; an error universally prevalent until disproved by modern discovery. Hence they concluded, that in this southern hemisphere, in this head of the earth, under this purer and brighter sky, and these more potent and benignant stars, was placed the terrestrial paradise.

Various ideas were entertained as to the magnitude of this blissful region. As Adam and all his progeny were to have lived there, had he not sinned, and as there would have been no such thing as death to thin the number of mankind, it was inferred that the terrestrial paradise must be of great extent to contain them. Some gave it a size equal to Europe or Africa, others gave it the whole southern hemisphere. St Augustine supposed that as mankind multiplied, numbers would be translated, without death, to heaven; the parents, perhaps, when their children had arrived at mature age, or portions of the human race at the end of certain periods, and when the population of the terrestrial paradise had attained a certain amount. Others supposed that mankind, remaining in a state of primitive innocence, would not have required so much space as at present. Having no need of rearing animals for subsistence, no land would have been required for pasturage; and the earth not being cursed with sterility, there would have been no need of extensive tracts of country to permit of fallow land and the alternation of crops required in husbandry. The spontaneous and never-failing fruits of the garden would have been abundant for the simple wants of man. Still, that the human race might not be crowded, but might have ample space for recreation and enjoyment, and the charms of variety and change, some allowed at least a hundred leagues of circumference to the garden.

St Basil, in his eloquent discourse on paradise, expatiates with rapture on the joys of this sacred abode, elevated to the third region of the air, and under the happiest skies. There a pure and never-failing pleasure is furnished to every sense. The eye delights in the admirable clearness of the atmosphere, in the verdure and beauty of the trees, and the never-withering bloom of the flowers. The ear

\* St Basil was called the Great. His works were read and admired by all the world, even by Pagans. They are written in an elevated and majestic style, with great splendour of idea and vast erudition.

† Teijoo, Theatro Critico, lib. vii. § 2.

‡ Herodot. l. iii. Virgil. Georg. t. Pomp. Mela, l. iii. c. 10.

is regaled with the singing of the birds, the sense of smelling with the aromatic odours of the land. In like manner, the other senses have each their peculiar enjoyments. There the vicissitudes of the seasons are unknown, and the climate unites the fruitfulness of summer, the joyful abundance of autumn, and the sweet freshness and tranquillity of spring. There the earth is always green, the flowers ever blooming, the waters limpid and pure, not rushing in rude and turbid torrents, but welling up in crystal fountains, and winding in peaceful and silver streams. There no harsh and boisterous winds are permitted to shake and disturb the air, and ravage the beauty of the groves; there prevails no melancholy nor darksome weather; no drowning rain, nor pelting hail; no forked lightning, nor rending and resounding thunder; no wintry pinching cold, nor withering and panting summer heat; nor any thing else that can give pain, or sorrow, or annoyance; but all is bland, and gentle, and serene: a perpetual youth and joy reigns throughout all nature, and nothing decays and dies.

The same idea is given by St Ambrosius in his book on paradise,<sup>1</sup> an author likewise consulted and cited by Columbus. He wrote in the fourth century, and his touching eloquence and graceful yet vigorous style ensured great popularity to his writings. Many of these opinions are cited by Glanville, usually called Bartholomæus Anglicus, in his work *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, a work with which Columbus was evidently acquainted. It was a species of encyclopedia of the general knowledge current at the time, and likely to recommend itself to a curious and inquiring voyager. This author cites an assertion as made by St Basilus and Ambrosius, that the water of the fountain which proceeds from the garden of Eden falls into a great lake, with such a tremendous noise, that the inhabitants of the neighbourhood are born deaf, and that from this lake proceeds the four chief rivers mentioned in Genesis.<sup>2</sup>

This passage, however, is not to be found in the Hexameron of either Basilus or Ambrosius, from which it is quoted; neither is it in the Oration on Paradise by the former, nor in the letter on the same subject, written by Ambrosius to Ambrosius Sabinus. It must be a misquotation. Columbus, however, appears to have been struck with it, and Las Casas is of opinion<sup>3</sup> that he derived thence his idea that the vast body of fresh water, which filled the gulf of La Ballena, or Paria, flowed from the fountain of Paradise, though from a remote distance; and that in this gulf, which he supposed in the extreme part

<sup>1</sup> St Ambros. Opera, edit. Colnardi. Parisiis, 1690.

<sup>2</sup> "Paradisus est in Oriente, in altissimo monte, de cuius cacumine cadentes aquæ, maximum faciunt lacum, quæ in suo casu tantum faciunt strepitum et fragorem, quod omnes incolæ, juxta prædictum lacum, nascuntur surdi, ex immoderato sonitu seu fragore sensum auditus in parvulis corrumperit. Ut dicit Basilus in Hexameron, similiter et Ambros. Ex illo lacu, velut ex uno fonte, procedunt illa flumina quatuor, Phison qui et Ganges, Gyon qui et Nilus dicitur, et Tigris ac Euphrates." — Bartholomæi Anglici de Proprietatibus Rerum, lib. xv, c. cxli. Francofurti, 1540.

<sup>3</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., c. cxli.

of Asia, originated the Nile, the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Ganges, which might be conducted under the land and sea, by subterraneous channels, to the places where they spring forth on the earth, and assume their proper name.

I forbear to enter into various other of the voluminous speculations which have been formed relative to the terrestrial paradise; and, perhaps, it may be thought that I have already said too much on so fanciful a subject; but to illustrate clearly the character of Columbus, it is necessary to elucidate those veins of thought passing through his mind while considering the singular phenomena of the unknown regions he was exploring, and which are often but slightly and vaguely developed in his journals and letters. These speculations, likewise, like those concerning fancied islands in the ocean, carry us back to the time, and make us feel the mystery and conjectural charm that reigned over the greatest part of the world, and which have since been completely dispelled by modern discovery. Enough has been cited to show, that, in his observations concerning the terrestrial paradise, Columbus was not indulging in any fanciful and presumptuous chimeras, the offspring of a heated and disordered brain. However visionary his conjectures may seem, they were all grounded on written opinions held little less than oracular in his day; and they will be found on examination to be far exceeded by the speculations and theories of sages, held illustrious for their wisdom and erudition in the school and the cloister.

#### No XXXIV.

##### WILL OF COLUMBUS.

In the name of the most holy Trinity, who inspired me with the idea, and afterwards made it perfectly clear to me, that I could navigate and go to the Indies from Spain, by traversing the ocean westwardly; which I communicated to the King Don Ferdinand and to the Queen Doña Isabella, our Sovereigns; and they were pleased to furnish me the necessary equipment of men and ships, and to make me their admiral over the said ocean, in all parts lying to the west of an imaginary line drawn from pole to pole, a hundred leagues west of the Cape de Verde and Azore Islands; also appointing me their viceroy and governor over all continents and islands that I might discover beyond the same line westwardly; with the right of being succeeded in the said offices by my eldest son and his heirs for ever; and a grant of the tenth part of all things found in the said jurisdiction; and of all rents and revenues arising from it; and the eighth of all the lands and every thing else, together with the salary corresponding to my rank of admiral, viceroy, and governor, and all other emoluments accruing thereto, as is more fully expressed in the title and agreement sanctioned by their Highnesses.

the Tigris, the Euphrate, might be conducted unerringly through the same channels, to the north on the earth, and

as other of the voluminous formed relative to perhaps, it may be said too much on so fancifully the character to elucidate those veins of mind while considering of the unknown regions are often but slightly in journals and letters. like those concerning carry us back to the mystery and conjectural the greatest part of the been completely discovered. Enough has been cited to satisfy the mind of those who was not indulging in the chimeras, the offered of the brain. However they seem, they were all held little less than will be found on examining the speculations and reasons for their wisdom and the cloister.

Trinity, who inspired the King Don Ferdinand, our Sovereigns; and the necessary equipments make me their admirers; and of all parts lying to the west pole to pole, a hundred leagues, the Azores, the Verde and Azore Islands, the viceroys and governors that I might discover; with the right of the tenth part of the land; and the eighth of the land, together with the rank of admiral, viceroy, and other honours accruing to me in the title and Highnesses.

And it pleased the Lord Almighty that in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, I should discover the continent of the Indies and many islands, among them Hispaniola, which the Indians call Ayte, and the Monicongos, Cipango. I then returned to Castile to their Highnesses, who approved of my undertaking a second enterprise for further discoveries and settlements; and the Lord gave me victory over the island of Hispaniola, which extends six hundred leagues, and I conquered it and made it tributary; and I discovered many islands inhabited by cannibals, and seven hundred leagues to the west of Hispaniola, among which is Jamaica, which we call Santiago; and three hundred and thirty-three leagues of continent from south to west, besides a hundred and seven to the north, which I discovered in my first voyage; together with many islands, as may more clearly be seen by my letters, memorials, and charts. And as we hope in God that before long a good and great revenue will be derived from the above islands and continent, of which, for the reasons aforesaid, belong to me the tenth and the eighth, with the salaries and honours specified above; and considering that we are mortals, and that it is proper for every one to settle his affairs, and to leave declared to his heirs and successors the property he possesses or may have right to: Wherefore I have concluded to make an entailed estate (mayorazgo) out of the said eighth of the lands, places, and revenues, in the manner which now proceed to state.

In the first place, I am to be succeeded by Don Diego, my son, who in case of death without children is to be succeeded by my other son, Ferdinand; and should he die without having any other son, then my brother, Don Bartholomew, is to succeed, and after him his eldest son; and if God should dispose of him without heirs, he shall be succeeded by his sons from one to another for ever; or, in the failure of a son, to be succeeded by Don Ferdinand, after the same manner, from son to son successively; or, in their place, by my brothers Bartholomew and Diego. And should please the Lord that the estate, after having continued some time in the line of any of the above successors, should stand in need of an immediate and lawful male heir, the succession shall then devolve to the nearest relation, being a man of legitimate birth, and bearing the name of Columbus, derived from his father and his ancestors. This entailed estate shall not be inherited by a woman, except in case that no male is to be found, either in this or any other quarter of the world, of my real lineage, whose name as well as that of his ancestors shall have always been Columbus. In such an event (which may God forbid), then the female of legitimate birth most nearly related to the preceding possessor of the estate shall succeed to it; and this is to be under the conditions herein stipulated at foot, which must be understood to extend as well to Don Diego, my son, as to the said and their heirs, every one of them, to be

fulfilled by them; and failing to do so, they are to be deprived of the succession, for not having complied with what shall herein be expressed; and the estate to pass to the person most nearly related to the one who held the right: and the person thus succeeding shall in like manner forfeit the estate, should he also fail to comply with the said conditions; and another person, the nearest of my lineage, shall succeed, provided he abide by them, so that they may be observed for ever in the form prescribed. This forfeiture is not to be incurred for trifling matters, originating in lawsuits; but in important cases, when the glory of God, or my own, or that of my family, may be concerned, which supposes a perfect fulfilment of all the things hereby ordained; all which I recommend to the courts of justice. And I supplicate his holiness who now is, and those that may succeed in the holy church, that if it should happen that this my will and testament has need of his holy order and command for its fulfilment, that such order be issued in virtue of obedience, and under penalty of excommunication, and that it shall not be in any wise blemished. And I also pray the King and Queen, our sovereigns, and their eldest born, the Prince Don Juan, our lord, and their successors, for the sake of the services I have done them, and because it is just, that it may please them not to permit this my will and constitution of my entailed estate to be in any way altered, but to leave it in the form and manner which I have ordained, for ever; for the greater glory of the Almighty, and that it may be the root and basis of my lineage, and a memento of the services I have rendered their Highnesses; that, being born in Genoa, I came over to serve them in Castile, and discovered, to the west of Terra Firma, the Indies and islands before mentioned. I accordingly pray their Highnesses to order that this my privilege and testament be held valid, and be executed summarily and without any opposition or demur, according to the letter. I also pray the grandees of the realm, and the lords of the council, and all others having administration of justice, to be pleased not to suffer this my will and testament to be of no avail, but to cause it to be fulfilled as by me ordained; it being just that a noble, who has served the King and Queen, and the kingdom, should be respected in the disposition of his estate by will, testament, institution of entail or inheritance, and that the same be not infringed either in whole or in part.

In the first place, my son, Don Diego, and all my successors and descendants, as well as my brothers, Bartholomew and Diego, shall bear my arms, such as I shall leave them after my days, without inserting any thing else in them; and they shall be their seal to seal withal. Don Diego, my son, or any other who may inherit this estate, on coming into possession of the inheritance, shall sign with the signature which I now make use of, which is an X. with an S. over it, and an M. with a Roman A. over it, and over that an S., and then a Greek Y. with an S. over it, with its lines and points, as is my custom, as may



be seen by my signatures, of which there are many, and it will be seen by the present one.

He shall only write "the admiral," whatever other titles the King may have conferred on him. This is to be understood as respects his signature, but not the enumeration of his titles, which he can make at full length, if agreeable; only the signature is to be "the admiral."

The said Don Diego, or any other inheritor of this estate, shall possess my offices of admiral of the ocean, which is to the west of an imaginary line, which his Highness ordered to be drawn, running from pole to pole a hundred leagues beyond the Azores, and as many more beyond the Cape de Verde Islands, over all which I was made, by his order, the admiral of the sea, with all the privileges enjoyed by Don Henrique in the admiralty of Castile; and they made me their governor and viceroy perpetually, and for ever, over all the islands and main land discovered, or to be discovered, for myself and heirs, as is more fully shown by my treaty and privilege as above-mentioned.

Item,—The said Don Diego, or any other inheritor of this estate, shall distribute the revenue which it may please our Lord to grant him in the following manner, under the above penalty.

First, of the whole income of this estate, now and at all times, and of whatever may be had or collected from it, he shall give the fourth part annually to my brother, Don Bartholomew Columbus, Adelantado of the Indies; and this is to continue till he shall have acquired an income of a million of maravedies for his support, and for the services he has rendered and will continue to render to this entailed estate; which million he is to receive, as stated, every year, if the said fourth amount to so much, and that he have nothing else; but if he possess a part or the whole of that amount in rents, that henceforth he shall not enjoy the said million, nor any part of it except that he shall have in the said fourth part unto the said quantity of a million, if it should amount to so much; and as much as he shall have of revenue besides the fourth part, whatever sum of maravedies of known rent from property or perpetual offices, the said quantity of rent or revenue from property or offices shall be discounted; and from the said million shall be reserved whatever marriage portion he may receive with any female he may espouse; so that, whatever he may receive in marriage with his wife, no deduction shall be made on that account from the said million, but only for whatever he may acquire, or may have, over and above his wife's dowry. And when it shall please God that he or his heirs and descendants shall derive from their property and offices a revenue of a million arising from rents, neither he nor his heirs shall enjoy any longer any thing from the said fourth part of the entailed estate, which shall remain with Don Diego, or who may inherit it.

Item,—From the revenues of the said estate, or from any other fourth part of it (should its amount be adequate to it), shall be paid every year to my son Ferdinand two millions, till such time as his revenue

shall amount to two millions, in the same form and manner as in the case of Bartholomew, who as well as his heirs are to have the million, or the part that may be wanting.

Item,—The said Don Diego or Don Bartholomew shall make, out of the said estate, for my brother Diego, such provision as may enable him to live decently, as he is my brother, to whom I assign no particular sum, as he has attached himself to the church, and that will be given him which is right, and this to be given him in a mass, and before any thing shall have been received by Ferdinand my son or Bartholomew my brother, or their heirs, and also according to the amount of the income of the estate. And in case of discord, the case is to be referred to two of our relations, or other men of honour; and should they disagree among themselves, they will choose a third person as arbitrator, being virtuous and not distrusted by either party.

Item,—All this revenue which I bequeath to Bartholomew, to Ferdinand, and to Diego, shall be delivered to, and received by, them as prescribed, under the obligation of being faithful and loyal to Diego my son or his heirs, they as well as their children: and should it appear that they, or any of them, had proceeded against him in any thing touching his honour or the prosperity of the family, or of the estate, either in word or deed, whereby might come a scandal and debasement to my family, and a detriment to my estate; in that case nothing further shall be given to them or him, from that time forward, inasmuch as they are always to be faithful to Diego and to his successors.

Item,—As it was my intention, when I first instituted this entailed estate, to dispose, or that my son Diego should dispose for me, of the tenth part of the income in favour of necessitous persons, as a tithe, and in commemoration of the Almighty and Eternal God, and persisting still in this opinion, and hoping that the high Majesty will assist me and those who may inherit it in this or the New World, I have resolved that the said tithe shall be paid in the manner following:

First,—It is to be understood that the fourth part of the revenue of the estate which I have ordained and directed to be given to Don Bartholomew, till he have an income of one million, includes the tenth of the whole revenue of the estate; and that in proportion as the income of my brother Don Bartholomew shall increase, as it has to be discounted from the revenue of the fourth part of the entailed estate, that the revenue shall be calculated, to know how much the tenth part amounts to; and the part which exceeds what is necessary to make up the million for Don Bartholomew shall be received by such of my family as may most stand in need of it, discounting it from the said tenth, if their income do not amount to five thousand maravedies; and should any of them come to have an income to this amount, such part shall be awarded them as two persons, chosen for the purpose, may determine along with Don Diego and his heirs. Thus it is to be understood that the mill-

in the same form and which I leave to Don Bartholomew comprehends the tenth of the whole revenue of the estate; which revenue is to be distributed among my nearest and most speedy relations in the manner I have directed; and when Don Bartholomew shall have an income of one million, and that nothing more shall be due to him on account of said fourth part, then Don Diego my son, or the person who may be in possession of the estate, along with two other persons which I shall herein point out, shall inspect the accounts, and direct that the tenth of the revenue shall still continue to be paid to the most necessitous members of my family that may be found in this or any other part of the world, who shall diligently be sought out; and they are to be paid out of the fourth part, from which Don Bartholomew is to derive his million; which sums are to be taken into account and deducted from the said tenth, which, should it amount to more, the overplus, as arises from the fourth part, shall be given to the most necessitous persons, as aforesaid; and should it not be sufficient, that Don Bartholomew shall have it until his own estate goes on increasing, having the said million in part or in the whole.

Item.—The said Don Diego my son, or whoever may be the inheritor, shall appoint two persons of science and authority, and most nearly related to the family, who are to examine the revenue and its amount carefully, and to cause the said tenth to be paid out of the fourth from which Don Bartholomew is to receive his million, to the most necessitous members of my family that may be found here or elsewhere, whom they shall look for diligently, upon their consciences; and as it might happen that the said Don Diego, or others after him, for reasons which may concern their own welfare, or the credit and support of the estate, may be unwilling to make known the full amount of the income; nevertheless, I charge him on his conscience to pay the sum aforesaid; and I charge them on their souls and consciences not to denounce or make it known, except with the consent of Don Diego, or the person that may succeed him; but let the above tithe be paid in the manner I have directed.

Item.—In order to avoid all disputes in the choice of the two nearest relations who are to act with Don Diego, or his heirs, I hereby elect Don Bartholomew my brother for one, and Don Fernando my son for another; and when these two shall enter upon the business, they shall chuse two other persons among the most trusty and most nearly related, and these again shall elect two others when it shall be question of conducting the examination; and thus it shall be managed with diligence from one to the other, for the service and glory of God, and the benefit of the said entailed estate.

Item.—I also enjoin Diego, or any one that may inherit the estate, to have and maintain in the city of Genoa one person of our lineage, to reside there with his wife, and appoint him a sufficient revenue, to enable him to live decently, as a person closely connected with the family, of which he is to be the head and basis in that city; from which great good

may accrue to him, inasmuch as I was born there and came from thence.

Item.—The said Don Diego, or whoever shall inherit the estate, must remit in bills, or in any other way, all such sums as he may be able to save out of the revenue of the estate, and direct purchases to be made in his name, or that of his heirs, in a stock in the Bank of St. George, which gives an interest of six per cent. and is secure money; and this shall be devoted to the purposes I am about to explain.

Item.—As it becomes every man of rank and property to serve God, either personally or by means of his wealth, and as all moneys deposited with St. George are quite safe, and Genoa is a noble city and powerful by sea, and as at the time that I undertook to set out upon the discovery of the Indies it was with the intention of supplicating the King and Queen, our lords, that whatever money should be derived from the said Indies should be invested in the conquest of Jerusalem, and as I did so supplicate them; if they do this, it will be well: if not, at all events the said Diego, or such person as may succeed him in this trust, to collect together all the money he can, and accompany the King our lord, should he go to the conquest of Jerusalem, or else go there himself with all the force he can command; and in pursuing this intention, it will please the Lord to assist towards the accomplishment of the plan; and should he not be able to effect the conquest of the whole, no doubt he will achieve it in part. Let him, therefore, collect and make a fund of all his wealth in St. George of Genoa, and let it multiply there till such time as it may appear to him that something of consequence may be effected as respects the project on Jerusalem; for I believe, that when their Highnesses shall see that this is contemplated, they will wish to realize it themselves, or will afford him, as their servant and vassal, the means of doing it for them.

Item.—I charge my son Diego and my descendants, especially whoever may inherit this estate, which consists, as aforesaid, of the tenth of whatsoever may be had or found in the Indies, and the eighth part of the lands and rents, all which, together with my rights and emoluments as admiral, viceroy, and governor, amount to more than twenty-five per cent.—I say, that I require of him to employ all this revenue, as well as his person and all the means in his power, in well and faithfully serving and supporting their Highnesses or their successors, even to the loss of life and property; since it was their Highnesses, next to God, who first gave me the means of getting and achieving this property, although it is true I came over to these realms to invite them to the enterprise, and that a long time elapsed before any provision was made for carrying it into execution; which, however, is not surprising, as this was an undertaking of which all the world was ignorant, and no one had any faith in it; wherefore I am by so much the more indebted to them, as well as because they have since also much favoured and promoted me.

Item,—I also require of Diego, or whomsoever may be in possession of the estate, that in the case of any schism taking place in the church of God, or that any person of whatever class or condition should attempt to despoil it of its property and honours, they hasten to offer at the feet of his holiness, that is, if they are not heretics (which God forbid), their persons, power, and wealth, for the purpose of suppressing such schism, and preventing any spoliation of the honour and property of the church.

Item,—I command the said Diego, or whosoever may possess the said estate, to labour and strive for the honour, welfare, and aggrandizement of the city of Genoa, and to make use of all his power and means in defending and enhancing the good and credit of that republic, in all things not contrary to the service of the church of God, or the high dignity of the King and Queen our lords, and their successors.

Item,—The said Diego, or whoever may possess, or succeed to the estate, out of the fourth part of the whole revenue, from which, as aforesaid, is to be taken the tenth, when Don Bartholomew, or his heirs, shall have saved the two millions, or part of them, and when the time shall come of making a distribution among our relations, shall apply and invest said tenth in providing marriages for such daughters of our lineage as may require it, and in doing all the good in their power.

Item,—When a suitable time shall arrive, he shall order a church to be built in the island of Hispaniola, and in the most convenient spot, to be called Santa Maria de la Concepcion; to which is to be annexed an hospital, upon the best possible plan, like those of Italy and Castile; and a chapel is to be erected to say mass in for the good of my soul and those of my ancestors and successors, with great devotion, since no doubt it will please the Lord to give us a sufficient revenue for this and the afore-mentioned purposes.

Item,—I also order Diego my son, or whomsoever may inherit after him, to spare no pains in having and maintaining in the island of Hispaniola four good professors of theology, to the end and aim of their studying and labouring to convert to our holy faith the inhabitants of the Indies; and in proportion as, by God's will, the revenue of the estate shall increase, in the same degree shall the number of teachers and devout persons increase who are to strive to make Christians of the natives, in attaining which no expense should be thought too great. And in commemoration of all that I hereby ordain, and of the foregoing, a monument of marble shall be erected in the said church of La Concepcion, in the most conspicuous place, to serve as a record of what I here enjoin on the said Diego, as well as to other persons who may look upon it; which marble shall contain an inscription to the same effect.

Item,—I also require of Diego my son, and whom-

soever may succeed him in the estate, that every time and as often as he confesses, he first show this obligation, or a copy of it, to the confessor, praying him to read it through, that he may be enabled to inquire respecting its fulfilment; from which will redound great good and happiness to his soul.

S.  
S. A. S.  
X. M. Y.  
EL ALMIRANTE.

Nº XXXV.

SIGNATURE OF COLUMBUS.

As every thing respecting Columbus is full of interest, his signature has been a matter of some discussion. It partook of the pedantic and bigoted character of the age, and perhaps of the peculiar character of the man, who considering himself mysteriously elected and set apart from among men for certain great purposes, adopted a correspondent formality and solemnity in all his concerns. His signature was as follows:

S.  
S. A. S.  
X. M. Y.  
XPO FERENS.

The first half of the signature, XPO (for CHRISTO), is in Greek letters; the second, FERENS, is in Latin. Such was the usage of those days; and even at present both Greek and Roman letters are used in signatures and inscriptions in Spain.

The ciphers or initials above the signature are supposed to represent a pious ejaculation. To read them one must begin with the lower letters, and connect them with those above. Signor Geo. Batista Spotorno conjectures them to mean either Kristus (Christus), Sancta Maria, Yosephus, or Salva me, Kristus, Maria Yosephus. The North-American Review for April 1827, suggests the substitution of Jesus for Yosephus, which appears an improvement on the suggestion of Spotorno.

It was an ancient usage in Spain, and it has now entirely gone by, to accompany the signature with some words of religious purport. One object of this practice was to show the writer to be a Christian. This was of some importance in a country in which Jews and Mahometans were proscribed and persecuted.

Don Fernando, son to Columbus, says that his father, when he took his pen in hand, usually commenced by writing "Jesus cum Maria sit nobis in via;" and the book which the Admiral prepared and sent to the Sovereigns, containing the prophetic which he considered as referring to his discovery, and to the rescue of the holy sepulchre, begins with the same words. This practice is akin to that of placing the initials of pious words above the signature and gives great probability to the mode in which they have been deciphered.

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# VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES

OF THE

## COMPANIONS OF COLUMBUS.

"To declare my opinion herein, whatsoever hath heretofore been discovered by the famous travayles of Saturnus and Hercules, with such other whom the antiquitie for their heroicall acts honoured as Gods, seemeth but little and obscure, if it be compared to the victorious labours of the Spaniards."

P. MARTYR, decad. lli. c. 4. Lok's translation.

### INTRODUCTION.

The first discovery of the Western Hemisphere has already been related by the Author in his History of Columbus. It is proposed by him, in the present work, to narrate the enterprises of certain of the companions and disciples of the Admiral, who, enkindled by his zeal, and instructed by his example, sallied forth separately in the vast region of adventure to which he had led the way. Many of them sought merely to skirt the continent which he had partially visited; to secure the first-fruits of the pearl fisheries of Paria and Cubagua; or to explore the coast of Veragua, which he had represented as the Aurea Chersonesus of the ancients. Others aspired to accomplish a grand discovery which he had meditated towards the close of his career. In the course of his expeditions along the coast of Terra Firma, Columbus had repeatedly received information of the existence of a vast sea to the south. He supposed it to be the great Indian Ocean, the region of the oriental spice islands, and that it must communicate by a strait with the Caribbean sea. His first and most disastrous voyage was made for the express purpose of discovering that imaginary strait, and making his way into this Southern Ocean. The illustrious navigator, however, was doomed to die, as it were, upon the threshold of his discoveries. It was reserved for one of his followers, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, to obtain the first view of the promised ocean, from the lofty mountains of Darien, some years after the eyes of the venerable Admiral had been closed in death. The expeditions here narrated, therefore, may be considered as springing immediately out of the voyages of Columbus, and fulfilling some of his grand designs. They may be compared to the attempts of adventurous knights-errant to achieve the enterprise left unfinished by some illustrious predecessor. Neither is this comparison entirely fanciful: on the contrary, it is a curious fact, well worthy of notice, that the spirit of chivalry entered largely into the early expeditions of the Spanish discoverers, giving them a character wholly distinct from similar enterprises, undertaken by other nations. It will not, perhaps, be considered far-sought, if we trace the cause of this peculiarity to the domestic history of the Spaniards during the middle ages.

Eight centuries of incessant warfare with the Moorish usurpers of the Peninsula, produced a deep and lasting effect upon Spanish character and manners. The war being ever close at home, mingled itself with the domestic habits and concerns of the Spaniard. He was born a soldier. The wild and predatory nature of the war also made him a kind of chivalrous marauder. His horse and weapon were always ready for the field. His delight was in roving incursions and extravagant exploits; and no gain was so glorious in his eyes as the cavalgada of spoils and captives driven home in triumph from a plundered province. Religion, which has ever held great empire over the Spanish mind, lent its aid to sanctify these roving and ravaging propensities, and the Castilian cavalier, as he sacked the towns, and laid waste the fields of his Moslem neighbour, piously believed he was doing God service.

The conquest of Granada put an end to the peninsular wars between christian and infidel: the spirit of Spanish chivalry was thus suddenly deprived of its wonted sphere of action; but it had been too long fostered and excited, to be as suddenly appeased. The youth of the nation, bred up to daring adventure and heroic achievement, could not brook the tranquil and regular pursuits of common life, but panted for some new field of romantic enterprise.

It was at this juncture that the grand project of Columbus was carried into effect. His treaty with the sovereigns was, in a manner, signed with the same pen that had subscribed the capitulation of the Moorish capital; and his first expedition may almost be said to have departed from beneath the walls of Granada. Many of the youthful cavaliers, who had fleshed their swords in that memorable war, crowded the ships of the discoverers, thinking a new career of arms was to be opened to them — a kind of crusade into splendid and unknown regions of infidels. The very weapons and armour that had been used against the Moors, were drawn from the arsenals to equip the heroes of these remoter adventures; and some of the most noted of the early commanders in the New World, will be found to have made their first essay in arms, under the banner of Ferdinand and Isabella, in their romantic campaigns among the mountains of Andalusia.

To these circumstances may, in a great measure, be ascribed that swelling chivalrous spirit which will be found continually mingling, or rather warring, with the technical

habits of the seaman and the sordid schemes of the mercenary adventurer, in these early Spanish discoveries. Chivalry had left the land and launched upon the deep. The Spanish cavalier had embarked in the caravel of the discoverer. He carried among the trackless wildernesses of the New World the same contempt of danger and fortitude under suffering; the same restless roaming spirit; the same passion for inroad and ravage and vain-glorious exploit; and the same fervent, and often bigoted, zeal for the propagation of his faith, that had distinguished him during his warfare with the Moors. Instances in point will be found in the extravagant career of the daring Ojeda, particularly in his adventures along the coast of Terra Firma, and the wild shores of Cuba;—in the sad story of the “unfortunate Nicuesa,” graced as it is with occasional touches of high-bred courtesy;—in the singular cruise of that brave but credulous old cavalier, Juan Ponce de Leon, who fell upon the flowery coast of Florida in his search after an imaginary fountain of youth;—and above all, in the chequered fortunes of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, whose discovery of the Pacific Ocean forms one of the most beautiful and striking incidents in the history of the New World, and whose fate might furnish a theme of wonderful interest for a poem or a drama.

The extraordinary actions and adventures of these men, while they rival the exploits recorded in chivalric romance, have the additional interest of verity. They leave us in admiration of the bold and heroic qualities inherent in the Spanish character, which led that nation to so high a pitch of power and glory; and which are still discernible in the great mass of that gallant people, by those who have an opportunity of judging of them rightly.

Before concluding those prefatory remarks, the Author would acknowledge how much he has been indebted to the third volume of the invaluable Historical Collection of Don Martín Fernandez de Navarrete, wherein that author has exhibited his usual industry, accuracy, and critical acumen. He has likewise profited greatly by the second volume of Oviedo's General History, which only exists in manuscript, and a copy of which he found in the Columbian Library of the Cathedral of Seville.

He has had some assistance also from the documents of the law case between Don Diego Columbus and the crown, which exists in the archives of the Indias, and for an inspection of which he is much indebted to the permission of the government and the kind attentions of Don Josef de la Iliguera y Lara, the intelligent keeper of the Archives. These, with the historical works of Herrera, Las Casas, Gomara, and Peter Martyr, have been his authorities for the facts contained in the following work, though he has not thought proper to refer to them continually at the bottom of his page.

While his work was going through the press, he received a volume of Spanish Biography, written with great elegance and accuracy, by Don Manuel Josef Quintana, and containing a life of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. He was gratified to find that his own arrangement of facts was generally corroborated by this work; though he was enabled to correct his dates in several instances, and to make a few other emendations from the volume of Señor Quintana, whose position in Spain gave him the means of attaining superior exactness on these points.

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## ALONSO DE OJEDA,

HIS FIRST VOYAGE,

IN WHICH HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY

AMERIGO VESPUCCI.<sup>1</sup>

### CHAPTER I.

SOME ACCOUNT OF OJEDA. OF JUAN DE LA COSA. OF AMERIGO VESPUCCI. PREPARATIONS FOR THE VOYAGE.

[ 1499. ]

THOSE who have read the History of Columbus will, doubtless, remember the character and exploits of Alonso de Ojeda; as some of the readers of the following pages, however, may not have perused that work, and as it is proposed at present to trace the subsequent fortunes of this youthful adventurer, a brief sketch of him may not be deemed superfluous.

Alonso de Ojeda was a native of Cuenca, in New Castile, and of a respectable family. He was brought up as a page or esquire, in the service of Don Luis de Cerda, Duke of Medina Celi, one of the most powerful nobles of Spain: the same who for some time patronized Columbus during his application to the Spanish court.<sup>2</sup>

In those warlike days, when the peninsula was distracted by contests between the christian kingdoms, by feuds between the nobles and the crown, and by the incessant and marauding warfare with the Moors, the household of a Spanish nobleman was a complete school of arms, where the youth of the country were sent to be trained up in all kinds of hardy exercises, and to be led to battle under an illustrious banner. Such was especially the case with the service of the Duke of Medina Celi, who possessed princely domains, whose household was a petty court, who led legions of armed retainers to the field, and who appeared in splendid state and with an immense retinue, more as an ally of Ferdinand and Isabella, than as a subject. He engaged in many of the roughest expeditions of the memorable war of Granada, always insisting on leading his own troops in person, when the service was of peculiar difficulty and danger. Alonso de Ojeda was formed to signalize himself in such a school. Though small of stature, he was well made, and of wonderful force and activity, with a towering spirit and a daring eye that seemed to make up for deficiency of height. He was a bold and graceful horseman, an excellent foot soldier, dexterous with every weapon, and noted for his extraordinary skill and adroitness in all feats of strength and agility.

He must have been quite young when he followed the Duke of Medina Celi, as page, to the Moorish wars; for he was but about twenty-one years of age

<sup>1</sup> Ojeda is pronounced in Spanish Oheda, with a strong aspiration of the h.

<sup>2</sup> Vespucci, pronounced Vespuchy.

<sup>3</sup> Varones Ilustres. por F. Pizarro y Orellana, p. 41. Las Casas Hist. Ind., l. i. c. 82.

when he accompanied Columbus in his second voyage; he had already, however, distinguished himself by his enterprising spirit and headlong valour; and his exploits during that voyage contributed to enhance his reputation. He returned to Spain with Columbus, but did not accompany him in his third voyage, in the spring of 1498. He was probably impatient of subordination, and ambitious of a separate employment or command, which the influence of his connections gave him a great chance of obtaining. He had a cousin german of his own name, the reverend Padre Alonso de Ojeda, a Dominican friar, who was one of the first inquisitors of Spain, and a great favourite with the Catholic Sovereigns. His father inquisitor was, moreover, an intimate friend of the bishop Don Juan Rodriguez Fonseca, who was the chief management of the affairs of the Indies, under which general name were comprehended all the countries discovered in the New World. Through the good offices of his cousin inquisitor, therefore, Ojeda had been introduced to the notice of the bishop, who took him into his especial favour and patronage. Mention has already been made, in the History of Columbus, of a present made by the bishop to Ojeda of a small Flemish painting of the Holy Virgin. This the young adventurer carried about with him as a protecting relic, invoking it at all times of peril, whether by sea or land; and to the especial care of the Virgin he attributed the remarkable circumstance that he had never been wounded in any of the innumerable brawls and battles into which he was continually betrayed by his rash and fiery temperament. While Ojeda was lingering about the court, letters were received from Columbus, giving an account of the events of his third voyage, especially of his discovery of the coast of Paria, which he described as abounding with drugs and spices, with gold and silver, and precious stones, and, above all, with oriental pearls, and which he supposed to be the quarters of that vast and unknown region of the East, wherein, according to certain learned theorists, was situated the terrestrial paradise. Specimens of the pearls, procured in considerable quantities from the natives, accompanied his epistle, together with charts descriptive of his route. These tidings caused a great sensation among the maritime adventurers of Spain; but no one was more excited by them than Alonso de Ojeda, who, from his intimacy with the bishop, had full access to the charts and correspondence of Columbus. He immediately conceived the project of making a voyage in the route thus marked by the Admiral, and of seizing upon the first fruits of discovery which he had left ungathered. His scheme met with ready encouragement from Fonseca, as has heretofore been shown, was an implacable enemy to Columbus, and willing to promote any measure that might injure or molest him. The bishop accordingly granted a commission to Ojeda,

authorising him to fit out an armament and proceed on a voyage of discovery, with the proviso merely that he should not visit any territories appertaining to Portugal, or any of the lands discovered in the name of Spain previous to the year 1495. The latter part of this provision appears to have been craftily worded by the bishop, so as to leave the coast of Paria and its pearl fisheries open to Ojeda, they having been recently discovered by Columbus in 1498.

The commission was signed by Fonseca alone, in virtue of general powers vested in him for such purposes, but the signature of the Sovereigns did not appear on the instrument, and it is doubtful whether their sanction was sought on the occasion. He knew that Columbus had recently remonstrated against a royal mandate issued in 1495, permitting voyages of discovery by private adventurers, and that the Sovereigns had in consequence revoked their mandate wherever it might be deemed prejudicial to the stipulated privileges of the Admiral. It is probable, therefore, that the bishop avoided raising any question that might impede the enterprise; being confident of the ultimate approbation of Ferdinand, who would be well pleased to have his dominions in the New World extended by the discoveries of private adventurers, undertaken at their own expense. It was stipulated in this, as well as in subsequent licenses for private expeditions, that a certain proportion of the profits, generally a fourth or fifth, should be reserved for the crown.

Having thus obtained permission to make the voyage, the next consideration with Ojeda was to find the means. He was a young adventurer, a mere soldier of fortune, and destitute of wealth; but he had a high reputation for courage and enterprise, and with these, it was thought, would soon make his way to the richest parts of the newly discovered lands, and have the wealth of the Indies at his disposal. He had no difficulty, therefore, in finding monied associates among the rich merchants of Seville, who, in that age of discovery, were ever ready to stake their property upon the schemes of roving navigators. With such assistance he soon equipped a squadron of four vessels at Port St Mary, opposite Cadiz. Among the seamen who engaged with him were several who had just returned from accompanying Columbus in his voyage to this very coast of Paria. The principal associate of Ojeda, and one on whom he placed great reliance, was Juan de la Cosa; who accompanied him as first mate, or, as it was termed, chief pilot. This was a bold Biscayan, who may be regarded as a disciple of Columbus, with whom he had sailed in his second voyage, when he coasted Cuba and Jamaica, and he had since accompanied Rodrigo de Bastides, in an expedition along the coast of Terra Firma. The hardy veteran was looked up to by his contemporaries as an oracle of the seas, and was pronounced one of the most able mariners of the day; he may

\* Pizarro. Varones Ilustres.

\* Navarrete, l. ii. Document exiii.



be excused, therefore, if, in his harmless vanity, he considered himself on a par even with Columbus.

Another conspicuous associate of Ojeda, in this voyage, was Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine merchant, induced by broken fortunes and a rambling disposition, to seek adventures in the New World. Whether he had any pecuniary interest in the expedition, and in what capacity he sailed, does not appear. His importance has entirely arisen from subsequent circumstances; from his having written and published a narrative of his voyages, and from his name having eventually been given to the New World.

## CHAPTER II.

DEPARTURE FROM SPAIN. ARRIVAL ON THE COAST OF PARIA. CUSTOMS OF THE NATIVES.

OJEDA sailed from Port St Mary on the 20th of May, 1499, and, having touched for supplies at the Canaries, took a departure from Gomara, pursuing the route of Columbus in his third voyage, being guided by the chart he had sent home, as well as by the mariners who had accompanied him on that occasion. At the end of twenty-four days he reached the continent of the New World, about two hundred leagues farther south than the part discovered by Columbus, being, as it is supposed, the coast of Surinam.<sup>2</sup>

From hence he ran along the coast of the Gulf of Paria, passing the mouths of many rivers, but especially those of the Esquivo and the Oronoko. These, to the astonishment of the Spaniards, unaccustomed as yet to the mighty rivers of the New World, poured forth such a prodigious volume of water, as to freshen the sea for a great extent. They beheld none of the natives until they arrived at the Island of Trinidad, on which island they met with traces of the recent visit of Columbus.

Vespucci, in his letters, gives a long description of the people of this island and of the coast of Paria, who were of Carib race, tall, well made, and vigorous, and expert with the bow, the lance and the buckler. His description, in general, resembles those which have frequently been given of the Aborigines of the New World; there are two or three particulars, however, worthy of citation.

They appeared, he said, to believe in no religious creed, to have no place of worship, and to make no prayers or sacrifices; but, he adds, from the voluptuousness of their lives, they might be considered Epicureans.<sup>3</sup> Their habitations were built in the shape of bells; of the trunks of trees, thatched with palm leaves, and were proof against wind and weather. They appeared to be in common, and some of them were of such magnitude as to contain six

<sup>1</sup> Navarrete, Collec. Vlag., t. iii, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Navarrete, t. iii, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Vlagde de Vespucci. Navarrete, t. iii, p. 211.

hundred persons: in one place there were eight principal houses capable of sheltering nearly ten thousand inhabitants. Every seven or eight years the natives were obliged to change their residence, from the maladies engendered by the heat of the climate in their crowded habitations.

Their riches consisted in beads and ornaments made from the bones of fishes; in small white and green stones strung like rosaries, with which they adorned their persons, and in the beautiful plumes of various colours for which the tropical birds are noted.

The Spaniards smiled at their simplicity in attaching an extraordinary value to such worthless trifles, while the savages, in all probability, were equally surprised at beholding the strangers so eager after gold, and pearls, and precious stones, which to themselves were objects of indifference.

Their manner of treating the dead was similar to that observed among the natives of some of the islands. Having deposited the corpse in a cavern or sepulchre, they placed a jar of water and a few earthen vessels at its head, and then abandoned it without moan or lamentation. In some parts of the coast, when a person was considered near his end, his nearest relatives bore him to the woods, and laid him in a hammock suspended to the trees. They then danced round him until evening, when, having left within his reach sufficient meat and drink to sustain him for four days, they repaired to their habitations. If he recovered and returned home, he was received with much ceremony and rejoicing; if he died of his malady or of famine, nothing more was thought of him.

Their mode of treating a fever is also worthy of mention. In the height of the malady they plunged the patient in a bath of the coldest water, after which they obliged him to make many evolutions round a great fire, until he was in a violent heat, when they put him to bed, that he might sleep: a treatment adds Amerigo Vespucci, by which we saw many cured.

## CHAPTER III.

COASTING OF TERRA FIRMA. MILITARY EXPEDITION OF OJEDA.

AFTER touching at various parts of Trinidad and the Gulf of Paria, Ojeda passed through the strait of the Boca del Drago, or Dragon's Mouth, which Columbus had found so formidable, and then steered his course along the coast of Terra Firma, landing occasionally until he arrived at Curiana, or the Gulf of Pearls. From hence he stood to the opposite island of Margarita, previously discovered by Columbus, and since renowned for its pearl fishery. This, as well as several adjacent islands, he visited and explored, after which he returned to the main land, and touched at Cumana and Maracapana, where he found the shores infested with alligators resembling the crocodiles of the Nile.

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Finding a convenient harbour at Maracapaná, he unloaded and careened his vessels there, and built a small brigantine. The natives came to him in great numbers, bringing abundance of venison, fish, and cassava bread, and aiding the seamen in their labours. Their hospitality was not certainly disinterested, for they sought to gain the protection of the Spaniards, whom they revered as superhuman beings. When they thought they had sufficiently secured their favour, they represented to Ojeda that their coast was subject to invasion from a distant island, the inhabitants of which were cannibals, and carried their people into captivity, to be devoured at their unnatural banquets. They besought Ojeda, therefore, to avenge them upon these ferocious enemies.

The request was gratifying to the fighting propensities of Alonso de Ojeda, and to his love of adventure, and was readily granted. Taking seven of the natives on board of his vessels, therefore, as guides, he set sail in quest of the cannibals. After sailing for seven days he came to a chain of islands, some of which were peopled, others uninhabited, and which are supposed to have been the Caribbee islands. One of these was pointed out by his guides as the habitation of their foes. On running near the shore he beheld it thronged with savage warriors, decorated with coronets of gaudy plumes, their bodies painted with a variety of colours. They were armed with bows and arrows, with darts, lances, and bucklers, and seemed prepared to defend their island from invasion.

This show of war was calculated to rouse the martial spirit of Ojeda. He brought his ships to anchor, ordered out his boats, and provided each with a paterero or small cannon. Besides the oarsmen, each boat contained a number of soldiers, who were told to crouch out of sight in the bottom. The boats then pulled in steadily for the shore. As they approached the Indians let fly a cloud of arrows, but without much effect. Seeing the boats continue to advance, the savages threw themselves into the sea, and brandished their lances to prevent their landing. Upon this, the soldiers sprang up in the boats and discharged the patereroes. At the sound and smoke of these unknown weapons, the savages abandoned the water in affright, while Ojeda and his men leaped on shore and pursued them. The Carib warriors rallied on the banks, and fought for a long time with that courage peculiar to their race, but were at length driven to the woods, at the edge of the sword, leaving many killed and wounded on the field of battle.

On the following day the savages were seen on the shore in still greater numbers, armed and painted and decorated with war plumes, and sounding defiance with their conchs and drums. Ojeda again landed with fifty-seven men, whom he separated into four companies and ordered them to charge the enemy from different directions. The Caribs fought for a time hand to hand, displaying great dexterity in covering themselves with their bucklers, but were

at length entirely routed, and driven, with great slaughter, to the forests. The Spaniards had but one man killed and twenty-one wounded in these combats,—such superior advantage did their armour give them over the naked savages. Having plundered and set fire to the houses, they returned triumphantly to their ships, with a number of Carib captives, and made sail for the main land; Ojeda bestowed a part of the spoil upon the seven Indians who had accompanied him as guides, and sent them exulting to their homes, to relate to their countrymen the signal vengeance that had been wreaked upon their foes. He then anchored in a bay where he remained for twenty days until his men had recovered from their wounds.

## CHAPTER IV.

DISCOVERY OF THE GULF OF VENEZUELA. TRANSACTIONS THERE.  
OJEDA EXPLORES THE GULF. PENETRATES TO MARACAIBO.

His crew being refreshed and the wounded sufficiently recovered, Ojeda made sail, and touched at the island of Curazao, which, according to the accounts of Vespucci, was inhabited by a race of giants, "every woman appearing a Penthesilea, and every man an Antæus." As Vespucci was a scholar, and as he supposed himself exploring the regions of the extreme East, the ancient realm of fable, it is probable his imagination deceived him, and construed the formidable accounts given by the Indians of their cannibal neighbours of the islands, into something according with his recollections of classic fable. Certain it is that the reports of subsequent voyagers proved the inhabitants of the island to be of the ordinary size.

Proceeding along the coast he arrived at a vast deep gulf, resembling a tranquil lake; entering which, he beheld on the eastern side a village, the construction of which struck him with surprise. It consisted of twenty large houses, shaped like bells, and built on piles driven into the bottom of the lake, which in this part was limpid and of but little depth. Each house was provided with a drawbridge, and with canoes by which the communication was carried on. From these resemblances to the Italian city, Ojeda gave to the bay the name of the Gulf of Venice: and it is called at the present day Venezuela, or little Venice: the Indian name was Coquibacoa.

When the inhabitants beheld the ships standing into the bay, looking like wonderful and unknown apparitions from the deep, they fled with terror to their houses, and raised the drawbridges. The Spaniards remained for a time gazing with admiration at

\* There is some discrepancy in the early accounts of this battle, as to the time and place of its occurrence. The author has collated the narratives of Vespucci, Las Casas, Herrera, and Peter Martyr, and the evidence given in the law suit of Diego Columbus, and has endeavoured as much as possible to reconcile them.

† Vespucci.—Letter to Lorenzo de Pier Francisco de Medici.

this amphibious village, when a squadron of canoes entered the harbour from the sea. On beholding the ships they paused in mute amazement, and on the Spaniards attempting to approach them, paddled swiftly to shore, and plunged into the forest. They soon returned with sixteen young girls, whom they conveyed in their canoes to the ships, distributing four on board of each, either as peace offerings or as tokens of amity and confidence. The best of understanding now seemed to be established; and the inhabitants of the village came swarming about the ships in their canoes, and others swimming in great numbers from the shores.

The friendship of the savages, however, was all delusive. On a sudden several old women at the doors of the houses uttered loud shrieks, tearing their hair in fury. It appeared to be a signal for hostility. The sixteen nymphs plunged into the sea and made for shore; the Indians in the canoes caught up their bows and discharged a flight of arrows, and even those who were swimming brandished darts and lances, which they had hitherto concealed beneath the water.

Ojeda was for a moment surprised at seeing war thus starting up on every side, and the very sea bristling with weapons. Manning his boats, he immediately charged amongst the thickest of the enemy, shattered and sunk several of their canoes, killed twenty Indians and wounded many more, and spread such a panic among them, that most of the survivors flung themselves into the sea and swam to shore. Three of them were taken prisoners, and two of the fugitive girls, and were conveyed on board of the ships, where the men were put in irons. One of them, however, and the two girls succeeded in dexterously escaping the same night.

Ojeda had but five men wounded in the affray; all of whom recovered. He visited the houses, but found them abandoned and destitute of booty; notwithstanding the unprovoked hostility of the inhabitants, he spared the buildings, that he might not cause useless irritation along the coast.

Continuing to explore this gulf, Ojeda penetrated to a port or harbour, to which he gave the name of St Bartholomew, but which is supposed to be the same at present known by the original Indian name of Maracaibo. Here, in compliance with the entreaties of the natives, he sent a detachment of twenty-seven Spaniards on a visit to the interior. For nine days they were conducted from town to town, and feasted and almost idolized by the Indians, who regarded them as angelic beings, performing their national dances and games, and chaunting their traditional ballads for their entertainment.

The natives of this part were distinguished for the symmetry of their forms; the females in particular appeared to the Spaniards to surpass all others that they had yet beheld in the New World for grace and beauty. Neither did the men display in the least degree that jealousy which prevailed in the other

parts of the coast; but, on the contrary, permitted the most frank and intimate intercourse with their wives and daughters.

By the time the Spaniards set out on their return to the ship, the whole country was aroused, pouring forth its population, male and female, to do them honour. Some bore them in litters or hammocks, that they might not be fatigued with the journey, and happy was the Indian who had the honour of bearing a Spaniard on his shoulders across a river. Others loaded themselves with the presents that had been bestowed on their guests, consisting of rich plumes, weapons of various kinds, and tropical birds and animals. In this way they returned in triumphant procession to the ships, the woods and shores resounding with their songs and shouts.

Many of the Indians crowded into the boats that took the detachment to the ships; others put off in canoes, or swam from shore, so that in a little while the vessels were thronged with upwards of a thousand wondering natives. While gazing and marvelling at the strange objects around them, Ojeda ordered the cannon to be discharged, at the sound of which, says Vespucci, the Indians "plunged into the water like so many frogs from a bank." Perceiving, however, that it was done in harmless mirth, they returned on board, and passed the rest of the day in great festivity. The Spaniards brought away with them several of the beautiful and hospitable females from this place, one of whom, named by them Isabel, was much prized by Ojeda, and accompanied him in a subsequent voyage.

## CHAPTER V.

### PROSECUTION OF THE VOYAGE. RETURN TO SPAIN.

LEAVING the friendly port of Coquibacoa, Ojeda continued along the western shores of the gulf of Venezuela, and standing out to sea, and doubling Cape Maracaibo, he pursued his coasting voyage from port to port, and promontory to promontory, of this

Navarrete, t. iii, p. 8. Idem, pp. 407, 408.

It is worthy of particular mention that Ojeda, in his report of his voyage to the Sovereigns, informed them of his having met with English voyagers in the vicinity of Coquibacoa, and that the Spanish government attached such importance to his information as to take measures to prevent any intrusion into those parts by the English. It is singular that no record should exist of this early and extensive expedition of English navigators. If it was undertaken in the service of the Crown, some document might be found concerning it among the archives of the reign of Henry VII. The English had already discovered the continent of North America. This had been done in 1497, by John Cabot, a Venetian, accompanied by his son Sebastian, who was born in Bristol. They sailed under a license of Henry VII, who was to have a fifth of the profits of the voyage. On the 24th June they discovered Newfoundland, and afterwards coasted the continent quite to Florida, bringing back to England a valuable cargo and several of the natives. This was the first discovery of the mainland of America. The success of this expedition may have prompted the one which Ojeda encountered in the neighbourhood of Coquibacoa.

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hopes at not meeting with abundant sources of im-  
mediate wealth, induced him to abandon all further  
voyaging along the coast, and changing his course,  
he stood across the Caribbean Sea for Hispaniola.  
The tenor of his commission forbade his visiting that  
island; but Ojeda was not a man to stand upon trifles  
when his interest or inclination prompted the con-  
trary. He trusted to excuse the infraction of his orders  
by the alleged necessity of touching at the island to  
caulk and refit his vessels, and to procure provisions.  
His true object, however, is supposed to have been to  
cut dye-wood, which abounds in the western part of  
Hispaniola.

He accordingly anchored at Yaquimo in Septem-  
ber, and landed with a large party of his men. Co-  
lumbus at that time held command of the island, and,  
hearing of this unlicensed intrusion, despatched Fran-  
cisco Roldan, the quondam rebel, to call Ojeda to  
account. The contest of stratagem and management  
that took place between these two adroit and daring  
adventurers, has been already detailed in the History  
of Columbus. Roldan was eventually successful, and  
Ojeda, being obliged to leave Hispaniola, resumed  
his rambling voyage, visiting various islands, from  
whence he carried off numbers of the natives. He  
at length arrived at Cadiz in June, 1500, with his  
ships crowded with captives, whom he sold as slaves.  
So meagre, however, was the result of this expedi-  
tion, that we are told, when all the expenses were  
deducted, but 500 ducats remained to be divided  
between fifty-five adventurers. What made this  
result the more mortifying was, that a petty arma-  
ment, which had sailed some time after that of Ojeda,  
had returned two months before him, rich with the  
spoils of the New World. A brief account of this  
later expedition is necessary to connect this series of  
minor discoveries.

## PEDRO ALONSO NIÑO

AND

CHRISTOVAL GUERRA.

[ 1499. ]

The permission granted by Bishop Fonseca to  
Alonso de Ojeda to undertake a private expedition to  
the New World, roused the emulation of others of  
the followers of Columbus. Among these was  
Pedro Alonso Niño, a hardy seaman, native of Moguer  
in the vicinity of Palos, who had sailed with Colum-  
bus, as a pilot, in his first voyage, and also in his  
cruisings along the coasts of Cuba and Paria. He

\* Pronounced Ninyo. The N in Spanish is always pronounced  
as if followed by the letter y.

† Testimony of Bastides in the law suit of Diego Columbus.

soon obtained from the bishop a similar license to that  
given to Ojeda, and like the latter, sought for some  
monied confederate among the rich merchants of  
Seville. One of these, named Luis Guerra, offered  
to fit out a caravel for the expedition; but on condi-  
tion that his brother, Christoval Guerra, should have  
the command. The poverty of Niño compelled him  
to assent to the stipulations of the man of wealth,  
and he sailed as subaltern in his own enterprise; but  
his nautical skill and knowledge soon gained him the  
ascendancy; he became virtually the captain, and  
ultimately enjoyed the whole credit of the voyage.

The bark of these two adventurers was but of fifty  
tons burthen; and the crew thirty-three souls, all  
told. With this slender armament they undertook  
to traverse unknown and dangerous seas, and to ex-  
plore the barbarous shores of that vast continent  
recently discovered by Columbus;—such was the  
daring spirit of the Spanish voyagers of those days.

It was about the beginning of June, 1499, and but  
a few days after the departure of Ojeda, that they put  
to sea. They sailed from the little port of Palos, the  
original cradle of American discovery, whose brave  
and skilful mariners long continued foremost in all  
enterprizes to the New World. Being guided by  
the chart of Columbus, they followed his route, and  
reached the southern continent, a little beyond Paria,  
about fifteen days after the same coast had been  
visited by Ojeda.

They then proceeded to the Gulf of Paria, where  
they landed to cut dye-wood, and were amicably en-  
tertained by the natives. Shortly after, sailing from  
the gulf by the Boca del Drago, they encountered  
eighteen canoes of Caribs, the pirate rovers of these  
seas, and the terror of the bordering lands. This  
savage armada, instead of being daunted, as usual, by  
the sight of a European ship, with swelling sails, re-  
sembling some winged monster of the deep, consid-  
ered it only as an object of plunder or hostility, and  
assailed it with showers of arrows. The sudden  
burst of artillery, however, from the sides of the  
caravel, and the havoc made among the Caribs by  
this seeming thunder, struck them with dismay, and  
they fled in all directions. The Spaniards succeeded  
in capturing one of the canoes, with one of the war-  
riors who had manned it. In the bottom of the canoe  
lay an Indian prisoner, bound hand and foot. On  
being liberated he informed the Spaniards, by signs,  
that these Caribs had been on a marauding expedi-  
tion along the neighbouring coasts, shutting them-  
selves up at night in a stockade which they carried  
with them, and issuing forth by day to plunder the  
villages and to make captives. He had been one of  
seven prisoners; his companions had been devoured  
before his eyes at the cannibal banquets of these sa-  
vages, and he had been awaiting the same miserable  
fate. Honest Niño and his confederates were so in-  
dignant at this recital, that, receiving it as established  
fact, they performed what they considered an act of  
equitable justice, by abandoning the Carib to the

V.

RETURN TO SPAIN.

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discretion of his late captive. The latter fell upon the defenceless warrior with fist and foot and cudgel; nor did his rage subside even after the breath had been mauled out of his victim, but, tearing the grim head from the body, he placed it on a pole, as a trophy of his vengeance.

Niño and his fellow-adventurers now steered for the island of Margarita, where they obtained a considerable quantity of pearls by barter. They afterwards skirted the opposite coast of Cumana, trading cautiously and shrewdly, from port to port; sometimes remaining on board of their little bark, and obliging the savages to come off to them, when the latter appeared too numerous; at other times venturing on shore, and even into the interior. They were invariably treated with amity by the natives, who were perfectly naked, excepting that they were adorned with necklaces and bracelets of pearls. These they sometimes gave freely to the Spaniards, at other times they exchanged them for glass beads and other trinkets, and smiled at the folly of the strangers in making such silly bargains.

The Spaniards were struck with the grandeur and density of the forests along this coast; for in these regions of heat and moisture vegetation appears in its utmost magnificence. They heard also the cries and roarings of wild and unknown animals in the woodlands, which, however, appeared not to be very dangerous, as the Indians went about the forest armed solely with bows and arrows. From meeting with deer and rabbits, they were convinced that that was a part of Terra Firma, not having found any animals of the kind on the islands.

Niño and Guerra were so well pleased with the hospitality of the natives of Cumana, and with the profitable traffic for pearls, by which they obtained many of great size and beauty, that they remained upwards of three months on the coast.

They then proceeded westward to a country called Cauchieto, trading, as usual, for pearls, and for the inferior kind of gold called guanin. At length they arrived at a place where there was a kind of a fortress protecting a number of houses and gardens situated on a river, the whole forming, to the eyes of the Spaniards, one of the most delicious abodes imaginable. They were about to land and enjoy the pleasures of this fancied Paradise, when they beheld upwards of a thousand Indians, armed with bows and arrows and war clubs, preparing to give them a warm reception; having been probably incensed by the recent visit of Ojeda. As Niño and Guerra had not the fighting propensities of Ojeda, and were in quest of profit rather than renown, having moreover, in all probability, the fear of the rich merchant of Seville before their eyes, they prudently abstained from landing, and, abandoning this hostile coast, returned forthwith to Cumana, to resume their trade for pearls. They soon amassed a great number,

• Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. i, c. 171.

• Navarrete, t. iii, p. 14.

many of which were equal in size and beauty to the most celebrated of the east, though they had been injured in boring from a want of proper implements.

Satisfied with their success, they now set sail for Spain, and piloted their little bark safely to Bayonne in Galicia, where they anchored about the middle of April, 1500, nearly two months before the arrival of Ojeda and his associates, La Cosa and Vespucci.

The most successful voyagers to the New World were doomed to trouble from their very success. The ample amount of pearls paid to the treasury, as the royal portion of the profits of this expedition, drew suspicion instead of favour upon the two adventurers. They were accused of having concealed a great part of the pearls collected by them, thus defrauding their companions and the crown. Pedro Alonso Niño was actually thrown into prison on this accusation, but, nothing being proved against him, he was eventually set free, and enjoyed the enviable reputation of having performed the richest voyage that had yet been made to the New World.

### VICENTE YAÑEZ PINZON.

[ 1499. ]

AMONG the maritime adventurers of renown who were roused to action by the licenses granted for private expeditions of discovery, we find conspicuous the name of Vicente Yañez Pinzon of Palos, one of the three brave brothers who aided Columbus in his first voyage, and risked life and fortune with him in his doubtful and perilous enterprise.

Of Martin Alonso Pinzon, the eldest and most important of these three brothers, particular mention has been made in the History of Columbus, and of the unfortunate error in conduct which severed him from the Admiral, brought on him the displeasure of the sovereigns, and probably contributed to his premature and melancholy death.

Whatever cloud of disgrace may have overshadowed his family, it was but temporary. The death of Martin Alonso, as usual, atoned for his faults, and his good deeds lived after him. The merits and services of himself and his brothers were acknowledged, and the survivors of the family were restored to royal confidence. A feeling of jealous hostility prevented them from taking a part in the subsequent voyages of Columbus; but the moment the door was thrown open for individual enterprise, they pressed forward for permission to engage in it at their own risk and expense—and it was readily granted. In fact, their supposed hostility to Columbus was one of the surest recommendations they could have to the favour of the Bishop Fonseca, by whom the license was issued for their expedition.

• Peter Martyr. Other historians give a different date for their arrival. Herrera says Feb. 8.

• Navarrete, Collect., t. iii, p. 11. Herrera, d. i, l. iv, c. 3.

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Vicente Yañez Pinzon was the leader of this new enterprise, and he was accompanied by two nephews, named Arias Perez and Diego Fernandez, sons of his late brother, Martin Alonso Pinzon. Several of his sailors had sailed with Columbus in his recent voyage to Paria, as had also his three principal pilots, Juan Quintero, Juan de Umbria, and Juan de Jerez. Thus these minor voyages seemed all to emanate from the great expeditions of Columbus, and to aim at realizing the ideas and speculations contained in the papers transmitted by him to Spain.

The armament consisted of four caravels, and was fitted out at the port of Palos. The funds of Vicente Yañez were completely exhausted before he had fitted out his little squadron; he was obliged, therefore, to purchase on credit the sea stores and articles of traffic necessary for the enterprise. The merchants of Palos seem to have known how to profit by the careless nature of sailors and the sanguine spirit of discoverers. In their bargains they charged honest Pinzon eighty and a hundred per cent. above the market value of their merchandize, and in the hurry and urgency of the moment he was obliged to submit to the imposition.<sup>1</sup>

The squadron put to sea in the beginning of December, 1499, and after passing the Canary and Cape Verde Islands, stood to the southwest. Having sailed about seven hundred leagues, they crossed the equator and lost sight of the north star. They had scarcely passed the equinoctial line when they encountered a terrible tempest, which had well nigh swallowed up their slender barks. The storm passed away, and the firmament was again serene; but the mariners remained tossing about in confusion, dismayed by the turbulence of the waves and the strange aspect of the heavens. They looked in vain to the south for some polar star by which to shape their course, and fancied that some swelling prominence of the globe concealed it from their view. They knew nothing as yet of the firmament of that hemisphere, nor of that beautiful constellation the southern cross, but expected to find a guiding star at the opposite pole, similar to the cynosure of the north.

Pinzon, however, who was of an intrepid spirit, pursued his course resolutely to the west, and after sailing about two hundred and forty leagues, and being in the eighth degree of southern latitude, he beheld land afar off on the 28th of January, to which he gave the name of *Santa Maria de la Consolacion*, from the sight of it having consoled him in the midst of doubts and perplexities. It is now called Cape St Augustine, and forms the most prominent part of the immense empire of Brazil.

The sea was turbid and discoloured as in rivers, and on sounding they had sixteen fathoms water. Pinzon landed, accompanied by a notary and witnesses, and took formal possession of the territory for the Castilian crown; no one appeared to dispute

<sup>1</sup> Navarrete, vol. iii. See Doc. No. 7, where Vicente Yañez Pinzon petitions for redress.

his pretensions, but he observed on the beach the print of footsteps, which seemed of gigantic size.

At night there were fires lighted upon a neighbouring part of the coast, which induced Pinzon on the following morning to send forty men well armed to the spot. A band of Indians, of about equal number, sallied forth to encounter them, armed with bows and arrows, and seemingly of extraordinary stature. A still greater number were seen in the distance, hastening to the support of their companions. The Indians arrayed themselves for combat, and the two parties remained for a short time eyeing each other with mutual curiosity and distrust. The Spaniards now displayed looking glasses, beads, and other trinkets, and jingled strings of hawk's-bells, in general so captivating to an Indian ear; but the haughty savages treated all their overtures with contempt, regarding these offerings carelessly for a short time, and then stalking off with stoic gravity. They were ferocious of feature, and apparently warlike in disposition, and are supposed to have been a wandering race of unusual size, who roamed about in the night, and were of the most fierce untractable nature. By nightfall there was not an Indian to be seen in the neighbourhood.

Discouraged by the inhospitable character of the coast, Pinzon made sail and stood to the northwest, until he came to the mouth of a river too shallow to receive his ships. Here he sent his boats on shore with a number of men well armed. They landed on the river banks, and beheld a multitude of naked Indians on a neighbouring hill. A single Spaniard, armed simply with sword and buckler, was sent to invite them to friendly intercourse. He approached them with signs of amity, and threw to them a hawk's-bell. They replied to him with similar signs, and threw to him a small gilded wand. The soldier stooped to pick it up, when suddenly a troop of savages rushed down to seize him; he threw himself immediately upon the defensive, with sword and target, and though but a small man, and far from robust, he handled his weapons with such dexterity and fierceness, that he kept the savages at bay, making a clear circle round him, and wounding several who attempted to break it. His unlooked-for prowess surprised and confounded his assailants, and gave time for his comrades to come to his assistance. The Indians then made a general assault, with such a galling discharge of darts and arrows that almost immediately eight or ten Spaniards were slain, and many more wounded. The latter were compelled to retreat to their boats, disputing every inch of ground. The Indians pursued them even into the water, surrounding the boats and seizing hold of the oars. The Spaniards made a desperate defence, thrusting many through with their lances, and cutting down and ripping up others with their swords; but such was the ferocity of the survivors, that they persisted in their attack until they overpowered the crew of one of the boats, and bore it off in triumph.

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With this they retired from the combat, and the Spaniards returned defeated and disheartened to their ships, having met with the roughest reception that the Europeans had yet experienced in the New World.

Pinzon now stood forty leagues to the northwest, until he arrived in the neighbourhood of the equinoctial line. Here he found the water of the sea so fresh that he was enabled to replenish his casks with it. Astonished at so singular a phenomenon he stood in for the land, and arrived among a number of fresh and verdant islands, inhabited by a gentle and hospitable race of people, gaily painted, who came off to the ships with the most frank and fearless confidence. Pinzon soon found that these islands lay in the mouth of an immense river, more than thirty leagues in breadth, the water of which entered upwards of forty leagues into the sea before losing its sweetness. It was, in fact, the renowned Marañon since known as the Orellana and the Amazon. While lying in the mouth of this river there was a sudden swelling of the stream, which, being opposed by the current of the sea, and straitened by the narrow channels of the islands, rose more than five fathoms, with mountain waves, and a tremendous noise, threatening the destruction of the ships. Pinzon extricated his little squadron with great difficulty from this perilous situation, and finding there was but little gold, or any thing else of value to be found among the simple natives, he requited their hospitality, in the mode too common among the early discoverers, by carrying off thirty-six of them captive.

Having regained the sight of the Polar Star, Pinzon pursued his course along the coast, passing the mouths of the Oronoko, and entering the Gulf of Paria, where he landed and cut Brazil wood. Sallying forth by the Boca del Drago, he reached the island of Hispaniola about the 25th of June, from whence he sailed for the Bahamas. Here, in the month of July, while at anchor, there came such a tremendous hurricane that two of the caravels were swallowed up with all their crews in the sight of their terrified companions; a third parted her cables and was driven out to sea, while the fourth was so furiously beaten by the tempest that the crew threw themselves into the boats and made for shore. Here they found a few naked Indians, who offered them no molestation; but fearing that they might spread the tidings of a handful of shipwrecked Spaniards being upon the coast, and thus bring the savages of the neighbouring islands upon them, a council of war was held whether it would not be a wise precaution to put these Indians to death. Fortunately for the latter, the vessel which had been driven from her anchors returned and put an end to the alarm, and to the council of war. The other caravel also rode out the storm uninjured, and the sea subsiding, the Spaniards returned on board, and made the best of their way to the Island of Hispaniola. Having repaired the damages sustained in the gale, they again made sail for Spain, and came to anchor

in the river before Palos, about the end of September.

Thus ended one of the most chequered and disastrous voyages that had yet been made to the New World. Yañez Pinzon had lost two of his ships, and many of his men; what made the loss of the latter more grievous was, that they had been enlisted from among his neighbours, his friends, and relatives. In fact, the expeditions to the New World must have realized the terrors and apprehensions of the people of Palos by filling that little community with widows and orphans. When the rich merchants, who had sold goods to Pinzon at a hundred per cent. advance, beheld him return in this sorry condition, with two shattered barks and a handful of poor, tattered, weather-beaten seamen, they began to tremble for their money. No sooner, therefore, had he and his nephews departed to Granada, to give an account of their discoveries to the sovereigns, than the merchants seized upon their caravels and cargoes, and began to sell them, to repay themselves. Honest Pinzon immediately addressed a petition to the government, stating the imposition that had been practised upon him, and the danger he was in of imprisonment and utter ruin, should his creditors be allowed to sacrifice his goods at a public sale. He petitioned that they might be compelled to return the property thus seized, and that he might be enabled to sell three hundred and fifty quintals of Brasil wood, which he had brought back with him, and which would be sufficient to satisfy the demands of his creditors. The sovereigns granted his prayer. They issued an order to the civil authorities of Palos to interfere in the matter, with all possible promptness and brevity, allowing no vexatious delay, and administering justice so impartially that neither of the parties should have cause to complain.

Pinzon escaped from the fangs of his creditors, but, of course, must have suffered in purse from the expenses of the law; which, in Spain, is apt to bury even a successful client, under an overwhelming mountain of documents and writings. We infer this in respect to Pinzon from a royal order issued in the following year, allowing him to export a quantity of grain, in consideration of the heavy losses he had sustained in his voyage of discovery. He did but share the usual lot of the Spanish discoverers, whose golden anticipations too frequently ended in penury; but he is distinguished from among the crowd of them by being the first European who crossed the equinoctial line, on the western ocean, and by discovering the great kingdom of Brazil.

On the 31st of September, 1501, a Royal permission was given to Vicente Yañez Pinzon to colonise and govern the lands he had discovered, beginning a little north of the river Amazon, and extending to Cape St Augustine. The object of the government in this permission was to establish an outpost and a resolute commander on this southern frontier, that should check any intrusions the Portuguese might make in consequence of the accidental discovery of a part of the coast of Brazil by Pedro Alvarez Cabral, in 1500. The subsequent arrangement of a partition line between the two countries prevented the necessity of this precaution, and

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## DIEGO DE LEPE

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## RODRIGO DE BASTIDES.

[ 1500. ]

NOTWITHSTANDING the hardships and disasters that had beset the voyagers to the New World, and the penury in which their golden anticipations had too frequently terminated, adventurers continued to press forward, excited by fresh reports of newly discovered regions, each of which, in its turn, was represented as the real land of promise. Scarcely had Vicente Yañez Pinzon departed on the voyage recently narrated, when his townsman Diego de Lepe likewise set sail with two vessels from the busy little port of Palos, on a like expedition. No particulars of importance are known of this voyage, excepting that Lepe doubled Cape St Augustine, and beheld the southern continent stretching far to the southwest. On returning to Spain he drew a chart of the coast for the Bishop Fonseca, and enjoyed the reputation, for upwards of ten years afterwards, of having extended his discoveries further south than any other voyager.

Another contemporary adventurer to the New World was Rodrigo de Bastides, a wealthy notary of Triana, the suburb of Seville inhabited by the maritime part of its population. Being sanctioned by the sovereigns, to whom he engaged to yield a fourth of his profits, he fitted out two caravels in October, 1500, to go in quest of gold and pearls.

Prudently distrusting his own judgment in nautical matters, this adventurous notary associated with him the veteran pilot Juan de la Cosa, the same hardy Biscayan who had sailed with Columbus and Ojeda. A general outline of their voyage has already been given in the life of Columbus; it extended the discoveries of the coast of Terra Firma from Cape de la Vela, where Ojeda had left off, quite to the port of Nombre de Dios.

Bastides distinguished himself from the mass of

it does not appear that Vicente Yañez Pinzon made any second voyage to those parts.

In 1506 he undertook an expedition in company with Juan Diaz de Solis, a native of Lebrija, the object of which was to endeavour to find the strait or passage supposed by Columbus to lead from the Atlantic to a Southern Ocean. It was necessarily without success, as was also another voyage made by them, for the same purpose, in 1508. As no such passage exists, no blame could attach to those able navigators for being foiled in the object of their search.

In consequence of the distinguished merits and services of the Pinzon family they were raised, by the Emperor Charles V., to the dignity of a Hidalgo, or nobility, without any express title, and a coat of arms was granted them, on which were emblazoned three caravels, with a hand at the stern pointing to an island covered with savages. This coat of arms is still maintained by the family, who have added to it the motto granted to Columbus, merely substituting the name of Pinzon for that of the Admiral,

A Castle y á Leon  
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discoverers by his kind treatment of the natives, and Juan de la Cosa by his sound discretion and his able seamanship. Their voyage had been extremely successful, and they had collected, by barter, a great amount of gold and pearls, when their prosperous career was checked by an unlooked-for evil. Their vessels to their surprise became leaky in every part, and they discovered to their dismay, that the bottoms were pierced in innumerable places by the broom, or worm, which abounds in the waters of the torrid zone, but of which they, as yet, had scarcely any knowledge. It was with great difficulty they could keep afloat until they reached a small islet on the coast of Hispaniola. Here they repaired their ships as well as they were able, and again put to sea to return to Cadiz. A succession of gales drove them back to port; the ravages of the worms continued, the leaks broke out afresh; they landed the most portable and precious part of their wealthy cargoes, and the vessels foundered with the remainder. Bastides lost, moreover, the arms and ammunition saved from the wreck, being obliged to destroy them lest they should fall into the hands of the Indians.

Distributing his men into three bands, two of them headed by La Cosa and himself, they set off for San Domingo by three several routes, as the country was not able to furnish provisions for so large a body. Each band was provided with a coffer stored with trinkets and other articles of Indian traffic, with which to buy provisions on the road.

Francisco de Bobadilla, the wrong-headed oppressor and superseder of Columbus, was at that time governor of San Domingo. The report reached him that a crew of adventurers had landed on the island, and were marching through the country in three bands, each provided with a coffer of gold, and carrying on illicit trade with the natives. The moment Bastides made his appearance, therefore, he was seized and thrown into prison, and an investigation commenced. In his defence he maintained that his only traffic with the natives was for the purpose of procuring provisions for his followers, or guides for his journey. It was determined, however, to send him to Spain for trial, with the written testimony and the other documents of his examination.

He was accordingly conveyed in the same fleet in which Bobadilla embarked for Spain, and which experienced such an awful shipwreck in the sight of Columbus. The ship of Rodrigo de Bastides was one of the few that outlived the tempest; it arrived safe at Cadiz in September, 1502. Bastides was ultimately acquitted of the charges advanced against him. So lucrative had been his voyage, that notwithstanding the losses sustained by the foundering of his vessels, he was enabled to pay a large sum to the crown as a fourth of his profits, and to retain a great amount for himself. In reward of his services and discoveries the sovereigns granted him an annual revenue for life, to arise from the proceeds of the province of Uraba, which he had discovered. An equal



pension was likewise assigned to the hardy Juan de la Cosa, to result from the same territory, of which he was appointed Alguazil Mayor.<sup>1</sup> Such was the economical generosity of King Ferdinand, who rewarded the past toils of his adventurous discoverers out of the expected produce of their future labours.

SECOND VOYAGE

OF

ALONSO DE OJEDA.

[ 1502. ]

THE first voyage of Alonso de Ojeda to the coast of Paria, and its meagre termination in June, 1500, has been related. He gained nothing in wealth by that expedition, but he added to his celebrity as a bold and skilful adventurer. His youthful fire, his sanguine and swelling spirit, and the wonderful stories that were told of his activity and prowess, made him extremely popular, so that his patron the Bishop Fonseca found it an easy matter to secure for him the royal favour. In consideration of his past services and of others expected from him, a grant was made to him of six leagues of land on the southern part of Hispaniola, and the government of the province of Coquibacoa which he had discovered. He was, furthermore, authorised to fit out any number of ships, not exceeding ten, at his own expense, and to prosecute the discovery of the coast of Terra Firma. He was not to touch or traffic on the pearl coast of Paria; extending as far as a bay in the vicinity of the island of Margarita. Beyond this he had a right to trade in all kinds of merchandise, whether of pearls, jewels, metals, or precious stones; paying one fifth of the profits to the crown, and abstaining from making slaves of the Indians without a special license from the sovereigns. He was to colonise Coquibacoa, and, as a recompense, was to enjoy one half of the proceeds of his territory, provided the half did not exceed 300,000 maravedies; all beyond that amount was to go to the crown.

A principal reason, however, for granting this government and those privileges to Ojeda, was that, in his previous voyage, he had met with English adventurers on a voyage of discovery in the neighbourhood of Coquibacoa, at which the jealousy of the sovereigns had taken the alarm. They were anxious, therefore, to establish a resolute and fighting commander like Ojeda upon this outpost, and they instructed him to set up the arms of Castile and Leon in every place he visited, as a signal of discovery and possession, to put a stop to the intrusions of the English.<sup>2</sup>

With this commission in his pocket and the govern-

<sup>1</sup> Navarrete, Collec., t. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Navarrete, t. iii, document x.

ment of an Indian territory in the perspective, Ojeda soon found associates to aid him in fitting out an armament. These were Juan de Vergara, a servant of a rich canon of the cathedral of Seville, and Garcia de Campos, commonly called Ocampo. They made a contract of partnership to last for two years, according to which the expenses and profits of the expedition, and of the government of Coquibacoa were to be shared equally between them. The purses of the confederates were not ample enough to afford ten ships, but they fitted out four. 1st, the Santa Maria de la Antigua, commanded by Garcia del Campo; 2d, the Santa Maria de la Granada, commanded by Juan de Vergara; 3d, the caravel Magdalena, commanded by Pedro de Ojeda, nephew to Alonso; and 4th, the caravel Santa Ana, commanded by Fernando de Guevara. The whole was under the command of Alonso de Ojeda. The expedition set sail in 1502, touched at the Canaries, according to custom, to take in provisions, and then proceeded westward for the shores of the New World.

After traversing the gulf of Paria, and before reaching the island of Margarita, the caravel Santa Ana, commanded by Fernando de Guevara, was separated from them, and for several days the ships were mutually seeking each other in these silent and trackless seas. After they were all reunited they found their provisions growing scanty; they landed therefore at a part of the coast called Cumana by the natives, but to which, from its beauty and fertility, Ojeda gave the name of Valfermoso. While foraging here for their immediate supplies, the idea occurred to Ojeda that he should want furniture and utensils of all kinds for his proposed colony, and that it would be better to pillage them from a country where he was a mere transient visitor, than to wrest them from his neighbours in the territory where he was to set up his government. His companions were struck with the policy, if not the justice, of this idea, and they all set to work to carry it into execution. Dispersing themselves, therefore, in ambush in various directions, they at a concerted signal rushed forth from their concealment, and set upon the natives. Ojeda had issued orders to do as little injury and damage as possible, and on no account to destroy the habitations of the Indians. His followers, however, in their great zeal, transcended his orders. Seven or eight Indians were killed and many wounded in the skirmish which took place, and a number of their cabins were wrapped in flames. A great quantity of hammocks of cotton, and of utensils of various kinds, fell into the hands of the conquerors; they also captured several female Indians, some of whom were ransomed with the kind of gold called gnauin; some were retained by Vergara for himself and his friend Ocampo, others were distributed among the crews, the rest, probably the old and ugly, were set at liberty. As to Ojeda, he reserved nothing for himself of the spoil excepting a single hammock.

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their effects and some of their women yielded the Spaniards a trifling quantity of gold, but they found the place destitute of provisions, and Ojeda was obliged to despatch Vergara in a caravel to the island of Jamaica to forage for supplies, with instructions to rejoin him at Maracaibo or Cape de la Vela.

Ojeda at length arrived at Coquibacoa, at the port destined for his seat of government. He found the country, however, so poor and sterile, that he proceeded along the coast to a bay which he named Santa Cruz, but which is supposed to be the same at present called Bahía Honda, where he found a Spaniard who had been left in the province of Citarma by Bastides in his late voyage, about thirteen months before, and had remained ever since among the Indians, so that he had acquired their language.

Ojeda determined to form his settlement at this place; but the natives seemed disposed to defend their territory; for, the moment a party landed to procure water, they were assailed by a galling shower of arrows, and driven back to the ships. Upon this Ojeda landed with all his force, and struck such terror into the Indians, that they came forward with signs of amity, and brought a considerable quantity of gold as a peace-offering, which was graciously accepted.

Ojeda, with the concurrence of his associates, now set to work to establish a settlement, cutting down trees, and commencing a fortress. They had scarce begun, when they were attacked by a neighbouring cacique, but Ojeda sallied forth upon him with such intrepidity and effect as not merely to defeat, but to drive him from the neighbourhood. He then proceeded quietly to finish his fortress, which was defended by lombards, and contained the magazine of provisions and the treasure amassed in the expedition. The provisions were dealt out twice a-day, under the inspection of proper officers; the treasure, gained by barter, by ransom, or by plunder, was deposited in a strong box, secured by two locks, one key being kept by the royal supervisor, the other by Ocampo.

In the mean time provisions became scarce. The Indians never appeared in the neighbourhood of the fortress, except to harass it with repeated though ineffectual assaults. Vergara did not appear with the expected supplies from Jamaica, and a caravel was despatched in search of him. The people, worn out with labour and privations of various kinds, and disgusted with the situation of the settlement, which was in a poor and unhealthy country, grew discontented and factious. They began to fear that they should lose the means of departing, as their vessels were in danger of being destroyed by the broom or worms. Ojeda led them forth repeatedly upon foraging parties about the adjacent country, and collected some provisions and booty in the Indian villages. The provision he deposited in the magazine, part of the spoils he divided among his followers, and the gold he locked up in the strong box, the keys of which he took possession of, to the great displeasure of the supervisor and his associate Ocampo. The murmurs

of the people grew loud as their sufferings increased. They insinuated that Ojeda had no authority over this part of the coast, having passed the boundaries of his government, and formed his settlement in the country discovered by Bastides. By the time Vergara arrived from Jamaica, the factions of this petty colony had risen to an alarming height. Ocampo had a personal enmity to the governor, arising probably from some feud about the strong box; being a particular friend of Vergara he held a private conference with him, and laid a plan to entrap the doughty Ojeda. In pursuance of this the latter was invited on board of the caravel of Vergara, to see the provisions he had brought from Jamaica; but no sooner was he on board of than they charged him with having transgressed the limits of his government, with having provoked the hostility of the Indians and needlessly sacrificed the lives of his followers, and above all with having taken possession of the strong box, in contempt of the authority of the royal supervisor, and with the intention of appropriating to himself all the gains of the enterprise; they informed him therefore of their intention to convey him a prisoner to Hispaniola, to answer to the governor for his offences. Ojeda, finding himself thus entrapped, proposed to Vergara and Ocampo that they should return to Spain with such of the crews as chose to accompany them, leaving him with the remainder to prosecute his enterprise. The two recreant partners at first consented, for they were disgusted with the enterprise which offered little profit and severe hardships. They agreed to leave Ojeda the smallest of the caravels with a third of the provisions and of their gains, and to build a row boat for him. They actually began to labour upon the boat. Before ten days had elapsed, however, they repented of the arrangement, the ship-carpenters were ill, there were no caulkers, and moreover they recollected that as Ojeda, according to their representations, was a defaulter to the crown, they would be liable as his sureties, should they return to Spain without him. They concluded, therefore, that the wisest plan was to give him nothing, but to carry him off prisoner.

When Ojeda learned the determination of his wary partners, he attempted to make his escape and get off to St Domingo, but he was seized, thrown in irons, and conveyed on board of the caravel. The two partners then set sail from Santa Cruz, bearing off the whole community, its captive governor, and the litigated strong box.

They put to sea about the beginning of September, and arrived at the western part of the island of Hispaniola. While at anchor within a stone's throw of the land, Ojeda, confident in his strength and skill as a swimmer, let himself quietly slide down the side of the ship into the water during the night, and attempted to swim for the shore. His arms were free, but his feet were shackled, and the weight of his irons threatened to sink him. He was obliged to shout for help; a boat was sent from the vessel to his relief.

and the unfortunate governor was brought back half drowned to his unrelenting partners.\*

The latter now landed and delivered their prisoner into the hands of Gallego, the commander of the place, to be put at the disposal of the governor of the island. In the mean time, the strong box, which appears to have been at the bottom of all these feuds, remained in the possession of Vergara and Ocampo, who, Ojeda says, took from it whatever they thought proper, without regard to the royal dues, or the consent of the royal supervisor. They were all together, prisoner and accusers, in the city of San Domingo, about the end of September, 1502, when the chief judge of the island, after hearing both parties, gave a verdict against Ojeda that stripped him of all his effects, and brought him into debt to the crown for the royal proportion of the profits of the voyage. Ojeda appealed to the sovereign, and, after some time, was honourably acquitted, by the royal council, from all the charges; and a mandate was issued in 1505, ordering a restitution of his property. It appears, however, that the costs of justice, or rather of the law, consumed his share of the treasure of the strong box, and that a royal order was necessary to liberate him from the hands of the governor; so that, like too many other litigants, he finally emerged from the labyrinths of the law a triumphant client, but a ruined man.

THIRD VOYAGE  
OF  
ALONSO DE OJEDA.

[ 1509. ]

CHAPTER I.

OJEDA APPLIES FOR A COMMAND. HAS A RIVAL CANDIDATE IN DIEGO DE NICUESA. HIS SUCCESS.

For several years after his ruinous, though successful lawsuit, we lose all traces of Alonso de Ojeda, excepting that we are told he made another voyage to the vicinity of Coquibacoa, in 1503. No record remains of this expedition, which seems to have been equally unprofitable with the preceding, for we find him in 1508, in the island of Hispaniola, as poor in purse, though as proud in spirit, as ever. In fact, however fortune might have favoured him, he had a heedless squandering disposition that would always have kept him poor.

About this time the cupidity of King Ferdinand was greatly excited by the accounts which had been given by Columbus of the gold mines of Veragua, in which the Admiral fancied he had discovered the *Aurea Chersonesus* of the ancients, from whence King Solomon procured the gold used in building the

\* Hist. Gen. de Viages. Herrera, Hist. Ind.

temple of Jerusalem. Subsequent voyagers had corroborated the opinion of Columbus as to the general riches of the coast of Terra Firma; King Ferdinand resolved, therefore, to found regular colonies along that coast, and to place the whole under some capable commander. A project of the kind had been conceived by Columbus, when he discovered that region in the course of his last voyage, and the reader may remember the disasters experienced by his brother Don Bartholomew and himself, in endeavouring to establish a colony on the hostile shores of Veragua. The Admiral being dead, the person who should naturally have presented himself to the mind of the sovereign for this particular service was Don Bartholomew; but the wary and selfish monarch knew the Adelantado to be as lofty in his terms as his late brother, and preferred to accomplish his purposes by cheaper agents. He was unwilling, also, to increase the consequence of a family, whose vast, but just, claims were already a cause of repining to his sordid and jealous spirit. He looked round, therefore, among the crowd of adventurers, who had sprung up in the school of Columbus, for some individual who might be ready to serve him on more accommodating terms. Among those, considered by their friends as most fitted for this purpose, was Alonso de Ojeda, for his roving voyages and daring exploits had made him famous among the voyagers; and it was thought that an application on his part would be attended with success; for he was known to possess a staunch friend at court in the Bishop Fonseca. Unfortunately he was too far distant to urge his suit to the bishop, and what was worse, he was destitute of money. At this juncture there happened to be at Hispaniola the veteran navigator and pilot Juan de la Cosa, who was a kind of Nestor in all nautical affairs. The hardy Biscayan had sailed with Ojeda, and had conceived a great opinion of the courage and talents of the youthful adventurer. He had contrived, also, to fill his purse in the course of his cruising, and now, in the generous spirit of a sailor, offered to aid Ojeda with it in the prosecution of his wishes.

His offer was gladly accepted; it was agreed that Juan de la Cosa should depart for Spain, to promote the appointment of Ojeda to the command of Terra Firma, and, in case of success, should fit out, with his own funds, the necessary armament.

La Cosa departed on his embassy; he called on the Bishop Fonseca, who, as had been expected, entered warmly into the views of his favourite Ojeda,

\* Peter Martyr gives the following weighty testimony to the knowledge and skill of this excellent seaman:—"Of the Spaniards, as many as thought themselves to have any knowledge of what pertained to measure the land and sea, drew cartes (charts) on parchment as concerning these navigations. Of all others they most esteem them which Juan de la Cosa, the companion of Ojeda, and another pilot, called Andrea Morales, had set forth, and this, as well for the great experience which both had, (to whom these tracks were as well known as the chambers of their own houses,) as also that they were thought to be cunninger in that part of cosmography which teacheth the description and measuring of the sea." P. Martyr, decad. li, c. 10.

and recommended him to the ambitious and bigoted king, as a man well fitted to promote his empire in the wilderness, and to dispense the blessings of Christianity among the savages.

The recommendation of the bishop was usually effectual in the affairs of the New World, and the opinion of the veteran de la Cosa had great weight even with the sovereign; but a rival candidate to Ojeda had presented himself, and one who had the advantage of higher connections and greater pecuniary means. This was Diego de Nicuesa, an accomplished courtier of noble birth, who had filled the post of grand carver to Don Enrique Enriquez, uncle of the king. Nature, education, and habit seemed to have combined to form Nicuesa as a complete rival of Ojeda. Like him he was small of stature, but remarkable for symmetry and compactness of form and for bodily strength and activity; like him he was master at all kinds of weapons, and skilled, not merely in feats of agility, but in those graceful and chivalrous exercises, which the Spanish cavaliers of those days had inherited from the Moors; being noted for his vigour and address in the jousts or tilting matches after the Moresco fashion. Ojeda himself could not surpass him in feats of horsemanship, and particular mention is made of a favourite mare, which he could make caper and caracole in strict cadence to the sound of a viol; beside all this, he was versed in the legendary ballads or romances of his country, and was renowned as a capital performer on the guitar! Such were the qualifications of this candidate for a command in the wilderness, as enumerated by the reverend Bishop Las Casas. It is probable, however, that he had given evidence of qualities more adapted to the desired post; having already been out to Hispaniola in the military train of the late Governor Ovando.

Where merits were so singularly balanced as those of Ojeda and Nicuesa, it might have been difficult to decide; King Ferdinand avoided the dilemma by favouring both of the candidates; not indeed by furnishing them with ships and money, but by granting patents and dignities which cost nothing, and might bring rich returns. He divided that part of the continent which lies along the Isthmus of Darien into two provinces, the boundary line running through the Gulf of Uraba. The eastern part, extending to Cape de la Vela, was called New Andalusia, and the government of it given to Ojeda. The other to the west including Veragua, and reaching to Cape Gracias a Dios, was assigned to Nicuesa. The island of Jamaica was given to the two governors in common, as a place from whence to draw supplies of provisions. Each of the governors was to erect two fortresses in his district, and to enjoy for ten years the profits of all the mines he should discover, paying to the crown one tenth part the first year, one ninth the second, one eighth the third, one seventh the fourth, and one fifth part in each of the remaining years.

Juan de la Cosa, who had been indefatigable in promoting the suit of Ojeda, was appointed his lieu-

tenant in the government, with the post of Alguazil Mayor of the province. He immediately freighted a ship and two brigantines, in which he embarked with about two hundred men. It was a slender armament, but the purse of the honest voyager was not very deep, and that of Ojeda was empty. Nicuesa, having ampler means, armed four large vessels and two brigantines, furnished them with abundant munitions and supplies, both for the voyage and the projected colony, enlisted a much greater force, and set sail in gay and vaunting style, for the golden shores of Veragua, the Aurea Chersonesus of his imagination.

## CHAPTER II.

FEUD BETWEEN THE RIVAL GOVERNORS OJEDA AND NICUESA.  
A CHALLENGE.

THE two rival armaments arrived at San Domingo about the same time. Nicuesa had experienced what was doubtless considered a pleasant little turn of fortune by the way. Touching at Santa Cruz, one of the Caribbee islands, he had succeeded in capturing a hundred of the natives, whom he had borne off in his ships to be sold as slaves at Hispaniola. This was deemed justifiable in those days, even by the most scrupulous divines, from the belief that the Caribs were all anthropophagi, or man-eaters; fortunately the opinion of mankind, in this more enlightened age, makes but little difference in atrocity between the cannibal and the kidnapper.

Alonso de Ojeda welcomed with joy the arrival of his nautical friend and future lieutenant in the government, the worthy Juan de la Cosa; still he could not but feel some mortification at the inferiority of his armament to that of his rival Nicuesa, whose stately ships rode proudly at anchor in the harbour of San Domingo. He felt, too, that his means were inadequate to the establishment of his intended colony. Ojeda, however, was not long at a loss for pecuniary assistance. Like many free-spirited men, who are careless and squandering of their own purses, he had a facility at commanding the purses of his neighbours. Among the motley population of San Domingo there was a lawyer of some abilities, the Bachelor Martin Fernandez de Enciso, who had made two thousand castellanos by his pleading; for it would appear that the spirit of litigation was one of the first fruits of civilized life transplanted to the New World, and flourished surprisingly among the Spanish colonists.

Alonso de Ojeda became acquainted with the Bachelor, and finding him to be of a restless and speculative character, soon succeeded in inspiring him with a contempt for the dull but secure and profitable routine of his office in San Domingo, and imbuing him with his own passion for adventure. Above all he dazzled him with the offer to make him Alcalde

• Equivalent to 10,650 dollars of the present day.



Mayor, or chief judge of the provincial government he was about to establish in the wilderness.

In an evil hour the aspiring Bachelor yielded to the temptation, and agreed to invest all his money in the enterprise. It was agreed that Ojeda should depart with the armament which had arrived from Spain, while the Bachelor should remain at Hispaniola to beat up for recruits and provide supplies; with these he was to embark in a ship purchased by himself, and proceed to join his high-mettled friend at the seat of his intended colony. Two rival governors, so well matched as Ojeda and Nicuesa, and both possessed of swelling spirits, pent up in small but active bodies, could not remain long in a little place like San Domingo without some collision. The island of Jamaica which had been assigned to them in common, furnished the first ground of contention; the province of Darien furnished another, each pretending to include it within the limits of his jurisdiction. Their disputes on these points ran so high that the whole place resounded with them. In talking, however, Nicuesa had the advantage; having been brought up in the court, he was more polished and ceremonious, had greater self-command, and probably perplexed his rival governor in argument. Ojeda was no great casuist, but he was an excellent swordsman, and always ready to fight his way through any question of right or dignity which he could not clearly argue with the tongue; so he proposed to settle the dispute by single combat. Nicuesa, though equally brave, was more a man of the world, and saw the folly of such arbitrement. Secretly smiling at the heat of his antagonist, he proposed as a preliminary to the duel, and to furnish something worth fighting for, that each should deposit five thousand castellanos, to be the prize of the victor. This, as he foresaw, was a temporary check upon the fiery valour of his rival, who did not possess a pistole in his treasury; but probably was too proud to confess it.

It is not likely, however, that the impetuous spirit of Ojeda would long have remained in check, had not the discreet Juan de la Cosa interposed to calm it. It is interesting to notice the great ascendancy possessed by this veteran navigator over his fiery associate. Juan de la Cosa was a man whose strong natural good sense had been quickened by long and hard experience; whose courage was above all question, but tempered by time and trial. He seems to have been personally attached to Ojeda, as veterans who have outlived the rash impulse of youthful valour, are apt to love the fiery quality in their younger associates. So long as he accompanied Ojeda in his enterprises, he stood by him as a Mentor in council, and a devoted partisan in danger.

In the present instance, the interference of this veteran of the seas had the most salutary effect: he prevented the impending duel of the rival governors, and persuaded them to agree that the river Darien should be the boundary line between their respective jurisdictions.

The dispute relative to Jamaica was settled by the Admiral, Don Diego Columbus himself. He had already felt aggrieved by the distribution of these governments by the king without his consent or even knowledge, being contrary to the privileges which he inherited from his father, the discoverer. It was in vain to contend, however, when the matter was beyond his reach, and involved in technical disputes. But as to the island of Jamaica, it in a manner lay at his own door, and he could not brook its being made a matter of gift to these brawling governors. Without waiting the slow and uncertain course of making remonstrances to the king, he took the affair, as a matter of plain right, into his own hands, and ordered a brave officer, Juan de Esquibel, the same who had subjugated the province of Higüey, to take possession of that island, with seventy men, and to hold it subject to his command.

Ojeda did not hear of this arrangement until he was on the point of embarking to make sail. In the heat of the moment he loudly defied the power of the Admiral, and swore that if he ever found Juan de Esquibel on the island of Jamaica he would strike off his head. The populace present heard this menace, and had too thorough an idea of the fiery and daring character of Ojeda to doubt that he would carry it into effect. Notwithstanding his bravado, however, Juan de Esquibel proceeded according to his orders to take possession of the island of Jamaica.

The squadron of Nicuesa lingered for some time after the sailing of his rival. His courteous and engaging manners, aided by the rumour of great riches in the province of Veragua where he intended to found his colony, had drawn numerous volunteers to his standard, insomuch that he had to purchase another ship to convey them.

Nicuesa was more of the courtier and the cavalier, than the man of business, and had no skill in managing his pecuniary affairs. He had expended his funds with a free and lavish hand, and involved himself in debts which he had not the immediate means of paying. Many of his creditors knew that his expedition was regarded with an evil eye by the Admiral, Don Diego Columbus; to gain favour with the latter, therefore, they threw all kinds of impediments in the way of Nicuesa. Never was an unfortunate gentleman more harassed and distracted by duns and demands, one plucking at his skirts as soon as the other was satisfied. He proceeded, however, in getting all his forces embarked. He had seven hundred men, well chosen and well armed, together with six horses. He chose Lope de Olano to be his captain general, a seemingly impolitic appointment, as this Olano had been concerned with the notorious Roldan in his rebellion against Columbus.

The squadron sailed out of the harbour and put to sea, excepting one ship, which, with anchor a-blew and sails unfurled, waited to receive Nicuesa, who was detained on shore until the last moment by

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Just as he was on the point of stepping into his boat, he was arrested by the harpies of the law, and carried before the Alcalde Mayor to answer a demand for five hundred ducats, which he was ordered to pay on the spot, or prepare to go to prison.

This was a thunderstroke to the unfortunate cavalier. In vain he represented his utter incapacity to furnish such a sum at the moment; in vain he represented the ruin that would accrue to himself and the vast injury to the public service, should he be prevented from joining his expedition. The Alcalde Mayor was inflexible, and Nicuesa was reduced to despair. At this critical moment relief came from a most unexpected quarter. The heart of a public notary was melted by his distress! He stepped forward in court, and declared that rather than see so gallant a gentleman reduced to extremity he himself would pay down the money. Nicuesa gazed at him with astonishment, and could scarce believe his senses; but when he saw him actually pay off the debt and found himself suddenly released from this dreadful embarrassment, he embraced his deliverer with tears of gratitude, and hastened with all speed to embark, lest some other legal spell should be laid upon his person.

## CHAPTER III.

## EXPLOITS AND DISASTERS OF OJEDA ON THE COAST OF CARTHAGENA. FATE OF THE VETERAN JUAN DE LA COSA.

It was on the 40th of November, 1509, that Alonso de Ojeda set sail from San Domingo with two ships, two brigantines, and three hundred men. He took with him also twelve brood mares. Among the remarkable adventurers who embarked with him was Francisco Pizarro, who was afterwards renowned as the conqueror of Peru. Hernando Cortez had likewise intended to sail in the expedition, but was prevented by an inflammation in one of his knees.

The voyage was speedy and prosperous, and they arrived late in the autumn in the harbour of Carthagena. The veteran Juan de la Cosa was well acquainted with this place, having sailed as pilot with

Francisco Pizarro was a native of Truxillo in Estremadura. He was the illegitimate fruit of an amour between Gonsalvo Pizarro, a veteran captain of Infantry, and a damsel in low life. His childhood was passed in grovelling occupations incident to the humble condition of his mother, and he is said to have been a wheeler. When he had sufficiently increased in years and stature he enlisted as a soldier. His first campaigns may have been against the Moors in the war of Granada. He certainly served in Italy under the banner of the Great Captain, Gonsalvo of Cordova. His roving spirit then induced him to join the bands of adventurers to the New World. He was of ferocious courage, and, when engaged in any enterprise, possessed an obstinate perseverance which was neither to be deterred by danger, weakened by fatigue or hardship, or checked by repeated disappointment. After having conquered the great kingdom of Peru, he was assassinated, and advanced age, in 1541, defending himself bravely to the last.

Rodrigo de Bastides, at the time he discovered it in 1504. He warned Alonso de Ojeda to be upon his guard, as the natives were a brave and warlike race of Carib origin, far different from the soft and gentle inhabitants of the islands. They wielded great swords, of palm wood, defended themselves with osier targets, and dipped their arrows in a subtle poison. The women as well as the men mingled in battle, being expert in drawing the bow and throwing a species of lance called the azagay. The warning was well timed, for the Indians of these parts had been irritated by the misconduct of previous adventurers, and flew to arms on the first appearance of the ships.

Juan de la Cosa now feared for the safety of the enterprise in which he had person, fortune, and official dignity at stake. He earnestly advised Ojeda to abandon this dangerous neighbourhood, and to commence a settlement in the Gulf of Uraba, where the people were less ferocious, and did not use poisoned weapons. Ojeda was too proud of spirit to alter his plans through fear of a naked foe. It is thought, too, that he had no objection to a skirmish, being desirous of a pretext to make slaves to be sent to Hispaniola in discharge of the debts he had left unpaid. He landed, therefore, with a considerable part of his force, and a number of friars, who had been sent out to convert the Indians. His faithful lieutenant, being unable to keep him out of danger, stood by to second him.

Ojeda advanced towards the savages, and ordered the friars to read aloud a certain formula which had recently been digested by profound jurists and divines in Spain. It began in stately form. "I, Alonso de Ojeda, servant of the most high and mighty sovereigns of Castile and Leon, conquerors of barbarous nations, their messenger and captain, do notify unto you and make you know, in the best way I can, that God our Lord, one and eternal, created the heaven and the earth, and one man and one woman, from whom you and we and all the people of the earth proceeded and are descendants, as well as all those who shall come hereafter." The formula then went on to declare the fundamental principles of the Catholic Faith; the supreme power given to St Peter over the world and all the human race, and exercised by his representative the Pope; the donation made by a late pope of all this part of the world and all its inhabitants to the Catholic sovereigns of Castile; and the ready obedience which had already been paid by many of its lands and islands and people to the agents and representatives of those sovereigns. It called upon those savages present, therefore, to do the same, to acknowledge the truth of the Christian doctrines, the supremacy of the Pope and the sovereignty of the Catholic King, but, in case of refusal, it denounced upon them all the horrors of war, the desolation of their dwellings, the seizure of their property, and the slavery of their wives and children. Such was the

extraordinary document, which, from this time forward, was read by the Spanish discoverers to the wondering savages of any newly-found country, as a prelude to sanctify the violence about to be inflicted on them.\*

When the friars had read this pious manifesto, Ojeda made signs of amity to the natives, and held up glittering presents. They had already suffered, however, from the cruelties of white men, and were not to be won by kindness. On the contrary they brandished their weapons, sounded their conchs, and prepared to make battle.

Juan de la Cosa saw the rising cholera of Ojeda, and knew his fiery impatience. He again intreated him to abandon these hostile shores, and reminded him of the venomous weapons of the enemy. It was all in vain: Ojeda confided blindly in the protection of the Virgin. Putting up, as usual, a short prayer to his patroness, he drew his weapon, braced his buckler, and charged furiously upon the savages. Juan de la Cosa followed as heartily as if the battle had been of his own seeking. The Indians were soon routed, a number killed, and several taken prisoners; on their persons were found plates of gold, but of an inferior quality. Flushed by this triumph, Ojeda took several of the prisoners as guides, and pursued the flying enemy four leagues into the interior. He was followed, as usual, by his faithful lieutenant, the veteran La Cosa, continually remonstrating against his useless temerity, but hardily seconding him in the most hare-brained perils. Having penetrated far into the forest, they came to a strong hold of the enemy, where a numerous force was ready to receive them, armed with clubs, lances, arrows and bucklers. Ojeda led his men to the charge with the old Castilian war cry, "Santiago!" The savages soon took to flight. Eight of their bravest warriors threw themselves into a cabin, and plied their bows and arrows so vigorously, that the Spaniards were kept at bay. Ojeda cried shame upon his followers to be daunted by eight naked men. Stung by this reproach, an old Castilian soldier rushed through a shower of arrows and forced the door of the cabin, but received a shaft through the heart, and fell dead on the threshold. Ojeda, furious at the sight, ordered fire to be set to the combustible edifice; in a moment it was in a blaze, and the eight warriors perished in the flames.

Seventy Indians were made captive and sent to the ships, and Ojeda, regardless of the remonstrances of Juan de la Cosa, continued his rash pursuit of the fugitives through the forest. In the dusk of the evening they arrived at a village called Yurbaco; the inhabitants of which had fled to the mountains with their wives and principal effects. The Spaniards, imagining that the Indians were completely terrified and dispersed, now roved in quest of booty among the deserted houses, which stood distant from each other, buried among the trees. While they were thus scat-

\* The reader will find the complete form of this curious manifesto in the Appendix.

tered, troops of savages rushed forth, with furious yells, from all parts of the forest. The Spaniards endeavoured to gather together and support each other, but every little party was surrounded by a host of foes. They fought with desperate bravery, but for once their valour and their iron armour were of no avail; they were overwhelmed by numbers, and sank beneath war clubs and poisoned arrows.

Ojeda on the first alarm collected a few soldiers and ensconced himself within a small enclosure, surrounded by palisades. Here he was closely besieged and galled by flights of arrows. He threw himself on his knees, covered himself with his buckler, and, being small and active, managed to protect himself from the deadly shower, but all his companions were slain by his side, some of them perishing in frightful agonies. At this fearful moment the veteran La Cosa, having heard of the peril of his commander, arrived, with a few followers, to his assistance. Stationing himself at the gate of the palisades, the brave Biscayan kept the savages at bay until most of his men were slain, and he himself was severely wounded. Just then Ojeda sprang forth like a tiger into the midst of the enemy, dealing his blows on every side. La Cosa would have seconded him, but was crippled by his wounds. He took refuge with the remnant of his men in an Indian cabin; the straw roof of which he aided them to throw off, lest the enemy should set it on fire. Here he defended himself until all his comrades, but one, were destroyed. The subtle poison of his wounds at length overpowered him, and he sank to the ground. Feeling death at hand, he called to his only surviving companion. "Brother," said he, "since God hath protected thee from harm, sally forth and fly, and if ever thou shouldst see Alonso de Ojeda, tell him of my fate!"

Thus fell the hardy Juan de la Cosa, faithful and devoted to the very last; nor can we refrain from pausing to pay a passing tribute to his memory. He was acknowledged by his contemporaries to be one of the ablest of those gallant Spanish navigators who first explored the way to the New World. But it is by the honest and kindly qualities of his heart that his memory is most endeared to us; it is, above all, by that loyalty in friendship displayed in his last and fatal expedition. Warmed by his attachment for a more youthful and a hot-headed adventurer, we see this wary veteran of the seas forgetting his usual prudence and the lessons of his experience, and embarking heart and hand, purse and person, in the wild enterprises of his favourite. We behold him watching over him as a parent, remonstrating with him as a counsellor, but fighting by him as a partisan; following him, without hesitation, into known and needless danger, to certain death itself, and showing no other solicitude in his dying moments, but to be remembered by his friend.

The history of these Spanish discoveries abounds in noble and generous traits of character; but few have charmed us more than this instance of loyalty

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the last gasp, in the death of the staunch Juan de la Cosa. The Spaniard who escaped to tell the story of his end was the only survivor of seventy that had followed Ojeda in this rash and headlong inroad.

## CHAPTER IV.

## ARRIVAL OF NICUESA. VENGEANCE TAKEN ON THE INDIANS.

WHILE these disastrous occurrences happened on shore, great alarm began to be felt on board of the ships. Days had elapsed since the party had adventured so rashly into the wilderness; yet nothing had been seen or heard of them, and the forest spread a mystery over their fate. Some of the Spaniards ventured a little distance into the woods, but were deterred by the distant shouts and yells of the savages, and the noise of their conchs and drums. Armed detachments then coasted the shore in boats, landing occasionally, climbing the rocks and promontories, firing signal guns, and sounding trumpets. It was all in vain; they heard nothing but the echoes of their own noises, or perhaps the wild whoop of an Indian from the bosom of the forest. At length, when they were about to give up the search in despair, they came to a great thicket of mangrove trees on the margin of the sea. These trees grow within the water, but their roots rise, and are intertwined, above the surface. In this entangled and almost impervious grove, they caught a glimpse of a man in Spanish attire. They entered, and, to their astonishment, found it to be Alonso de Ojeda. He was lying on the matted roots of the mangroves, his buckler on his shoulder, and his sword in his hand; but so wasted with hunger and fatigue that he could not speak. They bore him to the firm land; made a fire on the shore to warm him, for he was chilled with the damp and cold of his hiding place; and when he was a little revived they gave him food and wine. In this way he gradually recovered strength to tell his doleful story.

He had succeeded in cutting his way through the host of savages, and attaining the woody skirts of the mountains; but when he found himself alone, and that all his brave men had been cut off, he was ready to yield up in despair. Bitterly did he reproach himself for having disregarded the advice of the veteran La Cosa, and deeply did he deplore the loss of that

The picture here given is so much like romance, that the author quotes his authority at length.—“ Llegaron adonde havia, onto al agua de la mar, unos Manglares, que son arboles, que sempre nacen, i crecen i permanecen dentro del agua de la mar, con grandes raices, asidas, enmarañadas unas con otras, i alli escondido, i escondido hallaron á Alonso de Ojeda, con su espada en mano, i la redela en las espaldas, i en ella sobre trecentas señales de flechazos. Estaba descaido de hambre, que no podia echar de sí la habla; i si no fuera tan robusto, aunque chico de cuerpo, era muerto.”

Las Casas, l. ii. c. 38. MS. Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1, l. vii, c. 45.

loyal follower, who had fallen a victim to his devotion. He scarce knew which way to bend his course, but continued on, in the darkness of the night and of the forest, until out of hearing of the yells of triumph uttered by the savages over the bodies of his men. When the day broke, he sought the rudest parts of the mountains, and hid himself until the night; then struggling forward among rocks, and precipices and matted forests, he made his way to the sea side, but was too much exhausted to reach the ships. Indeed it was wonderful that one so small of frame should have been able to endure such great hardships; but he was of admirable strength and hardihood. His followers considered his escape from death as little less than miraculous, and he himself regarded it as another proof of the special protection of the Virgin; for, though he had, as usual, received no wound, yet it is said his buckler bore the dints of upwards of three hundred arrows.

While the Spaniards were yet on the shore, administering to the recovery of their commander, they beheld a squadron of ships standing towards the harbour of Carthagena, and soon perceived them to be the ships of Nicuesa. Ojeda was troubled in mind at the sight, recollecting his late intemperate defiance of that cavalier; and, reflecting that, should he seek him in enmity, he was in no situation to maintain his challenge or defend himself. He ordered his men, therefore, to return on board the ships and leave him alone on the shore, and not to reveal the place of his retreat while Nicuesa should remain in the harbour.

As the squadron entered the harbour, the boats sallied forth to meet it. The first inquiry of Nicuesa was concerning Ojeda. The followers of the latter replied, mournfully, that their commander had gone on a warlike expedition into the country, but days had elapsed without his return, so that they feared some misfortune had befallen him. They entreated Nicuesa, therefore, to give his word, as a cavalier, that should Ojeda really be in distress, he would not take advantage of his misfortunes to revenge himself for their late disputes.

Nicuesa, who was a gentleman of noble and generous spirit, blushed with indignation at such a request. “ Seek your commander instantly,” said he; “ bring him to me if he be alive; and I pledge myself not merely to forget the past, but to aid him as if he were a brother.”

When they met, Nicuesa received his late foe with open arms. “ It is not,” said he, “ for hidalgos, like men of vulgar souls, to remember past differences when they behold one another in distress. Henceforth, let all that has occurred between us be forgotten. Command me as a brother. Myself and my men are at your orders, to follow you wherever you please, until the deaths of Juan de la Cosa and comrades are revenged.”

Las Casas, l. ii, c. 38. MS. Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1, l. vii, c. 45.

Las Casas, ubi sup.



The spirits of Ojeda were once more lifted up by this gallant and generous offer. The two governors, no longer rivals, landed four hundred of their men and several horses, and set off with all speed for the fatal village. They approached it in the night, and, dividing their forces into two parties, gave orders that not an Indian should be taken alive.

The village was buried in deep sleep, but the woods were filled with large parrots, which, being awakened, made a prodigious clamour. The Indians, however, thinking the Spaniards all destroyed, paid no attention to these noises. It was not until their houses were assailed, and wrapped in flames, that they took the alarm. They rushed forth, some with arms, some weaponless, but were received at their doors by the exasperated Spaniards, and either slain on the spot, or driven back into the fire. Women fled wildly forth with children in their arms, but at sight of the Spaniards glittering in steel, and of the horses, which they supposed ravenous monsters, they ran back, shrieking with horror, into their burning habitations. Great was the carnage, for no quarter was shown to age or sex. Many perished by the fire, and many by the sword.

When they had fully glutted their vengeance, the Spaniards ranged about for booty. While thus employed, they found the body of the unfortunate Juan de la Cosa. It was tied to a tree, but swollen and discoloured in a hideous manner by the poison of the arrows with which he had been slain. This dismal spectacle had such an effect upon the common men, that not one would remain in that place during the night. Having sacked the village, therefore, they left it a smoking ruin, and returned in triumph to their ships. The spoil in gold and other articles of value must have been great, for the share of Nicuesa and his men amounted to the value of seven thousand castellanos. The two governors, now faithful confederates, parted with many expressions of friendship, and with mutual admiration of each other's prowess; and Nicuesa continued his voyage for the coast of Veragua.

#### CHAPTER V.

##### OJEDA FOUNDS THE COLONY OF SAN SEBASTIAN. BELEAGUERED BY THE INDIANS.

OJEDA now adopted, though tardily, the advice of his unfortunate lieutenant, Juan de la Cosa, and giving up all thoughts of colonising this disastrous part of the coast, steered his course for the Gulf of Uraba. He sought for some time the river Darien, famed among the Indians as abounding in gold, but not finding it, landed in various places, seeking a favourable site for his intended colony. His people were disheartened by the disasters they had already under-

\* Equivalent to 57,281 dollars of the present day.

gone, and the appearance of surrounding objects was not calculated to reassure them. The country, though fertile and covered with rich and beautiful vegetation, was in their eyes a land of cannibals and monsters. They began to dread the strength as well as fierceness of the savages, who could transfix a man with their arrows even when covered with armour, and whose shafts were tipped with deadly poison. They heard the howlings of tigers, panthers, and as they thought, lions in the forests, and encountered large and venomous serpents among the rocks and thickets. As they were passing along the banks of a river, one of their horses was seized by the leg by an enormous alligator, and dragged beneath the waves.

At length Ojeda fixed upon a place for his town, on a height at the east side of the Gulf. Here, landing all that could be spared from the ships, he began, with all diligence, to erect houses, giving this embryo capital of his province the name of San Sebastian, in honour of that sainted martyr, who was slain by arrows; hoping he might protect the inhabitants from the poisoned shafts of the savages. As a further protection he erected a large wooden fortress, and surrounded the place with a stoecade. Feeling, however, the inadequacy of his handful of men to contend with the hostile tribes around him, he despatched a ship to Hispaniola, with a letter to the Bachelor, Martin Fernandez de Enciso, his Alcalde Mayor, informing him of his having established his seat of government, and urging him to lose no time in joining him with all the recruits, arms, and provisions he could command. By the same ship he transmitted to San Domingo all the captives and gold he had collected.

His capital being placed in a posture of defence, Ojeda now thought of making a progress through his wild territory; and set out, accordingly, with an armed band, to pay a friendly visit to a neighbouring cacique, reputed as possessing great treasures of gold. The natives, however, had by this time learnt the nature of these friendly visits, and were prepared to resist them. Scarcely had the Spaniards entered into the defiles of the surrounding forest, when they were assailed by flights of arrows from the close coverts of the thickets. Some were shot dead on the spot, others, less fortunate, expired raving with the torments of the poison; the survivors, filled with horror at the sight, and losing all presence of mind, retreated in confusion to the fortress.

It was some time before Ojeda could again persuade his men to take the field, so great was their dread of the poisoned weapons of the Indians. At length their provisions began to fail, and they were compelled to forage among the villages in search, not of gold, but of food.

In one of their expeditions they were surprised by an ambuscade of savages, in a gorge of the mountains, and attacked with such fury and effect, that

\* Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1. l. vii, cap. 46.

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they were completely routed, and pursued with yells and howlings to the very gates of St Sebastian. Many died, in excruciating agony, of their wounds, and others recovered with extreme difficulty. Those who were well, no longer dared to venture forth in search of food; for the whole forest teemed with lurking foes. They devoured such herbs and roots as they could find, without regard to their quality. The humours of their bodies became corrupted, and various diseases, combined with the ravages of famine, daily thinned their numbers. The sentinel who feebly mounted guard at night, was often found dead at his post in the morning. Some stretched themselves on the ground and expired of mere famine and debility; nor was death any longer regarded as an evil, but rather as a welcome relief from a life of horror and despair.

## CHAPTER VI.

ALONZO DE OJEDA SUSPECTED BY THE SAVAGES TO HAVE A CHARMED LIFE. THEIR EXPERIMENT TO TRY THE FACT.

IN the mean time the Indians continued to harass the garrison, lying in wait to surprise the foraging parties, cutting off all stragglers, and sometimes approaching the walls in open defiance. On such occasions Ojeda sallied forth at the head of his men, and from his great agility was the first to overtake the retreating foe. He slew more of their warriors with his single arm than all his followers together. Though often exposed to showers of arrows none had ever wounded him, and the Indians began to think he had a charmed life. Perhaps they had heard from fugitive prisoners, the idea entertained by himself and his followers of his being under supernatural protection. Determined to ascertain the fact, they placed four of their most dexterous archers in ambush with orders to single him out. A number of them advanced towards the fort sounding their conchs and drums, and uttering yells of defiance. As they expected, the impetuous Ojeda sallied forth immediately at the head of his men. The Indians fled towards the ambuscade, drawing him in furious pursuit. The archers waited until he was full in front, and then launched their deadly shafts. Three struck his buckler and glanced harmlessly off, but the fourth pierced his thigh. Satisfied that he was wounded beyond the possibility of cure, the savages retreated with shouts of triumph.

Ojeda was borne back to the fortress in great anguish of body and despondency of spirit. For the first time in his life he had lost blood in battle. The charm in which he had hitherto confided was broken; rather, the Holy Virgin appeared to have withdrawn her protection. He had the horrible death of his followers before his eyes, who had perished of their wounds in raving frenzy.

One of the symptoms of the poison was to shoot

a thrilling chill through the wounded part; from this circumstance, perhaps, a remedy suggested itself to the imagination of Ojeda, which few but himself could have had the courage to undergo. He caused two plates of iron to be made red hot and ordered a surgeon to apply them to each orifice of the wound. The surgeon shuddered and refused, saying he would not be the murderer of his general. Upon this Ojeda made a solemn vow that he would hang him unless he obeyed. To avoid the gallows, the surgeon applied the glowing plates. Ojeda refused to be tied down, or that any one should hold him during this frightful operation. He endured it without shrinking or uttering a murmur, although it so inflamed his whole system, that they had to wrap him in sheets steeped in vinegar, to allay the burning heat which raged throughout his body; and we are assured that a barrel of vinegar was exhausted for the purpose. The desperate remedy succeeded; the cold poison, says Bishop Las Casas, was consumed by the vivid fire.<sup>2</sup> How far the venerable historian is correct in his postulate, surgeons may decide; but many incredulous persons will be apt to account for the cure by surmising that the arrow was not envenomed.

## CHAPTER VII.

ARRIVAL OF A STRANGE SHIP AT SAN SEBASTIAN.

ALONZO DE OJEDA, though pronounced out of danger, was still disabled by his wound, and his helpless situation completed the despair of his companions; for while he was in health and vigour, his buoyant and mercurial spirit, his active, restless, and enterprising habits, imparted animation, if not confidence, to every one around him. The only hope of relief was from the sea, and that was nearly extinct, when one day, to the unspeakable joy of the Spaniards, a sail appeared on the horizon. It made for the port and dropped anchor at the foot of the height of San Sebastian, and there was no longer a doubt that it was the promised succour from San Domingo.

The ship came indeed from the island of Hispaniola, but it had not been fitted out by the Bachelor Enciso. The commander's name was Bernardino de Talavera. This man was one of the loose heedless adventurers who abounded in San Domingo. His carelessness and extravagance had involved him in debt, and he was threatened with a prison. In the height of his difficulties the ship arrived which Ojeda had sent to San Domingo, freighted with slaves and gold, an earnest of the riches to be found at San Sebastian. Bernardino de Talavera immediately conceived the project of giving his creditors the slip, and escaping to this new settlement. He

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix, ut sup., p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, Hist. Ind., l. ii, cap. 39. MS.

understood that Ojeda was in need of recruits, and felt assured that, from his own reckless conduct in money matters, he would sympathise with any one harassed by debt. He drew into his schemes a number of desperate debtors like himself, nor was he scrupulous about filling up his ranks with recruits whose legal embarrassments arose from more criminal causes. Never did a more vagabond crew engage in a project of colonisation.

How to provide themselves with a vessel was now the question. They had neither money nor credit; but then they had cunning and courage, and were troubled by no scruples of conscience; thus qualified, a knave will often succeed better for a time than an honest man; it is in the long run that he fails, as will be illustrated in the case of Talavera and his hopeful associates. While casting about for means to escape to San Sebastian, they heard of a vessel belonging to certain Genoese, which was at Cape Tiburon, at the western extremity of the island, taking in a cargo of bacon and cassava bread for San Domingo. Nothing could have happened more opportunely: here was a ship, amply stored with provisions, and ready to their hand; they had nothing to do but seize it and embark.

The gang, accordingly, seventy in number, made their way separately and secretly to Cape Tiburon, where, assembling at an appointed time and place, they boarded the vessel, overpowered the crew, weighed anchor and set sail. They were heedless, hap-hazard mariners, and knew little of the management of a vessel; the historian Charlevoix thinks, therefore, that it was a special providence which guided them to San Sebastian. Whether or not the good father is right in his opinion, it is certain that the arrival of the ship rescued the garrison from the very brink of destruction.\*

Talavera and his gang, though they had come lightly by their prize, were not disposed to part with it as frankly, but demanded to be paid down in gold for the provisions furnished to the starving colonists. Ojeda agreed to their terms, and taking the supplies into his possession, dealt them out sparingly to his companions. Several of his hungry followers were dissatisfied with their portions, and even accused Ojeda of unfairness in reserving an undue share for himself. Perhaps there may have been some ground for this charge, arising, not from any selfishness in the character of Ojeda, but from one of those superstitious fancies with which his mind was tinged; for we are told that, for many years, he had been haunted by a presentiment that he should eventually die of hunger.†

This lurking horror of the mind may have made him depart from his usual free and lavish spirit in doling out these providential supplies, and may have induced him to set by an extra portion for himself, as a precaution against his anticipated fate; certain it

\* Hist. St Domingo, lib. iv.

† Herrera, decad. i, l. viii, c. 5.

is, that great clamours rose among his people, some of whom threatened to return in the pirate vessel to Hispaniola. He succeeded, however, in pacifying them for the present, by representing the necessity of husbanding their supplies, and by assuring them that the Bachelor Enciso could not fail soon to arrive, when there would be provisions in abundance.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### FACTIONS IN THE COLONY. A CONVENTION MADE.

DAYS and days elapsed, but no relief arrived at San Sebastian. The Spaniards kept a ceaseless watch upon the sea, but the promised ship failed to appear. With all the husbandry of Ojeda the stock of provisions was nearly consumed; famine again prevailed, and several of the garrison perished through their various sufferings and their lack of sufficient nourishment. The survivors now became factious in their misery, and a plot was formed among them to seize upon one of the vessels in the harbour and make sail for Hispaniola.

Ojeda discovered their intentions, and was reduced to great perplexity. He saw that to remain here without relief from abroad was certain destruction, yet he clung to his desperate enterprise. It was his only chance for fortune or command, for should this settlement be broken up, he might try in vain, with his exhausted means and broken credit, to obtain another post or to set on foot another expedition. Ruin in fact would overwhelm him, should he return without success.

He exerted himself, therefore, to the utmost to pacify his men; representing the folly of abandoning a place where they had established a foothold, and where they only needed a reinforcement to enable them to control the surrounding country, and to make themselves masters of its riches. Finding they still demurred, he offered, now that he was sufficiently recovered from his wound, to go himself to San Domingo in quest of reinforcements and supplies.

This offer had the desired effect. Such confidence had the people in the energy, ability, and influence of Ojeda, that they felt assured of relief should he seek it in person. They made a kind of convention with him, therefore, in which it was agreed that they should remain quietly at San Sebastian for the space of fifty days. At the end of this time, in case no tidings had been received of Ojeda, they were to be at liberty to abandon the settlement and return in the brigantines to Hispaniola. In the mean time Francisco Pizarro was to command the colony as Lieutenant of Ojeda, until the arrival of his Alcalde Mayor the Bachelor Enciso. This convention being made, Ojeda embarked on the ship of Bernardino de Talavera. That cut-purse of the ocean and his handsomely equipped crew were effectually cured of their ambition

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to colonise. Disappointed in the hope of finding abundant wealth at San Sebastian, and dismayed at the perils and horrors of the surrounding wilderness, they preferred returning to Hispaniola, even at the risk of chains and dungeons. Doubtless they thought that the influence of Ojeda would be sufficient to obtain their pardon, especially as their timely succour had been the salvation of the colony.

### CHAPTER IX.

DISASTROUS VOYAGE OF OJEDA IN THE PIRATE SHIP.

OJEDA had scarce put to sea in the ship of these freebooters, when a fierce quarrel arose between him and Talavera. Accustomed to take the lead among his companions, still feeling himself governor, and naturally of a domineering spirit, Ojeda, on coming on board, had assumed the command as a matter of course. Talavera, who claimed dominion over the ship, by the right no doubt of trover and conversion, or, in other words, of downright piracy, resisted this usurpation.

Ojeda, as usual, would speedily have settled the question by the sword, but he had the whole vagabond crew against him, who overpowered him with numbers and threw him in irons. Still his swelling spirit was unsubdued. He reviled Talavera and his gang as recreants, traitors, pirates, and offered to fight the whole of them successively, provided they would give him a clear deck, and come on two at a time. Notwithstanding his diminutive size, they had too high an idea of his prowess, and had heard too much of his exploits, to accept his challenge; so they kept him raging in his chains while they pursued their voyage.

They had not proceeded far, however, when a violent storm arose. Talavera and his crew knew little of navigation, and were totally ignorant of those seas. The raging of the elements, the baffling winds and currents, and the danger of unknown rocks and shoals filled them with confusion and alarm. They knew not whether they were driving before the storm, or where to seek for shelter. In this hour of peril they called to mind that Ojeda was a sailor as well as soldier, and that he had repeatedly navigated these seas. Making a truce, therefore, for the common safety, they took off his irons, on condition that he would pilot the vessel during the remainder of the voyage.

Ojeda acquitted himself with his accustomed spirit and intrepidity; but the vessel had been already swept so far to the westward that all his skill was ineffectual in endeavouring to work up to Hispaniola against storms and adverse currents. Borne away by the gulf stream, and tempest-tossed for many days, until the shattered vessel was almost in a foundering condition, he saw no alternative but to run it ashore on the southern coast of Cuba.

Here then the crew of free-booters landed from their prize in more desperate plight than when they first took possession of it. They were on a wild and unfrequented coast, their vessel lay a wreck upon the sands, and their only chance was to travel on foot to the eastern extremity of the island, and seek some means of crossing to Hispaniola, where, after all their toils, they might perhaps only arrive to be thrown into a dungeon. Such, however, is the yearning of civilized men after the haunts of cultivated society, that they set out, at every risk, upon their long and painful journey.

### CHAPTER X.

TOILSOME MARCH OF OJEDA AND HIS COMPANIONS THROUGH THE MORASSES OF CUBA.

NOTWITHSTANDING the recent services of Ojeda, the crew of Talavera still regarded him with hostility; but, if they had felt the value of his skill and courage at sea, they were no less sensible of their importance on shore, and he soon acquired that ascendancy over them which belongs to a master-spirit in time of trouble.

Cuba was yet uncolonised. It was a place of refuge to the unhappy natives of Hayti, who fled hither from the whips and chains of their European task-masters. The forests abounded with these wretched fugitives, who often opposed themselves to the shipwrecked party, supposing them to be sent by their late masters to drag them back to captivity.

Ojeda easily repulsed these attacks; but found that these fugitives had likewise inspired the villagers with hostility to all European strangers. Seeing that his companions were too feeble and disheartened to fight their way through the populous parts of the island, or to climb the rugged mountains of the interior, he avoided all towns and villages, and led them through the close forest and broad green Savannahs which extended between the mountains and the sea.

He had only made a choice of evils. The forests gradually retired from the coast. The Savannahs, where the Spaniards at first had to contend merely with long rank grass and creeping vines, soon ended in salt marshes, where the oozy bottom yielded no firm foot hold, and the mud and water reached to their knees. Still they pressed forward, continually hoping in a little while to arrive at a firmer soil, and flattering themselves they beheld fresh meadow land before them; but continually deceived. The farther they proceeded, the deeper grew the mire, until, after they had been eight days on this dismal journey, they found themselves in the centre of a vast morass, where the water reached to their girdles. Though thus almost drowned, they were tormented with incessant thirst, for all the water around them was as briny as the ocean. They suffered too the cravings of extreme hunger, having but a scanty supply of



cassava bread, and cheese, and a few potatoes and other roots, which they devoured raw. When they wished to sleep, they had to climb among the twisted roots of mangrove trees, which grew in clusters in the water. Still the dreary marsh widened and deepened. In many places they had to cross rivers and inlets; where some, who could not swim, were drowned, and others were smothered in the mire.

Their situation became wild and desperate. Their cassava bread was spoiled by the water, and their stock of roots nearly exhausted. The interminable morass still extended before them, while, to return, after the distance they had come, was hopeless. Ojeda alone kept up a resolute spirit, and cheered and urged them forward. He had the little Flemish painting of the Madona, which had been given him by the Bishop Fonseca, carefully stored among the provisions in his knapsack. Whenever he stopped to repose among the roots of the mangrove trees, he took out this picture, placed it among the branches, and kneeling, prayed devoutly to the Virgin for protection. This he did repeatedly in the course of the day, and prevailed upon his companions to follow his example. Nay, more, at a moment of great despondency, he made a solemn vow to his patroness that if she conducted him alive through this peril, he would erect a chapel in the first Indian village he should arrive at; and leave her picture there, to remain an object of adoration to the Gentiles.

This frightful morass extended for the distance of thirty leagues, and was so deep and difficult, so entangled by roots and creeping vines, so cut up by creeks and rivers, and so beset by quagmires, that they were thirty days in traversing it. Out of the number of seventy men that set out from the ship but thirty-five remained. "Certain it is," observes the venerable Las Casas, "the sufferings of the Spaniards in the New World, in search of wealth, have been more cruel and severe than ever nation in the world endured; but those experienced by Ojeda and his men have surpassed all others."

They were at length so overcome by hunger and fatigue, that some lay down and yielded up the ghost, and others, seating themselves among the mangrove trees, waited in despair for death to put an end to their miseries. Ojeda, with a few of the lightest and most vigorous, continued to struggle forward, and, to their unutterable joy, at length arrived to where the land was firm and dry. They soon descried a foot-path, and, following it, arrived at an Indian village, commanded by a cacique called Cueybás. No sooner did they reach the village than they sank to the earth exhausted.

The Indians gathered round and gazed at them with wonder; but when they learnt their story, they exhibited a humanity that would have done honour to the most professing Christians. They bore them to their dwellings, set meat and drink before them, and vied with each other in discharging the offices

of the kindest humanity. Finding that a number of their companions were still in the morass, the cacique sent a large party of Indians with provisions for their relief; with orders to bring on their shoulders such as were too feeble to walk. "The Indians," says the Bishop Las Casas, "did more than they were ordered; for so they always do, when they are not exasperated by ill treatment. The Spaniards were brought to the village, succoured, cherished, consoled, and almost worshipped as if they had been angels."

## CHAPTER XI.

### OJEDA PERFORMS HIS VOW TO THE VIRGIN.

BEING recovered from his sufferings, Alonso de Ojeda prepared to perform his vow concerning the picture of the Virgin, though sorely must it have grieved him to part with a relique to which he attributed his deliverance from so many perils. He built a little hermitage or oratory in the village, and furnished it with an altar, above which he placed the picture. He then summoned the benevolent cacique, and explained to him, as well as his limited knowledge of the language, or the aid of interpreters would permit, the main points of the Catholic faith, and especially the history of the Virgin, whom he represented as the mother of the deity that reigned in the skies, and the great advocate for mortal man.

The worthy cacique listened to him with mute attention, and though he might not clearly comprehend the doctrine, yet he conceived a profound veneration for the picture. The sentiment was shared by his subjects. They kept the little oratory always swept clean, and decorated it with cotton hangings, laboured by their own hands, and with various votive offerings. They composed couplets or areytos in honour of the Virgin, which they sang to the accompaniment of rude musical instruments, dancing to the sound under the groves which surrounded the hermitage.

A further anecdote concerning this relique may not be unacceptable. The venerable Las Casas, who records these facts, informs us that he arrived at the village of Cueybás some time after the departure of Ojeda. He found the oratory preserved with the most religious care, as a sacred place, and the picture of the Virgin regarded with fond adoration. The poor Indians crowded to attend mass, which he performed at the altar; they listened attentively to his paternal instructions, and at his request brought their children to be baptized. The good Las Casas having heard much of this famous relique of Ojeda, was desirous of obtaining possession of it, and offered to give the cacique, in exchange, an image of the Virgin which he had brought with him. The chief made an evasive answer, and seemed much troubled in mind. The next morning he did not

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Las Casas, Hist. c. 13.

Las Casas went to the oratory to perform mass, but found the altar stripped of its precious relique. On inquiring, he learnt that in the night the cacique had fled to the wood, bearing off with him his beloved picture of the Virgin. It was in vain that Las Casas sent messengers after him, assuring him that he should not be deprived of the relique, but, on the contrary, that the image should likewise be presented to him. The cacique refused to venture from the fastnesses of the forest, nor did he return to his village and replace the picture in the oratory until after the departure of the Spaniards.

## CHAPTER XII.

## ARRIVAL OF OJEDA AT JAMAICA. HIS RECEPTION BY JUAN DE ESQUIBEL.

WHEN the Spaniards were completely restored to health and strength, they resumed their journey. The cacique sent a large body of his subjects to carry their provisions and knapsacks, and to guide them across a desert tract of country to the province of Macaca, where Christopher Columbus had been hospitably entertained on his voyage along this coast. They experienced equal kindness from its cacique and his people, for such seems to have been almost invariably the case with the natives of these islands, before they had held much intercourse with Europeans.

The province of Macaca was situated at Cape de la Cruz, the nearest point to the Island of Jamaica. Here Ojeda learnt that there were Spaniards settled on that island, being in fact the party commanded by the very Juan de Esquibel, whose head he had threatened to strike off, when departing in swelling style from San Domingo. It seemed to be the fortune of Ojeda to have his bravadoes visited on his head in times of trouble and humiliation. He found himself compelled to apply for succour to the very man he had vain-gloriously menaced. This was no time, however, to stand on points of pride; he procured a canoe and Indians from the cacique of Macaca, and one Pedro de Ordas undertook the perilous voyage of twenty leagues in the frail bark, and arrived safe at Jamaica.

No sooner did Esquibel receive the message of Ojeda, than, forgetting past menaces, he instantly dispatched a caravel to bring to him the unfortunate discoverer and his companions. He received him with the utmost kindness, lodged him in his own house, and treated him in all things with the most delicate attention. He was a gentleman who had seen prosperous days, but had fallen into adversity and been buffeted about the world, and had learnt how to respect the feeling of a proud spirit in distress. Ojeda had the warm, touchy heart to feel for his conduct; he remained several days with Esqui-

Las Casas, Hist. Ind., c. 61. MS. Herrera, Hist. Ind., d. i. c. 13.

bel in frank communion, and when he sailed for San Domingo they parted the best of friends.

And here we cannot but remark the singular difference in character and conduct of these Spanish adventurers when dealing with each other, or with the unhappy natives. Nothing could be more chivalrous, urbane, and charitable; nothing more pregnant with noble sacrifices of passion and interest, with magnanimous instances of forgiveness of injuries and noble contest of generosity, than the transactions of the discoverers with each other; but the moment they turned to treat with the Indians, even with brave and high-minded caciques, they were vindictive, blood-thirsty, and implacable. The very Juan de Esquibel, who could require the recent hostility of Ojeda with such humanity and friendship, was the same, who, under the government of Ovando, laid desolate the province of Higüey in Hispaniola, and inflicted atrocious cruelties upon its inhabitants.

When Alonso de Ojeda set sail from San Domingo, Bernardino de Talavera and his rabble adherents remained at Jamaica. They feared to be brought to account for their piratical exploit in stealing the Genoese vessel, and that, in consequence of their recent violence to Ojeda, they would find in him an accuser rather than an advocate. The latter, however, in the opinion of Las Casas, who knew him well, was not a man to make accusations. With all his faults, he did not harbour malice. He was quick and fiery, it is true, and his sword was too apt to leap from its scabbard on the least provocation; but after the first flash all was over, and, if he cooled upon an injury, he never sought for vengeance.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## ARRIVAL OF ALONSO DE OJEDA AT SAN DOMINGO. CONCLUSION OF HIS STORY.

ON arriving at San Domingo, the first inquiry of Alonso de Ojeda was after the Bachelor Enciso. He was told that he had departed long before, with abundant supplies for the colony, and that nothing had been heard of him since his departure. Ojeda waited for a time in hopes of hearing, by some return ship, of the safe arrival of the Bachelor at San Sebastian. No tidings, however, arrived, and he began to fear that he had been lost in those storms which had beset himself on his return voyage.

Anxious for the relief of his settlement, and fearing, that, by delay, his whole scheme of colonisation would be defeated, he now endeavoured to set on foot another armament, and to enlist a new set of adventurers. His efforts, however, were all ineffectual. The disasters of his colony were known, and his own circumstances were considered desperate. He was doomed to experience the fate that too often attends sanguine and brilliant projectors. The world

is dazzled by them for a time, and hails them as heroes while successful; but misfortune dissipates the charm, and they become stigmatized with the appellation of adventurers. When Ojeda figured in San Domingo as the conqueror of Caonabo, as the commander of a squadron, as the governor of a province, his prowess and exploits were the theme of every tongue. When he set sail, in vaunting style, for his seat of government, setting the viceroys at defiance, and threatening the life of Esquibel, every one thought that fortune was at his back, and he was about to accomplish wonders. A few months had elapsed, and he walked the streets of San Domingo a needy man, shipwrecked in hope and fortune. His former friends, dreading some new demand upon their purses, looked coldly on him; his schemes, once so extolled, were now pronounced wild and chimerical, and he was subjected to all kinds of slights and humiliations in the very place which had been the scene of his greatest vain-glory.

While Ojeda was thus lingering at San Domingo, the Admiral, Don Diego Columbus, sent a party of soldiers to Jamaica to arrest Talavera and his pirate crew. They were brought in chains to San Domingo, thrown into dungeons, and tried for the robbery of the Genoese vessel. Their crime was too notorious to admit of doubt, and being convicted, Talavera and several of his principal accomplices were hanged. Such was the end of their frightful journey by sea and land. Never had vagabonds travelled farther or toiled harder to arrive at a gallows!

In the course of the trial Ojeda had naturally been summoned as a witness, and his testimony must have tended greatly to the conviction of the culprits. This drew upon him the vengeance of the surviving comrades of Talavera, who still lurked about San Domingo. As he was returning home one night at a late hour, he was way-laid and set upon by a number of these miscreants. He displayed his usual spirit. Setting his back against a wall, and drawing his sword, he defended himself admirably against the whole gang; nor was he content with beating them off, but pursued them for some distance through the streets; and having thus put them to utter rout, returned tranquil and unharmed to his lodgings.

This is the last achievement recorded of the gallant but reckless Ojeda; for here his bustling career terminated, and he sank into the obscurity that gathers round a ruined man. His health was broken by the various hardships he had sustained, and by the lurking effects of the wound received at San Sebastian, which had been but imperfectly cured. Poverty and neglect, and the corroding sickness of the heart, contributed, no less than the maladies of the body, to quench that sanguine and fiery temper, which had hitherto been the secret of his success, and to render him the mere wreck of his former self; for there is no ruin so hopeless and complete, as that of a towering spirit humiliated and broken down. He appears to have lingered some time at San Domingo,

Gomara, in his history of the Indies, affirms that he turned monk, and entered in the convent of San Francisco, where he died. Such a change would not have been surprising in a man, who, in his wildest career, mingled the bigot with the soldier; nor was it unusual with military adventurers in those days, after passing their youth in the bustle and licentiousness of the camp, to end their days in the quiet and mortification of the cloister. Las Casas, however, who was at San Domingo at the time, makes no mention of the fact, as he certainly would have done, had it taken place. He confirms, however, all that has been said of the striking reverse in his character and circumstances; and he adds an affecting picture of his last moments, which may serve as a wholesome comment on his life. He died so poor that he did not leave money enough to provide for his interment; and so broken in spirit, that, with his last breath, he entreated his body might be buried in the monastery of San Francisco, just at the portal, in humble expiation of his past pride, "that every one who entered might tread upon his grave."

Such was the fate of Alonso de Ojeda,—and who does not forget his errors and his faults at the threshold of his humble and untimely grave! He was one of the most fearless and aspiring of that band of "Ocean chivalry," that followed the footsteps of Columbus. His story presents a lively picture of the daring enterprises, the extravagant exploits, the thousand accidents, by flood and field, that chequered the life of a Spanish cavalier in that roving and romantic age.

"Never," says Charlevoix, "was man more suited for a coup-de-main, or to achieve and suffer great things under the direction of another; none had a heart more lofty, or ambition more aspiring; none ever took less heed of fortune, or showed greater firmness of soul, or found more resources in his own courage; but none was less calculated to be commander in chief of a great enterprise. Good management and good fortune for ever failed him."

THE VOYAGE  
OF  
DIEGO DE NICUESA.

CHAPTER I.

NICUESA SAILS TO THE WESTWARD. HIS SHIPWRECK AND  
SUBSEQUENT DISASTERS.

[ 1509. ]

WE have now to recount the fortunes experienced by the gallant and generous Diego de Nicuesa, and

1 Las Casas, ubi sup.  
2 Charlevoix, Hist. St. Doming.

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his parting from Alonso de Ojeda at Carthagena. On resuming his voyage, he embarked in a caravel, that he might be able to coast the land and reconnoitre; he ordered that the two brigantines, one of which was commanded by his lieutenant Lope de Olano, should keep near to him, while the large vessels, which drew more water, should stand further out to sea. The squadron arrived upon the coast of Veragua, in stormy weather; and, as Nicuesa could not find any safe harbour, and was apprehensive of rocks and shoals, he stood out to sea at the approach of night, supposing that Lope de Olano would follow him with the brigantines according to his orders. The night was boisterous, the caravel was much tossed and driven about, and when the morning dawned, not one of the squadron was in sight.

Nicuesa feared some accident had befallen the brigantines; he stood out for the land, and coasted along it in search of them until he came to a large river, into which he entered and came to anchor. He had not been here long when the stream suddenly subsided, having merely been swollen by the rains. Before he had time to extricate himself, the caravel grounded, and at length fell over on one side. The current rushing like a torrent strained the feeble bark to such a degree, that her seams yawned, and she appeared ready to go to pieces. In this moment of peril a hardy seaman threw himself into the water to carry the end of a rope on shore as a means of saving the crew. He was swept away by the furious current and perished in sight of his companions. Undismayed by his fate, another brave seaman plunged into the waves and succeeded in reaching the shore. He then fastened one end of a rope firmly to a tree, and the other being secured on board of the caravel, Nicuesa and his crew passed one by one along it, and reached the shore in safety.

Scarcely had they landed when the caravel went to pieces, and with it perished their provisions, clothing and all other necessaries. Nothing remained to them but the boat of the caravel, which was accidentally cast on shore. Here then they were, in helpless plight, on a remote and savage coast, without food, without arms, and almost naked. What had become of the rest of the squadron they knew not. Some feared that the brigantines had been wrecked; others called to mind that Lope de Olano had been one of the loose lawless men confederated with Francisco Roldan in his rebellion against Columbus, and, judging him from the school in which he had served, hinted their apprehensions that he had deserted with the brigantines. Nicuesa partook of their suspicions, and was anxious and sad at heart. He concealed his uneasiness, however, and endeavoured to cheer up his companions, proposing that they should proceed westward on foot in search of Veragua, the seat of his intended government, observing that, if the ships had survived the tempest, they would probably repair to that place. They accordingly set off along the sea shore, for the thickness of the forest prevent-

ed their traversing the interior. Four of the hardest sailors put to sea in the boat and kept abreast of them, to help them across the bays and rivers.

Their sufferings were extreme. Most of them were destitute of shoes, and many almost naked. They had to clamber over sharp and rugged rocks, and to struggle through dense forests beset with thorns and brambles. Often they had to wade across rank fens and morasses and drowned lands, or to traverse deep and rapid streams.

Their food consisted of herbs and roots and shell fish gathered along the shore. Had they even met with Indians, they would have dreaded, in their unarmed state, to apply to them for provisions, lest they should take revenge for the outrages committed along this coast by other Europeans.

To render their sufferings more intolerable, they were in doubt whether, in the storms which preceded their shipwreck, they had not been driven past Veragua, in which case each step would take them so much the farther from their desired haven.

Still they laboured feebly forward, encouraged by the words and the example of Nicuesa, who cheerfully partook of the toils and hardships of the meanest of his men.

They had slept one night at the foot of impending rocks, and were about to resume their weary march in the morning, when they were espied by some Indians from a neighbouring height. Among the followers of Nicuesa was a favourite page, whose tattered finery and white hat caught the quick eyes of the savages. One of them immediately singled him out, and taking a deadly aim, let fly an arrow that laid him expiring at the feet of his master. While the generous cavalier mourned over his slaughtered page, consternation prevailed among his companions, each fearing for his own life. The Indians, however, did not follow up this casual act of hostility, but suffered the Spaniards to pursue their painful journey unmolested.

Arriving one day at the point of a great bay that ran far inland, they were conveyed, a few at a time, in the boat, to what appeared to be the opposite point. Being all landed, and resuming their march, they found to their surprise that they were on an island, separated from the main land by a great arm of the sea. The sailors who managed the boat were too weary to take them to the opposite shore, they remained therefore all night upon the island.

In the morning they prepared to depart, but, to their consternation, the boat with the four mariners had disappeared. They ran anxiously from point to point, uttering shouts and cries, in hopes the boat might be in some inlet; they clambered the rocks and strained their eyes over the sea. It was all in vain. No boat was to be seen: no voice responded to their call; it was too evident the four mariners had either perished or had deserted them.



## CHAPTER II.

## NICUESA AND HIS MEN ON A DESOLATE ISLAND.

THE situation of Nicuesa and his men was dreary and desperate in the extreme. They were on a desolate island, bordering upon a swampy coast, in a remote and lonely sea, where commerce never spread a sail. Their companions in the other ships, if still alive and true to them, had doubtless given them up for lost; and many years might elapse before the casual bark of a discoverer might venture along these shores. Long before that time their fate would be sealed; and their bones, bleaching on the sands, would alone tell their story.

In this hopeless state many abandoned themselves to frantic grief, wandering about the island, wringing their hands and uttering groans and lamentations; others called upon God for succour, and many sat down in silent and sullen despair.

The cravings of hunger and thirst at length roused them to exertion. They found no food but a few shell fish scattered along the shore, and coarse herbs and roots, some of them of an unwholesome quality. The island had neither springs nor streams of fresh water, and they were fain to slake their thirst at the brackish pools of the marshes.

Nicuesa endeavoured to animate his men with new hopes. He employed them in constructing a raft of drift wood and branches of trees, for the purpose of crossing the arm of the sea that separated them from the main land. It was a difficult task, for they were destitute of tools; and when the raft was finished, they had no oars with which to manage it. Some of the most expert swimmers undertook to propel it, but they were too much enfeebled by their sufferings. On their first essay, the currents which sweep that coast bore the raft out to sea, and they swam back with difficulty to the island. Having no other chance of escape, and no other means of exercising and keeping up the spirits of his followers, Nicuesa repeatedly ordered new rafts to be constructed; but the result was always the same, and the men at length either grew too feeble to work, or renounced the attempt in despair.

Thus, day after day, and week after week elapsed, without any mitigation of suffering or any prospect of relief. Every day some one or other sank under his miseries, a victim, not so much to hunger and thirst, as to grief and despondency. His death was envied by his wretched survivors, many of whom were reduced to such debility, that they had to crawl on hands and knees in search of the herbs and shell fish which formed their scanty food.

## CHAPTER III.

## ARRIVAL OF A BOAT. CONDUCT OF LOPE DE OLANO.

WHEN the unfortunate Spaniards, without hope of succour, began to consider death as a desirable end to their miseries, they were roused to new life one day by beholding a sail gleaming on the horizon. Their exultation was checked, however, by the reflection how many chances there were against its approaching this wild and desolate island. Watching it with anxious eyes, they put up prayers to God to conduct it to their relief; and at length, to their great joy, they perceived that it was steering directly for the island. On a nearer approach it proved to be one of the brigantines that had been commanded by Lope de Olano. It came to anchor: a boat put off, and among the crew were the four sailors who had disappeared so mysteriously from the island.

These men accounted in a satisfactory manner for their desertion. They had been persuaded that the ships were in some harbour to the eastward, and that they were daily leaving them farther behind. Disheartened at the constant, and, in their opinion, fruitless toil which fell to their share in the struggle westward, they resolved to take their own counsel, without risking the opposition of Nicuesa. In the dead of the night, therefore, when their companions on the island were asleep, they had silently cast off their boat, and retraced their course along the coast. After several days' toil they found the brigantines under the command of Lope de Olano, in the river of Belen, the scene of the disasters of Columbus in his fourth voyage.

The conduct of Lope de Olano was regarded with suspicion by his contemporaries, and is still subject to doubt. He is supposed to have deserted Nicuesa designedly, intending to usurp the command of the expedition. Men, however, were prone to judge harshly of him from his having been concerned in the treason and rebellion of Francisco Roldan. On the stormy night when Nicuesa stood out to sea to avoid the dangers of the shore, Olano took shelter under the lee of an island. Seeing nothing of the caravel of his commander in the morning, he made no effort to seek for it, but proceeded with the brigantines to the river of Chagres, where he found the ships at anchor. They had landed all their cargo, being almost in a sinking condition from the ravages of the worms. Olano persuaded the crews that Nicuesa had perished in the late storm, and, being his lieutenant, he assumed the command. Whether he had been perfidious or not in his motives, his command was but a succession of disasters. He sailed from Chagres for the river of Belen, where the ships were found so damaged that they had to be broken to pieces. Most of the people constructed wretched cabins on the shore, where, during a sudden storm, they were almost washed away by the swelling of the river, or swallowed up in the shifting sands. Se-

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veral of his men were drowned in an expedition in quest of gold, and he himself merely escaped by superior swimming. Their provisions were exhausted, they suffered from hunger and from various maladies, and many perished in extreme misery. All were clamorous to abandon the coast, and Olano set about constructing a caravel, out of the wreck of the ships, for the purpose, as he said, of returning to Hispaniola, though many suspected it was still his intention to persist in the enterprise. Such was the state in which the four seamen had found Olano and his party; most of them living in miserable cabins and destitute of the necessaries of life.

The tidings that Nicuesa was still alive put an end to the sway of Olano. Whether he had acted with truth or perfidy, he now manifested a zeal to relieve his commander, and immediately despatched a brigantine in quest of him, which, guided by the four seamen, arrived at the island in the way that has been mentioned.

## CHAPTER IV.

## NICUESA REJOINS HIS CREWS.

WHEN the crew of the brigantine and the companions of Nicuesa met, they embraced each other with tears; for the hearts even of the rough mariners were subdued by the sorrows they had undergone; and men are rendered kind to each other by a community of suffering. The brigantine had brought a quantity of palm nuts, and of such other articles of food as they had been able to procure along the coast. These the famished Spaniards devoured with such voracity that Nicuesa was obliged to interfere, lest they should injure themselves. Nor was the supply of fresh water less grateful to their parched and fevered palates.

When sufficiently revived, they all abandoned the desolate island, and set sail for the river Belen, exulting as joyfully as if their troubles were at an end, and they were bound to a haven of delight; instead of merely changing the scene of suffering and encountering a new variety of horrors.

In the meantime Lope de Olano had been diligently preparing for the approaching interview with his commander, by persuading his fellow-officers to intercede in his behalf, and to place his late conduct in the most favourable light. He had need of their intercessions. Nicuesa arrived, burning with indignation. He ordered him to be instantly seized and punished as a traitor; attributing to his desertion the ruin of the enterprise and the sufferings and death of so many of his brave followers. The fellow-captains of Olano spoke in his favour; but Nicuesa turned indignantly upon them: "You do well," cried he, "to supplicate mercy for him; you, who, yourselves, have need of pardon! You have participated in his crime; why, else, have you suffered so long a time to elapse with-

out compelling him to send one of the vessels in search of me?"

The captains now vindicated themselves by assurances of their belief in his having foundered at sea. They reiterated their supplications for mercy to Olano; drawing the most affecting pictures of their past and present sufferings, and urging the impolicy of increasing the horrors of their situation by acts of severity. Nicuesa at length was prevailed upon to spare his victim; resolving to send him, by the first opportunity, a prisoner to Spain. It appeared, in truth, no time to add to the daily blows of fate that were thinning the number of his followers. Of the gallant armament of seven hundred resolute and effective men that had sailed with him from San Domingo, four hundred had already perished by various miseries; and, of the survivors, many could scarcely be said to live.

## CHAPTER V.

## SUFFERINGS OF NICUESA AND HIS MEN ON THE COAST OF THE ISTHMUS.

[ 1510. ]

THE first care of Nicuesa, on resuming the general command, was to take measures for the relief of his people, who were perishing with famine and disease. All those who were in health, or who had strength sufficient to bear the least fatigue, were sent on foraging parties, among the fields and villages of the natives. It was a service of extreme peril; for the Indians of this part of the coast were fierce and warlike, and were the same who had proved so formidable to Columbus and his brother, when they attempted to found a settlement in this neighbourhood.

Many of the Spaniards were slain in these expeditions. Even if they succeeded in collecting provisions, the toil of bringing them to the harbour was worse to men in their enfeebled condition, than the task of fighting for them; for they were obliged to transport them on their backs, and, thus heavily laden, to scramble over rugged rocks, through almost impervious forests and across dismal swamps.

Harassed by these perils and fatigues, they broke forth into murmurs against their commander, accusing him, not merely of indifference to their sufferings, but of wantonly imposing severe and unnecessary tasks upon them, out of revenge for their having neglected him.

The genial temper of Nicuesa had, in fact, been soured by disappointment; and a series of harassing cares and evils had rendered him irritable and impatient; but he was a cavalier of a generous and honourable nature, and does not appear to have enforced any services that were not indispensable to the common safety. In fact, the famine had increased to such a degree, that, we are told, thirty Spaniards

having on one occasion found the dead body of an Indian in a state of decay, they were driven by hunger to make a meal of it, and were so infected by the horrible repast, that not one of them survived.”

Disheartened by these miseries, Nicuesa determined to abandon a place which seemed destined to be the grave of Spaniards. Embarking the greater part of his men in the two brigantines, and the caravel which had been built by Olano, he set sail eastward in search of some more favourable situation for his settlement. A number of the men remained behind, to await the ripening of some maize and vegetables which they had sown. These he left under the command of Alonso Nuñez, whom he nominated his Alcalde Mayor.

When Nicuesa had coasted about four leagues to the east, a Genoese sailor, who had been with Columbus in his last voyage, informed him that there was a fine harbour somewhere in that neighbourhood, which had pleased the old admiral so highly, that he had given it the name of Puerto Bello. He added, that they might know the harbour by an anchor, half buried in the sand, which Columbus had left there; near to which was a fountain of remarkably cool and sweet water, springing up at the foot of a large tree. Nicuesa ordered search to be made along the coast, and at length they found the anchor, the fountain, and the tree. It was the same harbour which bears the name of Puerto Bello at the present day. A number of the crew were sent on shore in search of provisions, but were assailed by the Indians; and, being too weak to wield their weapons with their usual prowess, were driven back to the vessels with the loss of several slain or wounded.

Dejected at these continual misfortunes, Nicuesa continued his voyage seven leagues further, until he came to the harbour to which Columbus had given the name of Puerto de Bastimentos; or, Port of Provisions. It presented an advantageous situation for a fortress, and was surrounded by a fruitful country. Nicuesa resolved to make it his abiding place. “Here,” said he, “let us stop, *en el nombre de Dios!*” (in the name of God). His followers, with the superstitious feeling under which men in adversity are prone to interpret every thing into omens, persuaded themselves that there was favourable augury in his words, and called the harbour “Nombre de Dios,” which name it afterwards retained.

Nicuesa now landed, and drawing his sword, took solemn possession in the name of the Catholic sovereigns. He immediately began to erect a fortress, to protect his people against the attacks of the savages. As this was a case of exigency, he exacted the labour of every one capable of exertion. The Spaniards, thus equally distressed by famine and toil, forgot their favourable omen, cursed the place as fated to be their grave, and called down imprecations on the head of their commander, who compelled them to labour when ready to sink with hunger and

debility. Those murmured no less who were sent in quest of food, which was only to be gained by fatigue and bloodshed; for whatever they collected they had to transport from great distances, and they were frequently waylaid and assaulted by the Indians.

When he could spare men for the purpose, Nicuesa despatched the caravel for those whom he had left at the river Belen. Many of them had perished, and the survivors had been reduced to such famines at times, as to eat all kinds of reptiles, until a part of an alligator was a banquet to them. On mustering all his forces when thus united, Nicuesa found that but one hundred emaciated and dejected wretches remained.

He despatched the caravel to Hispaniola, to bring a quantity of bacon which he had ordered to have prepared there, but it never returned. He ordered Gonzalo de Badajos, at the head of twenty men, to scour the country for provisions; but the Indians had ceased to cultivate: they could do with little food, and could subsist on the roots and wild fruits of the forest. The Spaniards, therefore, found deserted villages and barren fields, but lurking enemies at every defile. So deplorably were they reduced by their sufferings, that at length there were not left a sufficient number in health and strength to mount guard at night; and the fortress remained without sentinels. Such was the desperate situation of this once gay and gallant cavalier, and of his brilliant armament, which but a few months before had sailed from San Domingo, flushed with the consciousness of power, and the assurance that they had the means of compelling the favours of fortune.

It is necessary to leave them for a while, and turn our attention to other events which will ultimately be found to bear upon their destinies.

## CHAPTER VI.

### EXPEDITION OF THE BACHELOR ENCISO IN SEARCH OF THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT OF OJEDA.

IN calling to mind the narrative of the last expedition of Alonso de Ojeda, the reader will doubtless remember the Bachelor Martin Fernandez de Enciso, who was inspired by that adventurous cavalier with an ill-starred passion for colonising, and freighted a vessel at San Domingo with reinforcements and supplies for the settlement at San Sebastian.

When the Bachelor was on the eve of sailing, a number of the loose hangers-on of the colony, and men encumbered with debt, concerted to join his ship from the coast and the outposts. Their creditors, however, getting notice of their intention, kept a close watch upon every one that went on board while in the harbour, and obtained an armed vessel from the Admiral Don Diego Columbus, to escort the en-

Herrera, Hist. Ind., dec. 1. and vi. c. 2.

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surprising Bachelor clear of the island. One man, however, contrived to elude these precautions, and, as he afterwards rose to great importance, it is proper to notice him particularly. His name was Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. He was a native of Xeres de los Caballeros, and of a noble though impoverished family. He had been brought up in the service of Don Pedro Puerto Carrero, Lord of Moguer, and he afterwards enlisted among the adventurers who accompanied Rodrigo de Bastides in his voyage of discovery. Peter Martyr, in his Latin decades, speaks of him by the appellation of "egregius digladiator," which has been interpreted by some as a skillful swordsman, by others, as an adroit fencing-master. He intimates, also, that he was a mere soldier of fortune, of loose prodigal habits; and the circumstances under which he is first introduced to us justify this character. He had fixed himself for a time in Hispaniola, and undertaken to cultivate a farm at the town of Salvatierra, on the sea coast, but in a little time had completely involved himself in debt. The expedition of Enciso presented him with an opportunity of escaping from his embarrassments, and of indulging his adventurous habits. To elude the vigilance of his creditors and of the armed escort, he concealed himself in a cask, which was conveyed from his farm on the sea coast on board of the vessel, as if containing provisions for the voyage. When the vessel was fairly out at sea, and abandoned by the escort, Vasco Nuñez emerged like an apparition from his cask, to the great surprise of Enciso, who had been totally ignorant of the stratagem. The Bachelor was indignant at being thus outwitted, even though he gained a recruit by the deception; and, in the first bullition of his wrath, gave the fugitive debtor a very rough reception, threatening to put him on shore in the first uninhabited island they should encounter. Vasco Nuñez, however, succeeded in pacifying him; "for God," says the venerable Las Casas, "reserved him for greater things." It is probable the Bachelor beheld in him a man well fitted for his expedition, for Vasco Nuñez was in the prime and vigour of his days, tall and muscular, seasoned to hardships, and of intrepid spirit.

Arriving at the main land, they touched at the fatal harbour of Carthagena, the scene of the sanguinary conflicts of Ojeda and Nicuesa with the natives, and of the death of the brave Juan de la Cosa. Enciso was ignorant of those events, having had no tidings from those adventurers since their departure from San Domingo; without any hesitation, therefore, he ordered a number of his men to repair his boat, which was damaged, and to procure water. While the men were working upon the boat, a multitude of Indians gathered at a distance, well armed and with menacing aspect, sounding their shells and brandishing their weapons. The experience they had had of the tremendous powers of the strangers, however, rendered them cautious of attacking, and for three days they hovered in this manner about the Spaniards, the

latter being obliged to keep continually on the alert. At length two of the Spaniards ventured one day from the main body to fill a water cask from the adjacent river. Scarcely had they reached the margin of the stream, when eleven savages sprang from the thickets and surrounded them, bending their bows and pointing their arrows. In this way they stood for a moment or two in fearful suspense, the Indians refraining from discharging their shafts, but keeping them constantly pointed at their breasts. One of the Spaniards attempted to escape to his comrades who were repairing the boat, but the other called him back, and, understanding something of the Indian tongue, addressed a few amicable words to the savages. The latter, astonished at being spoken to in their own language, now relaxed a little from their fierceness, and demanded of the strangers who they were, who were their leaders, and what they sought upon their shores. The Spaniard replied that they were harmless people, who came from other lands, and merely touched there through necessity, and he wondered that they should meet them with such hostility; he at the same time warned them to beware, as there would come many of his countrymen well armed, and would wreak terrible vengeance upon them for any mischief they might do. While they were thus parleying, the Bachelor Enciso, hearing that two of his men were surrounded by the savages, sallied instantly from his ship, and hastened with an armed force to their rescue. As he approached, however, the Spaniard who had held the parley made him a signal that the natives were pacific. In fact the latter had supposed that this was a new invasion of Ojeda and Nicuesa, and had thus arrayed themselves, if not to take vengeance for past outrages, at least to defend their houses from a second desolation. When they were convinced, however, that these were a totally different band of strangers and without hostile intentions, their animosity was at an end; they threw by their weapons, and came forward with the most confiding frankness. During the whole time that the Spaniards remained there, they treated them with the greatest friendship, supplying them with bread made from maize, with salted fish, and with the fermented and spirituous beverages common along that coast. Such was the magnanimous conduct of men who were considered among the most ferocious and warlike of these savage nations; and who, but recently, had beheld their shores invaded, their villages ravaged and burnt, and their friends and relations butchered, without regard to age or sex, by the countrymen of these very strangers. When we recall the bloody and indiscriminate vengeance wreaked upon this people by Ojeda and his followers for their justifiable resistance of invasion, and compare it with their placable and considerate spirit, when an opportunity for revenge presented itself, we confess we feel a momentary doubt whether the arbitrary appellation of savage is always applied to the right party.



## CHAPTER VII.

## THE BACHELOR HEARS UNWELCOME TIDINGS OF HIS DESTINED JURISDICTION.

Not long after the arrival of Enciso at this eventful harbour, he was surprised by the circumstance of a brigantine entering, and coming to anchor. To encounter an European sail in these almost unknown seas was always a singular and striking occurrence, but the astonishment of the Bachelor was mingled with alarm when, on boarding the brigantine, he found that it was manned by a number of the men who had embarked with Ojeda. His first idea was, that they had mutinied against their commander, and deserted with the vessel. The feelings of the magistrate were aroused within him by the suspicion, and he determined to take his first step as Alcalde Mayor, by seizing them and inflicting on them the severity of the law. He altered his tone, however, on conversing with their resolute commander. This was no other than Francisco Pizarro, whom Ojeda had left as his *locum tenens* at San Sebastian, and who showed the Bachelor his letter patent, signed by that unfortunate governor. In fact, the little brigantine contained the sad remnant of the once vaunted colony. After the departure of Ojeda in the pirate ship, his followers, whom he had left behind under the command of Pizarro, continued in the fortress until the stipulated term of fifty days had expired. Receiving no succour, and hearing no tidings of Ojeda, they then determined to embark and sail for Hispaniola; but here an unthought of difficulty presented itself, they were seventy in number, and the two brigantines which had been left with them were incapable of taking so many. They came to the forlorn agreement, therefore, to remain until famine, sickness, and the poisoned arrows of the Indians should reduce their number to the capacity of the brigantines. A brief space of time was sufficient for the purpose. They then prepared for the voyage. Four mares which had been kept alive, as terrors to the Indians, were killed and salted for sea-stores. Then taking whatever other articles of provision remained, they embarked and made sail. One brigantine was commanded by Pizarro, the other by one Valenzuela.

They had not proceeded far when, in a storm, a sea struck the crazy vessel of Valenzuela with such violence as to cause it to founder with all its crew. The other brigantine was so near that the mariners witnessed the struggles of their drowning companions, and heard their cries. Some of the sailors, with the common disposition to the marvellous, declared that they had beheld a great whale, or some other monster of the deep, strike the vessel with its tail, and either stave in its sides or shatter the rudder, so as to cause the shipwreck. The surviving brig-

antine then made the best of its way to the harbour of Carthage, to seek provisions.

Such was the disastrous account rendered to the Bachelor by Pizarro, of his destined jurisdiction. Enciso, however, was of a confident mind and sanguine temperament, and trusted to restore all things to order and prosperity on his arrival.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## CRUSADE OF THE BACHELOR ENCISO AGAINST THE SEPULCHRES OF ZENU.

The Bachelor Enciso, as has been shown, was a man of the sword as well as of the robe; having doubtless imbibed a passion for military exploit from his intimacy with the discoverers. Accordingly, while at Carthage, he was visited by an impulse of the kind, and undertook an enterprise that would have been worthy of his friend Ojeda. He had been told by the Indians that about twenty-five leagues to the west lay a province called Zenu, the mountains of which abounded with the finest gold. This was washed down by torrents during the rainy season, in such quantities, that the natives stretched nets across the rivers to catch the largest particles; some of which were said to be as large as eggs.

The idea of taking gold in nets captivated the imagination of the Bachelor, and his cupidity was still more excited by further accounts of this western province. He was told that Zenu was the general place of sepulture of the Indian tribes throughout the country, whither they brought their dead, and buried them, according to their custom, decorated with their most precious ornaments.

It appeared to him a matter of course, therefore, that there must be an immense accumulation of riches in the Indian tombs, from the golden ornaments that had been buried with the dead through a long series of generations. Fired with the thought, he determined to make a foray into this province, and to sack the sepulchres! Neither did he feel any compunction at the idea of plundering the dead, considering the deceased as pagans and infidels, who had forfeited even the sanctuary of the grave, by having been buried according to the rites and ceremonies of their idolatrous religion.

Enciso, accordingly, made sail from Carthage and landed with his forces on the coast of Zenu. Here he was promptly opposed by two caciques at the head of a large band of warriors. The Bachelor, though he had thus put on the soldier, retained sufficient of the spirit of his former calling not to enter into quarrel without taking care to have the law on his side; he proceeded regularly, therefore, according to the legal form recently enjoined by the crown. He caused to be read and interpreted to the caciques the same formula used by Ojeda, expounding the un-

• Herrera, *Hist. Ind.*, dec. 1, l. vii, c. 10.

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The above anecdote is in a Geography which he published. It contains sources reported by the Bachelor Enciso, que no avia sino que era señero, que en lo que d'agar de Dios, y de Castilla; dizen, pues daba lo que tal merced d' etc.

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE BACHELOR ARRIVES AT SAN SEBASTIAN. HIS DISASTERS THERE, AND SUBSEQUENT EXPLOITS AT DARIEN.

It was not without extreme difficulty, and the peremptory exercise of his authority as Alcalde Mayor, that Enciso prevailed upon the crew of Pizarro to return with him to the fated shores of San Sebastian. He at length arrived in sight of the long wished-for seat of his anticipated power and authority; but here he was doomed like his principal, Ojeda, to meet with nothing but misfortune. On entering the harbour his vessel struck on a rock on the eastern point. The rapid currents and tumultuous waves rent it to pieces; the crew escaped with great difficulty to the brigantine of Pizarro; a little flour, cheese and biscuit, and a small part of the arms, were saved, but the horses, mares, swine, and all other colonial supplies were swept away, and the unfortunate Bachelor beheld the proceeds of several years of prosperous litigation swallowed up in an instant.

His dream of place and dignity seemed equally on the point of vanishing; for, on landing, he found the fortress and its adjacent houses mere heaps of ruins, having been destroyed with fire by the Indians.

For a few days the Spaniards maintained themselves with palm nuts, and with the flesh of a kind of wild swine, of which they met with several herds. These supplies failing, the Bachelor sallied forth with a hundred men to forage the country. They were waylaid by three Indians, who discharged all the arrows in their quivers with incredible rapidity, wounded several Spaniards, and then fled with a swiftness that defied pursuit. The Spaniards returned to the harbour in dismay. All their dread of the lurking savages and their poisoned weapons revived, and they insisted upon abandoning a place marked out for disaster.

The Bachelor Enciso was himself disheartened at the situation of this boasted capital of San Sebastian;—but whither could he go where the same misfortune might not attend him? In this moment of doubt and despondency, Vasco Nuñez, the same absconding debtor who had been smuggled on board in the cask, stepped forward to give counsel. He informed the Bachelor that several years previously he had sailed along that coast with Rodrigo de Bastides. They had explored the whole gulf of Uraba; and he well remembered an Indian village situated on the western side, on the banks of a river which the natives called Darien. The country round was said to possess mines of gold; and the natives, though a warlike race, never made use of poisoned weapons. He offered to guide the Bachelor to this place, where they might get a supply of provisions, and even found their colony.

The Spaniards hailed the words of Vasco Nuñez as if revealing a land of promise. The Bachelor adopted his advice, and, guided by him, set sail for

sure of the Deity, the supremacy of the pope, and the right of the Catholic Sovereigns to all these lands, by virtue of a grant from his holiness. The caciques listened to the whole very attentively and without interruption, according to the laws of Indian courtesy. They then replied, that as to the assertion that there was but one God, the sovereign of heaven and earth, it seemed to them good, and that such must be the case; but as to the doctrine that the pope was regent of the world in the place of God, and that he had made a grant of their country to the Spanish king, they observed that the pope must have been drunk to give away what was not his, and the king must have been somewhat mad to ask at his hands what belonged to others. They added, that they were lords of those lands and needed no other sovereign, and if this king should come to take possession, they would cut off his head and put it on a pole; that being their mode of dealing with their enemies.—As an illustration of this custom they pointed out to Enciso the very uncomfortable spectacle of a row of grizzly heads impaled in the neighbourhood.

Nothing daunted either by the reply or the illustration, the Bachelor menaced them with war and every as the consequences of their refusal to believe and submit. They replied by threatening to put his head upon a pole as a representative of his sovereign. The Bachelor having furnished them with the law, now proceeded to the commentary. He attacked the Indians, routed them, and took one of the caciques prisoner, but in the skirmish two of his men were slightly wounded with poisoned arrows, and died pining with torment.

It does not appear, however, that his crusade against the sepulchres was attended with any lucrative advantage. Perhaps the experience he had received of the hostility of the natives, and of the fatal effects of their poisoned arrows, prevented his penetrating to the land, with his scanty force. Certain it is, the reputed wealth of Zenu, and the tale of its fishery of gold with nets, remained unascertained and uncontradicted, and were the cause of subsequent and disastrous enterprises. The Bachelor contented himself with his victory, and returning to his ships, prepared to continue his voyage for the seat of government established by Ojeda in the Gulf of Uraba.

The above anecdote is related by the Bachelor Enciso himself in a Geographical Work entitled *Suma de Geographia*, which he published in Seville, in 1519. As the reply of the poor natives contains something of natural logic, we give a part of it as related by the Bachelor. "Respondieron me: que en lo que yo oia que no avia sino un Dios, y que este gobernaba el cielo y la tierra, y que era señor de todo, que les parecia y que asi debía ser: que en lo que dezia que el papa era señor de todo el universo, y que el papa era señor de Dios, y que el avia fecho merced de aquella tierra al Rey de Castilla; dixeron que el papa debiera estar boracho quando se fecho, pues daba lo que no era suyo, y que el Rey que pedia y dava tal merced debia ser algun loco pues pedia lo que era de Dios, etc.

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the village, determined to eject the inhabitants and take possession of it as the seat of government. Arrived at the river, he landed, put his men in martial array, and marched along the banks. The place was governed by a brave cacique named Zemaec. When he heard of the approach of the Spaniards, he sent off the women and children to a place of safety, and, posting himself with five hundred of his warriors on a height, prepared to give the intruders a warm reception. The Bachelor was a discoverer at all points, pious, daring, and rapacious. On beholding this martial array he recommended himself and his followers to God, making a vow in their name to "Our Lady of Antigua," whose image is adored with great devotion in Seville, that the first church and town which they built should be dedicated to her, and that they would make a pilgrimage to Seville to offer the spoils of the heathen at her shrine. Having thus endeavoured to propitiate the favour of heaven, and to retain the holy Virgin in his cause, he next proceeded to secure the fidelity of his followers. Dreading that they might have some lurking dread of poisoned arrows, he exacted from them all an oath that they would not turn their backs upon the foe, whatever might happen. Never did warrior enter into battle with more preliminary forms and covenants than the Bachelor Enciso. All these points being arranged, he assumed the soldier, and attacked the enemy with such valour, that, though they made at first a show of fierce resistance, they were soon put to flight, and many of them slain. The Bachelor entered the village in triumph, took possession of it by unquestionable right of conquest, and plundered all the hamlets and houses of the surrounding country; collecting great quantities of food and cotton, with bracelets, anklets, plates and other ornaments of gold, to the value of ten thousand castellanos. His heart was wonderfully elated by his victory and his booty; his followers, also, after so many hardships and disasters, gave themselves up to joy at this turn of good fortune, and it was unanimously agreed that the seat of government should be established in this village; to which, in fulfilment of his vow, Enciso gave the name of Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien.

#### CHAPTER X.

##### THE BACHELOR ENCISO UNDERTAKES THE COMMAND. HIS DOWNFALL.

THE Bachelor Enciso now entered upon the exercise of his civil functions as Alcalde Mayor, and Lieutenant of the absent governor, Ojeda. His first edict was stern and peremptory; he forbade all trafficking with the natives for gold, on private account, under pain of death. This was in conformity to royal command; but it was little palatable to men

\* Equivalent to a present sum of 55,259 dollars.

who had engaged in the enterprise in the hopes of enjoying free trade, lawless liberty, and golden gain. They murmured among themselves, and insinuated that Enciso intended to reserve all the profit to himself.

Vasco Nuñez was the first to take advantage of the general discontent. He had risen to consequence among his fellow-adventurers, from having guided them to this place, and from his own intrinsic qualities, being hardy, bold, and intelligent, and possessing the random spirit and open-handed generosity common to a soldier of fortune, and calculated to dazzle and delight the multitude.

He bore no good will to the Bachelor, recollecting his threat of landing him on an uninhabited island, when he escaped in a cask from St Domingo. He sought, therefore, to make a party against him, and to unseat him from his command. He attacked him in his own way, with legal weapons, questioning the legitimacy of his pretensions. The boundary line he observed, which separated the jurisdictions of Ojeda and Nicuesa, ran through the centre of the gulf of Uraba. The village of Darien lay on the western side, which had been allotted to Nicuesa. Enciso, therefore, as Alcalde Mayor and Lieutenant of Ojeda, could have no jurisdiction here, and his assumed authority was a sheer usurpation.

The Spaniards, already incensed at the fiscal regulations of Enciso, were easily convinced; so with one accord they refused allegiance to him; and the unfortunate Bachelor found the chair of authority which he had so fondly and anxiously aspired, suddenly wrested from under him, before he had well time to take his seat.

#### CHAPTER XI.

##### PERPLEXITIES AT THE COLONY. ARRIVAL OF COLMENAR.

To depose the Bachelor had been an easy matter for most men are ready to assist in pulling down; but to choose a successor was a task of far more difficulty. The people at first agreed to elect mere civil magistrates, and accordingly appointed Vasco Nuñez and one Zenudio as alcaldes, together with a cavalier of some merit of the name of Valdivia, as regidor. The soon, however, became dissatisfied with this arrangement, and it was generally considered advisable to vest the authority in one person. Who this person should be, was now the question. Some proposed Nicuesa, as they were within his province; others were strenuous for Vasco Nuñez. A violent dispute ensued, which was carried on with such heat and obstinacy, that many, anxious for a quiet life, deemed it would be better to reinstate Enciso until the pleasure of the king should be known.

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cannon from the opposite side of the gulf, and beheld columns of smoke rising from the hills. Astonished at these signals of civilized man on these wild shores, they replied in the same manner, and in a short time two ships were seen standing across the gulf. They proved to be an armament commanded by one Rodrigo de Colmenares, and were in search of Nicuesa with supplies. They had met with the usual luck of adventurers on this disastrous coast, storms at sea and savage foes on shore, and many of their number had fallen by poisoned arrows. Colmenares had touched at San Sebastian to learn tidings of Nicuesa; but, finding the fortress in ruins, had made signals, in hopes of being heard by the Spaniards, should they be yet lingering in the neighbourhood.

The arrival of Colmenares caused a temporary suspension of the feuds of the colonists. He distributed provisions among them, and gained their hearts. Then representing the legitimate right of Nicuesa to the command of all that part of the coast as a governor appointed by the king, he persuaded the greater part of the people to acknowledge his authority. It was generally agreed, therefore, that he should cruise along the coast in search of Nicuesa, and that Diego de Albitéz, and an active member of the law, called the Bachelor Corral, should accompany him as ambassadors, to invite that cavalier to come and assume the government of Darien.

## CHAPTER XII.

## COLMENARES GOES IN QUEST OF NICUESA.

RODRIGO de Colmenares proceeded along the coast to the westward, looking into every bay and harbour, but for a long time without success. At length one day he discovered a brigantine at a small island in the sea. On making up to it, he found that it was part of the armament of Nicuesa, and had been sent out by him to forage for provisions. By his vessel he was piloted to the port of Nombre de Dios, the nominal capital of the unfortunate governor, but which was so surrounded and over-shadowed by forests, that he might have passed by without noticing it.

The arrival of Colmenares was welcomed with transports and tears of joy. It was scarcely possible for him to recognise the once buoyant and brilliant Nicuesa in the squalid and dejected man before him. He was living in the most abject misery. Of all his once gallant and powerful band of followers, but sixty men remained, and those so feeble, yellow, emaciated, and woe-begone, that it was piteous to behold them.

The harbour of Nombre de Dios continued for a long time to present traces of the sufferings of the Spaniards. We are told by Herrera, that several years after the time here mentioned, a band of eighty Spanish soldiers, commanded by Gonzalo de Badajos, arrived at the harbour with an intention of penetrating into the

Colmenares distributed food among them, and told them that he had come to convey them to a plentiful country, and one rich in gold. When Nicuesa heard of the settlement at Darien, and that the inhabitants had sent for him to come and govern them, he was as a man suddenly revived from death. All the spirit and munificence of the cavalier again awakened in him. He gave a kind of banquet that very day to Colmenares and the ambassadors, from the provisions brought in the ship. He presided at his table with his former hilarity, and displayed a feat of his ancient office as royal carver, by holding up a fowl in the air and dissecting it with wonderful adroitness.

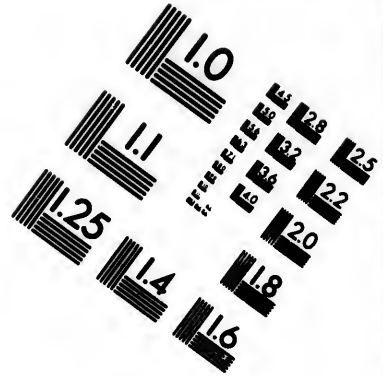
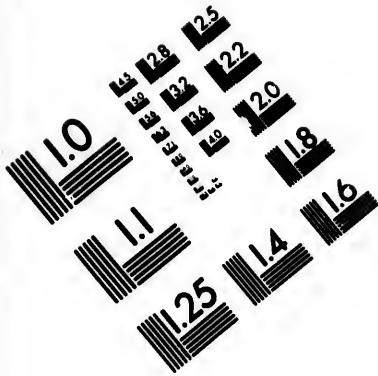
Well would it have been for Nicuesa, had the sudden buoyancy of his feelings carried him no further; but adversity had not taught him prudence. In conversing with the envoys about the colony of Darien, he already assumed the tone of governor, and began to disclose the kind of policy with which he intended to rule. When he heard that great quantities of gold had been collected and retained by private individuals, his fire was kindled. He vowed to make them refund it, and even talked of punishing them for trespassing upon the privileges and monopolies of the crown. This was the very error that had unseated the Bachelor Enciso from his government, and it was a strong measure for one to threaten who as yet was governor but in expectation. The menace was not lost upon the watchful ambassadors Diego de Albitéz and the Bachelor Corral. They were put still more on the alert by a conversation which they held that very evening with Lope de Olano, who was still detained a prisoner for his desertion, but who found means to commune with the envoys, and to prejudice them against his unsuspecting commander. "Take warning," said he, "by my treatment. I sent relief to Nicuesa and rescued him from death when starving on a desert island. Behold my recompense. He repays me with imprisonment and chains. Such is the gratitude the people of Darien may look for at his hands!"

The subtle Bachelor Corral and his fellow envoy laid these matters to heart, and took their measures accordingly. They hurried their departure before Nicuesa, and setting all sail on their caravel, hastened back to Darien. The moment they arrived they summoned a meeting of the principal inhabitants. "A blessed change we have made," said they, "in summoning this Diego de Nicuesa to the command! We have called in the stork to take the rule, who will not rest satisfied until he has devoured us." They then related, with the usual exaggeration, the unguarded threats that had fallen from Nicuesa, and

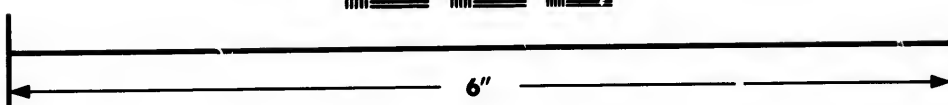
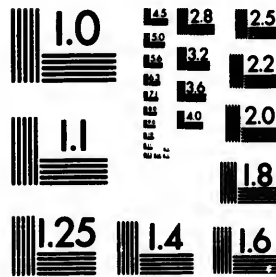
interior. They found there the ruined fort of Nicuesa, together with skulls and bones and crosses erected on heaps of stones, dismal mementos of his followers who had perished of hunger; the sight of which struck such horror and dismay into the hearts of the soldiers that they would have abandoned their enterprise, had not their intrepid captain immediately sent away the ships and thus deprived them of the means of retreating. Herrera, d. 11. l. 1.







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instanced his treatment of Olano as a proof of a tyrannous and ungrateful disposition.

The words of the subtle Bachelor Corral and his associate produced a violent agitation among the people, especially among those who had amassed treasures which would have to be refunded. Nicuesa, too, by a transaction which almost destroys sympathy in his favour, gave time for their passions to ferment. On his way to Darien he stopped for several days among a group of small islands, for the purpose of capturing Indians to be sold as slaves. While committing these outrages against humanity, he sent forward Juan de Cayzedo in a boat to announce his coming. His messenger had a private pique against him, and played him false. He assured the people of Darien that all they had been told by their envoys concerning the tyranny and ingratitude of Nicuesa was true;—that he treated his followers with wanton severity; that he took from them all they won in battle, saying that the spoils were his rightful property; and that it was his intention to treat the people of Darien in the same manner. "What folly is it in you," added he, "being your own masters, and in such free condition, to send for a tyrant to rule over you!"

The people of Darien were convinced by this concurring testimony, and confounded by the overwhelming evil they had thus invoked upon their heads. They had deposed Enciso for his severity, and they had thrown themselves into the power of one who threatened to be ten times more severe! Vasco Nuñez de Balboa observed their perplexity and consternation. He drew them one by one apart, and conversed with them in private. "You are cast down in heart," said he, "and so you might well be, were the evil beyond all cure. But do not despair; there is an effectual relief, and you hold it in your hands. If you have committed an error in inviting Nicuesa to Darien, it is easily remedied by not receiving him when he comes!" The obviousness and simplicity of the remedy struck every mind, and it was unanimously adopted.

### CHAPTER XIII.

#### CATASTROPHE OF THE UNFORTUNATE NICUESA.

[ 4311. ]

WHILE this hostile plot was maturing at Darien, the unsuspecting Nicuesa pursued his voyage leisurely and serenely, and arrived in safety at the mouth of the river. On approaching the shore he beheld a multitude, headed by Vasco Nuñez, waiting, as he supposed, to receive him with all due honour. He was about to land, when the public procurador, or attorney, called to him with a loud voice, warning him not to disembark, but advising him to return with all speed to his government at Nombre de Dios.

Nicuesa remained for a moment as if thunder-struck by so unlooked-for a salutation. When he recovered his self-possession he reminded them that he had come at their own request; he entreated, therefore, that he might be allowed to land and have an explanation, after which he would be ready to act as they thought proper. His entreaties were vain; they only provoked insolent replies, and threats of violence should he venture to put foot on shore. Night coming on, therefore, he was obliged to stand out to sea, but returned the next morning, hoping to find this capricious people in a different mood.

There did, indeed, appear to be a favourable change, for he was now invited to land. It was a mere stratagem to get him in their power; for no sooner did he set foot on shore than the multitude rushed forward to seize him. Among his many bodily endowments, Nicuesa was noted for swiftness of foot. He now trusted to it for safety, and, throwing off the dignity of governor, fled for his life along the shore, pursued by the rabble. He soon distanced his pursuers, and took refuge in the woods.

Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, who was himself a man of birth, seeing this high-bred cavalier reduced to such extremity, and at the mercy of a violent rabble, repented of what he had done. He had not anticipated such popular fury, and endeavoured, though too late, to allay the tempest he had raised. He succeeded in preventing the people from pursuing Nicuesa into the forest, and then endeavoured to mollify the vindictive rage of his fellow alcalde, Zamudio, whose hostility was quickened by the dread of losing his office, should the new governor be received; and who was supported in his boisterous conduct by the natural love of the multitude for what are called "strong measures." Nicuesa now held a parley with the populace through the mediation of Vasco Nuñez. He begged that, if they would not acknowledge him as governor, they would at least admit him as a companion. This they refused, saying, that if they admitted him in one capacity, he would end by attaining to the other. He then implored that, if he could be admitted on no other terms, they would treat him as a prisoner, and put him in irons, for he would rather die among them than return to Nombre de Dios, to perish of famine or by the arrows of the Indians.

It was in vain that Vasco Nuñez exerted his eloquence to obtain some grace for this unhappy cavalier. His voice was drowned by the vociferations of the multitude. Among these was a noisy swaggering fellow named Francisco Benitez, a great talker and jester, who took a vulgar triumph in the distresses of the cavalier, and answered every plea in his behalf with scoffs and jeers. He was an adherent of the alcalde Zamudio, and under his patronage had emboldened to bluster. His voice was ever uppermost in the general clamour, until, to the exhortations of Vasco Nuñez, he replied by merely laughing with great vociferation, "No, no, no!—we will re-



moment as if thunder-salutation. When he reminded them that request; he entreated, allowed to land and have he would be ready to act as entreaties were vain; replies, and threats of to put foot on shore. he was obliged to stand next morning, hoping to a different mood.

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ceive no such a fellow among us as Nicuesa!" The patience of Vasco Nuñez was exhausted; he availed himself of his authority as alcalde, and suddenly, before his fellow magistrate could interfere, ordered the brawling ruffian to be rewarded with a hundred lashes, which were taled out roundly to him upon the shoulders.

Seeing that the fury of the populace was not to be pacified, he sent word to Nicuesa to retire to his brigantine, and not to venture on shore until advised by him to do so. The counsel was fruitless. Nicuesa, above deceit himself, suspected it not in others. He retired to his brigantines, it is true, but suffered himself to be inveigled on shore by a deputation professing to come on the part of the public, with offers to reinstate him as governor. He had scarcely landed when he was set upon by an armed band, headed by the base-minded Zamudio, who seized him and compelled him, by menaces of death, to swear that he would immediately depart, and make no delay in any place, until he had presented himself before the king and council in Castile.

It was in vain that Nicuesa reminded them that he was governor of that territory and representative of the king, and that they were guilty of treason in thus opposing him; it was in vain that he appealed to their humanity, or protested before God against their cruelty and persecution. The people were in that state of tumult when they are apt to add cruelty to injustice. Not content with expelling the discarded governor from their shores, they allotted him the worst vessel in the harbour; an old crazy brigantine totally unfit to encounter the perils and labours of the sea.

Seventeen followers embarked with him; some being of his household and attached to his person; the rest were volunteers, who accompanied him out of respect and sympathy. The frail bark set sail on the first of March, 1511, and steered across the Caribbean sea for the island of Hispaniola, but was never seen or heard of more!

Various attempts have been made to penetrate the mystery that covers the fate of the brigantine and its crew. A rumour prevailed some years afterwards, that several Spaniards, wandering along the shore of Cuba, found the following inscription carved on a tree;—

Aquí feneció el desdichado Nicuesa.\*

ence it was inferred that he and his followers had dnded there, and been massacred by the Indians. Las Casas, however, discredits this story. He accompanied the first Spaniards who took possession of Cuba, and heard nothing of the fact, as he most probably would have done had it really occurred. He imagines, rather, that the crazy bark was swallowed up by the storms and currents of the Caribbean sea, and that the crew perished with hunger and thirst, having been but scantily supplied with provisions. The

good old bishop adds, with the superstitious feeling prevalent in that age, that a short time before Nicuesa sailed from Spain on his expedition, an astrologer warned him not to depart on the day he had appointed, or under a certain sign; the cavalier replied, however, that he had less confidence in the stars than in God who made them. "I recollect, moreover," adds Las Casas, "that about this time a comet was seen over this island of Hispaniola, which, if I do not forget, was in the shape of a sword; and it was said that a monk warned several of those about to embark with Nicuesa, to avoid that captain, for the heavens foretold he was destined to be lost. The same, however," he concludes, "might be said of Alonso de Ojeda, who sailed at the same time, yet returned to San Domingo and died in his bed."

## VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA,

DISCOVERER OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

### CHAPTER I.

FACTIONS AT DARIEN. VASCO NUÑEZ ELEVATED TO THE COMMAND.

[1511.]

WE have traced the disastrous fortunes of Alonso de Ojeda and Diego de Nicuesa;—we have now to record the story of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, an adventurer equally daring, far more renowned, and not less unfortunate, who in a manner rose upon their ruins.

When the bark disappeared from view which bore the ill-starred Nicuesa from the shores of Darien, the community relapsed into factions, as to who should have the rule. The Bachelor Enciso insisted upon his claims as paramount, but he met with a powerful opponent in Vasco Nuñez, who had become a great favourite with the people, from his frank and fearless character, and his winning affability. In fact, he was peculiarly calculated to manage the fiery and factious, yet generous and susceptible, nature of his countrymen; for the Spaniards, though proud and resentful, and impatient of indignity or restraint, are easily dazzled by valour, and won by courtesy and kindness. Vasco Nuñez had the external requisites also to captivate the multitude. He was now about thirty-five years of age; tall, well formed, and vigorous, with reddish hair, and an open prepossessing countenance. His office of alcalde, while it clothed him with influence and importance, tempered those irregular and dissolute habits he might have indulged while a mere soldier of fortune; and his superior talent soon gave him a complete ascendancy over his official colleague Zamudio. He was thus

\* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., t. ii. c. 68.

\* Here perished the unfortunate Nicuesa.

\* Las Casas, *id. sup.*, c. 68.

enabled to set on foot a vigorous opposition to Enciso. Still he proceeded according to the forms of law, and summoned the Bachelor to trial, on the charge of usurping the powers of Alcalde Mayor, on the mere appointment of Alonso de Ojeda, whose jurisdiction did not extend to this province.

Enciso was an able lawyer, and pleaded his cause skillfully; but his claims were, in fact, fallacious, and, had they not been so, he had to deal with men who cared little for law, who had been irritated by his legal exactions, and who were disposed to be governed by a man of the sword rather than of the robe. He was readily found guilty, therefore, and thrown into prison, and all his property was confiscated. This was a violent verdict, and rashly executed; but justice seemed to grow fierce and wild when transplanted to the wilderness of the New World. Still there is no place where wrong can be committed with impunity; the oppression of the Bachelor Enciso, though exercised under the forms of law, and in a region remote from the pale of civilized life, redounded to the eventual injury of Vasco Nuñez, and contributed to blast the fruits of that ambition it was intended to promote.

The fortunes of the enterprising Bachelor had indeed run strangely counter to the prospects with which he had embarked at San Domingo; he had become a culprit at the bar instead of a judge upon the bench; and now was left to ruminate in a prison on the failure of his late attempt at general command. His friends, however, interceded warmly in his behalf, and at length obtained his release from confinement, and permission for him to return to Spain. Vasco Nuñez foresaw that the lawyer would be apt to plead his cause more effectually at the court of Castile than he had done before the partial and prejudiced tribunal of Darien. He prevailed upon his fellow-alcalde Zamudio, therefore, who was implicated with him in the late transactions, to return to Spain in the same vessel with the Bachelor, so as to be on the spot to answer his charges, and to give a favourable report of the case. He was also instructed to set forth the services of Vasco Nuñez, both in guiding the colonists to this place, and in managing the affairs of the settlement; and to dwell with emphasis on the symptoms of great riches in the surrounding country.

The Bachelor and the Alcalde embarked in a small caravel; and, as it was to touch at Hispaniola, Vasco Nuñez sent his confidential friend, the Regidor Valdivia, to that island to obtain provisions and recruits. He secretly put into his hands a round sum of gold as a present to Miguel de Pasamonte, the royal treasurer of Hispaniola, whom he knew to have great credit with the king, and to be invested with extensive powers, craving at the same time his protection in the New World and his influence at court.

Having taken these shrewd precautions, Vasco Nuñez saw the caravel depart without dismay, though hearing to Spain his most dangerous enemy; he consoled himself, moreover, with the reflection that

it likewise bore off his fellow-alcalde Zamudio, and thus left him in sole command of the colony.

## CHAPTER II.

### EXPEDITION TO COYBA. VASCO NUÑEZ RECEIVES THE DAUGHTER OF A CACIQUE AS HOSTAGE.

VASCO Nuñez now exerted himself to prove his capacity for the government to which he had aspired; and as he knew that no proof was more convincing to King Ferdinand than ample remittances, and that gold covered all sins in the New World, his first object was to discover those parts of the country which most abounded in the precious metals. Hearing exaggerated reports of the riches of a province about thirty leagues distant, called Coyba, he sent Francisco Pizarro with six men to explore it.

The cacique Zenaco, the native lord of Darien, who cherished a bitter hostility against the European intruders, and hovered with his warriors about the settlement, received notice of this detachment from his spies, and planted himself in ambush to waylay and destroy it. The Spaniards had scarcely proceeded three leagues along the course of the river, when a host of savages burst upon them from the surrounding thickets, uttering frightful yells, and discharging showers of stones and arrows. Pizarro and his men, though sorely bruised and wounded, rushed into the thickest of the foe, slew many, wounded more, and put the rest to flight; but, fearing another assault, they made a precipitate retreat, leaving one of their companions, Francisco Hernan, disabled on the field. They arrived at the settlement crippled and bleeding; but when Vasco Nuñez heard the particulars of the action, his anger was roused against Pizarro, and he ordered him, though wounded, to return immediately and recover the disabled man. "Let it not be said, for shame," said he, "that Spaniards fled before savages, and left a comrade in their hands!" Pizarro felt the rebuke, returned to the scene of combat, and brought off Francisco Hernan in safety.

Nothing having been heard of Nicuesa since his departure, Vasco Nuñez despatched two brigantines for those followers of that unfortunate adventurer who had remained at Nombre de Dios. They were overjoyed at being rescued from their forlorn situation, and conveyed to a settlement where there was some prospect of comfortable subsistence. The brigantines, in coasting the shores of the Isthmus, picked up two Spaniards, clad in painted skins, and looking as wild as the native Indians. These men, to escape some punishment, had fled from the ship of Nicuesa about a year and a half before, and had taken refuge with Careta, the cacique of Coyba. The savage chieftain had treated them with hospitable kindness; their first return for which, now that they found themselves safe among their countrymen, was to advise the la-

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ter to invade the cacique in his dwelling; where they assured them they would find immense booty. Finding their suggestion listened to, one of them proceeded to Darien, to serve as a guide to any expedition that might be set on foot; the other returned to the cacique, to assist in betraying him.

Vasco Nuñez was elated by the intelligence received through these vagabonds of the wilderness. He chose a hundred and thirty well armed and resolute men, and set off for Coyba. The cacique received the Spaniards in his mansion with the accustomed hospitality of a savage, setting before them meat and drink, and whatever his house afforded; but when Vasco Nuñez asked for a large supply of provisions for the colony, he declared that he had none to spare, his people having been prevented from cultivating the soil by a war which he was waging with the neighbouring cacique of Ponca. The Spanish outcast, who had remained to betray his benefactor, now took Vasco Nuñez aside, and assured him that the cacique had an abundant board of provisions in secret; he advised him, however, to seem to believe his words, and to make a pretended departure for Darien with his troops, but to return in the night and take the village by surprise. Vasco Nuñez adopted the advice of the traitor. He took a cordial leave of Careta, and set off for the settlement. In the dead of the night, however, when the savages were buried in deep sleep, Vasco Nuñez led his men into the midst of the village, and before the inhabitants could rouse themselves to resistance, made captives of Careta, his wives and children, and many of his people. He discovered also the board of provisions, with which he loaded two brigantines, and returned with his booty and his captives to Darien.

When the unfortunate cacique beheld his family in chains, and in the hands of strangers, his heart was wrung with despair; "What have I done to thee," said he to Vasco Nuñez, "that thou shouldst treat me thus cruelly? none of thy people ever came to my land that were not fed, and sheltered, and treated with loving-kindness. When thou comest to my dwelling, did I meet thee with a javelin in my hand? Did I not set meat and drink before thee, and welcome thee as a brother? Set me free, therefore, with my family and people, and we will remain thy friends. We will supply thee with provisions, and reveal to thee the riches of the land. Dost thou doubt my faith? Behold, my daughter, I give her to thee as a pledge of friendship. Take her for thy wife, and be assured of the fidelity of her family and her people!"

Vasco Nuñez felt the force of these words, and knew the importance of forming a strong alliance among the natives. The captive maid, also, as she stood trembling and dejected before him, found great favour in his eyes, for she was young and beautiful. He granted, therefore, the prayer of the cacique, and accepted his daughter, engaging, moreover, to aid

the father against his enemies, on condition of his furnishing provisions to the colony.

Careta remained three days at Darien, during which time he was treated with the utmost kindness. Vasco Nuñez took him on board of his ships, and showed him every part of them. He displayed before him also the war horses, with their armour and rich caparisons, and astonished him with the thunder of artillery. Lest he should be too much daunted by these warlike spectacles, he caused the musicians to perform a harmonious concert on their instruments, at which the cacique was lost in admiration. Thus having impressed him with a wonderful idea of the power and endowments of his new allies, he loaded him with presents, and permitted him to depart.

Careta returned joyfully to his territories, and his daughter remained with Vasco Nuñez, willingly for his sake giving up her family and native home. They were never married, but she considered herself his wife, as she really was, according to the usages of her own country; and he treated her with fondness, allowing her gradually to acquire great influence over him. To his affection for this damsel, his ultimate ruin is in some measure to be ascribed.

### CHAPTER III.

#### VASCO NUÑEZ HEARS OF A SEA BEYOND THE MOUNTAINS.

Vasco Nuñez kept his word with the father of his Indian beauty. Taking with him eighty men, and his companion in arms Rodrigo Enriquez de Colmenares, he repaired by sea to Coyba the province of the cacique. Here landing he invaded the territories of Ponca, the great adversary of Careta, and obliged him to take refuge in the mountains. He then ravaged his lands, and sacked his villages, in which he found considerable booty. Returning to Coyba where he was joyfully entertained by Careta, he next made a friendly visit to the adjacent province of Comagre, which was under the sway of a cacique, of the same name, who had 3000 fighting men at his command.

This province was situated at the foot of a lofty mountain in a beautiful plain, twelve leagues in extent. On the approach of Vasco Nuñez, the cacique came forth to meet him attended by seven sons, all fine young men, the offspring of his various wives. He was followed by his principal chiefs and warriors, and by a multitude of his people. The Spaniards were conducted with great ceremony to the village, where quarters were assigned them, and they were furnished with abundance of provisions, and men and women were appointed to attend upon them.

The dwelling of the cacique surpassed any they had yet seen for magnitude, and for the skill and solidity of the architecture. It was one hundred and fifty

paces in length, and eighty in breadth, founded upon great logs, surrounded with a stone wall; while the upper part was of wood work, curiously interwoven, and wrought with such beauty as to fill the Spaniards with surprise and admiration. It contained many commodious apartments. There were store rooms also; one filled with bread, with venison, and other provisions; another with various spirituous beverages, which the Indians made from maize, from a species of the palm, and from roots of different kinds. There was also a great hall in a retired and secret part of the building, wherein Comagre preserved the bodies of his ancestors and relatives. These had been dried by the fire, so as to free them from corruption, and afterwards wrapped in mantles of cotton, richly wrought and interwoven with pearls and jewels of gold, and with certain stones held precious by the natives. They were then hung about the hall with cords of cotton, and regarded with great reverence, if not a species of religious devotion.

Among the sons of the cacique, the eldest was of a lofty and generous spirit, and distinguished above the rest by his superior intelligence and sagacity. Perceiving, says old Peter Martyr, that the Spaniards were a "wandering kind of men, living only by shifts and spoil," he sought to gain favour for himself and family by gratifying their avarice. He gave Vasco Nuñez and Colmenares, therefore, 4000 ounces of gold, wrought into various ornaments, together with sixty slaves, being captives that he had taken in the wars. Vasco Nuñez ordered one fifth of the gold to be weighed out and set apart for the crown, and the rest to be shared among his followers.

The division of the gold took place in the porch of the dwelling of Comagre, in the presence of the youthful cacique who had made the gift. As the Spaniards were weighing it out, a violent quarrel arose among them as to the size and value of the pieces which fell to their respective shares. The high-minded savage was disgusted at this sordid brawl among beings whom he had regarded with such reverence. In the first impulse of his disdain he struck the scales with his fist, and scattered the glittering gold about the porch. Before the strangers could recover from their astonishment at this sudden act, he thus addressed them, "Why should you quarrel for such a trifle? If this gold is indeed so precious in your eyes, that for it alone you abandon your homes, invade the peaceful land of others, and expose yourselves to such sufferings and perils, I will tell you of a region where you may gratify your wishes to the utmost. Behold those lofty mountains," continued he, pointing to the south; "beyond these lies a mighty sea, which may be discerned from their summit. It is navigated by people who have vessels almost as large as yours, and furnished, like them, with sails and oars. All the streams which flow down the southern side of those mountains into that sea abound in gold; and the kings who reign upon its borders eat and drink out of golden vessels. Gold, in fact, is as plentiful and common

among those people of the south as iron is among you Spaniards."

Struck with this intelligence, Vasco Nuñez inquired eagerly as to the means of penetrating to this sea and to the opulent regions on its shores. "The task," replied the prince, "is difficult and dangerous. You must pass through the territories of many powerful caciques, who will oppose you with hosts of warriors. Some parts of the mountains are infested by fierce and cruel cannibals, a wandering lawless race; but, above all, you will have to encounter the great cacique Tubanamá, whose territories are at the distance of six days' journey, and more rich in gold than any other province; this cacique will be sure to come forth against you with a mighty force. To accomplish your enterprise, therefore, will require at least a thousand men armed like those who follow you."

The youthful cacique gave him further information on the subject, collected from various captives whom he had taken in battle, and from one of his own nation, who had been for a long time in captivity to Tubanamá, the powerful cacique of the golden realm. The prince, moreover, offered to prove the sincerity of his words by accompanying Vasco Nuñez, in any expedition to those parts, at the head of his father's warriors.

Such was the first intimation received by Vasco Nuñez of the Pacific Ocean and its golden realms, and it had an immediate effect upon his whole character and conduct. This hitherto wandering and desperate man had now an enterprise opened to his ambition, which, if accomplished, would elevate him to fame and fortune, and entitle him to rank among the great captains and discoverers of the earth. Henceforth the discovery of the sea beyond the mountains was the great object of his thoughts, and his whole spirit seemed roused and ennobled by the idea.

He hastened his return to Darien, to make the necessary preparations for this splendid enterprise. Before departing from the province of Comagre he baptized that cacique by the name of Don Carlos, and performed the same ceremony upon his sons and several of his subjects;—thus singularly did avarice and religion go hand in hand in the conduct of the Spanish discoverers.

Scarcely had Vasco Nuñez returned to Darien when the Regidor Valdivia arrived there from Hispaniola, but with no more provisions than could be brought in his small caravel. These were soon consumed, and the general scarcity continued. It was heightened also by a violent tempest of thunder, lightning, and rain, which brought such torrents from the mountains that the river swelled and overflowed its banks, laying waste all the adjacent fields that had been cultivated. In this extremity Vasco Nuñez despatched Valdivia a second time to Hispaniola for provisions. Animated also by the loftier views of his present ambition, he wrote to Don Diego Columbus, who governed at San Domingo, informing him of the intelligence he had received of a great sea and opu-

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lent realms beyond the mountains, and entreating him to use his influence with the king that one thousand men might be immediately furnished him for the prosecution of so grand a discovery. He sent him also the amount of fifteen thousand crowns in gold, to be remitted to the king as the royal fifths of what had already been collected under his jurisdiction. Many of his followers, likewise, forwarded sums of gold to be remitted to their creditors in Spain. In the mean time, Vasco Nuñez prayed the Admiral to yield him prompt succour to enable him to keep his footing in the land, representing the difficulty he had in maintaining, with a mere handful of men, so vast a country in a state of subjection.

## CHAPTER IV.

## EXPEDITION OF VASCO NUNEZ IN QUEST OF THE GOLDEN TEMPLE OF DOBAYBA.

[ 1512. ]

WHILE Vasco Nuñez awaited the result of this mission of Valdivia, his active disposition prompted him to undertake foraging excursions into the surrounding country.

Among various rumours of golden realms in the interior of this unknown land, was one concerning a province called Dobayba, situated about forty leagues distant, on the banks of a great river which emptied itself, by several mouths, into a corner of the Gulf of Uraba.

This province derived its name, according to Indian tradition, from a mighty female of the olden time, the mother of the god who created the sun and moon and all good things. She had power over the elements, sending thunder and lightning to lay waste the lands of those who displeased her, but showering down fertility and abundance upon the possessions of her faithful worshippers. Others described her as having been an Indian princess, who once reigned amongst the mountains of Dobayba, and was renowned throughout the land for her supernatural power and wisdom. After her death, divine honours were paid her, and a great temple was erected for her worship. Hither the natives repaired from far and near, on a kind of pilgrimage, bearing offerings of their most valuable effects. The caciques who ruled over distant territories also sent golden tributes, at certain times of the year, to be deposited in this temple, and slaves to be sacrificed at its shrine. At one time, it was added, this worship fell into disuse, the pilgrimages were discontinued, and the caciques neglected to send their tributes; whereupon the deity, as a punishment, inflicted a drought upon the country. The springs and fountains failed, the rivers were dried up; the inhabitants of the mountains were obliged to descend into the plains, where they digged pits and wells, but these likewise failing, a great part

of the nations perished with thirst. The remainder hastened to propitiate the deity by tributes and sacrifices, and thus succeeded in averting her displeasure. In consequence of offerings of the kind, made for generations from all parts of the country, the temple was said to be filled with treasure, and its walls to be covered with golden gifts. In addition to the tale of this temple, the Indians gave marvellous accounts of the general wealth of this province, declaring that it abounded with mines of gold, the veins of which reached from the dwelling of the cacique to the borders of his dominions.

To penetrate to this territory, and above all to secure the treasures of the golden temple, was an enterprise suited to the adventurous spirit of the Spaniards. Vasco Nuñez chose one hundred and seventy of his hardiest men for the purpose. Embarking them in two brigantines and a number of canoes, he set sail from Darien, and, after standing about nine leagues to the east, came to the mouth of the Rio Grande de San Juan, or the Great River of St. John, also called the Atrato, which is since ascertained to be one of the branches of the river Darien. Here he detached Rodrigo Enriquez de Colmenares with one third of his forces to explore the stream, while he himself proceeded with the residue to another branch of the river, which he was told flowed from the province of Dobayba, and which he ascended, flushed with sanguine expectations.\*

His old enemy Zemaco, the cacique of Darien, however, had discovered the object of his expedition, and had taken measures to disappoint it: repairing to the province of Dobayba, he had prevailed upon its cacique to retire at the approach of the Spaniards, leaving his country deserted.

Vasco Nuñez found a village situated in a marshy neighborhood, on the banks of the river, and mistook it for the residence of the cacique: it was silent and abandoned. There was not an Indian to be met with from whom he could obtain any information about the country, or who could guide him to the golden temple. He was disappointed, also, in his hopes of obtaining a supply of provisions, but he found weapons of various kinds hanging in the deserted houses, and gathered jewels and pieces of gold to the value of seven thousand castellanos. Discouraged by the savage look of the surrounding wil-

\* P. Martyr, dec. 3. c. 6. Idem. dec. 7. c. 10.

• In recording this expedition, the author has followed the old Spanish narratives, written when the face of the country was but little known, and he was much perplexed to reconcile the accounts given of numerous streams with the rivers laid down on modern maps. By a clear and judicious explanation, given in the recent work of Don Manuel Josef Quintana, it appears that the different streams explored by Vasco Nuñez and Colmenares were all branches of one grand river, which, descending from the mountains of the interior, winds about in crystal streams among the plains and morasses bordering the bottom of the great gulf of Darien, and discharges itself by various mouths into the gulf. In fact, the stream which ran by the infant city of Santa Maria de la Antigua was but one of its branches, a fact entirely unknown to Vasco Nuñez and his companions.

derness, which was perplexed by deep morasses, and having no guides to aid him in exploring it, he put all the booty he had collected into two large canoes, and made his way back to the Gulf of Uraba. Here he was assailed by a violent tempest which nearly wrecked his two brigantines, and obliged him to throw a great part of their cargoes overboard. The two canoes containing the booty were swallowed up by the raging sea, and all their crews perished.

Thus baffled and tempest-tost, Vasco Nuñez at length succeeded in getting into what was termed the Grand River, which he ascended, and rejoined Colmenares and his detachment. They now extended their excursions up a stream which emptied itself into the Grand River, and which, from the dark hue of its waters, they called Rio Negro, or the black river. They also explored certain other tributary streams, branching from it, though not without occasional skirmishes with the natives.

Ascending one of these minor rivers with a part of his men, Vasco Nuñez came to the territories of a cacique named Abibeyba, who reigned over a region of marshes and shallow lakes. The habitations of the natives were built amidst the branches of immense and lofty trees. They were large enough to contain whole family connexions, and were constructed partly of wood, partly of a kind of wicker-work, combining strength and pliability, and yielding uninjured to the motion of the branches when agitated by the wind. The inhabitants ascended to them with great agility, by light ladders, formed of great reeds split through the middle, for the reeds on this coast grow to the thickness of a man's body. These ladders they drew up after them at night, or in case of attack. These habitations were well stocked with provisions; but the fermented beverages, of which these people had always a supply, were buried in vessels in the earth, at the foot of the tree, lest they should be rendered turbid by the rocking of the houses. Close by, also, were the canoes with which they navigated the rivers and ponds of their marshy country, and followed their main occupation of fishing.

On the approach of the Spaniards, the Indians took refuge in their tree-built castles, and drew up the ladders. The former called upon them to descend and to fear nothing. Upon this the cacique replied, entreating that he might not be molested, seeing he had done them no injury. They threatened, unless he came down, to fell the trees, or to set fire to them and burn him and his wives and children. The cacique was disposed to consent, but was prevented by the entreaties of his people. Upon this the Spaniards prepared to hew down the trees, but were assailed by showers of stones. They covered themselves, however, with their bucklers, assailed the trees vigorously with their hatchets, and soon compelled the inhabitants to capitulate. The cacique descended with his wife and two of his children. The first demand of the Spaniards was for gold. He assured them he had none; for, having

no need of it, he had never made it an object of his search. Being importuned, however, he assured them that if he were permitted to repair to certain mountains at a distance, he would in a few days return, and bring them what they desired. They permitted him to depart, retaining his wife and children as hostages, but they saw no more of the cacique. After remaining here a few days, and regaling on the provisions which they found in abundance, they continued their foraging expeditions, often opposed by the bold and warlike natives, and suffering occasional loss, but inflicting great havoc on their opposers.

Having thus overrun a considerable extent of country, and no grand object presenting to lure him on to further enterprise, Vasco Nuñez at length returned to Darien with the spoils and captives he had taken, leaving Bartolome Hurtado with thirty men in an Indian village on the Rio Negro, or Black River, to hold the country in subjection. Thus terminated the first expedition in quest of the golden temple of Dohayba, which, for some time, continued to be a favourite object of enterprise among the adventurers of Darien.

#### CHAPTER V.

##### DISASTER ON THE BLACK RIVER. INDIAN PLOT AGAINST DARIEN.

BARTOLOME Hurtado, being left to his own discretion on the banks of the Black River, occupied himself occasionally in hunting the scattered natives who straggled about the surrounding forests. Having in this way picked up twenty-four captives, he put them on board of a large canoe, like so much live stock, to be transported to Darien and sold as slaves. Twenty of his followers, who were infirm either from wounds or the diseases of the climate, embarked also in the canoe, so that only ten men remained with Hurtado.

The great canoe, thus heavily freighted, descended the Black River slowly, between banks overhung with forests. Zemaco, the indefatigable cacique of Darien, was on the watch, and waylaid the ark with four canoes filled with warriors, armed with war clubs and lances hardened in the fire. The Spaniards, being sick, could make but feeble resistance; some were massacred, others leaped into the river and were drowned. Two only escaped, by clinging to two trunks of trees that were floating down the river, and covering themselves with the branches. Reaching the shore in safety, they returned to Bartolome Hurtado with the tragical tidings of the death of his followers. Hurtado was so disheartened by the news, and so dismayed at his own helpless situation, in the midst of a hostile country, that he resolved to abandon the fatal shores of the Black River, and return to Darien. He was quickened in this resolution by receiving intimation of a conspiracy forming among the

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natives. The implacable Zemaco had drawn four other cackques into a secret plan to assemble their vassals and make a sudden attack upon Darien: Hurtado hastened with the remnant of his followers to carry tidings to the settlement of this conspiracy. Many of the inhabitants were alarmed at his intelligence; others treated it as a false rumour of the Indians, and no preparations were made against what might be a mere imaginary danger.

Fortunately for the Spaniards, among the female captives owned by Vasco Nuñez was an Indian damsel named Fulvia; to whom, in consequence of her beauty, he had shown great favour, and who had become strongly attached to him. She had a brother among the warriors of Zemaco, who often visited her in secret. In one of his visits, he informed her that on a certain night the settlement would be attacked and every Spaniard destroyed. He charged her, therefore, to hide herself that night in a certain place until he should come to her aid, lest she should be slain in the confusion of the massacre.

When her brother was gone, a violent struggle took place in the bosom of the Indian girl, between her feeling for her family and her people, and her affection for Vasco Nuñez. The latter at length prevailed, and she revealed all that had been told to her. The Spaniard prevailed upon her to send for her brother under pretence of aiding her to escape. Having him in his power, he extorted from him all that he knew of the designs of the enemy. His confessions showed what imminent danger had been lurking round Vasco Nuñez in his most unsuspecting moments. The prisoner informed him that he had been one of forty Indians sent some time before by the cacique Zemaco to Vasco Nuñez, in seeming friendship, to be employed by him in cultivating the fields adjacent to the settlement. They had secret orders, however, to take an opportunity, when the Spaniard should come forth to inspect their work, to set upon him in an unguarded moment, and destroy him. Fortunately, Vasco Nuñez always visited the fields mounted on his war horse, and armed with lance and target. The Indians were, therefore, so awed by his martial appearance, and by the terrible animal he bestrode, that they dared not attack him.

Foiled in this and other attempts of the kind, Zemaco resorted to the conspiracy with which the settlement was now menaced. Five caciques had joined in the confederacy: they had prepared a hundred canoes; amassed provisions for an army; and concerted to assemble five thousand picked warriors at a certain time and place; with these they were to make an attack on the settlement by land and water in the middle of the night, and to slaughter every Spaniard.

Having learnt where the confederate chiefs were to be found, and where they had deposited their provisions, Vasco Nuñez chose seventy of his best men well armed, and made a circuit by land, while Colmenares, with sixty men, sallied forth secretly in four

canoes, guided by the Indian prisoner. In this way they surprised the general of the Indian army and several of the principal confederates, and got possession of all their provisions, though they failed to capture the formidable Zemaco. The Indian general was shot to death with arrows, and the leaders of the conspiracy were hanged in presence of their captive followers. The defeat of this deep-laid plan, and the punishment of its devisers, spread terror throughout the neighbouring provinces, and prevented any further attempt at hostilities. Vasco Nuñez, however, caused a strong fortress of wood to be immediately erected, to guard against any future assaults of the savages.

## CHAPTER VI.

FURTHER FACTIONS IN THE COLONY. ARROGANCE OF ALONSO PEREZ AND THE BACHELOR CORRAL.

A CONSIDERABLE time had now elapsed since the departure of Valdivia for Hispaniola, yet no tidings had been received from him. Many began to fear that some disaster had befallen him; while others insinuated that it was possible both he and Zamudio might have neglected the objects of their mission, and, having appropriated to their own use the gold with which they had been entrusted, abandoned the colony to its fate.

Vasco Nuñez himself was harassed by these surmises; and by the dread lest the Bachelor Enciso should succeed in prejudicing the mind of his sovereign against him. Impatient of this state of anxious suspense, he determined to repair to Spain, to communicate in person all that he had heard concerning the Southern Sea, and to ask for the troops necessary for its discovery.

Every one, however, both friend and foe, exclaimed against such a measure, representing his presence as indispensable to the safety of the colony, from his great talents as a commander, and the fear entertained of him by the Indians.

After much debate and contention, it was at length agreed that Juan de Cayzedo and Rodrigo Enriquez de Colmenares should go in his place, instructed to make all necessary representations to the king. Letters were written also, containing the most extravagant accounts of the riches of the country, partly dictated by the sanguine hopes of the writers, and partly by the fables of the natives. The rumoured wealth of the province of Dobayba, and the treasures of its golden temple were not forgotten; and an Indian was taken to Spain by the commissioners, a native of the province of Zenu, where gold was said to be gathered in nets stretched across the mountain streams. To give more weight to all these stories, every one contributed some portion of gold from his private hoard, to be presented to the king in addition to the amount arising from his fifths.

But little time had elapsed after the departure of the commissioners, when new dissensions broke out in the colony. It was hardly to be expected that a fortuitous assemblage of adventurers could remain long tranquil during a time of suffering, under rulers of questionable authority. Vasco Nuñez, it is true, had risen by his courage and abilities; but he had risen from among their ranks; he was in a manner of their own creation; and they had not become sufficiently accustomed to him as a governor, to forget that he was recently but a mere soldier of fortune, and an absconding debtor.

Their factious discontent, however, was directed at first against a favourite of Vasco Nuñez, rather than against himself. He had invested Bartolome Hurtado, the commander of the Black River, with considerable authority in the colony, and the latter gave great offence by his oppressive conduct. Hurtado had particularly aggrieved by his arrogance one Alonso Perez de la Rúa, a touchy cavalier, jealous of his honour, who seems to have peculiarly possessed the sensitive punctilio of a Spaniard. Fired at some indignity whether real or fancied, Alonso Perez threw himself into the ranks of the disaffected, and was immediately chosen as their leader. Thus backed by a faction, he clamoured loudly for the punishment of Hurtado; and, finding his demands unattended to, threw out threats of deposing Vasco Nuñez. The latter no sooner heard of these menaces, than, with his usual spirit and promptness, he seized upon the testy Alonso Perez, and threw him into prison, to digest his indignities and cool his passions at leisure.

The conspirators flew to arms to liberate their leader. The friends of Vasco Nuñez were equally on the alert. The two parties drew out in battle array in the public square, and a sanguinary conflict was on the point of taking place. Fortunately there were some cool heads left in the colony. These interfered at the critical moment, representing to the angry adversaries that, if they fought among themselves, and diminished their already scanty numbers, even the conquerors must eventually fall a prey to the Indians.

Their remonstrances had effect. A parley ensued, and, after much noisy debate, a kind of compromise was made. Alonso Perez was liberated, and the mutineers dispersed quietly to their homes. The next day, however, they were again in arms, and seized upon Bartolome Hurtado; but after a little while were prevailed upon to set him free. Their factious views seemed turned to a higher object. They broke forth into loud murmurs against Vasco Nuñez, complaining that he had not made a fair division of the gold and slaves taken in the late expeditions, and threatening to arrest him and bring him to account. Above all, they clamoured for an immediate distribution of ten thousand castellanos in gold, which yet remained unshared.

Vasco Nuñez understood too well the riotous na-

ture of the people under him, and his own precarious hold on their obedience, to attempt to cope with them in this moment of turbulence. He shrewdly determined, therefore, to withdraw from the sight of the multitude, and to leave them to divide the spoil among themselves, trusting to their own strife for his security. That very night he sallied forth into the country, under pretence of going on a hunting expedition.

The next morning the mutineers found themselves in possession of the field. Alonso Perez, the pragmatic ringleader, immediately assumed the command, seconded by the Bachelor Corral. Their first measure was to seize upon the ten thousand castellanos, and to divide them among the multitude, by way of securing their own popularity. The event proved the sagacity and forethought of Vasco Nuñez. Scarcely had these hot-headed intermeddlers entered upon the partition of the gold, than a furious strife arose. Every one was dissatisfied with his share, considering his merits entitled to peculiar recompense. Every attempt to appease the rabble only augmented their violence, and in their rage they swore that Vasco Nuñez had always shown more judgment and discrimination in his distributions to men of merit.

The adherents of the latter now ventured to lift up their voices; "Vasco Nuñez," said they, "won the gold by his enterprise and valour, and would have shared it with the brave and the deserving; but these men have seized upon it by factious means, and would squander it upon their minions." The multitude, who, in fact, admired the soldier-like qualities of Vasco Nuñez, displayed one of the customary reverses of popular feeling. The touchy Alonso Perez, his coadjutor the Bachelor Corral, and several other of the ringleaders were seized, put into irons, and confined in the fortress; and Vasco Nuñez was recalled with loud acclamations to the settlement.

How long this pseudo-commander might have been able to manage the unsteady populace, it is impossible to say; but just at this juncture two ships arrived from Hispaniola, freighted with supplies, and bringing a reinforcement of one hundred and fifty men. They brought also a commission to Vasco Nuñez, signed by Miguel de Pasamonte, the royal treasurer of Hispaniola, (to whom he had sent a private present of gold), constituting him captain-general of the colony. It is doubtful whether Pasamonte possessed the power to confer such a commission, though it is affirmed that the king had clothed him with it, as a kind of check upon the authority of the admiral Don Diego Columbus, then governor of Hispaniola, of whose extensive sway in the New World the monarch was secretly jealous. At any rate, the treasurer appears to have acted in full confidence in the ultimate approbation of his sovereign.

Vasco Nuñez was rejoiced at receiving a commission which clothed him with at least the semblance of royal sanction. Feeling more assured in his situation, and being naturally of a generous and

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giving temper, he was easily prevailed upon, in his moment of exultation, to release and pardon Alonso Perez, the Bachelor Corral, and the other ringleaders of the late commotions; and for a time the feuds and factions of this petty community were lulled to repose.

## CHAPTER VII.

## VASCO NUÑEZ DETERMINES TO SEEK THE SEA BEYOND THE MOUNTAINS.

[ 1513. ]

The temporary triumph of Vasco Nuñez was soon overcast by tidings received from Spain. His late colleague, the alcalde Zamudio wrote him word, that the Bachelor Enciso had carried his complaints to the foot of the throne, and succeeded in rousing the indignation of the king, and had obtained a sentence in his favour, condemning Vasco Nuñez in costs and damages. Zamudio informed him in addition, that he would be immediately summoned to repair to Spain, and answer in person the criminal charges advanced against him on account of the harsh treatment and probable death of the unfortunate Nicuesa.

Vasco Nuñez was at first stunned by this intelligence, which seemed at one blow to annihilate all his hopes and fortunes. He was a man, however, of prompt decision and intrepid spirit. The information received from Spain was private and informal; no order had yet arrived from the king; he was still master of his actions, and had control over the colony. One brilliant achievement might atone for all the past, and fix him in the favour of the monarch. Such an achievement was within his reach—the discovery of the southern sea. It is true, a thousand soldiers had been required for the expedition, but were he to wait for their arrival from Spain, his day of grace would be past. It was a desperate thing to undertake the task with the handful of men at his command, but the circumstances of the case were desperate. Fame, fortune, life itself, depended upon the successful and the prompt execution of the enterprise. To linger was to be lost.

Vasco Nuñez looked round upon the crew of daring and reckless adventurers that formed the colony, and chose one hundred and ninety of the most resolute, vigorous, and devoted to his person. These he armed with swords, targets, cross bows, and arquebuses. He did not conceal from them the danger of the enterprise into which he was about to lead them; but the spirit of these Spanish adventurers was always roused by the idea of perilous and extravagant exploit. To aid his slender forces, he took with him a number of blood-hounds, which had been found to be terrific allies in Indian warfare.

The Spanish writers make particular mention of one of those animals, named Leoncico, which was a constant companion, and as it were body guard of

Vasco Nuñez, and describe him as minutely as they would a favourite warrior. He was of a middle size, but immensely strong: of a dull yellow or reddish colour, with a black muzzle, and his body was scarred all over with wounds received in innumerable battles with the Indians. Vasco Nuñez always took him on his expeditions, and sometimes lent him to others, receiving for his services the same share of booty allotted to an armed man. In this way he gained by him in the course of his campaigns upwards of a thousand crowns. The Indians, it is said, had conceived such terror of this animal, that the very sight of him was sufficient to put a host of them to flight.

In addition to these forces, Vasco Nuñez took with him a number of the Indians of Darien, whom he had won to him by kindness, and whose services were important, from their knowledge of the wilderness, and of the habits and resources of savage life. Such was the motley armament that set forth from the little colony of Darien, under the guidance of a daring, if not desperate commander, in quest of the great Pacific Ocean.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## EXPEDITION IN QUEST OF THE SOUTHERN SEA.

It was on the first of September that Vasco Nuñez embarked with his followers in a brigantine and nine large canoes or pirogues, followed by the cheers and good wishes of those who remained at the settlement. Standing to the north-westward, he arrived without accident at Coyba, the dominion of the cacique Careta, whose daughter he had received as a pledge of amity. That Indian beauty had acquired a great influence over Vasco Nuñez and appears to have cemented his friendship with her father and her people. He was received by the cacique with open arms, and furnished with guides and warriors to aid him in his enterprise.

Vasco Nuñez left about half of his men at Coyba to guard the brigantine and canoes, while he should penetrate the wilderness with the residue. The importance of his present expedition, not merely as affecting his own fortunes, but as it were unfolding a mighty secret of nature, seems to have impressed itself upon his spirit, and to have given correspondent solemnity to his conduct. Before setting out upon his march, he caused mass to be performed, and offered up prayers to God for the success of his perilous undertaking.

It was on the sixth of September, that he struck off for the mountains. The march was difficult and toilsome in the extreme. The Spaniards, encumbered with the weight of their armour and weapons, and oppressed by the heat of a tropical climate, were obliged to climb rocky precipices, and to struggle

through close and tangled forests. Their Indian allies aided them by carrying their ammunition and provisions, and by guiding them to the most practicable paths.

On the eighth of September they arrived at the village of Ponca, the ancient enemy of Careta. The village was lifeless and abandoned; the cacique and his people had fled to the fastnesses of the mountains. The Spaniards remained here several days to recruit the health of some of their number who had fallen ill. It was necessary also to procure guides acquainted with the mountain wilderness they were approaching. The retreat of Ponca was at length discovered, and he was prevailed upon, though reluctantly, to come to Vasco Nuñez. The latter had a peculiar facility in winning the confidence and friendship of the natives. The cacique was soon so captivated by his kindness that he revealed to him in secret all he knew of the natural riches of the country. He assured him of the truth of what had been told him about a great pecliry or sea beyond the mountains, and gave him several ornaments ingeniously wrought of fine gold, which had been brought from the countries upon its borders. He told him, moreover, that when he had attained the summit of a lofty ridge, to which he pointed, and which seemed to rise up to the skies, he would behold that sea spread out far below him.

Animated by these accounts, Vasco Nuñez procured fresh guides from the cacique, and prepared to ascend the mountains. Numbers of his men having fallen ill from fatigue and the heat of the climate, he ordered them to return slowly to Coyba, taking with him none but such as were in robust and vigorous health.

On the 20th of September, he again set forward through a broken rocky country, covered with a matted forest, and intersected by deep and turbulent streams, many of which it was necessary to cross upon rafts.

So toilsome was the journey, that in four days they did not advance above ten leagues, and in the mean time they suffered excessively from hunger. At the end of this time they arrived at the province of a warlike cacique, named Quaraqà, who was at war with Ponca.

Hearing that a band of strangers were entering his territories, guided by the subjects of his inveterate foe, the cacique took the field with a large number of warriors, some armed with bows and arrows, others with long spears, or with double-handed maces of palm wood, almost as heavy and hard as iron. Seeing the inconsiderable number of the Spaniards, they set upon them with furious yells, thinking to overcome them in an instant. The first discharge of fire-arms, however, struck them with dismay. They thought they were contending with demons who vomitted forth thunder and lightning, especially when they saw their companions fall bleeding and dead beside them, without receiving any apparent blow.

They took to headlong flight, and were hotly pursued by the Spaniards and their blood-hounds. Some were transfixed with lances, others hewn down with swords, and many were torn to pieces by the dogs, so that Quaraqà and six hundred of his warriors were left dead upon the field.

A brother of the cacique and several chiefs were taken prisoners. They were clad in robes of white cotton. Either from their effeminate dress, or from the accusations of their enemies, the Spaniards were induced to consider them guilty of unnatural crimes, and, in their abhorrence and disgust, gave them to be torn to pieces by the blood-hounds.\*

It is also affirmed, that among the prisoners were several negroes, who had been slaves to the cacique. The Spaniards, we are told, were informed by the other captives, that these black men came from a region at no great distance, where there was a people of that colour, with whom they were frequently at war. "These," adds the Spanish writer, "were the first negroes ever found in the New World, and I believe no others have since been discovered."

After this sanguinary triumph, the Spaniards marched to the village of Quaraqà, where they found considerable booty in gold and jewels. Of this Vasco Nuñez reserved one-fifth for the crown, and shared the rest liberally among his followers. The village was at the foot of the last mountain that remained for them to climb; several of the Spaniards, however, were so disabled by the wounds they had received in battle, or so exhausted by the fatigue and hunger they had endured, that they were unable to proceed. They were obliged therefore reluctantly to remain in the village, within sight of the mountain-top that commanded the long-sought prospect. Vasco Nuñez selected fresh guides from among his prisoners, who were natives of the province, and sent back the subjects of Ponca. Of this band of Spaniards who had set out with him in this enterprise, sixty-seven alone remained in sufficient health and spirits for this last effort. These he ordered to retire early to repose, that they might be ready to set off at the cool and fresh hour of day-break, so as to reach the summit of the mountain before the noon-tide heat.

\* Herrera, Hist. Ind., dec. 1. l. x. c. 1.

† Peter Martyr, in his third Decade, makes mention of the negroes in the following words:—"About two days' journey distant from Quaraqà is a region inhabited only by black men exceeding fierce and cruel. It is supposed that in time past certain black moors sailed thither out of Ethiopia, to rob, and that shipwreck, or some other chance, they were driven to the mountains." As Martyr lived and wrote at the time, he could relate the mere rumour of the day, which all subsequent accounts have disproved. The other historians who mention the circumstance, have probably repeated it from him. It may have risen from some misrepresentation, and is not entitled credit.

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## CHAPTER IX.

## DISCOVERY OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

THE day had scarce dawned, when Vasco Nuñez and his followers set forth from the Indian village and began to climb the height. It was a severe and rugged toil for men so way-worn; but they were filled with new ardour at the idea of the triumphant scene that was so soon to repay them for all their hardships.

About ten o'clock in the morning they emerged from the thick forests through which they had hitherto struggled, and arrived at a lofty and airy region of the mountain. The bald summit alone remained to be ascended; and their guides pointed to a moderate eminence from which they said the southern sea was visible.

Upon this Vasco Nuñez commanded his followers to halt, and that no man should stir from his place. Then, with a palpitating heart, he ascended alone the bare mountain-top. On reaching the summit the long-desired prospect burst upon his view. It was as if a new world were unfolded to him, separated from all hitherto known by this mighty barrier of mountains. Below him extended a vast chaos of rock and forest, and green savannahs and wandering streams, while at a distance the waters of the promised ocean glittered in the morning sun.

At this glorious prospect, Vasco Nuñez sank upon his knees, and poured out thanks to God for being the first European to whom it was given to make that great discovery. He then called his people to ascend: "Behold, my friends," said he, "that glorious sight which we have so much desired. Let us give thanks to God that he has granted us this great honour and advantage. Let us pray to him to guide and aid us to conquer the sea and land which we have discovered, and which Christian has never entered to preach the holy doctrine of the Evangelists. As to yourselves, be as you have hitherto been, faithful and true to me, and by the favour of Christ you will become the richest Spaniards that have ever come to the Indies; you will render the greatest services to your king that ever vassal rendered to his lord; and you will have the eternal glory and advantage of all that is here discovered, conquered, and converted to our holy Catholic faith."

The Spaniards answered this speech by embracing Vasco Nuñez, and promising to follow him to death. Among them was a priest, named Andres de Vara, who lifted up his voice and chanted *Te Deum laudamus*—the usual anthem of Spanish discoverers. The rest, kneeling down, joined in the strain with pious enthusiasm and tears of joy; and never did a more sincere oblation rise to the Deity from a sanctified altar, than from that wild mountain summit. It was indeed one of the most sublime discoveries that had yet been made in the New World, and must have opened a boundless field of conjecture

to the wondering Spaniards. The imagination delights to picture forth the splendid confusion of their thoughts. Was this the great Indian ocean, studded with precious islands, abounding in gold, in gems, and spices, and bordered by the gorgeous cities and wealthy marts of the East? or was it some lonely sea locked up in the embraces of savage uncultivated continents, and never traversed by a bark, excepting the light pirogue of the savage? The latter could hardly be the case, for the natives had told the Spaniards of golden realms, and populous and powerful and luxurious nations upon its shores. Perhaps it might be bordered by various people, civilized in fact, though differing from Europe in their civilization; who might have peculiar laws and customs and arts and sciences; who might form, as it were, a world of their own, intercommuning by this mighty sea, and carrying on commerce between their own islands and continents; but who might exist in total ignorance and independence of the other hemisphere.

Such may naturally have been the ideas suggested by the sight of this unknown ocean. It was the prevalent belief of the Spaniards, however, that they were the first Christians who had made the discovery. Vasco Nuñez, therefore, called upon all present to witness that he took possession of that sea, its islands, and surrounding lands, in the name of the Sovereigns of Castile, and the notary of the expedition made a testimonial of the same, to which all present, to the number of sixty-seven men, signed their names. He then caused a fair and tall tree to be cut down and wrought into a cross, which was elevated on the spot from whence he had first beheld the sea. A mound of stones was likewise piled up to serve as a monument, and the names of the Castilian Sovereigns were carved on the neighbouring trees. The Indians beheld all these ceremonials and rejoicings in silent wonder, and, while they aided to erect the cross and pile up the mound of stones, marvelled exceedingly at the meaning of these monuments, little thinking that they marked the subjugation of their land.

The memorable event here recorded took place on the 26th of September, 1493; so that the Spaniards had spent twenty days in performing the journey from the province of Careta to the summit of the mountain, a distance which at present, it is said, does not require more than six days' travel. Indeed the isthmus in this neighbourhood is not more than eighteen leagues in breadth in its widest part, and in some places merely seven; but it consists of a ridge of extremely high and rugged mountains. When the discoverers traversed it, they had no route but the Indian paths, and often had to force their way amidst all kinds of obstacles, both from the savage country and its savage inhabitants. In fact, the details of this narrative sufficiently account for the slowness of their progress, and present an array of difficulties and perils, which, as has been well ob-

served, none but those "men of iron" could have subdued and overcome.'

#### CHAPTER X.

##### VASCO NUÑEZ MARCHES TO THE SHORES OF THE SOUTH SEA.

HAVING taken possession of the Pacific Ocean and all its realms from the summit of the mountain, Vasco Nuñez now descended with his little band, to seek the regions of reputed wealth upon its shores. He had not proceeded far when he came to the province of a warlike cacique, named Cheapes, who issuing forth at the head of his warriors, looked with scorn upon the scanty number of straggling Spaniards, and forbade them to set foot within his territories. Vasco Nuñez depended for safety upon his power of striking terror into the ignorant savages. Ordering his arquebusiers to the front, he poured a volley into the enemy, and then let loose the blood-hounds. The flash and noise of the fire arms, and the sulphureous smoke which was carried by the wind among the Indians, overwhelmed them with dismay. Some fell down in a panic as though they had been struck by thunderbolts, the rest betook themselves to headlong flight.

Vasco Nuñez commanded his men to refrain from needless slaughter. He made many prisoners, and on arriving at the village, sent some of them in search of their cacique, accompanied by several of his Indian guides. The latter informed Cheapes of the supernatural power of the Spaniards, assuring him that they exterminated with thunder and lightning all who dared to oppose them, but loaded all such as submitted to them with benefits. They advised him, therefore, to throw himself upon their mercy and seek their friendship.

The cacique listened to their advice, and came trembling to the Spaniards, bringing with him five hundred pounds weight of wrought gold as a peace offering, for he had already learnt the value they set upon that metal. Vasco Nuñez received him with great kindness, and graciously accepted his gold, for which he gave him beads, hawks'-bells, and looking-glasses, making him in his own conceit the richest potentate on that side of the mountains.

Friendship being thus established between them, Vasco Nuñez remained at the village for a few days, sending back the guides who had accompanied him from Quaraquà, and ordering his people whom he had left at that place to rejoin him. In the meantime, he sent out three scouting parties of twelve men each, under Francisco Pizarro, Juan de Escaray and Alonso Martin de Don Benito, to explore the surrounding country and discover the best route to the sea. Alonso Martin was the most successful. After two days'

<sup>1</sup> *Vidas de Españoles Cebres*, por Don Manuel Josef Quintana. Tom. II, p. 40.

journey, he came to a beach, where he found two large canoes lying high and dry, without any water being in sight. While the Spaniards were regarding these canoes, and wondering why they should be so far on land, the tide, which rises to a great height on that coast, came rapidly in and set them afloat; upon this, Alonso Martin stepped into one of them, and called his companions to bear witness that he was the first European that embarked upon that sea; his example was followed by one Blas de Etienza, who called them likewise to testify that he was the second.'

We mention minute particulars of the kind, as being characteristic of these extraordinary enterprises, and of the extraordinary people who undertook them. The humblest of these Spanish adventurers seemed actuated by a swelling and ambitious spirit, that rose superior at times to most sordid considerations, and aspired to share the glory of these great discoveries. The scouting party having thus explored a direct route to the sea coast, returned to report their success to their commander.

Vasco Nuñez being rejoined by his men from Quaraquà, now left the greater part of his followers to repose and recover from their sickness and fatigues in the village of Cheapes; and, taking with him twenty-six Spaniards, well armed, he set out on the twenty-ninth of September, for the sea coast, accompanied by the cacique and a number of his warriors. The thick forests, which covered the mountains, descended to the very margin of the sea, surrounding and overshadowing the wide and beautiful bays that penetrated far into the land. The whole coast, as far as the eye could reach, was perfectly wild, the sea without a sail and both seemed never to have been under the dominion of civilized man.

Vasco Nuñez arrived on the borders of one of those vast bays, to which he gave the name of Saint Michael, it being discovered on that saint's day. The tide was out, the water was above half a league distant, and the intervening beach was covered with mud; he seated himself, therefore, under the shade of the forest trees until the tide should rise. After a while, the water came rushing in with great impetuosity, and soon reached nearly to the place where the Spaniards were reposing. Upon this Vasco Nuñez rose and took a banner on which were painted the Virgin and child, and under them the arms of Castile and Leon; then drawing his sword and throwing his buckler on his shoulder, he marched into the sea until the water reached above his knees, and waving his banner, exclaimed with a loud voice; "Long live the high and mighty monarchs Don Ferdinand and Doña Juana, sovereigns of Castile, of Leon, and of Aragon, in whose name, and for the royal crown of Castile, I take real, and corporal, and actual possession of these seas, and lands, and coasts, and ports, and islands of the south, and all thereunto annexed; and of the kingdoms and provinces which do or may

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, *Hist. Ind.*, d. i. l. x. c. 2.

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present, or to come, without any contradiction; and  
if any other prince or captain, christian or infidel, or of  
any law, sect or condition whatsoever, shall pretend  
any right to these lands and seas, I am ready and pre-  
pared to maintain and defend them in the name of  
the Castilian sovereigns, present and future, whose is  
the empire and dominion over these Indias, islands,  
and terra firma, northern and southern, with all their  
seas, both at the arctic and antarctic poles, on either  
side of the equinoctial line, whether within or without  
the tropics of cancer and capricorn, both now and in  
all times, as long as the world endures, and until the  
final day of judgment of all mankind."

This swelling declaration and defiance being uttered  
with a loud voice, and no one appearing to dispute  
his pretensions, Vasco Nuñez called upon his compan-  
ions to bear witness of the fact of his having duly  
taken possession. They all declared themselves ready  
to defend his claim to the uttermost, as became true  
and loyal vassals to the Castilian sovereigns; and the  
notary having drawn up a document for the occasion,  
they all subscribed it with their names.

This done, they advanced to the margin of the sea,  
and stooping down tasted its waters. When they  
found, that, though severed by intervening mountains  
and continents, they were salt like the seas of the  
north, they felt assured that they had indeed discov-  
ered an ocean, and again returned thanks to God.

Having concluded all these ceremonies, Vasco  
Nuñez drew a dagger from his girdle and cut a  
cross on a tree which grew within the water, and  
made two other crosses on two adjacent trees, in hon-  
our of the Three Persons of the Trinity, and in token  
of possession. His followers likewise cut crosses on  
many of the trees of the adjacent forest, and lopped  
off branches with their swords to bear away as trophies.

Such was the singular medley of chivalrous and  
religious ceremonial, with which these Spanish ad-  
venturers took possession of the vast Pacific Ocean,  
and all its lands—a scene strongly characteristic of  
the nation and the age.

## CHAPTER XI.

### ADVENTURES OF VASCO NUÑEZ ON THE BORDERS OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

WHILE he made the village of Cheapes his head  
quarters, Vasco Nuñez foraged the adjacent country,  
and obtained a considerable quantity of gold from the  
natives. Encouraged by his success, he undertook  
to explore by sea the borders of a neighbouring gulf  
to great extent, which penetrated far into the land.  
The cacique Cheapes warned him of the danger of

Many of the foregoing particulars are from the unpublished  
manuscript of Oviedo's History of the Indias.

venturing to sea in the stormy season, which comprises  
the months of October, November, and December,  
assuring him that he had beheld many canoes swal-  
lowed up in the mighty waves and whirlpools, which  
at such time render the gulf almost unnavigable.

These remonstrances were unavailing: Vasco Nuñez  
expressed a confident belief that God would protect  
him, seeing that his voyage was to redound to the  
propagation of the faith, and the augmentation of the  
power of the Castilian monarchs over the infidels;  
and in truth this blighted reliance on the immediate  
protection of heaven seems to have been, in a great  
measure, the cause of the extravagant daring of the  
Spaniards in their expeditions in those days, whether  
against Moors or Indians.

Finding his representations of no effect, Cheapes  
volunteered to take part in this perilous cruise, lest  
he should appear wanting in courage, or in good  
will to his guest. Accompanied by the cacique, there-  
fore, Vasco Nuñez embarked on the 47th of Octo-  
ber with sixty of his men in nine canoes, managed by  
Indians, leaving the residue of his followers to recruit  
their health and strength in the village of Cheapes.

Scarcely, however, had they put forth on the broad  
bosom of the gulf when the wisdom of the cacique's  
advice was apparent. The wind began to blow  
freshly, raising a heavy and tumultuous sea, which  
broke in roaring and foaming surges on the rocks and  
reefs, and among the numerous islets with which the  
gulf was studded. The light canoes were deeply  
laden with men unskilled in their management. It  
was frightful to those in one canoe to behold their  
companions, one instant tossed high on the breaking  
crest of a wave, the next plunging out of sight, as if  
swallowed in a watery abyss. The Indians them-  
selves, though almost amphibious in their habits,  
showed signs of consternation; for amidst these rocks  
and breakers even the skill of the expert swimmer  
would be of little avail. At length the Indians suc-  
ceeded in tying the canoes in pairs, side by side, to  
prevent their being overturned, and in this way they  
kept afloat, until towards evening they were enabled  
to reach a small island. Here they landed, and fasten-  
ing the canoes to the rocks, or to small trees that  
grew upon the shore, they sought an elevated dry  
place, and stretched themselves to take repose. They  
had but escaped from one danger to encounter an-  
other. Having been for a long time accustomed to  
the sea on the northern side of the isthmus, where  
there is little, if any, rise or fall of the tide, they had  
neglected to take any precaution against such an  
occurrence. In a little while they were awakened  
from their sleep by the rapid rising of the water. They  
shifted their situation to a higher ground, but the  
waters continued to gain upon them, the breakers  
rushing and roaring and foaming upon the beach like  
so many monsters of the deep seeking for their prey.  
Nothing, it is said, can be more dismal and appalling  
than the sullen bellowing of the sea among the islands  
of that gulf at the rising and falling of the tide. By

degrees, rock after rock, and one sand bank after another disappeared, until the sea covered the whole island, and rose almost to the girdles of the Spaniards. Their situation was now agonizing. A little more and the waters would overwhelm them: or, even as it was, the least surge might break over them and sweep them from their unsteady footing. Fortunately the wind had lulled, and the sea, having risen above the rocks which had fretted it, was calm. The tide had reached its height and began to subside, and after a time they heard the retiring waves beating against the rocks below them.

When the day dawned they sought their canoes; but here a sad spectacle met their eyes. Some were broken to pieces, others yawning open in many parts. The clothing and food left in them had been washed away, and replaced by sand and water. The Spaniards gazed on the scene in mute despair; they were faint and weary, and needed food and repose, but famine and labour awaited them, even if they should escape with their lives. Vasco Nuñez, however, rallied their spirits, and set them an example by his own cheerful exertions. Obeying his directions, they set to work to repair, in the best manner they were able, the damages of the canoes. Such as were not too much shattered they bound and braced up with their girdles, with slips of the bark of trees, or with the tough long stalks of certain sea weeds. They then peeled off the bark from the small sea plants, pounded it between stones, and mixed it with grass, and with this endeavoured to caulk the seams and stop the leaks that remained. When they re-embarked, their numbers weighed down the canoes almost to the water's edge, and as they rose and sank with the swelling waves there was danger of their being swallowed up. All day they laboured with the sea, suffering excessively from the pangs of hunger and thirst, and at nightfall they landed in a corner of the gulf, near the abode of a cacique named Túmaco. Leaving a part of his men to guard the canoes, Vasco Nuñez set out with the residue for the Indian town. He arrived there about midnight, but the inhabitants were on the alert to defend their habitations. The fire-arms and dogs soon put them to flight, and the Spaniards pursuing them with their swords, drove them howling into the woods. In the village were found provisions in abundance, besides a considerable amount of gold and a great quantity of pearls, many of them of a large size. In the house of the cacique were several huge shells of mother of pearl, and four pearl oysters quite fresh, which showed that there was a pearl fishery in the neighbourhood. Eager to learn the sources of this wealth, Vasco Nuñez sent several of the Indians of Cheapes in search of the cacique, who traced him to a wild retreat among the rocks. By their persuasions Túmaco sent his son, a fine young savage, as a mediator. The latter returned to his father loaded with presents, and extolling the benignity of these superhuman beings, who had shown themselves so terrible in battle. By these

means, and by a mutual exchange of presents, a friendly intercourse was soon established. Among other things the cacique gave Vasco Nuñez jewels of gold weighing six hundred and fourteen crowns, and two hundred pearls of great size and beauty, excepting that they were somewhat discoloured in consequence of the oysters having been opened by fire.

The cacique seeing the value which the Spaniards set upon the pearls, sent a number of his men to fish for them at a place about ten miles distant. Certain of the Indians were trained from their youth to this purpose, so as to become expert divers, and to acquire the power of remaining a long time beneath the water. The largest pearls are generally found in the deepest water, sometimes in three or four fathoms, and are only sought in calm weather; the smaller sort are found at the depth of two or three feet, and the oysters containing them are often driven in quantities on the beach during violent storms.

The party of pearl divers sent by the cacique consisted of thirty Indians, with whom Vasco Nuñez sent six Spaniards as eye-witnesses. The sea, however, was so furious at that stormy season that the divers dared not venture into the deep water. Such a number of the shell-fish, however, had been driven on shore, that they collected enough to yield pearls to the value of twelve marks of gold. They were small, but exceedingly beautiful, being newly taken and uninjured by fire. A number of these shell-fish and their pearls were selected to be sent to Spain as specimens.

In reply to the enquiries of Vasco Nuñez, the cacique informed him that the coast which he saw stretching to the west continued onwards without end, and that far to the south there was a country abounding in gold, where the inhabitants made use of certain quadrupeds to carry burthens. He moulded a figure of clay to represent these animals, which some of the Spaniards supposed to be a deer, others a camel, others a tapir, for as yet they knew nothing of the lania, the native beast of burthen of South America. This was the second intimation received by Vasco Nuñez of the great empire of Peru; and while it confirmed all that had been told him by the son of Comagre, it filled him with glowing anticipations of the glorious triumphs that awaited him.

## CHAPTER XII.

FARTHER ADVENTURES AND EXPLOITS OF VASCO NUÑEZ ON THE BORDERS OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

LEST any ceremonial should be wanting to secure this grand discovery to the crown of Spain, Vasco Nuñez determined to sail from the gulf and take possession of the main land beyond. The cacique Túmaco furnished him with a canoe of state, formed from the trunk of an enormous tree, and manned by a great number of Indians. The handles of the

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## CHAPTER XII.

MOENTS OF VASCO NUNEZ ON THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

ould be wanting to secure e crown of Spain, Vasco y from the gulf and tak and beyond. The cacique n a canoe of state, forme- mous tree, and manage- ais. The handles of the

paddles were inlaid with small pearls, a circumstance which Vasco Nuñez caused his companions to testify before the notary, that it might be reported to the sovereigns as a proof of the wealth of this newly-discovered sea.

Departing in the canoe on the twenty-ninth of October, he was piloted cautiously by the Indians along the borders of the gulf, over drowned lands where the sea was fringed by inundated forests and as still as a pool. Arrived at the point of the gulf, Vasco Nuñez landed on a smooth sandy beach, laved by the waters of the broad ocean, and, with buckler on arm, sword in hand, and banner displayed, again marched into the sea and took possession of it, with like ceremonials to those observed in the gulf of St Michael's.

The Indians now pointed to a line of land rising above the horizon about four or five leagues distant, which they described as being a great island, the principal one of an archipelago. The whole group abounded with pearls, but those taken on the coasts of this island were represented as being of immense size, many of them as large as a man's eye, and found in shell-fish as big as bucklers. This island and the surrounding cluster of small ones, they added, were under the dominion of a tyrannical and puissant cacique, who often, during the calm season, made descents upon the main land with fleets of canoes, plundering and desolating the coasts, and carrying the people into captivity.

Vasco Nuñez gazed with an eager and wistful eye at this land of riches, and would have immediately undertaken an expedition to it, had not the Indians represented the danger of venturing on such a voyage in that tempestuous season, in their frail canoes. His own recent experience convinced him of the wisdom of their remonstrances. He postponed his visit, therefore, to a future occasion, when, he assured his allies, he would avenge them upon this tyrant invader, and deliver their coasts from his maraudings. In the mean time he gave to this island the name of Isla Rica, and the little archipelago surrounding it the general appellation of the Pearl Islands.

On the 3d of November Vasco Nuñez departed from the province of Túmaco, to visit other parts of the coast. He embarked with his men in the canoes, accompanied by Cheapes and his Indians, and guided by the son of Túmaco, who had become strongly attached to the Spaniards. The young man piloted them along an arm of the sea, wide in some places, but in others obstructed by groves of mangrove trees, which grew within the water and interlaced their branches from shore to shore, so that at times, the Spaniards were obliged to cut a passage with their swords.

At length they entered a great and turbulent river, which they ascended with difficulty, and early the next morning surprised a village on its banks, making the cacique Teaochan prisoner; who purchased their

• Oviedo. Hist. Gen., p. 2. MS.

favour and kind treatment by a quantity of gold and pearls, and an abundant supply of provisions. As it was the intention of Vasco Nuñez to abandon the shores of the Southern Ocean at this place, and to strike across the mountains for Darien, he took leave of Cheapes and of the youthful son of Túmaco, who were to return to their houses in the canoes. He sent, at the same time, a message to his men, whom he had left in the village of Cheapes, appointing a place in the mountains where they were to rejoin him on his way back to Darien.

The talent of Vasco Nuñez for conciliating and winning the good-will of the savages is often mentioned, and to such a degree had he exerted it in the present instance that the two chieftains shed tears at parting. Their conduct had a favourable effect upon the cacique Teaochan; he entertained Vasco Nuñez with the most devoted hospitality during three days that he remained in his village; when about to depart he furnished him with a stock of provisions sufficient for several days, as his route would be over rocky and sterile mountains. He sent also a numerous band of his subjects to carry the burthens of the Spaniards. These he placed under the command of his son, whom he ordered never to separate from the strangers, nor to permit any of his men to return without the consent of Vasco Nuñez.

## CHAPTER XIII.

VASCO NUNEZ SETS OUT ON HIS RETURN ACROSS THE MOUNTAINS. HIS CONTESTS WITH THE SAVAGES.

TURNING their backs upon the Southern Sea, the Spaniards now began painfully to clamber the rugged mountains, on their return to Darien.

In the early part of their route an unlooked-for suffering awaited them: there was neither brook nor fountain nor standing pool. The burning heat, which produced intolerable thirst, had dried up all the mountain torrents, and they were tantalized by the sight of naked and dusty channels where water had once flowed in abundance. Their sufferings at length increased to such a height that many threw themselves fevered and panting upon the earth, and were ready to give up the ghost. The Indians, however, encouraged them to proceed, by hopes of speedy relief, and after a while, turning aside from the direct course, led them into a deep and narrow glen, refreshed and cooled by a fountain which bubbled out of a cleft of the rocks.

While refreshing themselves at the fountain, and reposing in the little valley, they learnt from their guides that they were in the territories of a powerful chief named Ponca, famous for his riches. The Spaniards had already heard of the golden stores of this Cæsus of the mountains, and being now refreshed and invigorated, pressed forward with eagerness for his village. The cacique and most of his people fled

at their approach, but they found an earnest of his wealth in the deserted houses, amounting to the value of three thousand crowns in gold. Their avarice thus whetted, they despatched Indians in search of Ponera, who found him trembling in his secret retreat, and partly by threats, partly by promises, prevailed upon him and three of his principal subjects to come to Vasco Nuñez. He was a savage, it is said, so hateful of aspect, so mis-shapen in body and deformed in all his members, that he was hideous to behold. The Spaniards endeavoured by gentle means to draw from him information of the places from whence he had procured his gold. He professed utter ignorance in the matter, declaring that the gold found in his village had been gathered by his predecessors in times long past, and that as he himself set no value on the metal, he had never troubled himself to seek it. The Spaniards resorted to menaces, and even, it is said, to tortures, to compel him to betray his reputed treasures, but with no better success. Disappointed in their expectations, and enraged at his supposed obstinacy, they listened too readily to charges advanced against him by certain caciques of the neighbourhood, who represented him as a monster of cruelty, and as guilty of crimes repugnant to nature; whereupon, in the heat of the moment, they gave him and his three companions, who were said to be equally guilty, to be torn in pieces by the dogs.—A rash and cruel sentence, issued on the evidence of avowed enemies: and which, however it may be palliated by the alleged horror and disgust of the Spaniards at the imputed crimes of the cacique, bears visibly the stamp of haste and passion, and remains accordingly a foul blot on the character of Vasco Nuñez.

The Spaniards staid for thirty days reposing in the village of the unfortunate Ponera, during which time they were rejoined by their companions, who had been left behind at the village of Cheapes. They were accompanied by a cacique of the mountains, who had lodged and fed them, and made them presents of the value of two thousand crowns in gold. This hospitable savage approached Vasco Nuñez with a serene countenance, and taking him by the hand, "Behold," said he, "most valiant and powerful chief, I bring thee thy companions safe and well, as they entered under my roof. May he who made the thunder and lightning, and who gives us the fruits of the earth, preserve thee and thine in safety!" So saying, he raised his eyes to the sun, as if he worshipped that as his deity and the dispenser of all temporal blessings.<sup>2</sup>

Departing from this village, and being still accompanied by the Indians of Teaochan, the Spaniards now bent their course along the banks of the river Comagre, which descends the northern side of the Isthmus, and flows through the territories of the cacique of the same name. This wild stream, which

<sup>1</sup> P. Martyr, d. 3, c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, d. 1, l. x, c. 4.

in the course of ages had worn a channel through the deep clefts and ravines of the mountains, was bordered by precipices, or overhung by shagged forests; they soon abandoned it, therefore, and wandered on without any path, but guided by the Indians. They had to climb terrible precipices, and to descend into deep valleys, darkened by thick forests and beset by treacherous morasses, where, but for their guides, they might have been smothered in the mire.

In the course of this rugged journey they suffered excessively in consequence of their own avarice. They had been warned of the sterility of the country they were about to traverse, and of the necessity of providing amply for the journey. When they came to lade the Indians, however, who bore their burdens, their only thought was how to convey the most treasure; and they grudged even a slender supply of provisions, as taking up the place of an equal weight of gold. The consequences were soon felt. The Indians could carry but small burthens, and at the same time assisted to consume the scanty stock of food which formed part of their load. Scarcity and famine ensued, and relief was rarely to be procured, for the villages on this elevated part of the mountains were scattered and poor, and nearly destitute of provisions. They held no communication with each other; each contenting itself with the scanty produce of its own fields and forest. Some were entirely deserted; at other places, the inhabitants, forced from their retreats, implored pardon, and declared they had hidden themselves through shame, not having the means of properly entertaining such celestial visitors. They brought peace-offerings of gold, but no provisions. For once the Spaniards found that even their darling gold could fail to cheer their drooping spirits. Their sufferings from hunger became intense, and many of their Indian companions sank down and perished by the way. At length they reached a village where they were enabled to obtain supplies, and where they remained thirty days to recruit their wasted strength.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

##### ENTERPRISE AGAINST TUBANAMA, THE WARLIKE CACIQUE OF THE MOUNTAINS. RETURN TO DANIEL.

THE Spaniards had now to pass through the territories of Tubanamá, the most potent and warlike cacique of the mountains. This was the same chieftain of whom a formidable character had been given by the young Indian prince, who first informed Vasco Nuñez of the Southern Sea. He had erroneously represented the dominions of Tubanamá as lying beyond the mountains: and, while he dwelt upon the quantities of gold to be found in them, had magnified the dangers that would attend any attempt to pass their borders. The name of this redoubtable ca-

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cacique was in fact a terror throughout the country; and when Vasco Nuñez looked round upon his handful of pale and emaciated followers, he doubted whether even the superiority of their weapons, and their military skill, would enable them to cope with Tubanamà and his armies in open contest. He resolved, therefore, to venture upon a perilous stratagem. When he made it known to his men, every one pressed forward to engage in it. Choosing seventy of the most vigorous, he ordered the rest to maintain their post in the village.

As soon as night had fallen he departed silently and secretly with his chosen band, and made his way with such rapidity through the labyrinths of the forests and the defiles of the mountains, that he arrived in the neighbourhood of the residence of Tubanamà by the following evening, though at the distance of two regular days' journey.

There waiting until midnight he assailed the village suddenly, and with success, so as to surprise and capture the cacique and his whole family, in which were eighty females. When Tubanamà found himself a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards, he lost all presence of mind, and wept bitterly. The Indian allies of Vasco Nuñez beholding their once dreaded enemy thus fallen and captive, now urged that he should be put to death, accusing him of various crimes and cruelties. Vasco Nuñez pretended to listen to their prayers, and gave orders that his captive should be tied hand and foot, and given to the dogs. The cacique approached him trembling, and laid his hand upon the pommel of his sword. "Who can pretend," said he, "to strive with one who bears this weapon, which can cleave a man asunder with a blow? Ever since thy fame has reached among these mountains have I revered thy valour. Spare my life, and thou shalt have all the gold I can procure."

Vasco Nuñez, whose anger was assumed, was readily pacified. As soon as the day dawned, the cacique gave him armlets and other jewels of gold to the value of three thousand crowns, and sent messengers throughout his dominions ordering his subjects to aid in paying his ransom. The poor Indians, with their accustomed loyalty, hastened in crowds, bringing their golden ornaments, until in the course of three days they had produced an amount equal to six thousand crowns. This done, Vasco Nuñez set the cacique at liberty, bestowing on him several European trinkets, with which he considered himself richer than he had been with all his gold. Nothing would draw from him, however, the disclosure of the mines from whence this treasure was procured. He declared that it came from the territories of his neighbours, where gold and pearls were to be found in abundance; but that his lands produced nothing of the kind. Vasco Nuñez doubted his sincerity, and secretly caused the brooks and rivers in his dominions to be searched, where gold was found in such quantities that he determined, at a future time, to found two settlements in the neighbourhood.

On parting with Tubanamà, the cacique sent his son with the Spaniards to learn their language and religion. It is said, also, that the Spaniards carried off his eighty women; but of this particular fact Oviedo, who writes with the papers of Vasco Nuñez before him, says nothing. He affirms generally, however, that the Spaniards, throughout this expedition, were not scrupulous in their dealings with the wives and daughters of the Indians; and adds, that in this their commander set them the example.

Having returned to the village where he had left the greater part of his men, Vasco Nuñez resumed his homeward march. His people were feeble and exhausted, and several of them sick; so that some had to be carried and others led by the arms. He himself was part of the time afflicted by a fever, and had to be borne in a hammock on the shoulders of the Indians.

Proceeding thus slowly and toilsomely, they at length arrived on the northern sea coast, at the territories of their ally, Coagu. The old cacique was dead, and had been succeeded by his son, the same intelligent youth who had first given information of the Southern Sea and the kingdom of Peru. The young chief, who had embraced christianity, received them with great hospitality, making them presents of gold. Vasco Nuñez gave him trinkets in return, and a shirt and a soldier's cloak; with which, says Peter Martyr, he thought himself half a god among his naked countrymen. After having reposed for a few days, Vasco Nuñez proceeded to Ponca, where he heard that a ship and caravel had arrived at Darien from Hispaniola, with reinforcements and supplies. Hastening, therefore, to Coyba, the territories of his ally, Careta, he embarked on the 18th of January, 1514, with twenty of his men, in the brigantine, which he had left there, and arrived at Santa Maria de Antigua, in the river of Darien, on the following day. All the inhabitants came forth to receive him; and when they heard the news of the great Southern Sea, and of his returning from its shores laden with pearls and gold, there were no bounds to their joy. He immediately despatched the ship and caravel to Coyba for the companions he had left behind, who brought with them the remaining booty, consisting of gold and pearls, mantles, hammocks, and other articles of cotton, and a great number of captives of both sexes. A fifth of the spoil was set apart for the crown; the rest was shared in just proportions, among those who had been in the expedition, and those who had remained at Darien. All were contented with their allotment, and elated with the prospect of still greater gain from future enterprises.

Thus ended one of the most remarkable expeditions of the early discoverers. The intrepidity of Vasco Nuñez in penetrating, with a handful of men, far into the interior of a wild and mountainous country, peopled by warlike tribes; his skill in managing his band of rough adventurers, stimulating their va-

Oviedo, Hist. Gen., part. 2, c. 4. N.

## XIV.

THE WARLIKE CACIQUE OF  
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lour, enforcing their obedience, and attaching their affections, show him to have possessed great qualities as a general. We are told that he was always foremost in peril, and the last to quit the field. He shared the toils and dangers of the meanest of his followers, treating them with frank affability; watching, fighting, fasting, and labouring with them; visiting and consoling such as were sick or infirm, and dividing all his gains with fairness and liberality. He was chargeable at times with acts of bloodshed and injustice, but it is probable that these were often called for as measures of safety and precaution; he certainly offended less against humanity than most of the early discoverers; and the unbounded amity and confidence reposed in him by the natives, when they became intimately acquainted with his character, speak strongly in favour of his kind treatment of them.

The character of Vasco Nuñez had, in fact, risen with his circumstances, and now assumed a nobleness and grandeur from the discovery he had made, and the important charge it had devolved upon him. He no longer felt himself a mere soldier of fortune, at the head of a band of adventurers, but a great commander conducting an immortal enterprise. "Behold," says old Peter Martyr, "Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, at once transferred from a rash royster to a politic and discreet captain:" and thus it is that men are often made by their fortunes; that is to say, their latent qualities are brought out, and shaped and strengthened by events, and by the necessity of every exertion to cope with the greatness of their destiny.

#### CHAPTER XV.

TRANSACTIONS IN SPAIN. PEDRARIAS DAVILA APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND OF DARIEN. TIDINGS RECEIVED IN SPAIN OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

VASCO Nuñez de Balboa now flattered himself that he had made a discovery calculated to silence all his enemies at court, and to elevate him to the highest favour with his sovereign. He wrote letters to the king, giving a detail of his expedition, and setting forth all that he had seen or heard of this Southern Sea, and of the rich countries upon its borders. Besides the royal fifths of the profits of the expedition, he prepared a present for the sovereign, in the name of himself and his companions, consisting of the largest and most precious pearls they had collected. As a trusty and intelligent envoy to bear these tidings, he chose Pedro de Arbolancho, an old and tried friend, who had accompanied him in his toils and dangers, and was well acquainted with all his transactions.

The fate of Vasco Nuñez furnishes a striking instance how prosperity and adversity, how even life and death hang balanced upon a point of time, and

are affected by the improvement or neglect of moments. Unfortunately, the ship which was to convey the messenger to Spain lingered in port until the beginning of March; a delay which had a fatal influence on the fortunes of Vasco Nuñez. It is necessary here to cast an eye back upon the events which had taken place in Spain while he was employed in his conquests and discoveries.

The Bachelor Enciso had arrived in Castile full of his wrongs and indignities. He had friends at court, who aided him in gaining a ready hearing, and he lost not a moment in availing himself of it. He declaimed eloquently upon the alleged usurpation of Vasco Nuñez, and represented him as governing the colony by force and fraud. It was in vain that the Alcalde Zamudio, the ancient colleague and the envoy of Vasco Nuñez, attempted to speak in his defence; he was unable to cope with the facts and arguments of the Bachelor, who was a pleader by profession, and now pleaded his own cause. The king determined to send a new governor to Darien, with power to inquire into and remedy all abuses. For this office he chose Don Pedro Arias Davila, commonly called Pedrarias. He was a native of Segovia, who had been brought up in the royal household, and had distinguished himself as a brave soldier, both in the war of Granada and at the taking of Oran and Bugia in Africa. He possessed those personal accomplishments which captivate the soldiery, and was called *el Galan*, for his gallant array and courtly demeanour, and *el Justador*, or the *Tilter*, for his dexterity in jousts and tournaments. These, it must be admitted, were not the qualifications most adapted for the government of rude and factious colonies in a wilderness; but he had an all-powerful friend in the Bishop Fonseca. The Bishop was as thorough-going in patronage as in persecution. He assured the king that Pedrarias had understanding equal to his valour; that he was as capable of managing the affairs of peace as of war, and that, having been brought up in the royal household, his loyalty might be implicitly relied on.

Scarcely had Don Pedrarias been appointed, when Cayzedo and Colmenares arrived on their mission from Darien, to communicate the intelligence received from the son of the cacique Comagre, of the Southern Sea beyond the mountains, and to ask one thousand men to enable Vasco Nuñez to make the discovery.

The avarice and ambition of Ferdinand were inflamed by the tidings. He rewarded the bearers of the intelligence, and, after consulting with Bishop Fonseca, resolved to despatch immediately a powerful armada, with twelve hundred men, under the command of Pedrarias, to accomplish the enterprise.

Just about this time the famous Gonsalvo Hernandez de Cordova, commonly called the Great Captain, was preparing to return to Naples, where the allies of Spain had experienced a signal defeat, and had craved the assistance of this renowned gene-

\* By the English historians he has generally been called Davila.

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ral to retrieve their fortunes. The chivalry of Spain thronged to enlist under the banner of Gonsalvo. The Spanish nobles, with their accustomed prodigality, sold or mortgaged their estates to buy gorgeous armour, silks, brocades, and other articles of martial pomp and luxury, that they might figure, with becoming magnificence, in the campaigns of Italy. The armament was on the point of sailing for Naples with this host of proud and gallant spirits, when the jealous mind of Ferdinand took offence at the enthusiasm thus shown towards his general, and he abruptly countermanded the expedition. The Spanish cavaliers were overwhelmed with disappointment at having their dreams of glory thus suddenly dispelled; when, as if to console them, the enterprise of Pedrarias was set on foot, and opened a different career of adventure. The very idea of an unknown sea and splendid empire, where never European ship had sailed or foot had trodden, broke upon the imagination with the vague wonders of an Arabian tale. Even the countries already known, in the vicinity of the settlement of Darien, were described in the usual terms of exaggeration. Gold was said to lie on the surface of the ground, or to be gathered with nets out of the brooks and rivers; inasmuch that the region hitherto called Terra Firma, now received the pompous and delusive appellation of Castilla del Oro, or Golden Castile.

Excited by these reports, many of the youthful cavaliers who had prepared for the Italian campaign, now offered themselves as volunteers to Don Pedrarias. He accepted their services, and appointed Seville as the place of assemblage. The streets of that ancient city soon swarmed with young and noble cavaliers splendidly arrayed, full of spirits, and eager for the sailing of the Indian armada. Pedrarias, on his arrival at Seville, made a general review of his forces, and was embarrassed to find that the number amounted to three thousand. He had been limited in his first armament to twelve hundred; on representing the nature of the case, however, the number was extended to fifteen hundred; but through influence, entreaty and stratagem, upwards of two thousand eventually embarked. Happy did he think himself who could in any manner, and by any means, get admitted on board of the squadron. Nor was this eagerness for the enterprise confined merely to young and buoyant and ambitious adventurers; we are told that there were many covetous old men, who offered to go at their own expense, without seeking any pay from the king. Thus every eye was turned with desire to this squadron of modern argonauts, as it lay anchored on the bosom of the Guadalquivir.

The pay and appointments of Don Pedrarias Davila were on the most liberal scale, and no expense was spared in fitting out the armament; for the object of the expedition were both colonisation and conquest. Artillery and powder were procured from Malaga. Besides the usual weapons, such as muskets, cross-

bows, swords, pikes, lances, and Neapolitan targets, there was armour devised of quilted cotton, as being light and better adapted to the climate, and sufficiently proof against the weapons of the Indians; and wooden bucklers from the Canary Islands, to ward off the poisoned arrows of the Caribs.

Santa Maria de la Antigua was, by royal ordinance, elevated into the metropolitan city of Golden Castile, and a Franciscan friar, named Juan de Quevedo, was appointed as bishop, with power to decide in all cases of conscience. A number of friars were nominated to accompany him, and he was provided with the necessary furniture and vessels for a chapel.

Among the various regulations made for the good of the infant colony, it was ordained that no lawyers should be admitted there, it having been found at Hispaniola and elsewhere, that they were detrimental to the welfare of the settlements, by fomenting disputes and litigations. The judicial affairs were to be entirely confided to the Licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa, who was to officiate as Alcalde Mayor or chief judge.

Don Pedrarias had intended to leave his wife in Spain. Her name was Doña Isabella de Bobadilla; she was niece to the Marchioness de Moya, a great favourite of the late Queen Isabella, who had been instrumental in persuading her royal mistress to part with Columbus. Her niece partook of her high and generous nature. She refused to remain behind in selfish security, but declared that she would accompany her husband in every peril, whether by sea or land. This self-devotion is the more remarkable, when it is considered that she was past the romantic period of youth, and that she had a family of four sons and four daughters, whom she left behind her in Spain.

Don Pedrarias was instructed to use great indulgence towards the people of Darien, who had been the followers of Nicuesa, and to remit the royal title of all the gold they might have collected previous to his arrival. Towards Vasco Nuñez de Balboa alone the royal countenance was stern and severe. Pedrarias was to depose him from his assumed authority, and to call him to strict account before the Alcalde Mayor, Gaspar de Espinosa, for his treatment of the Bachelor Enciso.

The splendid fleet, consisting of fifteen sail, weighed anchor at St Lucar on the 12th of April, 1514, and swept proudly out of the Guadalquivir, thronged with the chivalrous adventurers for Golden Castile. But a short time had elapsed after its departure, when Pedro Arbolancho arrived with the tardy missions of Vasco Nuñez. Had he arrived a few days sooner, how different might have been the fortunes of his friend!

He was immediately admitted to the royal presence, where he announced the adventurous and suc-

<sup>1</sup> This was the same Marchioness de Moya, who during the war of Granada, while the court and royal army were encamped before Malaga, was mistaken for the queen by a Moorish fanatic, and had nearly fallen beneath his dagger.

cessful expedition of Vasco Nuñez, and laid before the king the pearls and golden ornaments which he had brought as the first fruits of the discovery. King Ferdinand listened with charmed attention to this tale of unknown seas and wealthy realms added to his empire. It filled, in fact, the imaginations of the most sage and learned with golden dreams, and anticipations of unbounded riches. Old Peter Martyr, who received letters from his friends in Darien, and communicated by word of mouth with those who came from thence, writes to Leo the Tenth in exulting terms of this event. "Spain," says he, "will hereafter be able to satisfy with pearls the greedy appetite of such as in wanton pleasures are like unto Cleopatra and Æsopus; so that henceforth we shall neither envy nor reverence the nice fruitfulness of Taprobana or the Red Sea. The Spaniards will not need hereafter to mine and dig far into the earth, nor to cut asunder mountains in quest of gold, but will find it plentifully, in a manner, on the upper crust of the earth, or in the sands of rivers dried up by the heats of summer. Certainly the reverend antiquity obtained not so great a benefit of nature, nor even aspired to the knowledge thereof, since never man before, from the known world, penetrated to these unknown regions."<sup>1</sup>

The tidings of this discovery at once made all Spain resound with the praises of Vasco Nuñez, and from being considered a lawless and desperate adventurer, he was lauded to the skies as a worthy successor to Columbus. The king repented of the harshness of his late measures towards him, and ordered the Bishop Fonseca to devise some mode of rewarding his transcendent services.

#### CHAPTER XVI.

##### ARRIVAL AND GRAND ENTRY OF DON PEDRARIAS DAVILA INTO DARIEN.

WHILE honours and rewards were preparing in Europe for Vasco Nuñez, that indefatigable commander, inspired by his fortunes with redoubled zeal and loftier ambition, was exercising the paternal forethought and discretion of a patriotic governor over the country subjected to his rule. His most strenuous exertions were directed to bring the neighbourhood of Darien into such a state of cultivation as might render the settlement independent of Europe for supplies. The town was situated on the banks of a river, and contained upwards of two hundred houses and cabins. Its population amounted to five hundred and fifteen Europeans, all men, and fifteen hundred Indians, male and female. Orchards and gardens had been laid out, where European as well as native fruits and vegetables were cultivated, and already gave promise of future abundance. Vasco Nuñez devised all kinds of means to keep up the spirits

<sup>1</sup> P. Martyr, decad. 5, c. 5. Lok's translation.

of his people. On holidays they had their favourite national sports and games, and particularly tilting matches, of which chivalrous amusement the Spaniards in those days were extravagantly fond. Sometimes he gratified their restless and roving habits by sending them in expeditions to various parts of the country, to acquire a knowledge of its resources, and to strengthen his sway over the natives. He was so successful in securing the amity or exciting the awe of the Indian tribes, that a Spaniard might go singly about the land in perfect safety; while his own followers were zealous in their devotion to him, both from admiration of his past exploits, and from hopes of soon being led by him to new discoveries and conquests. Peter Martyr, in his letter to Leo the Tenth, speaks in high terms of these "old soldiers of Darien," the remnants of those well tried adventurers, who had followed the fortunes of Ojeda, Nicuesa, and Vasco Nuñez. "They were hardened," says he, "to abide all sorrows, and were exceedingly tolerant of labour, heat, hunger, and watching, insomuch that they merrily make their boast that they have observed a longer and sharper Lent than ever your Holiness enjoined, since, for the space of four years, their food has been herbs and fruits, with now and then fish, and very seldom flesh."

Such were the hardy and well-seasoned veterans that were under the sway of Vasco Nuñez; and the colony gave signs of rising in prosperity under his active and fostering management, when, in the month of June, the fleet of Don Pedrarias Davila arrived in the gulf of Uraba.

The Spanish cavaliers who accompanied the new governor were eager to get on shore, and to behold the anticipated wonders of the land; but Pedrarias, knowing the resolute character of Vasco Nuñez, and the devotion of his followers, apprehended some difficulty in getting possession of the colony. Anchoring, therefore, about a league and a half from the settlement, he sent a messenger on shore to announce his arrival. The envoy, having heard so much in Spain of the prowess and exploits of Vasco Nuñez and the riches of Golden Castile, expected, no doubt, to find a blustering warrior, maintaining barbaric state in the government which he had usurped. Great was his astonishment, therefore, to find this redoubtable hero a plain unassuming man, clad in a cotton frock and drawers, and hempen sandals, directing and aiding the labour of several Indians who were thatching a cottage in which he resided.

The messenger approached him respectfully, and announced the arrival of Don Pedrarias Davila as governor of the country.

Whatever Vasco Nuñez may have felt at this intelligence, he suppressed his emotions, and answered the messenger with great discretion: "Tell Don Pedrarias Davila," said he, "that he is welcome, that I congratulate him on his safe arrival, and am ready, with all who are here, to obey his orders."

<sup>1</sup> P. Martyr, decad. 5, c. 5. Lok's translation.

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The little community of rough and daring adventurers was immediately in an uproar when they found a new governor had arrived. Some of the most zealous adherents of Vasco Nuñez, were disposed to sally forth, sword in hand, and repel the intruder; but they were restrained by their more considerate chieftain, who prepared to receive the new governor with all due submission.

Pedrarias disembarked on the thirtieth of June, accompanied by his heroic wife, Doña Isabella, who, according to old Peter Martyr, had sustained the roarings and ragings of the ocean with no less stout courage than either her husband, or even the mariners who had been brought up among the surges of the sea.

Pedrarias set out for the embryo city at the head of two thousand men, all well armed. He led his wife by the hand, and on the other side of him was the bishop of Darien in his robes; while a brilliant train of youthful cavaliers, in glittering armour and brocade, formed a kind of body guard.

All this pomp and splendour formed a striking contrast with the humble state of Vasco Nuñez, who came forth unarmed, in simple attire, accompanied by his councillors and a handful of the "old soldiers of Darien," scarred and battered, and grown half wild in Indian warfare, but without weapons and in garments much the worse for wear.

Vasco Nuñez saluted Don Pedrarias Davila with profound reverence, and promised him implicit obedience, both in his own name and in the name of the community. Having entered the town he conducted his distinguished guests to his straw-thatched habitation, where he had caused a repast to be prepared of such cheer as his means afforded, consisting of roots and fruits, maize and cassava bread, with no soldier beverage than water from the river;—a sorry palace and a meagre banquet in the eyes of the gay cavaliers, who had anticipated far other things from the usurper of Golden Castile. Vasco Nuñez, however, acquitted himself in his humble wigwam with the courtesy and hospitality of a prince, and showed that the dignity of an entertainment depends more upon the giver than the feast. In the mean time a plentiful supply of European provisions was landed from the fleet, and a temporary abundance was diffused through the colony.

#### CHAPTER XVII.

##### PERFIDIOUS CONDUCT OF DON PEDRARIAS TOWARDS VASCO NUÑEZ.

On the day after his entrance into Darien, Don Pedrarias held a private conference with Vasco Nuñez in presence of the historian Oviedo, who had come out from Spain as the public notary of the colony. The governor commenced by assuring him that he was instructed by the king to treat him with

great favour and distinction, to consult him about the affairs of the colony, and to apply to him for information relative to the surrounding country. At the same time he professed the most amicable feelings on his own part, and an intention to be guided by his counsels in all public measures.

Vasco Nuñez was of a frank confiding nature, and was so captivated by this unexpected courtesy and kindness, that he threw off all caution and reserve, and opened his whole soul to the politic courtier. Pedrarias availed himself of this communicative mood to draw from him a minute and able statement in writing, detailing the circumstances of the colony, and the information collected respecting various parts of the country; the route by which he had traversed the mountains; his discovery of the South Sea; the situation and reputed wealth of the Pearl Islands; the rivers and ravines most productive of gold; together with the names and territories of the various caciques with whom he had made treaties.

When Pedrarias had thus beguiled the unsuspecting soldier of all the information necessary for his purposes, he dropped the mask, and within a few days proclaimed a judicial scrutiny into the conduct of Vasco Nuñez and his officers. It was to be conducted by the Licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa, who had come out as Alcalde Mayor, or chief judge. The Licentiate was an inexperienced lawyer, having but recently left the university of Salamanca. He appears to have been somewhat flexible in his opinions, and prone to be guided or governed by others. At the outset of his career he was much under the influence of Quevedo, the bishop of Darien. Now, as Vasco Nuñez knew the importance of this prelate in the colony, he had taken care to secure him to his interests by paying him the most profound deference and respect, and by giving him a share in his agricultural enterprises and his schemes of traffic. In fact, the good bishop looked upon him as one eminently calculated to promote his temporal prosperity, to which he was by no means insensible. Under the influence of the prelate, therefore, the alcalde commenced his investigation in the most favourable manner. He went largely into an examination of the discoveries of Vasco Nuñez, and of the nature and extent of his various services. The governor was alarmed at the course which the inquiry was taking. If thus conducted, it would but serve to illustrate the merits and elevate the reputation of the man whom it was his interest and intent to ruin. To counteract it, he immediately set on foot a secret and invidious course of interrogatories of the followers of Nicuesa and Ojeda, to draw from them testimony which might support the charge against Vasco Nuñez of usurpation and tyrannical abuse of power. The bishop and the alcalde received information of this inquisition, carried on thus secretly, and without their sanction. They remonstrated warmly against it, as an infringement of their rights, being coadjutors in the government; and they spurned the testimony of the fol-

lowers of Ojeda and Nicuesa, as being dictated and discoloured by ancient enmity. Vasco Nuñez was, therefore, acquitted by them of the criminal charges made against him, though he remained involved in difficulties from the suits brought against him by individuals, for losses and damages occasioned by his measures.

Pedrarias was incensed at this acquittal, and insisted upon the guilt of Vasco Nuñez, which he pretended to have established to his conviction by his secret investigations; and he even determined to send him in chains to Spain, to be tried for the death of Nicuesa, and for other imputed offences.

It was not the inclination or the interest of the bishop that Vasco Nuñez should leave the colony; he therefore managed to awaken the jealous apprehensions of the governor as to the effect of his proposed measure. He intimated that the arrival of Vasco Nuñez in Spain would be signalised by triumph rather than disgrace. By that time his grand discoveries would be blazoned to the world, and would atone for all his faults. He would be received with enthusiasm by the nation, with favour by the king, and would probably be sent back to the colony clothed with new dignity and power.

Pedrarias was placed in a perplexing dilemma by these suggestions; his violent proceedings against Vasco Nuñez were also in some measure restrained by the influence of his wife, Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, who felt a great respect and sympathy for the discoverer. In his perplexity, the wily governor adopted a middle course. He resolved to detain Vasco Nuñez at Darien under a cloud of imputation, which would gradually impair his popularity; while his patience and means would be silently consumed by protracted and expensive litigation. In the mean time, however, the property which had been sequestered was restored to him.

While Pedrarias treated Vasco Nuñez with this severity, he failed not to avail himself of the plans of that able commander. The first of these was to establish a line of posts across the mountains between Darien and the South Sea. It was his eager desire to execute this before any order should arrive from the king in favour of his predecessor, in order that he might have the credit of having colonised the coast, and Vasco Nuñez merely that of having discovered and visited it. Before he could complete these arrangements, however, unlooked-for calamities fell upon the settlement, that for a time interrupted every project, and made every one turn his thoughts merely to his own security.

• Oviedo, Hist. Ind., p. 2, c. 8.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## CALAMITIES OF THE SPANISH CAVALIERS AT DARIEN.

THE town of Darien was situated in a deep valley surrounded by lofty hills, which, while they kept off the breezes so grateful in a sultry climate, reflected and concentrated the rays of the sun, inasmuch, that at noontide the heat was insupportable; the river which passed it was shallow, with a muddy channel and bordered by marshes; overhanging forests added to the general humidity, and the very soil on which the town was built was of such a nature, that on digging to the depth of a foot there would ooze forth brackish water.

It is not matter of surprise that a situation of this kind, in a tropical climate, should be fatal to the health of Europeans. Many of those who had recently arrived were swept off speedily; Pedrarias himself fell sick and was removed, with most of his people, to a healthier spot on the river Corobari; the malady, however, continued to increase. The provisions which had been brought out in the ships had been partly damaged by the sea, the residue grew scanty, and the people were put upon short allowance; the debility thus produced increased the ravages of disease; at length the provisions were exhausted, and the horrors of absolute famine ensued.

Every one was more or less affected by these calamities; even the veterans of the colony quailed beneath them; but to none were they more fatal than to the crowd of youthful cavaliers who had once glittered so gaily about the streets of Seville, and had come out to the New World elated with the most sanguine expectations. From the very moment of their landing they had been disheartened at the savage scenes around them, and disgusted with the squalid life they were doomed to lead. They shrunk with disdain from the labours with which alone wealth was to be procured in this land of gold and pearls, and were impatient of the humble exertions necessary for the maintenance of existence. As the famine increased, their case became desperate; for they were unable to help themselves, and their rank and dignity commanded neither deference nor aid at a time when common misery made every one selfish. Many of them, who had mortgaged estates in Spain to fit themselves out sumptuously for their Italian campaign, now perished for lack of food. Some would be seen bartering a robe of crimson silk, or some garment of rich brocade, for a pound of Indian bread or European biscuit; others sought to satisfy the cravings of hunger with the herbs and roots of the field, and one of the principal cavaliers absolutely expired of hunger in the public streets.

In this wretched way, and in the short space of one month, perished seven hundred of the little army of youthful and buoyant spirits who had embarked with Pedrarias. The bodies of some remained for a day

• P. Martyr, deced. 3, c. 6.

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or two without sepulture, their friends not having sufficient strength to bury them. Unable to remedy the evil, Pedrarias gave permission for his men to flee from it. A ship-load of starving adventurers departed for Cuba, where some of them joined the standard of Diego Velasquez, who was colonising that island; others made their way back to Spain, where they arrived broken in health, in spirits, and in fortune.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## FRUITLESS EXPEDITION OF PEDRARIAS.

THE departure of so many hungry mouths was some temporary relief to the colony; and Pedrarias, having recovered from his malady, bestirred himself to send expeditions in various directions for the purpose of foraging the country and collecting the treasure.

These expeditions, however, were entrusted to his own favourites, and partisans, while Vasco Nuñez, the man most competent to carry them into effect, remained idle and neglected. A judicial inquiry, tardily carried on, overshadowed him, and though it substantiated nothing, served to embarrass his actions, to cool his friends, and to give him the air of a public delinquent. Indeed to the other evils of the colony was now added that of excessive litigation, arising out of the disputes concerning the government of Vasco Nuñez, and which increased to such a degree, that, according to the report of the Alcalde Espinosa, if the lawsuits should be divided among the people, at least forty would fall to each man's share.\* This too was in a colony into which the government had commanded that no lawyer should be admitted!

Wearied and irritated by the check which had been given to his favourite enterprises, and confident of the ultimate approbation of the king, Vasco Nuñez now determined to take his fortunes in his own hands, and to prosecute in secret his grand project of exploring the regions beyond the mountains. For this purpose, he privately despatched one Andres Garabito to Cuba to enlist men, and to make the requisite provisions for an expedition across the isthmus, from Nombre de Dios, and for the founding a colony on the shores of the Southern Ocean, from whence he proposed to extend his discoveries by sea and land.

While Vasco Nuñez awaited the return of Garabito, he had the mortification of beholding various of his colonising plans pursued and marred by Pedrarias. Among other enterprises the governor despatched his lieutenant-general Juan de Ayora, at the head of four hundred men, to visit the provinces of those caciques with whom Vasco Nuñez had sojourned and made treaties on his expedition to the Southern Sea. Ayora partook of the rash and domineering spirit of Pedrarias, and harassed and devastated the

countries which he pretended to explore. He was received with amity and confidence by various caciques who had formed treaties with Vasco Nuñez; but he repaid their hospitality with the basest ingratitude, seizing upon their property, taking from them their wives and daughters, and often torturing them to make them reveal their hidden or supposed treasures. Among those treated with this perfidy, we grieve to enumerate the youthful cacique who first gave Vasco Nuñez information of the sea beyond the mountains.

The enormities of Ayora and of other captains of Pedrarias produced the usual effect; the natives were roused to desperate resistance; caciques who had been faithful friends were converted into furious enemies, and the expedition ended in disappointment and disaster.

The adherents of Vasco Nuñez did not fail to contrast these disastrous enterprises with those which had been conducted with so much glory and advantage by their favourite commander; and their sneers and reproaches had such an effect upon the jealous and irritable disposition of Pedrarias, that he determined to employ their idol in a service that would be likely to be attended with defeat and to impair his popularity. None seemed more fitting for the purpose than an expedition to Dobayba, where he had once already attempted in vain to penetrate, and where so many of his followers had fallen victims to the stratagems and assaults of the natives.

## CHAPTER XX.

## SECOND EXPEDITION OF VASCO NUNEZ IN QUEST OF THE GOLDEN TEMPLE OF DOBAYBA.

THE rich mines of Dobayba, and the treasures of its golden temple, had continued to form a favourite theme with the Spanish adventurers. It was ascertained that Vasco Nuñez had stopped short of the wealthy region on his former expedition, and had mistaken a frontier village for the residence of the cacique. The enterprise of the temple was, therefore, still to be achieved; and it was solicited by several of the cavaliers in the train of Pedrarias, with all the chivalrous ardour of that romantic age. Indeed common report had invested the enterprise with difficulties and dangers sufficient to stimulate the ambition of the keenest seeker of adventure. The savages who inhabited that part of the country were courageous and adroit. They fought by water as well as by land, forming ambuscades with their canoes in the bays and rivers. The country was intersected by dreary fens and morasses, infested by all kinds of reptiles. Clouds of gnats and mosquitoes filled the air; there were large bats also, supposed to have the baneful properties of the vampire; alligators lurked in the waters, and the gloomy recesses of the fens were said to be the dens of dragons!

\* P. Martyr.

\* Herrera, decad. 2, l. i, c. 4.

Besides these objects of terror, both true and fabulous, the old historian, Peter Martyr, makes mention of another monstrous animal, said to infest this golden region, and which deserves to be cited, as showing the imaginary dangers with which the active minds of the discoverers peopled the unexplored wilderness around them.

According to the tales of the Indians, there had occurred, shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards, a violent tempest or rather hurricane in the neighbourhood of Dobayba, which demolished houses, tore up trees by the roots, and laid waste whole forests. When the tempest had subsided and the affrighted inhabitants ventured to look abroad, they found that two monstrous animals had been brought into the country by the hurricane. According to their accounts they were not unlike the ancient harpies, and one being smaller than the other was supposed to be its young. They had the faces of women, with the claws and wings of eagles, and were of such prodigious size that the very boughs of the trees on which they alighted broke beneath them. They would swoop down and carry off a man as a hawk would bear off a chicken, flying with him to the tops of the mountains, where they would tear him in pieces and devour him. For some time they were the scourge and terror of the land, until the Indians succeeded in killing the old one by stratagem, and hanging her on their long spears, bore her through all the towns to assuage the alarm of the inhabitants. The younger harpy, says the Indian tradition, was never seen afterwards.

Such were some of the perils, true and fabulous, with which the land of Dobayba was said to abound; and, in fact, the very Indians had such a dread of its dark and dismal morasses, that, in their journeyings, they carefully avoided them, preferring the circuitous and rugged paths of the mountains.

Several of the youthful cavaliers, as has been observed, were stimulated rather than deterred by these dangers, and contended for the honour of the expedition; but Pedrarias selected his rival for the task, hoping, as has been hinted, that it would involve him in disgrace. Vasco Nuñez promptly accepted the enterprise, for his pride was concerned in its success. Two hundred resolute men were given to him for the purpose; but his satisfaction was diminished when he found that Luis Carrillo, an officer of Pedrarias, who had failed in a perilous enterprise, was associated with him in the command.

Few particulars remain to us of the events of this affair. They embarked in a fleet of canoes, and, traversing the gulf, arrived at the river which flowed down from the region of Dobayba. They were not destined, however, to achieve the enterprise of the golden temple. As they were proceeding rather confidently and unguardedly up the river, they were suddenly surprised and surrounded by an immense swarm of canoes, filled with armed savages, which

started out from lurking places along the shores. Some of the Indians assailed them with lances, others with clouds of arrows, while some, plunging into the water, endeavoured to overturn their canoes. In this way one half of the Spaniards were killed or drowned. Among the number fell Luis Carrillo, pierced through the breast by an Indian lance. Vasco Nuñez himself was wounded, and had great difficulty in escaping to the shore with the residue of his forces.

The Indians pursued him and kept up a skirmishing attack, but he beat them off until the night, when he silently abandoned the shore of the river, and directed his retreat towards Darien. It is easier to imagine than to describe the toils and dangers and horrors which beset him and the remnant of his men as they traversed rugged mountains, or struggled through these fearful morasses of which they had heard such terrific tales. At length they succeeded in reaching the settlement of Darien.

The partisans of Pedrarias exulted in seeing Vasco Nuñez return thus foiled and wounded, and taunted his adherents with their previous boastings. The latter, however, laid all the blame upon the unfortunate Carrillo. "Vasco Nuñez," said they, "had always absolute command in his former enterprises, but in this he has been embarrassed by an associate. Had the expedition been confided to him alone, the event had been far different."

#### CHAPTER XXI.

LETTERS FROM THE KING IN FAVOUR OF VASCO NUÑEZ. ARRIVAL OF GABARITO. ARREST OF VASCO NUÑEZ.

[ 1515. ]

ABOUT this time despatches arrived from Spain that promised to give a new turn to the fortunes of Vasco Nuñez and to the general affairs of the colony. They were written after the tidings of the discovery of the South Sea, and the subjugation of so many important provinces of the Isthmus. In a letter addressed to Vasco Nuñez, the king expressed his high sense of his merits and services, and constituted him Adelantado of the South Sea, and Governor of the provinces of Panama and Coyba, though subordinate to the general command of Pedrarias. A letter was likewise written by the king to Pedrarias, informing him of this appointment, and ordering him to consult Vasco Nuñez on all public affairs of importance. This was a humiliating blow to the pride and consequence of Pedrarias, but he hoped to parry it. In the meantime, as all letters from Spain were first delivered into his hands, he withheld that intended for Vasco Nuñez, until he should determine what course of conduct to adopt. The latter, however, heard of the circumstance, as did his friend the Bishop of Darien. The prelate made loud complaints of this interruption of the royal correspondence, which he denounce

<sup>1</sup> P. Martyr, decad. 7. c. 10.

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<sup>2</sup> Oviedo, p at this consu given on the hands.

<sup>3</sup> Idem.



ed, even from the pulpit, as an outrage upon the rights of the subject, and an act of disobedience to the sovereign.

Upon this the governor called a council of his public officers; and after imparting the contents of his letter, requested their opinion as to the propriety of investing Vasco Nuñez with the dignities thus granted to him. The Alcalde Mayor, Espinosa, had left the party of the bishop, and was now devoted to the governor. He insisted, vehemently, that the offices ought in no wise to be given to Vasco Nuñez, until the king should be informed of the result of the inquiry which was still going on against him. In this he was warmly supported by the treasurer and the accountant. The bishop replied, indignantly, that it was presumptuous and disloyal in them to dispute the commands of the king, and to interfere with the rewards conscientiously given by him to a meritorious subject. In this way, he added, they were defeating, by their passions, the grateful intentions of their sovereign. The governor was overawed by the honest warmth of the bishop, and professed to accord with him in opinion. The council lasted until midnight; and it was finally agreed that the titles and dignities should be conferred on Vasco Nuñez on the following day.\*

Pedrarias and his officers reflected, however, that if the jurisdiction implied by these titles were also-ly vested in Vasco Nuñez, the government of Darien and Castilla del Oro would virtually be reduced to a trifling matter; they resolved, therefore, to adopt a middle course; to grant him the empty titles, but to make him give security not to enter upon the actual government of the territories in question, until Pedrarias should give him permission. The bishop and Vasco Nuñez assented to this arrangement; satisfied, for the present, with securing the titles, and trusting to the course of events to get dominion over the territories.†

The new honours of Vasco Nuñez were now promulgated to the world, and he was every where addressed by the title of Adelantado. His old friends lifted up their heads with exultation, and new adherents flocked to his standard. Parties began to form for him and for Pedrarias; for it was deemed impossible they could continue long in harmony.

The jealousy of the governor was excited by these circumstances; and he regarded the newly-created Adelantado as a dangerous rival and an insidious foe. Just as this critical juncture, Andrea Garabito, the agent of Vasco Nuñez, arrived on the coast in a vessel which he had procured at Cuba, and had freighted with arms and ammunition, and seventy resolute men, for the secret expedition to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. He anchored six leagues from the

harbour, and sent word privately to Vasco Nuñez of his arrival.

Information was immediately carried to Pedrarias, that a mysterious vessel, full of armed men, was hovering on the coast, and holding secret communication with his rival. The suspicious temper of the governor immediately took the alarm. He fancied some treasonable plot against his authority; his passions mingled with his fears; and, in the first burst of his fury, he ordered that Vasco Nuñez should be seized and confined in a wooden cage. The Bishop of Darien interposed in time to prevent an indignity which it might have been impossible to expiate. He prevailed upon the passionate governor, not merely to retract the order respecting the cage, but to examine the whole matter with coolness and deliberation. The result proved that his suspicions had been erroneous; and that the armament had been set on foot without any treasonable intent. Vasco Nuñez was therefore set at liberty, after having agreed to certain precautionary conditions; but he remained cast down in spirit and impoverished in fortune, by the harassing measures of Pedrarias.

## CHAPTER XXII.

EXPEDITION OF MORALES AND PIZARRO TO THE SHORES OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN. THEIR VISIT TO THE PEARL ISLANDS. THEIR DISASTROUS RETURN ACROSS THE MOUNTAINS.

THE Bishop of Darien, encouraged by the success of his intercession, endeavoured to persuade the governor to go still further, and to permit the departure of Vasco Nuñez on his expedition to the South Sea. The jealousy of Pedrarias, however, was too strong to permit him to listen to such counsel. He was aware of the importance of the expedition, and was anxious that the Pearl Islands should be explored, which promised such abundant treasures; but he feared to increase the popularity of Vasco Nuñez, by adding such an enterprise to the number of his achievements. Pedrarias, therefore, set on foot an expedition, consisting of sixty men, but gave the command to one of his own relations, named Gaspar Morales. The latter was accompanied by Francisco Pizarro, who had already been to those parts in the train of Vasco Nuñez, and who soon rose to importance in the present enterprise by his fierce courage and domineering genius.

A brief notice of the principal incidents of this expedition is all that is necessary for the present narration.

Morales and Pizarro traversed the mountains of the isthmus by a shorter and more expeditious route than that which had been taken by Vasco Nuñez, and arrived on the shores of the South Sea at the territories of a cacique named Tutibrá, by whom they were amicably entertained. Their great object was to visit

\* Oviedo, part. 2. c. 9. MS. Oviedo, the historian, was present at this consultation, and says that he wrote down the opinions given on the occasion, which the parties signed with their proper hands.

† Idem.

the Pearl Islands: the cacique, however, had but four canoes, which were insufficient to contain their whole party. One half of their number, therefore, remained at the village of Tutibrà, under the command of a captain named Peñalosa; the residue embarked in the canoes with Morales and Pizarro. After a stormy and perilous voyage they landed on one of the smaller islands, where they had some skirmishing with the natives, and thence made their way to the principal island of the Archipelago, to which, from the report of its great pearl fishery, Vasco Nuñez had given the name of Isla Rica.

The cacique of this island had long been the terror of the neighbouring coasts, invading the main land with fleets of canoes, and carrying off the inhabitants into captivity. His reception of the Spaniards was worthy of his fame. Four times did he sally forth to defend his territory, and as often was he repulsed with great slaughter. His warriors were overwhelmed with terror at the fire-arms of the Spaniards, and at their ferocious blood-hounds. Finding all resistance unavailing, the cacique was at length compelled to sue for peace. His prayers being granted, he received the conquerors into his habitation, which was well built, and of immense size. Here he brought them as a peace-offering a basket curiously wrought, and filled with pearls of great beauty. Among these were two of extraordinary size and value. One weighed twenty-five carats; the other was of the size of a muscadine pear, weighing upwards of three drachms, and of oriental colour and lustre. The cacique considered himself more than repaid by a present of hatchets, beads, and hawks'-bells: and, on the Spaniards smiling at his joy, observed, "These things I can turn to useful purpose, but of what value are those pearls to me?"

Finding, however, that these baubles were precious in the eyes of the Spaniards, he took Morales and Pizarro to the summit of a wooden tower, commanding an unbounded prospect. "Behold before you," said he, "the infinite sea, which extends even beyond the sun-beams. As to these islands which lie to the right and left, they are all subject to my sway. They possess but little gold, but the deep places of the sea around them are full of pearls. Continue to be my friends, and you shall have as many as you desire; for I value your friendship more than pearls, and, as far as in me lies, will never forfeit it."

He then pointed to the main land, where it stretched away towards the east, mountain beyond mountain, until the summit of the last faded in the distance, and was scarcely seen above the watery horizon. In that direction, he said, there lay a vast country of inexhaustible riches, inhabited by a mighty nation. He went on to repeat the vague but wonderful rumours which the Spaniards had frequently heard about the great kingdom of Peru. Pizarro listened greedily to his words, and while his eye followed the finger of the cacique, as it ranged along the line of shadowy coast, his daring mind kindled with the

thought of seeking this golden empire beyond the waters.\*

Before leaving the island, the two captains impressed the cacique with so great an idea of the power of the King of Castile, that he agreed to become his vassal, and to render him an annual tribute of one hundred pounds weight of pearls.

The party having returned in safety to the main land, though to a different place from that where they had embarked, Gaspar Morales sent his relation, Bernardo Morales, with ten men in quest of Peñalosa and his companions, who had remained in the village of Tutibrà.

Unfortunately for the Spaniards, during the absence of the commanders, this Peñalosa had so exasperated the natives by his misconduct, that a conspiracy had been formed by the caciques along the coast to massacre the whole of the strangers, when the party should return from the islands.

Bernardo Morales and his companions, on their way in quest of Peñalosa, put up for the night in the village of a cacique named Chuchama, who was one of the conspirators. They were entertained with pretended hospitality. In the dead of the night, however, the house in which they were sleeping was wrapped in flames, and most of them were destroyed. Chuchama then prepared with his confederates to attack the main body of the Spaniards who remained with Morales and Pizarro.

Fortunately for the latter, there was among the Indians who had accompanied them to the islands a cacique named Chirucà, who was in secret correspondence with the conspirators. Some circumstances in his conduct excited their suspicions; they put him to the torture, and drew from him a relation of the massacre of their companions, and of the attack with which they were menaced.

Morales and Pizarro were at first appalled by the overwhelming danger which surrounded them. Concealing their agitation, however, they compelled Chirucà to send a message to each of the confederate caciques, inviting him to a secret conference, under pretence of giving him important information. The caciques came at the summons: they were thus taken one by one to the number of eighteen, and put in chains. Just at this juncture Peñalosa arrived with the thirty men who had remained with him at Tutibrà. Their arrival was hailed with joy by their comrades, who had given them up for lost. Encouraged by this unexpected reinforcement, the Spaniards now attacked by surprise the main body of confederate Indians, who being ignorant of the discovery of their plot and capture of their caciques, were awaiting the return of the latter in a state of negligent security.

Pizarro led the van, and set upon the enemy at day-break with the old Spanish war-cry of Santiago! It was a slaughter rather than a battle, for the Indians were unprepared for resistance. Before sun-

\* Herrera, decad. 2. l. 1. c. 4. P. Martyr, d. 5. c. 10.

empire beyond the

two captains impressed an idea of the power of the king, and agreed to become his annual tribute of one hundred gold pieces.

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set upon the enemy at the Spanish war-cry of Santiago! and a battle, for the Spaniards resistance. Before sunrise

P. Martyr, d. 5, c. 10.

rise, seven hundred lay dead upon the field. Returning from the massacre, the commanders doomed the caciques who were in chains to be torn in pieces by the blood-hounds; nor was even Chirucá spared from this sanguinary sentence. Notwithstanding this bloody revenge, the vindictive spirit of the commanders was still unappeased, and they set off to surprise the village of a cacique named Birù, who dwelt on the eastern side of the Gulf of St Michael. He was famed for valour and for cruelty: his dwelling was surrounded by the weapons and other trophies of those whom he had vanquished; and he was said never to give quarter.

The Spaniards assailed his village before day-break with fire and sword, and made dreadful havoc. Birù escaped from his burning habitation, rallied his people, kept up a gallant fight throughout the greater part of that day, and handled the Spaniards so roughly, that, when he drew off at night, they did not venture to pursue him, but returned right gladly from his territory. According to some of the Spanish writers, the kingdom of Peru derived its name from this warlike cacique, through a blunder of the early discoverers; the assertion, however, is believed to be erroneous.

The Spaniards had pushed their bloody revenge to an extreme, and were now doomed to suffer from the recoil. In the fury of their passions, they had forgotten that they were but a handful of men surrounded by savage nations. Returning wearied and disheartened from the battle with Birù, they were waylaid and assaulted by a host of Indians led on by the son of Chirucá. A javelin from his hand pierced one of the Spaniards through the breast, and came out between the shoulders; several others were wounded, and the remainder were harassed by a galling fire kept up from among rocks and bushes.

Dismayed at the implacable vengeance they had aroused, the Spaniards hastened to abandon these hostile shores and make the best of their way back to Darien. The Indians, however, were not to be appeased by the mere departure of the intruders. They followed them perseveringly for seven days, hanging on their skirts, and harassing them by continual alarms. Morales and Pizarro, seeing the obstinacy of their pursuit, endeavoured to gain a march upon them by stratagem. Making large fires as usual one night about the place of their encampment, they left them burning to deceive the enemy while they made a rapid retreat. Among their number was one poor fellow named Velasquez, who was so grievously wounded that he could not walk. Unable to accompany his countrymen in their flight, and dreading to fall into the merciless hands of the savages, he determined to hang himself, nor could the prayers and even tears of his comrades dissuade him from his purpose.

The stratagem of the Spaniards, however, was unavailing. Their retreat was perceived, and at day-break, to their dismay, they found themselves surrounded by three squadrons of savages. Unable, in

their haggard state, to make head against so many foes, they remained drawn up all day on the defensive, some watching while others reposed. At night they lit their fires and again attempted to make a secret retreat. The Indians, however, were as usual on their traces, and wounded several with arrows. Thus pressed and goaded, the Spaniards became desperate, and fought like madmen, rushing upon the very darts of the enemy.

Morales now resorted to an inhuman and fruitless expedient to retard his pursuers. He caused several Indian prisoners to be slain, hoping that their friends would stop to lament over them; but the sight of their mangled bodies only increased the fury of the savages and the obstinacy of their pursuit.

For nine days were the Spaniards hunted in this manner about the woods and mountains, the swamps and fens, wandering they knew not whither, and returning upon their steps, until, to their dismay, they found themselves in the very place where, several days previously, they had been surrounded by the three squadrons.

Many now began to despair of ever escaping with life from this trackless wilderness, thus teeming with deadly foes. It was with difficulty their commanders could rally their spirits, and encourage them to persevere. Entering a thick forest, they were again assailed by a band of Indians, but despair and fury gave them strength: they fought like wild beasts rather than like men, and routed the foe with dreadful carnage. They had hoped to gain a breathing time by this victory, but a new distress attended them. They got entangled in one of those deep and dismal marshes which abound on those coasts, and in which the wanderer is often drowned or suffocated. For a whole day they toiled through brake and bramble, and miry fen, with the water reaching to their girdles. At length they extricated themselves from the swamp, and arrived at the sea shore. The tide was out, but was about to return, and on this coast it rises rapidly to a great height. Fearing to be overwhelmed by the rising surf, they hastened to climb a rock out of reach of the swelling waters. Here they threw themselves on the earth panting with fatigue and abandoned to despair. A savage wilderness filled with still more savage foes, was on one side, on the other the roaring sea. How were they to extricate themselves from these surrounding perils? While reflecting on their desperate situation, they heard the voices of Indians. On looking cautiously round, they beheld four canoes entering a neighbouring creek. A party was immediately despatched who came upon the savages by surprise, drove them into the woods, and seized upon the canoes. In these frail barks the Spaniards escaped from their perilous neighbourhood, and, traversing the Gulf of St Michael, landed in a less hostile part, from whence they set out a second time, across the mountains.

It is needless to recount the other hardships they endured, and their further conflicts with the Indians;

suffice it to say, after a series of almost incredible sufferings and disasters, they at length arrived in a battered and emaciated condition at Darien. Throughout all their toils and troubles, however, they had managed to preserve a part of the treasure they had gained in the islands; especially the pearls given them by the cacique of Isla Rica. These were objects of universal admiration. One of them was put up at auction, and bought by Pedrarias, and was afterwards presented by his wife Doña Isabella de Bobadilla to the Empress, who, in return, gave her four thousand ducats.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the cupidity of the colonists, that the sight of these pearls and the reputed wealth of the islands of the Southern Sea, and the kingdoms on its borders, made far greater impression on the public mind, than the tale told by the adventurers of all the horror they had past; and every one was eager to seek these wealthy regions beyond the mountains.

### CHAPTER XXIII.

UNFORTUNATE ENTERPRISES OF THE OFFICERS OF PEDRARIAS.  
MATRIMONIAL COMPACT BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND VASCO  
NUÑEZ.

IN narrating the preceding expedition of Morales and Pizarro, we have been tempted into what may almost be deemed an episode, though it serves to place in a proper light the lurking difficulties and dangers which beset the expeditions of Vasco Nuñez to the same regions, and his superior prudence and management in avoiding them. It is not the object of this narrative, however, to record the general events of the colony under the administration of Don Pedrarias Davila. We refrain, therefore, from detailing various expeditions set on foot by him to explore and subjugate the surrounding country; and which, being ignorantly or rashly conducted, too often ended in misfortune and disgrace. One of these was to the province of Zenu, where gold was supposed to be taken in the rivers in nets; and where the Bachelor Enciso once undertook to invade the sepulchres. A captain named Francisco Becerra penetrated into this country at the head of one hundred and eighty men, well armed and equipped, and provided with three pieces of artillery; but neither the commander nor any of his men returned. An Indian boy who accompanied them was the only one who escaped, and told the dismal tale of their having fallen victims to the assaults and stratagems and poisoned arrows of the Indians.

Another band was defeated by Tubanamá, the ferocious cacique of the mountains, who bore as banners the bloody shirts of the Spaniards he had slain in former battles. In fine, the colony became so weakened by these repeated losses, and the savages so

emboldened by success, that the latter beleaguered it with their forces, harassed it by assaults and ambuscades, and reduced it to great extremity. "Such was the alarm in Darien," says the Bishop Las Casas, "that the people feared to be burnt in their houses." They kept a watchful eye upon the mountains, the plains, and the very branches of the trees. Their imaginations were infected by their fears. If they looked towards the land, the long waving grass of the Savannahs appeared to them to be moving hosts of Indians. If they looked towards the sea, they fancied they beheld fleets of canoes in the distance. Pedrarias endeavoured to prevent all rumours from abroad that might increase this fevered state of alarm; at the same time he ordered the smelting-house to be closed, which was never done but in time of war. This was done at the suggestion of the bishop, who caused prayers to be put up, and fasts proclaimed, to avert the impending calamities.

While Pedrarias was harassed and perplexed by these complicated evils, he was haunted by continual apprehensions of the ultimate ascendancy of Vasco Nuñez. He knew him to be beloved by the people, and befriended by the bishop; and he had received proofs that his services were highly appreciated by the king. He knew also that representations had been sent home by him and his partisans, of the evils and abuses of the colony under the present rule, and of the necessity of a more active and efficient governor. He dreaded lest these representations should ultimately succeed; that he should be undermined in the royal favour, and Vasco Nuñez be elevated upon his ruins.

The politic bishop perceived the uneasy state of the governor's mind; and endeavoured, by means of his apprehensions, to effect that reconciliation which he had sought in vain to produce through more generous motives. He represented to him that his treatment of Vasco Nuñez was odious in the eyes of the people, and must eventually draw on him the displeasure of his sovereign. "But why persist," added he, "in driving a man to become your deadliest enemy, whom you may grapple to your side as your firmest friend? You have several daughters—give him one in marriage; you will then have for a son-in-law a man of merit and popularity, who is a hidalgo by birth, and a favourite of the king. You are advanced in life, and infirm; he is in the prime and vigour of his days, and possessed of great activity. You can make him your lieutenant; and while you repose from your toils, he can carry on the affairs of the colony with spirit and enterprise; and all his achievements will redound to the advancement of your family and the splendour of your administration."

The governor and his lady were won by the suggestion of the bishop, and readily listened to his suggestion; and Vasco Nuñez was but too happy to effect a reconciliation on such flattering terms. Written articles were accordingly drawn up and exchanged, contracting a marriage between him and the daughter

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, *Hist. Ind.*, d. 2, l. 1, c. 4.



the latter beleaguered it by assaults and amounting to extremity. "Such was the Bishop Las Casas, burnt in their houses," upon the mountains, the tops of the trees. Their fears by their fears. If they long waving grass of the to be moving hosts of towards the sea, they fancies in the distance. Prevent all rumours from is fevered state of alarm; and the smelting-house to done but in time of war. tion of the bishop, who and fasts proclaimed, to ties.

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daughter of Pedrarias. The young lady was then in Spain, but was to be sent for, and the nuptials were to be celebrated on her arrival at Darien.

Having thus fulfilled his office of peace-maker, and settled, as he supposed, all feuds and jealousies on the sure and permanent foundation of family alliance, the worthy bishop departed shortly afterwards for Spain.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

VASCO NUÑEZ TRANSPORTS SHIPS ACROSS THE MOUNTAINS TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

[ 1516. ]

BEHOLD Vasco Nuñez once more in the high career of prosperity! His most implacable enemy had suddenly been converted into his dearest friend; for the governor, now that he looked upon him as his son-in-law, loaded him with favours. Above all, he authorized him to build brigantines and make all the necessary preparations for his long-desired expedition to explore the Southern Ocean. The place appointed for these purposes was the port of Careta, situated to the west of Darien; from whence there was supposed to be the most convenient route across the mountains. A town called Acla had been founded at this port; and the fortress was already erected, of which Lope de Olano was alcalde; Vasco Nuñez was now empowered to continue the building of the town. Two hundred men were placed under his command to aid him in carrying his plans into execution, and a sum of money was advanced to him out of the royal treasury. His supply of funds, however, was not sufficient; but he received assistance from a private source. There was a notary at Darien, named Hernando de Arguello, a man of some consequence in the community, and who had been one of the most various opponents of the unfortunate Nicuesa. He had amassed considerable property, and now embarked a great part of it in the proposed enterprise, on condition, no doubt, of sharing largely in its anticipated profits.

On arriving at Acla, Vasco Nuñez set to work to prepare the materials of four brigantines that were to be launched into the South Sea. The timber was felled on the Atlantic seaboard; and was then, with the anchors and rigging, transported across the lofty ridge of mountains to the opposite shores of the Isthmus. Several Spaniards, thirty Negroes, and a great number of Indians were employed for the purpose. They had no other roads but Indian paths, straggling through almost impervious forests, across torrents, and up rugged defiles, broken by rocks and precipices. In this way they toiled like ants up the mountains, with their ponderous burthens, under the scorching rays of a tropical sun. Many of the poor Indians sank by the way and perished under his stupefying task. The Spaniards and Negroes,

being of hardier constitutions, were better able to cope with the incredible hardships to which they were subjected. On the summit of the mountains a house had been provided for their temporary repose. After remaining here a little time to refresh themselves and gain new strength, they renewed their labours, descending the opposite side of the mountains until they reached the navigable part of a river, which they called the Balsas, and which flowed into the Pacific.

Much time and trouble, and many lives were expended on this arduous undertaking, before they had transported to the river sufficient timber for two brigantines; while the timber for the other two, and the rigging and munitions for the whole, yet remained to be brought. To add to their difficulties, they had scarcely begun to work upon the timber before they discovered that it was totally useless, being subject to the ravages of the worms from having been cut in the vicinity of salt water. They were obliged, therefore, to begin anew, and fell trees on the border of the river.

Vasco Nuñez maintained his patience and perseverance, and displayed admirable management under these delays and difficulties. Their supply of food being scanty, he divided his people, Spaniards, Negroes, and Indians, into three bands; one was to cut and saw the wood, another to bring the rigging and iron-work from Acla, which was twenty-two leagues distant; and the third to forage the neighbouring country for provisions.

Scarcely was the timber felled and shaped for use when the rains set in, and the river swelled and overflowed its banks so suddenly, that the workmen barely escaped with their lives, by clambering into the trees; while the wood on which they had been working was either buried in sand or slime, or swept away by the raging torrent. Famine was soon added to their other distresses. The foraging party was absent and did not return with food; and the swelling of the river cut them off from that part of the country from whence they obtained their supplies. They were reduced, therefore, to such scarcity, as to be fain to assuage their hunger with such roots as they could gather in the forests.

In this extremity the Indians bethought themselves of one of their rude and simple expedients. Plunging into the river they fastened a number of logs together with withes, and connected them with the opposite bank, so as to make a floating bridge. On this a party of the Spaniards crossed with great difficulty and peril, from the violence of the current, and the flexibility of the bridge, which often sank beneath them until the water rose above their girdles. On being safely landed they foraged the neighbourhood, and procured a supply of provisions sufficient for the present emergency.

When the river subsided the workmen again resumed their labours; a number of recruits arrived from Acla, bringing various supplies, and the busi-

ness of the enterprise was pressed with redoubled ardour, until at length, after a series of incredible toils and hardships, Vasco Nuñez had the satisfaction to behold two of his brigantines floating on the river Balsas. As soon as they could be equipped for sea, he embarked in them with as many Spaniards as they could carry; and, issuing forth from the river, launched triumphantly on the great ocean he had discovered.

We can readily imagine the exultation of this intrepid adventurer, and how amply he was repaid for all his sufferings, when he first spread a sail upon that untraversed ocean, and felt that the range of an unknown world was open to him.

There are points in the history of these Spanish discoveries of the western hemisphere, that make us pause with wonder and admiration at the daring spirit of the men who conducted them, and the appalling difficulties surmounted by their courage and perseverance. We know few instances, however, more striking than this piece-meal transportation, across the mountains of Darien, of the first European ships that ploughed the waves of the Pacific; and we can readily excuse the boast of the old Castilian writers, when they exclaim, "that none but Spaniards could ever have conceived or persisted in such an undertaking; and no commander in the New World but Vasco Nuñez could have conducted it to a successful issue."<sup>1</sup>

#### CHAPTER XXV.

##### CRUISE OF VASCO NUNEZ IN THE SOUTHERN SEA. RUMOURS FROM ACLA.

THE first cruise of Vasco Nuñez was to the groupe of Pearl islands, on the principal one of which he disembarked the greater part of his crews, and despatched the brigantines to the main land to bring off the remainder. It was his intention to construct the other two vessels of his proposed squadron at this island. During the absence of the brigantines he ranged the island with his men, to collect provisions, and to establish a complete sway over the natives. On the return of his vessels, and while preparations were making for the building of the others, he embarked with a hundred men, and departed on a reconnoitring cruise to the eastward, towards the region pointed out by the Indians as abounding in riches.

Having passed about twenty leagues beyond the Gulf of San Miguel, the mariners were filled with apprehension at beholding a great number of whales, which resembled a reef of rocks stretching far into the sea, and lashed by breakers. In an unknown ocean like this every unusual object is apt to inspire alarm. The seamen feared to approach these fancied dangers in the dark; Vasco Nuñez anchored, there-

fore, for the night under a point of land, intending to continue in the same direction on the following day. When the morning dawned, however, the wind had changed, and was contrary; whereupon he altered his course, and thus abandoned a cruise, which, if persevered in, might have terminated in the discovery of Peru! Steering for the main land, he anchored on that part of the coast governed by the cacique Chuelamà, who had massacred Bernardo Morales and his companions, when reposing in his village. Here landing with his men, Vasco Nuñez came suddenly upon the dwelling of the cacique. The Indians sallied forth to defend their homes, but were routed with great loss; and ample vengeance was taken upon them for their outrage upon the laws of hospitality. Having thus avenged the death of his countrymen, Vasco Nuñez re-embarked and returned to Isla Rica.

He now applied himself diligently to complete the building of his brigantines, despatching men to Acla to bring the necessary stores and rigging across the mountains. While thus occupied, a rumour reached him that a new governor named Lope de Sosa was coming out from Spain to supersede Pedrarias. Vasco Nuñez was troubled at these tidings. A new governor would be likely to adopt new measures, or to have new favourites. He feared, therefore, that some order might come to suspend or embarrass his expedition; or that the command of it might be given to another. In his perplexity he held a consultation with several of his confidential officers.

After some debate, it was agreed among them that a trusty and intelligent person should be sent as a scout to Acla, under pretence of procuring munitions for the ships. Should he find Pedrarias in quiet possession of the government, he was to account to him for the delay of the expedition; to request that the time allotted to it might be extended, and to request reinforcements and supplies. Should he find, however, that a new governor was actually arrived, he was to return immediately with the tidings. In such case it was resolved to put to sea before any contrary orders could arrive, trusting eventually to excuse themselves on the plea of zeal and good intentions.

#### CHAPTER XXVI.

##### RECONNOITRING EXPEDITION OF GARABITO. STRATAGEM OF PEDRARIAS TO ENTRAP VASCO NUNEZ.

THE person entrusted with the reconnoitring expedition to Acla was Francisco Garabito, in whose fidelity and discretion Vasco Nuñez had implicit confidence. His confidence was destined to be fatally deceived. According to the assertions of contemporaries, this Garabito cherished a secret and vindictive enmity against his commander, arising from simple but a natural cause. Vasco Nuñez had con-

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, d. 2. l. ii. c. 11.

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tinued to have a fondness for the Indian damsel, daughter of the cacique Careta, whom he had received from her father as a pledge of amity. Some dispute arose concerning her on one occasion between him and Garabito, in the course of which he expressed himself in severe and galling language. Garabito was deeply mortified at some of his expressions, and, being of a malignant spirit, determined on a dastardly revenge. He wrote privately to Pedrarias, assuring him that Vasco Nuñez had no intention of solemnizing his marriage with his daughter, being completely under the influence of an Indian paramour; that he made use of the friendship of Pedrarias merely to further his own selfish views, intending, as soon as his ships were ready, to throw off all allegiance, and to put to sea as an independent commander.

This mischievous letter Garabito had written immediately after the last departure of Vasco Nuñez from Acla. Its effects upon the proud and jealous spirit of the governor may easily be conceived. All his former suspicions were immediately revived. They acquired strength during a long interval that elapsed without tidings being received from the expedition. There were designing and prejudiced persons at hand, who perceived and quickened these jealous feelings of the governor. Among these was the Bachelor Corral, who cherished a deep grudge against Vasco Nuñez for having once thrown him into prison for his factious conduct; and Alonso de la Puente, the royal treasurer, whom Vasco Nuñez had affronted by demanding the repayment of a loan. Such was the temper that was gradually gathering in the factious little colony of Darien.

The subsequent conduct of Garabito gives much confirmation to the charge of perfidy that has been advanced against him. When he arrived at Acla he found that Pedrarias remained in possession of the government; for his intended successor had died in the very harbour. The conduct and conversation of Garabito was such as to arouse suspicions; he was arrested, and his papers and letters were sent to Pedrarias. When examined, he readily suffered himself to be wrought upon by threats of punishment and promises of pardon, and revealed all that he knew, and declared still more than he suspected and surmised, of the plans and intentions of Vasco Nuñez.

The arrest of Garabito, and the seizure of his letters, produced a great agitation at Darien. It was considered a revival of the ancient animosity between the governor and Vasco Nuñez, and the friends of the latter trembled for his safety.

Hernando de Arguello, especially, was in great alarm. He had embarked the most of his fortune in the expedition, and the failure of it would be ruinous to him. He wrote to Vasco Nuñez, informing him of the critical posture of affairs, and urging him to put to sea without delay. He would be protected at all events, he said, by the Jeronimite Fathers at San Domingo, who were at that time all-powerful in the New World, and who regarded his expedition as calcu-

lated to promote the glory of God as well as the dominion of the king. This letter fell into the hands of Pedrarias, and convinced him of the existence of a dangerous plot against his authority. He immediately ordered Arguello to be arrested; and now devised means to get Vasco Nuñez within his power. While the latter remained on the shores of the South Sea with his brigantines and his band of hearty and devoted followers, Pedrarias knew that it would be in vain to attempt to take him by force. Dissembling his suspicions and intentions, therefore, he wrote to him in the most amicable terms, requesting him to repair immediately to Acla, as he wished to hold a conference with him about the impending expedition. Fearing, however, that Vasco Nuñez might suspect his motives and refuse to comply, he at the same time ordered Francisco Pizarro to muster all the armed force he could collect, and to seek and arrest his late patron and commander wherever he might be found.

So great was the terror inspired by the arrest of Arguello, and by the general violence of Pedrarias, that, though Vasco Nuñez was a favourite with the great mass of the people, no one ventured to warn him of the danger that attended his return to Acla.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

## VASCO NUNEZ AND THE ASTROLOGER. HIS RETURN TO ACLÁ.

THE old Spanish writers who have treated of the fortunes of Vasco Nuñez, record an anecdote which is worthy of being cited, as characteristic of the people and the age. Among the motley crowd of adventurers lured across the ocean by the reputed wealth and wonders of the New World, was an Italian astrologer, a native of Venice, named Micer Codro. At the time that Vasco Nuñez held supreme sway at Darien, this reader of the stars had cast his horoscope, and pretended to foretell his destiny. Pointing one night to a certain star, he assured him that in the year in which he should behold that star in a part of the heavens which he designated, his life would be in imminent jeopardy; but should he survive this year of peril, he would become the richest and most renowned captain throughout the Indies.

Several years, it is added, had elapsed since this prediction was made; yet, that it still dwelt in the mind of Vasco Nuñez, was evident from the following circumstance. While waiting the return of his mes-

<sup>1</sup> In consequence of the eloquent representations made to the Spanish government by the venerable Las Casas, of the cruel wrongs and oppressions practised upon the Indians in the colonies, the Cardinal Ximenes, in 1516, sent out three Jeronimite Friars, chosen for their zeal and abilities, clothed with full powers to inquire into and remedy all abuses, and to take all proper measures for the good government, religious instruction, and effectual protection of the natives. The exercise of their powers at San Domingo made a great sensation in the New World, and, for a time, had a beneficial effect in checking the oppressive and licentious conduct of the colonists.

senger, Garabito, he was on the shore of Isla Rica one serene evening, in company with some of his officers, when, regarding the heavens, he beheld the fated star exactly in that part of the firmament which had been pointed out by the Italian astrologer. Turning to his companions, with a smile, "Behold," said he, "the wisdom of those who believe in soothsayers, and, above all, in such an astrologer as Micer Codro! According to his prophecy, I should now be in imminent peril of my life; yet, here I am, within reach of all my wishes, sound in health, with four brigantines and three hundred men at my command, and on the point of exploring this great Southern Ocean."

At this fated juncture, say the chroniclers, arrived the hypocritical letter of Pedrarias, inviting him to an interview at Acla! the discreet reader will decide for himself what credit to give to this anecdote, or rather, what allowance to make for the little traits of coincidence gratuitously added to the original fact by writers who delight in the marvellous. The tenor of this letter awakened no suspicion in the breast of Vasco Nuñez, who reposed entire confidence in the amity of the governor as his intended father-in-law, and appears to be unconscious of any thing in his own conduct that could warrant hostility. Leaving his ships in command of Francisco Compañon, he departed immediately to meet the governor at Acla, unattended by any armed force.

The messengers who had brought the letter maintained at first a cautious silence as to the events which had transpired at Darien. They were gradually won, however, by the frank and genial manners of Vasco Nuñez, and grieved to see so gallant a soldier hurrying into the snare. Having crossed the mountains, and drawn near to Acla, their kind feelings got the better of their caution, and they revealed the true nature of their errand, and the hostile intentions of Pedrarias. Vasco Nuñez was struck with astonishment at the recital; but, being unconscious, it is said, of any evil intention, he could scarcely credit this sudden hostility in a man who had but recently promised him his daughter in marriage. He imagined the whole to be some groundless jealousy which his own appearance would dispel, and accordingly continued on his journey. He had not proceeded far, however, when he was met by a band of armed men, led by Francisco Pizarro. The latter stepped forward to arrest his ancient commander. Vasco Nuñez paused for a moment, and regarded him with a look of reproachful astonishment. "How is this, Francisco?" exclaimed he. "Is this the way you have been accustomed to receive me?" Offering no further remonstrance, he suffered himself quietly to be taken prisoner by his former adherent, and conducted in chains to Acla. Here he was thrown into prison, and Bartolome Hurtado, once his favourite officer, was sent to take command of his squadron.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## TRIAL OF VASCO NUÑEZ.

DON PEDRARIAS concealed his exultation at the success of the stratagem by which he had ensnared his generous and confiding rival. He even visited him in prison, and pretended deep concern at being obliged to treat him with this temporary rigour, attributing it entirely to certain accusations lodged against him by the Treasurer Alonso de la Puente, which his official situation compelled him to notice and investigate.

"Be not afflicted, however, my son!" said the hypocrite, "an investigation will, doubtless, not merely establish your innocence, but serve to render your zeal and loyalty towards your sovereign still more conspicuous."

While Pedrarias assumed this soothing tone towards his prisoner, he urged the Alcalde Mayor Espinosa to proceed against him with the utmost rigour of the law.

The charge brought against him of a treasonable conspiracy to cast off all allegiance to the crown, and to assume an independent sway on the borders of the Southern Sea, was principally supported by the confessions of Francisco Garabito. The evidence is also cited of a soldier, who stood sentinel one night near the quarters of Vasco Nuñez on Isla Rica, and who, being driven to take shelter from the rain under the eaves of the house, overheard a conversation between that commander and certain of his officers, wherein they agreed to put to sea with the squadron on their own account, and to set the governor at defiance. This testimony, according to Las Casas, arose from a misconception on the part of the sentinel, who only heard a portion of their conversation, relating to their intention of sailing without waiting for orders, in case a new governor should arrive to supersede Pedrarias.

The governor in the meantime informed himself from day to day and hour to hour, of the progress of the trial, and considering the evidence sufficiently strong to warrant his personal hostility, he now paid another visit to his prisoner, and, throwing off all affectation of kindness, upbraided him in the most passionate manner.

"Hitherto," said he, "I have treated you as a son, because I thought you loyal to your king, and to me as his representative; but as I find you have meditated rebellion against the crown of Castile, I cast you off from my affection, and shall henceforth treat you as an enemy."

Vasco Nuñez indignantly repelled the charge, and appealed to the confiding frankness of his conduct as a proof of innocence. "Had I been conscious of my guilt," said he, "what could have induced me to come here and put myself into your hands? Had I meditated rebellion, what prevented me from carrying it into effect? I had four ships ready to weigh



anchor, three hundred brave men at my command, and an open sea before me. What had I to do but to spread sail and press forward? There was no doubt of finding a land, whether rich or poor, sufficient for me and mine, far beyond the reach of your control. In the innocence of my heart, however, I came here promptly at your mere request, and my reward is slander, indignity, and chains!"

The noble and ingenuous appeal of Vasco Nuñez had no effect on the prejudiced feelings of the governor: on the contrary, he was but the more exasperated against his prisoner, and ordered that his irons should be doubled.

The trial was now urged by him with increased eagerness. Lest the present accusation should not be sufficient to effect the ruin of his victim, the old inquest into his conduct as governor, which had remained suspended for many years, was revived, and he was charged anew with the wrongs inflicted on the Bachelor Enciso, and with the death of the unfortunate Nicuesa.

Notwithstanding all these charges the trial went on slowly, with frequent delays, for the Alcalde Mayor, Gaspar de Espinosa, seems to have had but little relish for the task assigned him, and to have needed frequent spurring from the eager and passionate governor. He probably considered the accused as technically guilty, though innocent of all intentional rebellion, but was ordered to decide according to the strict letter of the law. He therefore, at length, gave a reluctant verdict against Vasco Nuñez, but recommended him to mercy, on account of his great services, or entreated that at least he might be permitted to appeal. "No!" said the unrelenting Pedrarias, "If he has merited death, let him suffer death!" He accordingly condemned him to be beheaded. The same sentence was passed upon several of his officers, who were implicated in his alleged conspiracy; among these was Hernando de Arguello, who had written the letter to Vasco Nuñez, informing him of the arrest of his messenger, and advising him to put to sea, without heeding the hostility of Pedrarias. As to the perfidious informer Garabito, he was pardoned and set at liberty.

In considering this case as far as we are enabled, from the imperfect testimony that remains on record, we are inclined to think it one where passion and self-interest interfered with the pure administration of justice. Pedrarias had always considered Vasco Nuñez as a dangerous rival, and, though his jealousy had been for some time lulled by looking on him as an intended son-in-law, it was revived by the suggestion that he intended to evade his alliance, and to dispute his authority. His exasperated feelings hurried him too far to retreat, and, having loaded his prisoner with chains and indignities, his death became indispensable to his own security.

For our own part, we have little doubt, that it was the fixed intention of Vasco Nuñez, after he had succeeded in the arduous undertaking of trans-

porting his ships across the mountains, to suffer no capricious order from Pedrarias, or any other governor, to defeat the enterprise which he had so long meditated, and for which he had so laboriously prepared. It is probable he may have expressed such general determination in the hearing of Garabito and of others of his companions. We can find ample excuse for such a resolution in his consciousness of his own deserts; his experience of past hinderances to his expedition, arising from the jealousy of others; his feeling of some degree of authority, from his office of Adelantado; and his knowledge of the favourable disposition and kind intentions of his sovereign towards him. We acquit him entirely of the senseless idea of rebelling against the crown; and suggest these considerations in palliation of any meditated disobedience of Pedrarias, should such a charge be supposed to have been substantiated.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

## EXECUTION OF VASCO NUNEZ.

[ 4517. ]

It was a day of gloom and horror at Acla, when Vasco Nuñez and his companions were led forth to execution. The populace were moved to tears at the unhappy fate of a man, whose gallant deeds had excited their admiration, and whose generous qualities had won their hearts. Most of them regarded him as the victim of a jealous tyrant; and even those who thought him guilty saw something brave and brilliant in the very crime imputed to him. Such, however, was the general dread inspired by the severe measures of Pedrarias, that no one dared to lift up his voice, either in murmur or remonstrance.

The public crier walked before Vasco Nuñez, proclaiming, "This is the punishment inflicted by command of the king and his lieutenant, Don Pedrarias Davila, on this man, as a traitor, and an usurper of the territories of the crown."

When Vasco Nuñez heard these words, he exclaimed, indignantly, "It is false! never did such a crime enter my mind. I have ever served my king with truth and loyalty, and sought to augment his dominions."

These words were of no avail in his extremity, but they were fully believed by the populace.

The execution took place in the public square of Acla; and we are assured by the historian, Oviedo, who was in the colony at the time, that the cruel Pedrarias was a secret witness of the bloody spectacle; which he contemplated from between the reeds of the wall of a house, about twelve paces from the scaffold!

Vasco Nuñez was the first to suffer death. Having confessed himself and partaken of the sacrament, he

Oviedo, Hist. Ind., p. 2, c. 9. MS.

ascended the scaffold with a firm step and a calm and manly demeanour; and, laying his head upon the block, it was severed in an instant from his body. Three of his officers, Valderrabano, Botello, and Hernan Muñoz, were in like manner brought one by one to the block, and the day had nearly expired before the last of them was executed.

One victim still remained. It was Hernando de Arguello, who had been condemned as an accomplice, for having written the intercepted letter.

The populace could no longer restrain their feelings. They had not dared to intercede for Vasco Nuñez, knowing the implacable enmity of Pedrarias; but they now sought the governor, and, throwing themselves at his feet, entreated that this man might be spared, as he had taken no active part in the alleged treason. The day-light, they said, was at an end, and it seemed as if God had hastened the night, to prevent the execution.

The stern heart of Pedrarias was not to be touched. "No," said he, "I would sooner die myself than spare one of them." The unfortunate Arguello was led to the block. The brief tropical twilight was past, and in the gathering gloom of the night the operations on the scaffold could not be distinguished. The multitude stood listening in breathless silence, until the stroke of the executioner told that all was accomplished. They then dispersed to their homes with hearts filled with grief and bitterness, and a night of lamentation succeeded to this day of horrors.

The vengeance of Pedrarias was not satisfied with the death of his victim; he confiscated his property and dishonoured his remains, causing his head to be placed upon a pole and exposed for several days in the public square.

Thus perished, in his forty-second year, in the prime and vigour of his days and the full career of his glory, one of the most illustrious and deserving of the Spanish discoverers; a victim to the basest and most peridious envy.

How vain are our most confident hopes, our brightest triumphs! When Vasco Nuñez from the mountains of Darien beheld the Southern Ocean revealed to his gaze, he considered its unknown realms at his disposal. When he had launched his ships upon its waters, and his sails were in a manner flapping in the wind, to bear him in quest of the wealthy empire of Peru, he scoffed at the prediction of the astrologer, and defied the influence of the stars. Behold him interrupted at the very moment of his departure, betrayed into the hands of his most invidious foe, the very enterprise that was to have crowned him with glory wrested into a crime, and himself hurried to a bloody and ignominious grave at the foot, as it were, of the mountain from whence he had made his discovery! His fate, like that of his renowned predecessor, Columbus, proves that it is sometimes dangerous even to deserve too greatly.

• Oviedo, ubi sup.

## THE FORTUNES OF VALDIVIA

AND HIS COMPANIONS.

[ 4312-4519. ]

It was in the year 1512 that Valdivia, the regidor of Darien, was sent to Hispaniola by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa for reinforcements and supplies for the colony. He set sail in a caravel, and pursued his voyage prosperously until he arrived in sight of the island of Jamaica. Here he was encountered by one of the violent hurricanes which sweep those latitudes, and driven on the shoals and sunken rocks called the Vipers, since infamous for many a shipwreck. His vessel soon went to pieces, and Valdivia and his crew, consisting of twenty men, escaped with difficulty in the boat, without having time to secure a supply either of water or provisions. Having no sails, and their oars being scarcely fit for use, they were driven about for thirteen days, at the mercy of the currents of those unknown seas. During this time their sufferings from hunger and thirst were indescribable. Seven of their number perished, and the rest were nearly famished when they were stranded on the eastern coast of Yucatan, in a province called Maya. Here they were set upon by the natives, who broke their boat in pieces, and carried them off captive to the cacique of the province, by whose orders they were mewed up in a kind of pen.

At first their situation appeared tolerable enough, considering the horrors from which they had escaped. They were closely confined, it is true, but they had plenty to eat and drink, and soon began to recover flesh and vigour. In a little while, however, their enjoyment of this good cheer met with a sudden check; for the unfortunate Valdivia, and four of his companions, were singled out by the cacique, on account of their improved condition, to be offered up to his idols. The natives of this coast in fact were cannibals, devouring the flesh of their enemies and of such strangers as fell into their hands. The wretched Valdivia and his fellow victims, therefore, were sacrificed in the bloody temple of the idol, and their limbs were afterwards served up at a grand feast held by the cacique and his subjects.

The horror of the survivors may be more readily imagined than described. Their hearts died within them when they heard the yells and howlings of the savages over their victims, and the still more horrible revelry of their cannibal orgies. They turned with loathing from the food set so abundantly before them, at the idea that it was but intended to fatten them for a future banquet.

Recovering from the first stupor of alarm, their despair lent them additional force. They succeeded in breaking in the night from the kind of cage in which they were confined, and fled to the depths of the forest. Here they wandered about forlorn, exposed to all the dangers and miseries of the wilderness.

## VALDIVIA

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famishing with hunger, yet dreading to approach the  
haunts of men. At length their sufferings drove  
them forth from the woods into another part of the  
country, where they were again taken captive. The  
cacique of this province, however, was an enemy to  
the one from whom they had escaped, and of less  
cruel propensities. He spared their lives and con-  
tented himself with making them slaves, exacting  
from them the severest labour. They had to cut and  
draw wood, to procure water from a distance, and  
to carry enormous burthens. The cacique died soon  
after their capture, and was succeeded by another  
called Taxmar. He was a chief of some talent and  
sagacity, but he continued the same rigorous treat-  
ment of the captives. By degrees they sank beneath  
the hardships of their lot, until only two were left;  
one of them a sturdy sailor named Gonzalo Guerrero,  
the other a kind of clerical adventurer named Jero-  
nimo de Aguilar. The sailor had the good luck to  
be transferred to the service of the cacique of the  
neighbouring province of Chatemal, by whom he was  
treated with kindness. Being a thorough son of the  
ocean, seasoned to all weathers, and ready for any  
chance or change, he soon accommodated himself to  
his new situation, followed the cacique to the wars,  
rose by his hardihood and prowess to be a distinguish-  
ed warrior, and succeeded in gaining the heart and  
hand of an Indian princess.

The other survivor, Jeronimo de Aguilar, was of  
a different complexion. He was a native of Ecija, in  
Andalusia, and had been brought up to the church,  
and regularly ordained, and shortly afterwards had  
sailed in one of the expeditions to San Domingo, from  
whence he had passed to Darien.

He proceeded in a different mode from that adopt-  
ed by his comrade, the sailor, in his dealings with  
the Indians, and in one more suited to his opposite  
calling. Instead of playing the hero among the men,  
and the gallant among the women, he recollected his  
priestly obligations to humility and chastity. Accord-  
ingly, he made himself a model of meekness and  
obedience to the cacique and his warriors, while he  
closed his eyes to the charms of the infidel women.  
Nay, in the latter respect, he reinforced his clerical  
vows by a solemn promise to God to resist all tempta-  
tions of the flesh, so he might be delivered out of the  
hands of these Gentiles.

Such were the opposite measures of the sailor and  
the saint, and they appear to have been equally suc-  
cessful. Aguilar, by his meek obedience to every  
order, however arbitrary and capricious, gradually  
won the good will of the cacique and his family. Tax-  
mar, however, subjected him to many trials before  
he admitted him to his entire confidence. One day  
when the Indians, painted and decorated in warlike  
style, were shooting at a mark, a warrior, who had  
for some time fixed his eyes on Aguilar, approached  
suddenly and seized him by the arm. "Thou seest,"  
said he, "the certainty of these archers; if they aim  
at the eye, they hit the eye—if at the mouth, they hit

the mouth—what wouldst thou think, if thou wert to  
be placed instead of the mark, and they were to shoot  
at and miss thee?"

Aguilar secretly trembled lest he should be the  
victim of some cruel caprice of the kind. Dissem-  
bling his fears, however, he replied with great submis-  
sion, "I am your slave, and you may do with me as  
you please; but you are too wise to destroy a slave  
who is so useful and obedient." His answer pleased  
the cacique, who had secretly sent this warrior to  
try his humility.

Another trial of the worthy Jeronimo was less stern  
and fearful indeed, but equally perplexing. The ca-  
cique had remarked his unexampled discretion with  
respect to the sex, but doubted his sincerity. After  
laying many petty temptations in his way, which  
Jeronimo resisted with the self-denial of a saint, he  
at length determined to subject him to a fiery ordeal.  
He accordingly sent him on a fishing expedition ac-  
companied by a luxom damsel of fourteen years of  
age: they were to pass the night by the sea-side, so  
as to be ready to fish at the first dawn of the day,  
and were allowed but one hammock to sleep in.  
It was an embarrassing predicament—not apparently  
to the Indian beauty, but certainly to the scrupulous  
Jeronimo. He remembered, however, his double vow,  
and, suspending his hammock to two trees, resigned  
it to his companion; while, lighting a fire on the sea-  
shore, he stretched himself before it on the sand. It  
was, as he acknowledged, a night of fearful trial, for  
his sandy couch was cold and cheerless, the hammock  
warm and tempting; and the infidel damsel had been  
instructed to assail him with all manner of blandish-  
ments and reproaches. His resolution, however,  
though often shaken, was never overcome; and the  
morning dawned upon him still faithful to his vow.

The fishing over, he returned to the residence of  
the cacique, where his companion, being closely  
questioned, made known the triumph of his self-denial  
before all the people. From that time forward he  
was held in great respect; the cacique especially  
treated him with unlimited confidence, entrusting to  
him the care, not merely of his house, but of his  
wives, during his occasional absence.

Aguilar now felt ambitions of rising to greater con-  
sequence among the savages, but this he knew was  
only to be done by deeds of arms. He had the  
example of the sturdy seaman, Gonzalo Guerrero,  
before his eyes, who had become a great captain in  
the province in which he resided. He entreated  
Taxmar therefore to entrust him with bow and ar-  
rows, buckler and war club, and to enroll him among  
his warriors. The cacique complied. Aguilar soon  
made himself expert at his new weapons, signalized  
himself repeatedly in battle, and, from his superior  
knowledge of the arts of war, rendered Taxmar such  
essential service, as to excite the jealousy of some of  
the neighbouring caciques. One of them remonstrated  
with Taxmar for employing a warrior who was of a  
different religion, and insisted that Aguilar should

be sacrificed to their gods. "No," replied Taxmar, "I will not make so base a return for such signal services: surely the gods of Aguilar must be good, since they aid him so effectually in maintaining a just cause."

The cacique was so incensed at this reply that he assembled his warriors and marched to make war upon Taxmar. Many of the counsellors of the latter urged him to give up the stranger who was the cause of this hostility. Taxmar, however, rejected their counsel with disdain and prepared for battle. Aguilar assured him that his faith in the Christians' God would be rewarded with victory; he, in fact, concerted a plan of battle, which was adopted. Concealing himself, with a chosen band of warriors, among thickets and herbage, he suffered the enemy to pass by in making their attack. Taxmar and his host pretended to give way at the first onset. The foe rushed heedlessly in pursuit; whereupon Aguilar and his ambuscade assaulted them in the rear. Taxmar turned upon them in front; they were thrown in confusion, routed with great slaughter and many of their chiefs taken prisoners. This victory gave Taxmar the sway over the land, and strengthened Aguilar more than ever in his good graces.

Several years had elapsed in this manner, when intelligence was brought to the province of the arrival on the neighbouring coast of great vessels of wonderful construction, filled with white and bearded men, who fought with thunder and lightning. It was, in fact, the squadron of Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, then on a voyage of discovery. The tidings of this strange invasion spread consternation through the country, heightened, if we may credit the old Spanish writers, by a prophecy current among the savages of these parts, and uttered in former times by a priest named Chilam Cambal, who foretold that a white and bearded people would come from the region of the rising sun, who would overturn their idols and subjugate the land.

The heart of Jeronimo de Aguilar beat quick with hope when he heard of European ships at hand; he was distant from the coast, however, and perceived that he was too closely watched by the Indians to have any chance of escape. Dissembling his feelings, therefore, he affected to hear of the ships with perfect indifference, and to have no desire to join the strangers. The ships disappeared from the coast, and he remained disconsolate at heart, but was regarded with increased confidence by the natives.

His hopes were again revived in the course of a year or two by the arrival on the coast of other ships, which were those commanded by Juan de Grijalva, who coasted Yucatan in 1518; Aguilar, however, was again prevented by the jealous watchfulness of the Indians from attempting his escape, and when this squadron left the coast he considered all chance of deliverance at an end.

Seven years had gone by since his capture, and he had given up all hopes of being restored to his country

and friends, when, in 1519, there arrived one day at the village three Indians, natives of the small island of Cozumel, which lies a few leagues in the sea, opposite the eastern coast of Yucatan. They brought tidings of another visit of white and bearded men to their shores, and one of them delivered a letter to Aguilar, which, being entirely naked, he had concealed in the long tresses of his hair which were bound round his head.

Aguilar received the letter with wonder and delight, and read it in presence of the cacique and his warriors. It proved to be from Hernando Cortes, who was at that time on his great expedition, which ended in the conquest of Mexico. He had been obliged by stress of weather to anchor at the island of Cozumel, where he learned from the natives that several white men were detained in captivity among the Indians on the neighbouring coast of Yucatan. Finding it impossible to approach the main land with his ships, he prevailed upon three of the islanders, by means of gifts and promises, to venture upon an embassy among their cannibal neighbours, and to convey a letter to the captive white men. Two of the smallest caravels of the squadron were sent under the command of Diego de Ordaz, who was ordered to land the three messengers at the point of Cotoche, and to wait there eight days for their return.

The letter brought by these envoys informed the Christian captives of the force and destination of the squadron of Cortes, and of his having sent the caravels to wait for them at the point of Cotoche, with a ransom for their deliverance, inviting them to hasten and join him at Cozumel.

The transport of Aguilar on first reading the letter, was moderated when he reflected on the obstacles that might prevent him from profiting by this chance of deliverance. He had made himself too useful to the cacique to hope that he would readily give him his liberty, and he knew the jealous and irritable nature of the savages too well not to fear that even an application for leave to depart might draw upon him the severest treatment. He endeavoured, therefore, to operate upon the cacique through his apprehensions. To this end he informed him that the piece of paper which he held in his hand brought him a full account of the mighty armament that had arrived on the coast. He described the number of the ships and various particulars concerning the squadron, all which were amply corroborated by the testimony of the messengers. The cacique and his warriors were astonished at this strange mode of conveying intelligence from a distance, and regarded the letter as something mysterious and supernatural. Aguilar went on to relate the tremendous and superhuman powers of the people in these ships, who, armed with thunder and lightning, wreaked destruction on all who displeased them, while they dispensed inestimable gifts and benefits on such as proved themselves their friends. He, at the same time, spread before the cacique various presents brought by the messen-

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pers, as specimens of the blessings to be expected  
from the friendship of the strangers. The intimation  
was effectual. The cacique was filled with awe at  
the recital of the terrific powers of the white men,  
and his eyes were dazzled by the glittering trinkets  
displayed before him. He entreated Aguilar, there-  
fore, to act as his ambassador and mediator, and to  
secure him the amity of the strangers.

Aguilar saw with transport the prospect of a speedy  
deliverance. In this moment of exultation, he be-  
thought himself of the only surviving comrade of his  
past fortunes, Gonzalo Guerrero, and sending the let-  
ter of Cortes to him, invited him to accompany him  
in his escape. The sturdy seaman was at this time  
a great chieftain in his province, and his Indian bride  
had borne him a numerous progeny. His heart,  
however, yearned after his native country, and he  
might have been tempted to leave his honours and  
dignities, his infidel wife and half savage offspring  
behind him, but an insuperable, though somewhat  
judicious, obstacle presented itself to his wishes.  
Having long since given over all expectation of a re-  
turn to civilized life, he had conformed to the cus-  
toms of the country, and had adopted the external  
signs and decorations that marked him as a war-  
rior and a man of rank. His face and hands were  
delicately painted or tattooed; his ears and lips were  
fit to admit huge Indian ornaments, and his nose  
was drawn down almost to his mouth by a massy  
ring of gold, and a dangling jewel.

Thus curiously garbled and disfigured, the honest  
seaman felt, that, however he might be admired in  
Yucatan, he should be apt to have a hooting rabble  
at his heels in Spain. He made up his mind, there-  
fore, to remain a great man among the savages, ra-  
ther than run the risk of being shown as a man mon-  
ster at home.

Finding that he declined accompanying him, Jero-  
nimo de Aguilar set off for the point of Cotoche,  
scorted by three Indians. The time he had lost in  
waiting for Guerrero had nearly proved fatal to his  
opes, for when he arrived at the point, the caravels  
sent by Cortes had departed, though several crosses  
of records set up in different places gave tokens of the  
recent presence of Christians.

The only hope that remained was, that the squa-  
don of Cortes might yet linger at the opposite island  
(Cozumel); but how was he to get there? While  
pondering disconsolately along the shore, he found  
a canoe, half buried in sand and water, and with one  
end in a state of decay; with the assistance of the  
Indians he cleaned it, and set it afloat, and on look-  
ing further he found the stave of a bogshead which  
might serve for a paddle. It was a frail embarkation  
which to cross an arm of the sea, several leagues  
wide, but there was no alternative. Prevailing on  
the Indians to accompany him, he launched forth in  
his canoe, and coasted the main land until he came  
to the narrowest part of the strait, where it was but  
a few leagues across; here he stood directly for Cozu-

mel, contending, as well as he was able, with a  
strong current, and at length succeeded in reaching  
the island.

He had scarce landed when a party of Spaniards  
who had been lying in wait, rushed forth from their  
concealment, sword in hand. The three Indians  
would have fled, but Aguilar reassured them, and  
calling out to the Spaniards in their own language,  
assured them that he was a Christian. Then, throw-  
ing himself upon his knees, and raising his eyes  
streaming with tears to heaven, he gave thanks to  
God for having restored him to his countrymen.

The Spaniards gazed at him with astonishment;  
from his language he was evidently a Castilian, but  
to all appearance he was an Indian. He was per-  
fectly naked; wore his hair braided round his head  
in the manner of the country, and his complexion was  
burnt by the sun to a tawny colour. He had a bow  
in his hand, a quiver at his shoulder, and a net-work  
pouch at his side in which he carried his provisions.

The Spaniards proved to be a reconnoitring party,  
sent out by Cortes to watch the approach of the  
canoe, which had been descried coming from Yucatan.  
Cortes had given up all hopes of being joined by the  
captive, the caravel having waited the allotted time  
at Cotoche, and returned without news of them. He  
had in fact made sail to prosecute his voyage, but  
fortunately one of his ships had sprung a leak, which  
had obliged him to return to the island.

When Jeronimo de Aguilar and his companions  
arrived in presence of Cortes, who was surrounded  
by his officers, they made a profound reverence,  
squatting on the ground, laid their bows and arrows  
beside them, and touching their right hands wet with  
spittle on the ground, rubbed them about the region  
of the heart, such being their sign of the most de-  
voted submission.

Cortes greeted Aguilar with a hearty welcome, and  
raising him from the earth, took from his own person  
a large yellow mantle lined with crimson, and threw  
it over his shoulders. The latter, however, had for  
so long a time gone entirely naked, that even this  
scanty covering was at first almost insupportable, and  
he had become so accustomed to the diet of the na-  
tives, that he found it difficult to reconcile his stomach  
to the meat and drink set before him.

When he had sufficiently recovered from the agi-  
tation of his arrival among Christians, Cortes drew  
from him the particulars of his story, and found that  
he was related to one of his own friends, the licen-  
tiate Marcos de Aguilar. He treated him, therefore,  
with additional kindness and respect, and retained  
him about his person to aid him as an interpreter in  
his great Mexican expedition.

The happiness of Jeronimo de Aguilar at once more  
being restored to his countrymen, was doomed to  
suffer some alloy from the disasters that had happened  
in his family. Peter Martyr records a touching anec-  
dote of the effect that had been produced upon his  
mother by the tidings of his misfortune. A vague

report had reached her in Spain, that her son had fallen into the hands of cannibals. All the horrible tales that circulated in Spain concerning the treatment of these savages to their prisoners rushed to her imagination, and she went distracted. Whenever she beheld roasted meat, or flesh upon the spit, she would fill the house with her outcries. "Oh, wretched mother! oh, most miserable of women!" would she exclaim; "behold the limbs of my murdered son!"

It is to be hoped that the tidings of his deliverance had a favourable effect upon her intellects, and that she lived to rejoice at his after fortunes. He served Hernando Cortes with great courage and ability throughout his Mexican conquests, acting sometimes as a soldier, sometimes as interpreter and ambassador to the Indians, and in reward of his fidelity and services, was appointed regidor, or civil governor of the city of Mexico.

### MICER CODRO,

THE ASTROLOGER.

THE fate of the Italian astrologer, Micer Codro, who predicted the end of Vasco Nuñez, is related by the historian Oviedo, with some particulars that border upon the marvellous. It appears that, after the death of his patron, he continued for several years rambling about the New World, in the train of the Spanish discoverers; but intent upon studying the secrets of its natural history, rather than searching after its treasures.

In the course of his wanderings he was once coasting the shores of the Southern Ocean, in a ship commanded by one Jeronimo de Valenzuela, from whom he received such cruel treatment as to cause his death, though, what the nature of the treatment was, we are not precisely informed.

Finding his end approaching, the unfortunate astrologer addressed Valenzuela in the most solemn manner: "Captain," said he, "you have caused my death by your cruelty; I now summon you to appear with me, within a year, before the Judgment Seat of God!"

The captain made a light and scoffing answer, and treated his summons with contempt.

They were then off the coast of Veragua, near the verdant islands of Zebaco, which lie at the entrance of the Gulf of Parita or Paris. The poor astrologer gazed wistfully with his dying eyes upon the green and shady groves, and entreated the pilot or mate of the caravel to land him on one of the islands, that he might die in peace. "Micer Codro," replied the pilot, "those are not islands, but points of land: there are no islands hereabout."

"There are, indeed," replied the astrologer, "two good and pleasant islands, well watered, and near to the coast, and within them is a great bay with a

harbour. Land me, I pray you, upon one of these islands, that I may have comfort in my dying hour."

The pilot, whose rough nature had been touched with pity for the condition of the unfortunate astrologer, listened to his prayer, and conveyed him to the shore, where he found the opinion he had given of the character of the coast to be correct. He laid him on the herbage in the shade, where the poor wanderer soon expired. The pilot then dug a grave at the foot of a tree, where he buried him with all possible decency, and carved a cross on the bark to mark the grave.

Some time afterwards, Oviedo, the historian, was on the island with this very pilot, who showed him the cross on the tree, and gave his honest testimony to the good character and worthy conduct of Micer Codro. Oviedo, as he regarded the nameless grave, passed the eulogium of a scholar upon the poor astrologer: "He died," says he, "like Pliny, in the discharge of his duties, travelling about the world to explore the secrets of nature." According to his account, the prediction of Micer Codro held good with respect to Valenzuela, as it had in the case of Vasco Nuñez.—The captain died within the term in which he had summoned him to appear before the tribunal of God!

### JUAN PONCE DE LEON,

CONQUEROR OF PORTO RICO, AND DISCOVERER OF FLORIDA.

#### CHAPTER I.

RECONNOITRING EXPEDITION OF JUAN PONCE DE LEON TO THE ISLAND OF BORIQUEN.

[ 1508. ]

MANY years had elapsed since the discovery and colonisation of Hayti, yet its neighbouring island of Boriquen, or as the Spaniards called it, St Juan (since named Porto Rico), remained unexplored. It was beautiful to the eye as beheld from the sea, having lofty mountains clothed with forest trees of prodigious size and magnificent foliage. There were broad fertile valleys also, always fresh and green; for the frequent showers and abundant streams in these latitudes, and the absence of all wintry frost, produced perpetual verdure. Various ships had occasionally touched at the island, but their crews had never penetrated into the interior. It was evident, however, from the number of hamlets and scattered houses, and the smoke rising in all directions from among the trees, that it was well peopled. The inhabitants still continued to enjoy their life of indolence and freedom, unmolested by the ills that overwhelmed the neighbouring island of Hayti. The time had arrived, however, when they were to share the com-

• P. Martyr, decad. 4, c. 6.

• Vide Oviedo, Hist. Gen., l. xxxix, c. 2.

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lot of their fellow savages, and to sink beneath the yoke of the white man.

At a time when Nicholas de Ovando, Governor of Hispaniola, undertook to lay waste the great province of Higüey, which lay at the eastern end of Hayti, he sent as commander of part of the troops a veteran soldier, named Juan Ponce de Leon. He was a native of Leon in Spain, and in his boyhood had been page to Pedro Nuñez de Guzman, Señor of Toral. From an early age he had been schooled to war, and had served in the various campaigns against the Moors of Granada. He accompanied Columbus in his second voyage in 1493, and was afterwards, it is said, one of the partisans of Francisco Roldan, in his rebellion against the Admiral. Having distinguished himself in various battles with the Indians, and acquired a name for sagacity as well as valour, he received a command subordinate to Juan de Esquivel in the campaign against Higüey, and seconded his chief so valiantly in that sanguinary expedition, that, after the subjugation of the province, he was appointed to the command of it, as lieutenant of the Governor of Hispaniola.

Juan Ponce de Leon had all the impatience of quiet life and the passion for exploit of a veteran campaigner. He had not been long in the tranquil command of his province of Higüey, before he began to cast a wistful eye towards the green mountains of Boriquen. They were directly opposite, and but twelve or fourteen leagues distant, so as to be distinctly seen in the transparent atmosphere of the tropics. The Indians of the two islands frequently visited each other, and in this way Juan Ponce received the usual intelligence, that the mountains he had eyed so wistfully abounded with gold. He readily obtained permission from Governor Ovando to make an expedition to this island, and embarked in the year 1508 in a caravel with a few Spaniards and several Indian interpreters and guides.

After an easy voyage, he landed on the woody shores of the island, near to the residence of the principal cacique, Agueybaná. He found the chieftain seated in patriarchal style, under the shade of his native groves, and surrounded by his family, consisting of his mother, step-father, brother and sister, who dined with each other in paying homage to the strangers. Juan Ponce, in fact, was received into the bosom of the family, and the cacique exchanged names with him, which is the Indian pledge of perpetual amity. Juan Ponce also gave Christian names to the mother and step-father of the cacique, and would fain have baptized them, but they declined the ceremony, though they always took a pride in the names thus given them.

In his zeal to gratify his guests, the cacique took care to various parts of the island. They found the interior to correspond with the external appearance. It was wild and mountainous, but magnificently wooded, with deep rich valleys fertilized by limpid

streams. Juan Ponce requested the cacique to reveal to him the riches of the island. The simple Indian showed him his most productive fields of Yuca, the groves laden with the most delicious fruit, the sweetest and purest fountains, and the cool runs of water.

Ponce de Leon heeded but little these real blessings, and demanded whether the island produced no gold. Upon this the cacique conducted him to two rivers, the Manatuabon and the Zebuco, where the very pebbles seemed richly veined with gold, and large grains shone among the sand through the limpid water. Some of the largest of these were gathered by the Indians and given to the Spaniards. The quantity thus procured confirmed the hopes of Juan Ponce; and leaving several of his companions in the house of the hospitable cacique, he returned to Hayti to report the success of his expedition. He presented the specimens of gold to the Governor Ovando, who assayed them in a crucible. The ore was not so fine as that of Hispaniola, but, as it was supposed to exist in greater quantities, the governor determined on the subjugation of the island, and confided the enterprise to Juan Ponce de Leon.

## CHAPTER II.

JUAN PONCE ASPIRES TO THE GOVERNMENT OF PORTO RICO.

[ 1509. ]

THE natives of Boriquen were more warlike than those of Hispaniola; being accustomed to the use of arms from the necessity of repelling the frequent invasions of the Caribs. It was supposed, therefore, that the conquest of their island would be attended with some difficulty, and Juan Ponce de Leon made another, and as it were, a preparatory visit, to make himself acquainted with the country, and with the nature and resources of the inhabitants. He found the companions whom he had left there on his former visit, in good health and spirits, and full of gratitude towards the cacique Agueybaná, who had treated them with undiminished hospitality. There appeared to be no need of violence to win the island from such simple-hearted and confiding people. Juan Ponce flattered himself with the hopes of being appointed to its government by Ovando, and of bringing it peaceably into subjection. After remaining some time on the island, he returned to San Domingo to seek the desired appointment, but, to his surprise, found the whole face of affairs had changed during his absence.

His patron, the governor Ovando, had been recalled to Spain, and Don Diego Columbus, son of the renowned discoverer, appointed in his place to the command at San Domingo. To add to the perplexities of Juan Ponce, a cavalier had already arrived from Spain, empowered by the king to form a settle-

<sup>1</sup> Incas, Garcilaso de la Vega, Hist. Florida, t. iv, c. 37.

ment and build a fortress on the island of Porto Rico. His name was Christoval de Sotomayor; he was brother to the Count of Camina, and had been secretary to Philip I., surnamed the Handsome, king of Castile and father of Charles V.

Don Diego Columbus was highly displeased with the act of the king in granting these powers to Sotomayor, as it had been done without his knowledge and consent, and of course in disregard of his prerogative, as viceroy, to be consulted as to all appointments made within his jurisdiction. He refused, therefore, to put Sotomayor in possession of the island. He paid as little respect to the claims of Juan Ponce de Leon, whom he regarded with an ungracious eye as a favourite of his predecessor Ovando. To settle the matter effectually, he exerted what he considered his official and hereditary privilege, and chose officers to suit himself, appointing one Juan Ceron to the government of Porto Rico, and Miguel Diaz to serve as his lieutenant.

Juan Ponce de Leon and his rival candidate, Christoval de Sotomayor, bore their disappointment with a good grace. Though the command was denied them, they still hoped to improve their fortunes in the island, and accordingly joined the crowd of adventurers that accompanied the newly appointed governor.

New changes soon took place in consequence of the jealousies and misunderstandings between King Ferdinand and the Admiral as to points of privilege. The former still seemed disposed to maintain the right of making appointments without consulting Don Diego, and exerted it in the present instance; for, when Ovando, on his return to Spain, made favourable representation of the merits of Juan Ponce de Leon, and set forth his services in exploring Porto Rico, the King appointed him governor of that island, and signified specifically that Don Diego Columbus should not presume to displace him.

### CHAPTER III.

JUAN PONCE RULES WITH A STRONG HAND. EXASPERATION OF THE INDIANS. THEIR EXPERIMENT TO PROVE WHETHER THE SPANIARDS WERE MORTAL.

JUAN PONCE DE LEON assumed the command of the island of Boriquen in the year 1509. Being a fiery high-handed old soldier, his first step was to quarrel with Juan Ceron and Miguel Diaz, the ex-governor and his lieutenant, and to send them prisoners to Spain.<sup>1</sup>

He was far more favourable to his late competitor, Christoval de Sotomayor. Finding him to be a ca-

<sup>1</sup> If the reader has perused the history of Columbus, he may remember the romantic adventure of this Miguel Diaz with a female cacique, which led to the discovery of the gold mines of Hayna, and the founding of the city of San Domingo.

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, decad. i, l. vii, c. 15.

valier of noble blood and high connexions, yet void of pretension, and of most accommodating temper, he offered to make him his lieutenant, and to give him the post of Alcalde Mayor, an offer which was very thankfully accepted.

The pride of rank, however, which follows a man even into the wilderness, soon interfered with the quiet of Sotomayor; he was ridiculed for descending so much below his birth and dignity, as to accept a subaltern situation to a simple gentleman in the island which he had originally aspired to govern. He could not withstand these sneers, but resigned his appointment, and remained in the island as a private individual; establishing himself in a village where he had a large repartimiento or allotment of Indians assigned to him by a grant from the king.

Juan Ponce fixed his seat of government in a town called Caparra, which he founded on the northern side of the island, about a league from the sea, in a neighbourhood supposed to abound in gold. It was in front of the port called Rico, which subsequently gave its name to the island. The road to the town was up a mountain, through a dense forest, and so rugged and miry that it was the bane of man and beast. It cost more to convey provisions and merchandise up this league of mountain, than it did to bring them from Spain.

Juan Ponce, being firmly seated in his government, began to carve and portion out the island, to found towns, and to distribute the natives in repartimientos, for the purpose of exacting their labour.

The poor Indians soon found the difference between the Spaniards as guests, and the Spaniards as masters. They were driven to despair by the heavy tasks imposed upon them; for to their free spirits and indolent habits, restraint and labour were worse than death. Many of the most hardy and daring proposed a general insurrection, and a massacre of their oppressors; the great mass, however, were deterred by the belief that the Spaniards were supernatural beings and could not be killed.

A shrewd and sceptical cacique, named Brayon, determined to put their immortality to the test. Hearing that a young Spaniard named Salzeilo, was passing through his lands, he sent a party of his subjects to escort him, giving them secret instructions how they were to act. On coming to a river they took Salzeilo on their shoulders to carry him across, but, when in the midst of the stream, they let him fall, and, throwing themselves upon him, pressed him under water until he was drowned. Then dragging his body to the shore, and still doubting his being dead, they wept and howled over him, making a thousand apologies for having fallen upon him, and kept him so long beneath the surface.

The cacique Brayon came to examine the body and pronounced it lifeless; but the Indians, still fearing it might possess lurking immortality and ultimately revive, kept watch over it for three days until it showed incontestable signs of putrefaction.



Being now convinced that the strangers were mortal men like themselves, they readily entered into a general conspiracy to destroy them.'

## CHAPTER IV.

## CONSPIRACY OF THE CACIQUES. FATE OF SOTOMAYOR.

THE prime mover of the conspiracy among the natives was Agueybanà, brother and successor to the hospitable cacique of the same name, who had first welcomed the Spaniards to the island, and who had fortunately closed his eyes in peace, before his native groves were made the scenes of violence and oppression. The present cacique had fallen within the repartimiento of Don Christoval de Sotomayor, and, though treated by that cavalier with kindness, could never reconcile his proud spirit to the yoke of vassalage.

Agueybanà held secret councils with his confederate caciques, in which they concerted a plan of operations. As the Spaniards were scattered about in different places, it was agreed that at a certain time, each cacique should despatch those within his province. In arranging the massacre of those within his own domains, Agueybanà assigned to one of his inferior caciques the task of surprising the village of Sotomayor, giving him 3000 warriors for the purpose. He was to assail the village in the dead of the night, to set fire to the houses, and to slaughter all the inhabitants. He proudly, however, reserved to himself the honour of killing Don Christoval with his own hand.

Don Christoval had an unsuspected friend in the very midst of his enemies. Being a cavalier of gallant appearance and amiable and courteous manners, he had won the affections of an Indian princess, the sister of the cacique Agueybanà. She had overheard enough of the war council of her brother and his warriors to learn that Sotomayor was in danger. The life of her lover was more precious in her eyes than the safety of her brother and her tribe; hastening, therefore, to him, she told him all that she knew or feared, and warned him to be upon his guard. Sotomayor appears to have been of the most easy and incautious nature, void of all evil and deceit himself, and slow to suspect any thing of the kind in others. He considered the apprehension of the princess, as dictated by her fond anxiety, and neglected to profit by her warning.

He received, however, about the same time, information from a different quarter, tending to the same point. A Spaniard, versed in the language and customs of the natives, had observed a number gathering together one evening, painted and decorated, as if for battle. Suspecting some lurking mischief, he stripped and painted himself in their manner, and,

favoured by the obscurity of the night, succeeded in mingling among them undiscovered. They were assembled round a fire performing one of their mystic war dances, to the chaunt of an Areyto or legendary ballad. The strophes and responses treated of revenge and slaughter, and repeatedly mentioned the death of Sotomayor.

The Spaniard withdrew unperceived, and hastened to apprise Don Christoval of his danger. The latter still made light of these repeated warnings; revolving them, however, in his mind in the stillness of the night, he began to feel some uneasiness, and determined to repair in the morning to Juan Ponce de Leon, in his strong hold at Caparra. With his fated heedlessness, or temerity, however, he applied to Agueybanà for Indians to carry his baggage, and departed slightly armed, and accompanied by but three Spaniards, although he had to pass through close and lonely forests, where he would be at the mercy of any treacherous or lurking foe.

The cacique watched the departure of his intended victim, and set out shortly afterwards, dogging his steps at a distance through the forest, accompanied by a few chosen warriors. Agueybanà and his party had not proceeded far when they met a Spaniard named Juan Gonzalez, who spoke the Indian language. They immediately assailed him and wounded him in several places. He threw himself at the feet of the cacique, imploring his life in the most abject terms. The chief spared him for the moment, being eager to make sure of Don Christoval. He overtook that incautious cavalier in the very heart of the woodland, and stealing silently upon him burst forth suddenly with his warriors from the covert of the thickets, giving the fatal war whoop. Before Sotomayor could put himself upon his guard a blow from the war club of the cacique felled him to the earth, when he was quickly despatched by repeated blows. The four Spaniards who accompanied him shared his fate, being assailed, not merely by the warriors who had come in pursuit of them, but by their own Indian guides.

When Agueybanà had glutted his vengeance on this unfortunate cavalier, he returned in quest of Juan Gonzalez. The latter, however, had recovered sufficiently from his wounds to leave the place where he had been assailed, and, dreading the return of the savages, had climbed into a tree and concealed himself among the branches. From thence, with trembling anxiety, he watched his pursuers as they searched all the surrounding forest for him. Fortunately they did not think of looking up into the trees, but, after beating the bushes for some time, gave up the search. Though he saw them depart, yet he did not venture from his concealment until the night had closed; he then descended from the tree, and made the best of his way to the residence of certain Spaniards, where his wounds were dressed. When this was done, he waited not to take repose, but repaired by a circuitous route to Caparra, and informed Juan Ponce de Leon

of the danger he supposed to be still impending over Sotomayor, for he knew not that the enemy had accomplished his death. Juan Ponce immediately sent out forty men to his relief. They came to the scene of massacre, where they found the body of the unfortunate cavalier, partly buried, but with the feet out of the earth.

In the meantime the savages had accomplished the destruction of the village of Sotomayor. They approached it unperceived, through the surrounding forest, and entering it in the dead of the night, set fire to the straw-thatched houses, and attacked the Spaniards as they endeavoured to escape from the flames.

Several were slain at the onset, but a brave Spaniard, named Diego de Salazar, rallied his countrymen, inspired them to beat off the enemy, and succeeded in conducting the greater part of them, though sorely mangled and harassed, to the strong hold of the Governor at Caparra. Scarcely had these fugitives gained the fortress, when others came hurrying in from all quarters, bringing similar tales of conflagration and massacre. For once a general insurrection, so often planned in savage life, against the domination of the white men, was crowned with success. All the villages founded by the Spaniards had been surprised, about a hundred of their inhabitants destroyed, and the survivors driven to take refuge in a beleaguered fortress.

#### CHAPTER V.

##### WAR OF JUAN PONCE WITH THE CACIQUE AGUEYBANÁ.

JUAN PONCE DE LEON might now almost be considered a governor without territories and a general without soldiers. His villages were smoking ruins, and his whole force did not amount to a hundred men, several of whom were disabled by their wounds. He had an able and implacable foe in Agueybaná, who took the lead of all the other caciques, and even sent envoys to the Caribs of the neighbouring islands, entreating them to forget all ancient animosities and to make common cause against these strangers—the deadly enemies of the whole Indian race. In the meantime the whole of this wild island was in rebellion, and the forests around the fortress of Caparra rang with the whoops and yells of the savages, the blasts of their war conchs, and the stormy roaring of their drums.

Juan Ponce was a staunch and wary old soldier, and not easily daunted. He remained grimly ensconced within his fortress, from whence he despatched messengers in all haste to Hispaniola, imploring immediate assistance. In the meantime he tasked his wits to divert the enemy and to keep them at bay. He divided his little force into three bodies of about thirty men each, under the command of Diego

Salazar, Miguel de Toro, and Luis de Anasco, and sent them out alternately to make sudden surprises and assaults, to form ambuscades, and to practise the other stratagems of partisan warfare, which he had learnt in early life, in his campaigns against the Moors of Granada.

One of his most efficient warriors was a dog named Berezilla, renowned for courage, strength, and sagacity. It is said that he could distinguish those of the Indians who were allies, from those who were enemies of the Spaniards. To the former he was docile and friendly, to the latter fierce and implacable. He was the terror of the natives, who were unaccustomed to powerful and ferocious animals, and did more service in this wild warfare, than could have been rendered by several soldiers. His prowess was so highly appreciated that his master received for him the pay, allowance, and share of booty, assigned to a cross-bow man, which was the highest stipend given.

At length the stout old cavalier Juan Ponce was reinforced in his strong hold, by troops from Hispaniola, whereupon he sallied forth boldly to take revenge upon those who had thus held him in a kind of durance. His foe Agueybaná was at that time encamped in his own territories with more than five thousand warriors, but in a negligent unwatchful state; for he knew nothing of the reinforcements of the Spaniards, and supposed Juan Ponce shut up with his handful of men in Caparra. The old soldier, therefore, took him completely by surprise, and routed him with great slaughter. Indeed, it is said the Indians were struck with a kind of panic when they saw the Spaniards as numerous as ever, notwithstanding the number they had massacred. Their belief in their immortality revived, they fancied that those whom they had slain had returned to life, and they despaired of victory over beings who could thus arise with renovated vigour from the grave.

Various petty actions and skirmishes afterwards took place, in which the Indians were defeated. Agueybaná, however, disdained this petty warfare, and stirred up his countrymen to assemble their forces, and by one grand assault to decide the fate of themselves and their island. Juan Ponce received secret tidings of their intent, and of the place where they were assembling. He had at that time barely eighty men at his disposal, but then they were cased in steel and proof against the weapons of the savages. Without stopping to reflect, the high-mettled old cavalier put himself at their head, and led them through the forest in quest of the foe.

It was nearly sunset when he came in sight of the Indian camp, and the multitude of warriors assem-

<sup>1</sup> This famous dog was killed some years afterwards by a poisoned arrow, as he was swimming in the sea in pursuit of a Carib Indian. He left, however, a numerous progeny and a great name behind him; and his merits and exploits were long a favourite theme among the Spanish colonists. He was father to the renowned Leonelco, the faithful dog of Vasco Núñez, which resembled him in looks and equalled him in prowess.

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bled there made him pause, and almost repent of his temerity. He was as shrewd, however, as he was hardy and resolute. Ordering some of his men in the advance to skirmish with the enemy, he hastily threw up a slight fortification with the assistance of the rest. When it was finished he withdrew his forces into it, and ordered them to keep merely on the defensive. The Indians made repeated attacks, but were as often repulsed with loss. Some of the Spaniards, impatient of this covert warfare, would sally forth in open field with pike and cross-bow, but were called back within the fortification by their wary commander.

The cacique Agueybanà was enraged at finding his host of warriors thus baffled and kept at bay by a mere handful of Spaniards. He beheld the night closing in and feared that in the darkness the enemy would escape. Summoning his choicest warriors round him, therefore, he led the way in a general assault, when, as he approached the fortress, he received a mortal wound from an arquebuse, and fell dead upon the spot.

The Spaniards were not aware at first of the importance of the chief whom they had slain. They soon surmised it, however, from the confusion that ensued among the enemy, who bore off the body with great lamentations, and made no further attack.

The wary Juan Ponce took advantage of the evident distress of the foe, to draw off his small forces in the night, happy to get out of the terrible jeopardy into which a rash confidence had betrayed him. Some of his fiery-spirited officers would have kept the field in spite of the overwhelming force of the enemy. "No, no," said the shrewd veteran; "it is better to protract the war than to risk it upon a single battle."

While Juan Ponce de Leon was fighting hard to maintain his sway over the island, his transient dignity was overturned by another power, against which the prowess of the old soldier was of no avail. King Ferdinand had repented of the step he had ill-advisedly taken, in superseding the governor and lieutenant governor appointed by Don Diego Columbus. He became convinced, though rather tardily, that it was an infringement of the rights of the Admiral, and that policy, as well as justice, required him: to retract it. When Juan Ceron and Miguel Diaz, therefore, came prisoners to Spain, he received them graciously, conferred many favours on them to atone for their rough ejection from office, and finally, after some time, sent them back, empowered to resume the command of the island. They were ordered, however, on no account to manifest rancour or ill will against Juan Ponce de Leon, or to interfere with any property he might hold, either in houses, lands, or Indians; but on the contrary, to cultivate the most friendly understanding with him. The king also wrote to the hardy veteran explaining to him, that this restitution of Ceron and Diaz had been determined upon in council, as a mere act of justice due to them, but was not intended as a censure upon his conduct, and

that means should be sought to indemnify him for the loss of his command.

By the time the governor and his lieutenant reached the island, Juan Ponce had completed its subjugation. The death of the island champion, the brave Agueybanà, had in fact been a death-blow to the natives, and shows how much, in savage warfare, depends upon a single chieftain. They never made head of war afterwards; but, dispersing among their forests and mountains, fell gradually under the power of the Spaniards. Their subsequent fate was like that of their neighbours of Hayti. They were employed in the labour of the mines, and in other rude toils so repugnant to their nature that they sank beneath them, and, in a little while, almost all the aboriginals disappeared from the island.

## CHAPTER VI.

JUAN PONCE DE LEON HEARS OF A WONDERFUL COUNTRY AND MIRACULOUS FOUNTAIN.

JUAN PONCE DE LEON resigned the command of Porto Rico with tolerable grace. The loss of one wild island and wild government was of little moment, when there was a new world to be shared out, where a bold soldier like himself, with sword and buckler, might readily carve out new fortunes for himself. Beside, he had now amassed wealth to assist him in his plans, and, like many of the early discoverers, his brain was teeming with the most romantic enterprises. He had conceived the idea that there was yet a third world to be discovered, and he hoped to be the first to reach its shores, and thus to secure a renown equal to that of Columbus.

While cogitating these things, and considering which way he should strike forth in the unexplored regions around him, he met with some old Indians, who gave him tidings of a country which promised, not merely to satisfy the cravings of his ambition, but to realize the fondest dreams of the poets. They assured him that, far to the north, there existed a land abounding in gold and in all manner of delights; but, above all, possessing a river of such wonderful virtue, that whoever bathed in it would be restored to youth! They added, that in times past, before the arrival of the Spaniards, a large party of the natives of Cuba had departed northward in search of this happy land and this river of life, and, having never returned, it was concluded that they were flourishing in renovated youth, detained by the pleasures of that enchanting country.

Here was the dream of the alchymist realized! one had but to find this gifted land and revel in the enjoyment of boundless riches and perennial youth! nay, some of the ancient Indians declared that it was not necessary to go so far in quest of these rejuvenating waters, for that, in a certain island of the Ba-

hama groupe, called Bimini, which lay far out in the ocean, there was a fountain possessing the same marvellous and inestimable qualities.

Juan Ponce de Leon listened to these tales with fond credulity. He was advancing in life, and the ordinary term of existence seemed insufficient for his mighty plans. Could he but plunge into this marvellous fountain or gifted river, and come out with his battered war-worn body restored to the strength and freshness and suppleness of youth, and his head still retaining the wisdom and knowledge of age, what enterprises might he not accomplish in the additional course of vigorous years insured to him!

It may seem incredible, at the present day, that a man of years and experience could yield any faith to a story which resembles the wild fiction of an Arabian tale; but the wonders and novelties breaking upon the world in that age of discovery almost realized the illusion of fable, and the imaginations of the Spanish voyagers had become so heated, that they were capable of any stretch of credulity.

So fully persuaded was the worthy old cavalier of the existence of the region described to him, that he fitted out three ships at his own expense to prosecute the discovery, nor had he any difficulty in finding adventurers in abundance ready to cruise with him in quest of this fairy-land.\*

#### CHAPTER VII.

##### CRUISE OF JUAN PONCE DE LEON IN SEARCH OF THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH.

[ 1512. ]

It was on the 3rd of March, 1512, that Juan Ponce sailed with his three ships from the Port of St Germain in the island of Porto Rico. He kept for some distance along the coast of Hispaniola, and then, stretching away to the northward, made for the Bahama islands, and soon fell in with the first of the groupe. He was favoured with propitious weather and tranquil seas, and glided smoothly with wind and current along that verdant archipelago, visiting one

\* It was not the credulous minds of voyagers and adventurers alone that were heated by these Indian traditions and romantic fables. Men of learning and eminence were likewise beguiled by them: witness the following extract from the second decade of Peter Martyr, addressed to Leo X., then bishop of Rome:—

"Among the islands on the north side of Hispaniola there is one about 323 leagues distant, as they say which have searched the same. In it is which is a continual spring of running water, of such marvellous virtue that the water thereof being drunk, perhaps with some diet, maketh old men young again. And here I must make protestation to your holiness not to think this to be said lightly or rashly, for they have so spread this rumour for a truth throughout all the court, that not only all the people, but also many of them whom wisdom or fortune hath divided from the common sort, think it to be true; but, if you will ask my opinion herein, I will answer, that I will not attribute so great power to nature, but that God hath no lesse reserved this prerogative to himself than to search the hearts of men, etc." P. Martyr, dec. 2, c. 10. Luk's translation.

island after another, until, on the fourteenth of the month, he arrived at Guanahani, or St Salvador's, where Christopher Columbus had first put his foot on the shores of the New World. His inquiries for the island of Bimini were all in vain, and as to the fountain of youth, he may have drank of every fountain, and river, and lake, in the archipelago, even to the salt pools of Turk's Island, without being a whit the younger.

Still he was not discouraged; but, having repaired his ships, he again put to sea and shaped his course to the north-west. On Sunday, the 27th of March, he came in sight of what he supposed to be an island, but was prevented from landing by adverse weather. He continued hovering about it for several days, buffeted by the elements, until, in the night of the second of April, he succeeded in coming to anchor under the land, in thirty degrees eight minutes of latitude. The whole country was in the fresh bloom of spring; the trees were gay with blossoms, and the fields covered with flowers; from which circumstance, as well as from having discovered it on Palm Sunday (Pascua Florida), he gave it the name of Florida, which it retains to the present day. The Indian name of the country was Cautio.\*

Juan Ponce landed, and took possession of the country in the name of the Castilian Sovereigns. He afterwards continued for several weeks ranging the coasts of this flowery land, and struggling against the gulf-stream and the various currents which sweep it. He doubled Cape Cahaveral, and reconnoitred the southern and eastern shores without suspecting that this was a part of Terra Firma. In all his attempts to explore the country, he met with resolute and implacable hostility on the part of the natives, who appeared to be a fierce and warlike race. He was disappointed also in his hopes of finding gold, nor did any of the rivers or fountains, which he examined, possess the rejuvenating virtue. Convinced, therefore, that this was not the promised land of Indian tradition, he turned his prow homeward on the fourteenth of June, with the intention, in the way of making one more attempt to find the island of Bimini.

In the outset of his return he discovered a groupe of islets abounding with sea-fowl and marine animals. On one of them, his sailors, in the course of a single night, caught one hundred and seventy turtles, and might have taken many more, had they been so inclined. They likewise took fourteen sea wolves, and killed a vast quantity of pelicans and other birds. To this groupe Juan Ponce gave the name of the Tortugas, or Turtles, which they still retain.

Proceeding in his cruise, he touched at another groupe of islets near the Lucayos, to which he gave the name of La Vieja, or the Old Woman groupe, because he found no inhabitant there but one old Indian woman.† This ancient sibyl he took on board his ships to give him information about the labyrinth

\* Herrera, Hist. Ind., d. 1. l. ix, c. 10.

† Herrera, d. 1. l. ix.

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of islands into which he was entering, and perhaps he could not have had a more suitable guide in the eccentric quest he was making. Notwithstanding her pilotage, however, he was exceedingly baffled and perplexed in his return voyage among the Bahama islands, for he was forcing his way as it were against the course of nature, and encountering the currents which sweep westward along these islands, and the trade-wind which accompanies them. For a long time he struggled with all kinds of difficulties and dangers; and was obliged to remain upwards of a month in one of the islands, to repair the damages which his ship had suffered in a storm.

Disheartened at length by the perils and trials with which nature seemed to have beset the approach to Bimini, as to some fairy island in romance, he gave up the quest in person, and sent in his place a trusty captain, Juan Perez de Ortubia, who departed in one of the other ships, guided by the experienced old woman of the isles, and by another Indian. As to Juan Ponce, he made the best of his way back to Porto Rico, where he arrived infinitely poorer in purse and wrinkled in brow, by this cruise after inexhaustible riches and perpetual youth.

He had not been long in port when his trusty envoy, Juan Perez, likewise arrived. Guided by the sage old woman, he had succeeded in finding the long-sought-for Bimini. He described it as being large, verdant, and covered with beautiful groves. There were crystal springs and limpid streams in abundance, which kept the island in perpetual verdure, but none that could restore to an old man the vernal greenness of his youth.

Thus ended the romantic expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon. Like many other pursuits of a chimera, it terminated in the acquisition of a substantial good. Though he had failed in finding the fairy fountain of youth, he had discovered in place of it the important country of Florida.\*

## CHAPTER VIII.

## EXPEDITION OF JUAN PONCE AGAINST THE CARIBS. HIS DEATH.

JUAN PONCE DE LEON now repaired to Spain, to make a report of his voyage to King Ferdinand. The hardy old cavalier experienced much raillery from the wittlings of the court, on account of his visionary voyage, though many wise men had been as credulous as himself at the outset. The king, however, receiv-

\* The belief of the existence, in Florida, of a river like that sought by Juan Ponce, was long prevalent among the Indians of Cuba, and the caciques were anxious to discover it. That a party of the natives of Cuba once went in search of it, and remained there, appears to be a traced fact, as their descendants were afterwards to be seen among the people of Florida. Las Casas says, that, even in his days, many persisted in seeking this mystery, and some thought that the river was no other than that called the Jordan, at the point of St Helena; without considering that the name was given to it by the Spaniards in the year 1520, when they discovered the land of Chicora.

ed him with great favour, and conferred on him the title of Adelantado of Bimini and Florida, which last was as yet considered an island. Permission was also granted him to recruit men either in Spain or in the colonies for a settlement in Florida; but he deferred entering on his command for the present, being probably discouraged and impoverished by the losses in his last expedition, or finding a difficulty in enlisting adventurers. At length another enterprise presented itself. The Caribs had by this time become a terror to the Spanish inhabitants of many of the islands, making descents upon the coasts and carrying off captives, who it was supposed were doomed to be devoured by these cannibals. So frequent were their invasions of the island of Porto Rico, that it was feared they would ultimately oblige the Spaniards to abandon it.

At length King Ferdinand, in 1514, ordered that three ships, well armed and manned, should be fitted out in Seville, destined to scour the islands of the Caribs, and to free the seas from those cannibal marauders. The command of the armada was given to Juan Ponce de Leon, from his knowledge in Indian warfare, and his varied and rough experience which had mingled in him the soldier with the sailor. He was instructed in the first place to assail the Caribs of those islands most contiguous and dangerous to Porto Rico, and then to make war on those of the coast of Terra Firma, in the neighbourhood of Carthage. He was afterwards to take the captaincy of Porto Rico, and to attend to the repartimientos or distributions of the Indians in conjunction with a person to be appointed by Diego Columbus.

The enterprise suited the soldier-like spirit of Juan Ponce de Leon, and the gallant old cavalier set sail full of confidence in January, 1515, and steered direct for the Caribbees, with a determination to give a wholesome castigation to the whole savage Archipelago. Arriving at the island of Guadaloupe, he cast anchor, and sent men on shore for wood and water, and women to wash the clothing of the crews, with a party of soldiers to mount guard.

Juan Ponce had not been as wary as usual, or he had to deal with savages unusually adroit in warfare. While the people were scattered carelessly on shore, the Caribs rushed forth from an ambuscade, killed the greater part of the men, and carried off the women to the mountains.

This blow at the very outset of his vaunted expedition sank deep into the heart of Juan Ponce, and put an end to all his military excitement. Humbled and mortified, he set sail for the island of Porto Rico, where he relinquished all further prosecution of the enterprise, under pretext of ill health, and gave the command of the squadron to a captain named Zuniga; but it is surmised that his malady was not so much of the flesh as of the spirit. He remained in Porto Rico as governor; but having grown testy and irritable through vexations and disappointments, he gave great offence, and caused much contention on the

island by positive and strong-handed measures, in respect to the distributions of the Indians.

He continued for several years in that island, in a state of growing repose, until the brilliant exploits of Hernando Cortes, which threatened to eclipse the achievements of all the veteran discoverers, roused his dormant spirit.

Jealous of being cast in the shade in his old days, he determined to sally forth on one more expedition. He had heard that Florida, which he had discovered, and which he had hitherto considered a mere island, was part of Terra Firma, possessing vast and unknown regions in its bosom. If so, a grand field of enterprise lay before him, wherein he might make discoveries and conquests to rival, if not surpass, the far-famed conquest of Mexico.

Accordingly in the year 1524, he fitted out two ships at the island of Porto Rico, and embarked almost the whole of his property in the undertaking. His voyage was toilsome and tempestuous, but at length he arrived at the wished-for land. He made a descent upon the coast with a great part of his men, but the Indians sallied forth with unusual vigour to defend their shores. A bloody battle ensued, several of the Spaniards were slain, and Juan Ponce was wounded by an arrow in the thigh. He was borne on board his ship, and finding himself disabled for further action, set sail for Cuba, where he arrived ill in body and dejected in heart.

He was of an age when there is no longer prompt and healthful reaction either mental or corporeal. The irritations of humiliated pride and disappointed hope, exasperated the fever of his wound, and he died soon after his arrival at the island. "Thus fate," says one of the quaint old Spanish writers, "delights to reverse the schemes of man. The discovery that Juan Ponce flattered himself was to lead to a means of perpetuating his life, had the ultimate effect of hastening his death."

It may be said, however, that he has at least attained the shadow of his desire, since, though disappointed in extending the natural term of his existence, his discovery has ensured a lasting duration to his name.

The following epitaph was inscribed upon his tomb, which does justice to the warrior qualities of the stout old cavalier.

Mole sub hac forte requiescunt ossa Leonis,  
Qui vicit factis nomina magna suis.

It has thus been paraphrased in Spanish by the Licentiate Juan de Castellanos.

Aqueste lugar estrecho  
Es sepulchro del varon.  
Que en el nombre fué Leon,  
Y mucho mas en el hecho.

"In this sepulchre rest the bones of a man, who was a lion by name, and still more by nature."

## APPENDIX.

### A VISIT TO PALOS.

The following narrative was actually commenced, by the author of this work, as a letter to a friend, but unexpectedly swelled to its present size. He has been induced to insert it here from the idea that many will feel the same curiosity to know something of the present state of Palos and its inhabitants that led him to make the journey.

Seville, 1828.

SINCE I last wrote to you I have made, what I may term an American Pilgrimage, to visit the little port of Palos in Andalusia, where Columbus fitted out his ships, and whence he sailed for the discovery of the New World. Need I tell you how deeply interesting and gratifying it has been to me? I had long meditated this excursion, as a kind of pious, and, if I may so say, filial duty of an American, and my intention was quickened when I learnt that many of the edifices, mentioned in the history of Columbus, still remained in nearly the same state in which they existed at the time of his sojourn at Palos, and that the descendants of the intrepid Pinzons, who aided him with ships and money, and sailed with him in the great voyage of discovery, still flourished in the neighbourhood.

The very evening before my departure from Seville on the excursion, I heard that there was a young gentleman of the Pinzon family studying law in the city. I got introduced to him, and found him of most prepossessing appearance and manners. He gave me a letter of introduction to his father, Don Juan Fernandez Pinzon, resident of Moguer, and the present head of the family.

As it was in the middle of August, and the weather intensely hot, I hired a calesa for the journey. This is a two-wheeled carriage, resembling a cabriolet, but of the most primitive and rude construction: the harness is profusely ornamented with brass, and the horse's head decorated with tufts and tassels and dangling bobs of scarlet and yellow worsted. I had, for calesero, a tall, long-legged Andalusian, in short jacket, little round-crowned hat, breeches decorated with buttons from the hips to the knees, and a pair of russet leather bottinas or spatterdashes. He was an active fellow, though uncommonly taciturn for an Andalusian, and strode along beside his horse, rousing him occasionally to greater speed by a loud malediction or a hearty thwack of his cudgel.

In this style, I set off late in the day to avoid the noontide heat, and after ascending the lofty range of hills that borders the great valley of the Guadalquivir, and having a rough ride among their heights, I descended about twilight into one of those vast, silent, melancholy plains, frequent in Spain, where I beheld no other signs of life than a roaming flock of bustards, and a distant herd of cattle, guarded by a solitary herdsman, who, with a long pike planted in the earth, stood motionless in the midst of the dreary land-

scape, resembling an Arab of the desert. The night had somewhat advanced when we stopped to repose for a few hours at a solitary venta or inn, if it might so be called, being nothing more than a vast low-roofed stable, divided into several compartments for the reception of the troops of mules and arrieros (or carriers) who carry on the internal trade of Spain. Accommodation for the traveller there was none—not even for a traveller so easily accommodated as myself. The landlord had no food to give me, and as to a bed, he had none but a horse-cloth, on which his only child, a boy of eight years old, lay naked, on the earthen floor. Indeed the heat of the weather and the fumes from the stables made the interior of the hovel insupportable, so I was fain to bivouac on my cloak on the pavement at the door of the venta, where, on waking after two or three hours of sound sleep, I found a contrabandista (or smuggler) snoring beside me, with his blunderbuss on his arm.

I resumed my journey before break of day, and had made several leagues by ten o'clock when we stopped to breakfast, and to pass the sultry hours of mid-day in a large village, from whence we departed about four o'clock, and, after passing through the same kind of solitary country, arrived just after sunset at Moguer. This little city (for at present it is a city) is situated about a league from Palos, of which place it has gradually absorbed all the respectable inhabitants, and, among the number, the whole family of the Pinzons.

So remote is this little place from the stir and bustle of travel, and so destitute of the show and vain-glory of this world, that my calesa, as it rattled and jingled along the narrow and ill-paved streets, caused a great sensation; the children shouted and scampered along by its side, admiring its splendid trappings of brass and worsted, and gazing with reverence at the important stranger who came in so gorgeous an equipage.

I drove up to the principal posada, the landlord of which was at the door. He was one of the very civilised men in the world, and disposed to do every thing in his power to make me comfortable; there was only one difficulty, he had neither bed nor bedroom in his house. In fact it was a mere venta for gipsies, who are accustomed to sleep on the ground with their mule-cloths for beds and pack-saddles for pillows. It was a hard case, but there was no better posada in the place. Few people travel for pleasure or curiosity in these out-of-the-way parts of Spain, and those of any note are generally received into private houses. I had travelled sufficiently in Spain to find out that a bed, after all, is not an article of indispensable necessity, and was about to bespeak some quiet corner where I might spread my cloak, when fortunately the landlord's wife came forth. She could not have a more obliging disposition than her husband, but then—God bless the women!—they always know how to carry their good wishes to effect. In a little while a small room, about ten

feet square, that had formed a thoroughfare between the stables and a kind of shop or bar room, was cleared of a variety of lumber, and I was assured that a bed should be put up there for me. From the consultations I saw my hostess holding with some of her neighbour gossips, I fancied the bed was to be a kind of peace-meal contribution among them for the credit of the house.

As soon as I could change my dress, I commenced the historical researches which were the object of my journey, and inquired for the abode of Don Juan Fernandez Pinzon. My obliging landlord himself volunteered to conduct me thither, and I set off full of animation at the thoughts of meeting with the lineal representative of one of the coadjutors of Columbus.

A short walk brought us to the house, which was most respectable in its appearance, indicating easy, if not affluent, circumstances. The door, as is customary in Spanish villages, during summer, stood wide open. We entered with the usual salutation or rather summons, "Ave Maria!" A trim Andalusian handmaid answered to the call, and, on our inquiring for the master of the house, led the way across a little patio or court, in the centre of the edifice, cooled by a fountain surrounded by shrubs and flowers, to a back court or terrace, likewise set out with flowers, where Don Juan Fernandez was seated with his family, enjoying the serene evening in the open air.

I was much pleased with his appearance. He was a venerable old gentleman, tall, and somewhat thin, with fair complexion and grey hair. He received me with great urbanity, and on reading the letter from his son, appeared struck with surprise to find I had come quite to Moguer, merely to visit the scene of the embarkation of Columbus; and still more so on my telling him, that one of my leading objects of curiosity was his own family connexion; for it would seem that the worthy cavalier had troubled his head but little about the enterprises of his ancestors.

I now took my seat in the domestic circle, and soon felt myself quite at home, for there is generally a frankness in the hospitality of Spaniards, that soon puts a stranger at his ease beneath their roof. The wife of Don Juan Fernandez was extremely amiable and affable, possessing much of that natural aptness for which the Spanish women are remarkable. In the course of conversation with them, I learnt that Don Juan Fernandez, who is seventy-two years of age, is the eldest of five brothers, all of whom are married, have numerous offspring, and live in Moguer and its vicinity, in nearly the same condition and rank of life as at the time of the discovery. This agreed with what I had previously heard, respecting the families of the discoverers. Of Columbus no lineal and direct descendant exists; his was an exotic stock that never took deep and lasting root in the country; but the race of the Pinzons continues to thrive and multiply in its native soil.

While I was yet conversing, a gentleman entered, who was introduced to me as Don Luis Fernandez

Pinzon, the youngest of the brothers. He appeared to be between fifty and sixty years of age, somewhat robust, with fair complexion and grey hair, and a frank and manly deportment. He is the only one of the present generation that has followed the ancient profession of the family; having served with great applause as an officer of the royal navy, from which he retired, on his marriage, about twenty two years since. He is the one, also, who takes the greatest interest and pride in the historical honours of his house, carefully preserving all the legends and documents of the achievements and distinctions of his family, a manuscript volume of which he lent to me for my inspection.

Don Juan now expressed a wish that, during my residence in Moguer, I would make his house my home. I endeavoured to excuse myself, alleging, that the good people at the posada had been at such extraordinary trouble in preparing quarters for me, that I did not like to disappoint them. The worthy old gentleman undertook to arrange all this, and, while supper was preparing, we walked together to the posada. I found that my obliging host and hostess had indeed exerted themselves to an uncommon degree. An old ricketty table had been spread out in a corner of the little room as a bedstead, on the top of which was propped up a grand *cama de lujo*, or state bed, which appeared to be the admiration of the house. I could not, for the soul of me, appear to undervalue what the poor people had prepared with such hearty good will, and considered such a triumph of art and luxury; so I again entreated Don Juan to dispense with my sleeping at his house, promising most faithfully to make my meals there, whilst I should stay at Moguer, and as the old gentleman understood my motives for declining his invitation, and felt a good-humoured sympathy in them, we readily arranged the matter. I returned therefore with Don Juan to his house and supped with his family. During the repast a plan was agreed upon for my visit to Palos, and to the convent of La Rabida, in which Don Juan volunteered to accompany me and be my guide, and the following day was allotted to the expedition. We were to breakfast at a hacienda, or country seat, which he possessed in the vicinity of Palos, in the midst of his vineyards, and were to dine there on our return from the convent. These arrangements being made, we parted for the night; I returned to the posada highly gratified with my visit, and slept soundly in the extraordinary bed which, I may almost say, had been invented for my accommodation.

On the following morning, bright and early, Don Juan Fernandez and myself set off in the calesa for Palos. I felt apprehensive at first, that the kind-hearted old gentleman, in his anxiety to oblige, had left his bed at too early an hour, and was exposing himself to fatigues unsuited to his age. He laughed at the idea, and assured me that he was an early riser, and accustomed to all kinds of exercise on horse and foot, being a keen sportsman, and frequently

passing days together among the mountains on shooting expeditions, taking with him servants, horses, and provisions, and living in a tent. He appeared, in fact, to be of an active habit, and to possess a youthful vivacity of spirit. His cheerful disposition rendered our morning drive extremely agreeable; his urbanity was shown to every one whom we met on the road; even the common peasant was saluted by him with the appellation of *caballero*, a mark of respect ever gratifying to the poor but proud Spaniard, when yielded by a superior.

As the tide was out we drove along the flat grounds bordering the Tinto. The river was on our right, while on our left was a range of hills, jutting out into promontories, one beyond the other, and covered with vineyards and fig trees. The weather was serene, the air soft and balmy, and the landscape of that gentle kind calculated to put one in a quiet and happy humour. We passed close by the skirts of Palos, and drove to the hacienda, which is situated at some little distance from the village, between it and the river. The house is a low stone building, well whitewashed, and of great length; one end being fitted up as a summer residence, with saloons, bedrooms, and a domestic chapel; and the other as a bodega or magazine for the reception of the wine produced on the estate.

The house stands on a hill, amidst vineyards, which are supposed to cover a part of the site of the ancient town of Palos, now shrunk to a miserable village. Beyond these vineyards, on the crest of a distant hill, are seen the white walls of the convent of La Rabida rising above a dark wood of pine trees.

Below the hacienda flows the river Tinto, on which Columbus embarked. It is divided by a low tongue of land, or rather the sand bar of Saltes, from the river Odiel, with which it soon mingles its waters, and flows on to the ocean. Beside this sand bar, where the channel of the river runs deep, the squadron of Columbus was anchored, and from hence he made sail on the morning of his departure.

The soft breeze that was blowing scarcely ruffled the surface of this beautiful river; two or three picturesque barks, called mysticks, with long latine sails, were gliding down it. A little aid of the imagination might suffice to picture them as the light caravels of Columbus, sallying forth on their eventful expedition, while the distant bells of the town of Huelva, which were ringing melodiously, might be supposed as cheering the voyagers with a farewell peal.

I cannot express to you what were my feelings on treading the shore which had once been animated by the bustle of departure, and whose sands had been printed by the last footstep of Columbus. The solemn and sublime nature of the event that had followed, together with the fate and fortunes of those concerned in it, filled the mind with vague yet melancholy ideas. It was like viewing the silent and empty stage of some great drama when all the actors had departed. The very aspect of the landscape, so tranquil



beautiful, had an effect upon me; and as I paced the deserted shore by the side of a descendant of one of the discoverers, I felt my heart swelling with emotions and my eyes filling with tears.

What surprised me was, to find no semblance of a sea-port; there was neither wharf nor landing-place—nothing but a naked river-bank, with the hulk of a ferry-boat, which I was told carried passengers to Huelva, lying high and dry on the sands, deserted by the tide. Palos, though it has doubtless dwindled away from its former size, can never have been important as to extent and population. If it possessed warehouses on the beach, they have disappeared. It is at present a mere village of the poorest kind, and lies nearly a quarter of a mile from the river, in a hollow among hills. It contains a few hundred inhabitants, who subsist principally by labouring in the fields and vineyards. Its race of merchants and mariners are extinct. There are no vessels belonging to the place, nor any show of traffic, excepting at the season of fruit and wine, when a few mysticks and other light barks anchor in the river to collect the produce of the neighbourhood. The people are totally ignorant, and it is probable that the greater part of them scarce know even the name of America. Such is the place from whence sallied the enterprise for the discovery of the western world!

We were now summoned to breakfast in a little saloon of the hacienda. The table was covered with natural luxuries produced upon the spot—fine purple and muscatel grapes from the adjacent vineyard, delicious melons from the garden, and generous wines made on the estate. The repast was heightened by the genial manners of my hospitable host, who appeared to possess the most enviable cheerfulness of spirit and simplicity of heart.

After breakfast we set off in the calesa to visit the Convent of La Rabida, which is about half a league distant. The road, for a part of the way, lay through the vineyards, and was deep and sandy. The calesero had been at his wit's end to conceive what motive a stranger like myself, apparently travelling for mere amusement, could have in coming so far to see so miserable a place as Palos, which he set down as one of the very poorest places in the whole world; but this additional toil and struggle through deep sand to visit the old Convent of La Rabida, completed his confusion—"Hombre!" exclaimed he, "es una ruina! no hay mas que dos frailes!"—"Zounds! why it's a ruin! there are only two friars there!" Don Juan laughed, and told him that I had come all the way from Seville precisely to see that old ruin and those two friars. The calesero made the Spaniard's last reply when he is perplexed—he shrugged his shoulders and crossed himself.

After ascending a hill and passing through the skirts of a straggling pine wood, we arrived in front of the convent. It stands in a bleak and solitary situation, on the brow of a rocky height or promontory, overlooking to the west a wide range of sea and land,

bounded by the frontier mountains of Portugal, about eight leagues distant. The convent is shut out from a view of the vineyard of Palos by the gloomy forest of pines which I have mentioned, which covers the promontory to the east, and darkens the whole landscape in that direction.

There is nothing remarkable in the architecture of the convent; part of it is Gothic, but the edifice having been frequently repaired, and being whitewashed, according to a universal custom in Andalusia, inherited from the Moors, it has not that venerable aspect which might be expected from its antiquity.

We alighted at the gate where Columbus, when a poor pedestrian, a stranger in the land, asked bread and water for his child! As long as the convent stands, this must be a spot calculated to awaken the most thrilling interest. The gate remains apparently in nearly the same state as at the time of his visit, but there is no longer a porter at hand to administer to the wants of the wayfarer. The door stood wide open, and admitted us into a small court yard. From thence we passed through a Gothic portal into the chapel, without seeing a human being. We then traversed two interior cloisters, equally vacant and silent, and bearing a look of neglect and dilapidation. From an open window we had a peep at what had once been a garden, but that had also gone to ruin; the walls were broken and thrown down; a few shrubs, and a scattered fig-tree or two were all the traces of cultivation that remained. We passed through the long dormitories, but the cells were shut up and abandoned; we saw no living thing except a solitary cat stealing across a distant corridor, which fled in a panic at the unusual sight of strangers. At length, after patrolling nearly the whole of the empty building to the echo of our own footsteps, we came to where the door of a cell, being partly open, gave us the sight of a monk within, seated at a table writing. He rose, and received us with much civility, and conducted us to the superior, who was reading in an adjacent cell. They were both rather young men, and, together with a novice and a lay-brother, who officiated as cook, formed the whole community of the convent.

Don Juan Fernandez communicated to them the object of my visit, and my desire also to inspect the archives of the convent, to find if there was any record of the sojourn of Columbus. They informed us that the archives had been entirely destroyed by the French. The younger monk, however, who had perused them, had a vague recollection of various particulars concerning the transactions of Columbus at Palos, his visit to the convent, and the sailing of his expedition. From all that he cited, however, it appeared to me that all the information on the subject contained in the archives, had been extracted from Herrera and other well known authors. The monk was talkative and eloquent, and soon diverged from the subject of Columbus, to one which he considered of infinitely greater importance—the miraculous

image of the Virgin possessed by their convent, and known by the name of "Our Lady of La Rabida." He gave us a history of the wonderful way in which the image had been found buried in the earth, where it had lain hidden for ages, since the time of the conquest of Spain by the Moors; the disputes between the convent and different places in the neighbourhood for the possession of it; the marvellous protection it extended to the adjacent country, especially in preventing all madness, either in man or dog, for this malady was anciently so prevalent in this place as to gain it the appellation of La Rabia, by which it was originally called; a name which, thanks to the beneficent influence of the Virgin, it no longer merited or retained. Such are the legends and reliques with which every convent in Spain is enriched, which are zealously cried up by the monks, and devoutly credited by the populace.

Twice a year on the festival of our Lady of La Rabida, and on that of the patron saint of the order, the solitude and silence of the convent are interrupted by the intrusion of a swarming multitude, composed of the inhabitants of Moguer, of Huelva, and the neighbouring plains and mountains. The open esplanade in front of the edifice resembles a fair, the adjacent forest teems with the motley throng, and the image of our Lady of La Rabida is borne forth in triumphant procession.

While the friar was thus dilating upon the merits and renown of the image, I amused myself with those day dreams, or conjurings of the imagination, to which I am a little given. As the internal arrangements of convents are apt to be the same from age to age, I pictured to myself this chamber as the same inhabited by the guardian, Juan Perez de Marchena, at the time of the visit of Columbus. Why might not the old and ponderous table before me be the very one on which he displayed his conjectural maps, and expounded his theory of a western route to India? It required but another stretch of the imagination to assemble the little conclave around the table; Juan Perez the friar, Garcia Fernandez the physician, and Martin Alonso Pinzon the bold navigator, all listening with rapt attention to Columbus, or to the tale of some old seamen of Palos, about islands seen in the western parts of the ocean.

The friars, as far as their poor means and scanty knowledge extended, were disposed to do every thing to promote the object of my visit. They showed us all parts of the convent, which, however, has little to boast of, excepting the historical associations connected with it. The library was reduced to a few volumes, chiefly on ecclesiastical subjects, piled promiscuously in the corner of a vaulted chamber, and covered with dust. The chamber itself was curious, being the most ancient part of the edifice, and supposed to have formed part of a temple in the time of the Romans.

We ascended to the roof of the convent to enjoy the extensive prospect it commands. Immediately below

the promontory on which it is situated, runs a narrow but tolerably deep river, called the Domingo Rubio, which empties itself into the Tinto. It is the opinion of Don Luis Fernandez Pinzon, that the ships of Columbus were careened and fitted out in this river, as it affords better shelter than the Tinto, and its shores are not so shallow. A lonely bark of a fisherman was lying in this stream, and not far off, on a sandy point, were the ruins of an ancient watch tower. From the roof of the convent, all the windings of the Odiel and the Tinto were to be seen, and their junction into the main stream, by which Columbus sallied forth to sea. In fact the convent serves as a landmark, being, from its lofty and solitary situation, visible for a considerable distance to vessels coming on the coast. On the opposite side I looked down upon the lonely road, through the wood of pine trees, by which the zealous guardian of the convent, Fray Juan Perez, departed at midnight on his mule, when he sought the camp of Ferdinand and Isabella in the Vega of Granada, to plead the project of Columbus before the queen.

Having finished our inspection of the convent, we prepared to depart, and were accompanied to the outward portal by the two friars. Our calesero brought his rattling and rickety vehicle for us to mount; at sight of which one of the monks exclaimed, with a smile, "Santa Maria! only to think! A calesa before the gate of the convent of La Rabida!" And, indeed, so solitary and remote is this ancient edifice, and so simple is the mode of living of the people in this bye-corner of Spain, that the appearance of even a sorry calesa might well cause astonishment. It is only singular that in such a bye-corner the scheme of Columbus should have found intelligent listeners and coadjutors, after it had been discarded, almost with scoffing and contempt, from learned universities and splendid courts.

On our way back to the hacienda, we met Don Rafael, a younger son of Don Juan Fernandez, a fine young man, about twenty-one years of age, and who, his father informed me, was at present studying French and mathematics. He was well mounted on a spirited grey horse, and dressed in the Andalusian style, with the little round hat and jacket. He sat his horse gracefully, and managed him well. I was pleased with the frank and easy terms on which Don Juan appeared to live with his children. This I was inclined to think his favourite son, as I understood he was the only one that partook of the old gentleman's fondness for the chase, and that accompanied him in his hunting excursions.

A dinner had been prepared for us at the hacienda, by the wife of the capitaz, or overseer, who, with her husband, seemed to be well pleased with this visit from Don Juan, and to be confident of receiving a pleasant answer from the good-humoured old gentleman whenever they addressed him. The dinner was served up about two o'clock, and was a most agreeable meal. The fruits and wines were from the

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ction of the convent, we e accompanied to the out- rs. Our calesero brought icle for us to mount; at monks exclaimed, with a to think! A calesa be- of La Rabida!" And, ote is this ancient edifice, of living of the people in at the appearance of even cause astonishment. It is by-corner the scheme of d intelligent listeners and en discarded, almost with m learned universities and

e hacienda, we met Don on Juan Fernandez, a fine one years of age, and who, was at present studying. He was well mounted on dressed in the Andalusian d hat and jacket. He sa- managed him well. I was easy terms on which Don his children. This I was rite son, as I understood partook of the old gentle- ase, and that accompanied ons.

ared for us at the hacienda, or overseer, who, with her ell pleased with this visit e confident of receiving a good-humoured old gentle- ssed him. The dinner was ck, and was a most agree- and wines were from the

estate, and were excellent; the rest of the provisions were from Moguer, for the adjacent village of Palos is too poor to furnish any thing. A gentle breeze from the sea played through the hall, and tempered the summer heat. Indeed I do not know when I have seen a more enviable spot than this country retreat of the Pinzons. Its situation on a breezy hill, at no great distance from the sea, and in a southern climate, produces a happy temperature, neither hot in summer nor cold in winter. It commands a beautiful prospect, and is surrounded by natural luxuries. The country abounds with game, the adjacent river affords abundant sport in fishing, both by day and night, and delightful excursions for those fond of sailing. During the busy seasons of rural life, and especially at the joyous period of vintage, the family pass some time here, accompanied by numerous guests, at which times, Don Juan assured me, there was no lack of amusements, both by land and water.

When we had dined, and taken the siesta, or afternoon nap, according to the Spanish custom in summer time, we set out on our return to Moguer, visiting the village of Palos in the way. Don Gabriel had been sent in advance to procure the keys of the village church, and to apprise the curate of our wish to inspect the archives. The village consists principally of two streets of low whitewashed houses. Many of the inhabitants have very dark complexions, betraying a mixture of African blood.

On entering the village, we repaired to the lowly mansion of the curate. I had hoped to find him some such personage as the curate in Don Quixote, possessed of shrewdness and information in his limited sphere, and that I might gain some anecdotes from him concerning his parish, its worthies, its antiquities, and its historical events. Perhaps I might have done so at any other time, but, unfortunately, the curate was something of a sportsman, and had heard of some game among the neighbouring hills. We met him just sallying forth from his house, and I must confess, his appearance was picturesque. He was a short, broad, sturdy, little man, and had doffed his cassock and broad clerical beaver, for a short jacket and a little round Andalusian hat; he had his gun in hand, and was on the point of mounting a donkey which had been led forth by an ancient withered handmaid. Fearful of being detained from his foray, he accosted my companion the moment he came in sight, "God preserve you, Señor Don Juan! I have received your message, and have but one answer to make. The archives have all been destroyed. We have no trace of any thing you seek for—nothing—nothing. Don Rafael has the keys of the church. You can examine it at your leisure—Adios, caballero!" With these words the galliard little curate mounted his donkey, thumped his ribs with the butt end of his gun, and trotted off to the hills.

In our way to the church we passed by the ruins of what had once been a fair and spacious dwelling, greatly superior to the other houses of the village.

This, Don Juan informed me, was an old family possession, but since they had removed from Palos it had fallen to decay for want of a tenant. It was probably the family residence of Martin Alonso or Vicente Yañes Pinzon, in the time of Columbus.

We now arrived at the church of St George, in the porch of which Columbus first proclaimed to the inhabitants of Palos the order of the sovereigns, that they should furnish him with ships for his great voyage of discovery. This edifice has lately been thoroughly repaired, and being of solid mason work, promises to stand for ages a monument of the discoverers. It stands outside of the village, on the brow of a hill, looking along a little valley towards the river. The remains of a Moorish arch prove it to have been a mosque in former times; just above it, on the crest of the hill, is the ruin of a Moorish castle.

I paused in the porch, and endeavoured to recall the interesting scene that had taken place there, when Columbus, accompanied by the zealous friar Juan Perez, caused the public notary to read the royal order in presence of the astonished alcaldes, regidores, and alguazils, but it is difficult to conceive the consternation that must have been struck into so remote a little community, by this sudden apparition of an entire stranger among them, bearing a command that they should put their persons and ships at his disposal, and sail with him into the unknown wilderness of the ocean.

The interior of the church has nothing remarkable, excepting a wooden image of St George vanquishing the dragon, which is erected over the high altar, and is the admiration of the good people of Palos, who bear it about the streets in grand procession on the anniversary of the saint. This group existed in the time of Columbus, and now flourishes in renovated youth and splendour, having been newly painted and gilded, and the countenance of the saint rendered peculiarly blooming and lustrous.

Having finished the examination of the church, we resumed our seats in the calesa and returned to Moguer. One thing only remained to fulfil the object of my pilgrimage. This was to visit the chapel of the convent of Santa Clara. When Columbus was in danger of being lost in a tempest on his way home from his great voyage of discovery, he made a vow, that, should he be spared, he would watch and pray one whole night in this chapel; a vow which he doubtless fulfilled immediately after his arrival.

My kind and attentive friend, Don Juan, conducted me to the convent. It is the wealthiest in Moguer, and belongs to a sisterhood of Franciscan nuns. The chapel is large, and ornamented with some degree of richness, particularly the part about the high altar, which is embellished by magnificent monuments of the brave family of the Puerto Carreros, the ancient lords of Moguer, and renowned in Moorish warfare. The alabaster effigies of distinguished warriors of that house, and of their wives and sisters, lie side by side, with folded hands, on tombs immediately before the

altar, while others recline in deep niches on either side. The night had closed in by the time I entered the church, which made the scene more impressive. A few votive lamps shed a dim light about the interior; their beams were feebly reflected by the gilded work of the high altar, and the frames of the surrounding paintings, and rested upon the marble figures of the warriors and dames lying in the monumental repose of ages. The solemn pile must have presented much the same appearance when the pious discoverer performed his vigil, kneeling before this very altar, and praying and watching throughout the night, and pouring forth heartfelt praises for having been spared to accomplish his sublime discovery.

I had now completed the main purpose of my journey, having visited the various places connected with the story of Columbus. It was highly gratifying to find some of them so little changed, though so great a space of time had intervened; but in this quiet nook of Spain, so far removed from the main thoroughfares, the lapse of time produces but few violent revolutions. Nothing, however, had surprised and gratified me more than the continued stability of the Pinzon family. On the morning after my excursion to Palos, chance gave me an opportunity of seeing something of the interior of most of their households. Having a curiosity to visit the remains of a Moorish castle, once the citadel of Moguer, Don Fernandez undertook to show me a tower which served as a magazine of wine to one of the Pinzon family. In seeking for the key we were sent from house to house of nearly the whole connexion. All appeared to be living in that golden mean equally removed from the wants and superfluities of life, and all to be happily interwoven by kind and cordial habits of intimacy. We found the females of the family generally seated in the patios, or central courts of their dwellings, beneath the shade of awnings and among shrubs and flowers. Here the Andalusian ladies are accustomed to pass their mornings at work, surrounded by their handmaids, in the primitive, or rather, oriental style. In the porches of some of the houses I observed the coat of arms granted to the family by Charles V, hung up like a picture in a frame. Over the door of Don Luis, the naval officer, it was carved on an escutcheon of stone, and coloured. I had gathered many particulars of the family also from conversation with Don Juan, and from the family legend lent me by Don Luis. From all that I could learn, it would appear that the lapse of nearly three centuries and a half has made but little change in the condition of the Pinzons. From generation to generation they have retained the same fair standing and reputable name throughout the neighbourhood, filling offices of public trust and dignity, and possessing great influence over their fellow citizens by their good sense and good conduct. How rare is it to see such an instance of stability of fortune in this fluctuating world, and how truly honourable is this hereditary respectability, which has been secured by no titles or entails, but perpetuated

merely by the innate worth of the race! I declare to you that the most illustrious descents of mere titled rank could never command the sincere respect and cordial regard with which I contemplated this stannell and enduring family, which for three centuries and a half has stood merely upon its virtues.

As I was to set off on my return to Seville before two o'clock, I partook of a farewell repast at the house of Don Juan, between twelve and one, and then took leave of his household with sincere regret. The good old gentleman, with the courtesy, or rather the cordiality of a true Spaniard, accompanied me to the posada, to see me off. I had dispensed but little money in the posada—thanks to the hospitality of the Pinzons—yet the Spanish pride of my host and hostess seemed pleased that I had preferred their humble chamber, and the scanty bed they had provided me, to the spacious mansion of Don Juan; and when I expressed my thanks for their kindness and attention, and regaled mine host with a few choice cigars, the heart of the poor man was overcome. He seized me by both hands and gave me a parting benediction, and then ran after the calasero, to enjoy him to take particular care of me during my journey.

Taking a hearty leave of my excellent friend Don Juan, who had been unremitting in his attentions to me to the last moment, I now set off on my wayfar- ing, gratified to the utmost with my visit, and full of kind and grateful feelings towards Moguer and its hospitable inhabitants.

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MANIFESTO

OF

ALONSO DE OJEDA.

THE following curious formula, composed by learned divines in Spain, was first read aloud by the friars in the train of Alonso de Ojeda, as a prelude to his attack on the savages of Carthagena, and was subsequently adopted by the Spanish discoverers in general, in their invasions of Indian countries.

"I, Alonso de Ojeda, servant of the high and mighty kings of Castile and Leon, civilizers of barbarous nations, their messenger and captain, notify and make known to you, in the best way I can, that God our Lord, one and eternal, created the heavens and earth, and one man and one woman, from whom you, and we, and all the people of the earth, were and are descendants, procreated, and all those who shall come after us; but the vast number of generations which have proceeded from them in the course of more than five thousand years that have elapsed since the creation of the world, made it necessary that some of the human race should disperse in one direction, and some in another, and that they should divide themselves into many kingdoms and provinces,

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return to Seville before well repast at the house ve and one, and then with sincere regret. The courtesy, or rather the accompanied me to the ad dispensed but little ks to the hospitality of h pride of my host and I had preferred their any bed they had pransion of Don Juan; and s for their kindness and host with a few choice man was overcome. He d gave me a parting ber the calasero, to enjoin me during my journey. my excellent friend Don sitting in his attentions to w set off on my wayfar- with my visit, and full of towards Moguer and its

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E OJEDA.

mula, composed by learn- at read aloud by the friars Ojeda, as a prelude to his orthagena, and was subse- nish discoverers in gene- lian countries.

ervant of the high and Leon, civilizers of barbar and captain, notify and best way I can, that God created the heavens and one woman, from whom people of the earth, were eated, and all those who e vast number of genera- from them in the course e years that have elapsed world, made it necessary ce should disperse in one her, and that they should y kingdoms and provinces,

as they could not sustain and preserve themselves in one alone. All these people were given in charge, by God our Lord, to one person, named Saint Peter, who was thus made lord and superior of all the people of the earth, and head of the whole human lineage; whom all should obey, wherever they might live, and whatever might be their law, sect, or belief: he gave him also the whole world for his service and jurisdiction; and though he desired that he should establish his chair in Rome, as a place most convenient for governing the world, yet he permitted that he might establish his chair in any other part of the world, and judge and govern all the nations, Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles, and whatever other sect or belief might be. This person was denominated Pope, that is to say, Admirable, Supreme, Father and Guardian, because he is father and governor of all mankind. This holy father was obeyed and honoured as lord, king, and superior of the universe, by those who lived in his time, and, in like manner, have been obeyed and honoured all those who have been elected to the pontificate; and thus it has continued unto the present day, and will continue until the end of the world.

"One of these pontiffs, of whom I have spoken, as lord of the world, made a donation of these islands and continents of the ocean sea, and all that they contain, to the Catholic kings of Castile, who, at that time, were Ferdinand and Isabella, of glorious memory, and to their successors, our sovereigns, according to the tenor of certain papers, drawn up for the purpose (which you may see, if you desire). Thus His Majesty is king and sovereign of these islands and continents by virtue of the said donation, and, as king and sovereign, certain islands, and almost all, to whom this has been notified, have received His Majesty, and have obeyed and served, and do actually serve him. And, moreover, like good subjects, and with good will, and without any resistance or delay, the moment they were informed of the foregoing, they obeyed all the religious men sent among them to preach and teach our holy faith; and these of their free and cheerful will, without any condition or re-

ward, became Christians, and continue so to be. And His Majesty received them kindly and benignantly, and ordered that they should be treated like his other subjects and vassals. You also are required and obliged to do the same. Therefore, in the best manner I can, I pray and entreat you, that you consider well what I have said, and that you take whatever time is reasonable to understand and deliberate upon it, and that you recognise the Church for sovereign and superior of the universal world, and the supreme pontiff, called Pope, in her name, and His Majesty, in his place as superior and sovereign king of the islands and terra firma by virtue of the said donation; and that you consent that these religious fathers declare and preach to you the foregoing: and if you shall so do, you will do well, and will do that which you are bounden and obliged; and His Majesty, and I, in his name, will receive you with all due love and charity, and will leave you your wives and children free from servitude, that you may freely do with them and with yourselves whatever you please and think proper, as have done the inhabitants of the other islands. And, besides this, His Majesty will give you many privileges and exemptions, and grant you many favours. If you do not do this, or wickedly and intentionally delay to do so, I certify to you that, by the aid of God, I will forcibly invade and make war upon you in all parts and nodes that I can, and will subdue you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of His Majesty; and I will take your wives and children, and make slaves of them, and sell them as such, and dispose of them as His Majesty may command: and I will take your effects, and will do you all the harm and injury in my power, as vassals who will not obey or receive their sovereign, and who resist and oppose him. And I protest that the deaths and disasters, which may in this manner be occasioned, will be the fault of yourselves, and not of His Majesty, nor of me, nor of these cavaliers who accompany me. And of what I here tell you, and require of you, I call upon the notary here present to give me his signed testimonial."

END OF THE VOYAGES OF THE COMPANIONS OF COLUMBUS.

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# A CHRONICLE OF THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA.

FROM THE MSS. OF  
FRAY ANTONIO AGAPIDA.

## INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH the following chronicle bears the name of the venerable Fray Antonio Agapida, it is more properly a superstructure reared upon the fragments which remain of his work. It may be asked, who is this same Agapida, who is cited with such deference, yet whose name is not to be found in any of the catalogues of Spanish authors? The question is hard to answer: he appears to have been one of the many indefatigable writers, who have filled the libraries of the convents and cathedrals of Spain with their tomes, without ever dreaming of bringing their labours to the press. He evidently was deeply and accurately informed of the particulars of the wars between his countrymen and the Moors, a tract of history but too much overgrown with the weeds of fable. His glowing zeal, also, in the cause of the catholic faith, entitles him to be held up as a model of the good old orthodox chroniclers, who recorded, with such pious exultation, the united triumphs of the cross and the sword. It is deeply to be regretted, therefore, that his manuscripts, deposited in the libraries of various convents, have been dispersed during the late convulsions in Spain, so that nothing is now to be met of them but disjointed fragments. These, however, are too precious to be suffered to fall into oblivion, as they contain many curious facts not to be found in any other historian. In the following work, therefore, the manuscripts of the worthy Fray Antonio will be adopted, whenever they exist entire, but will be filled up, extended, illustrated, and corroborated, by citations from various authors, both Spanish and Arabian, who have treated of the subject. The manuscripts themselves are carefully preserved in the library of the Escorial.

Before entering upon the history, it may be as well to notice the opinions of certain of the most learned and devout historiographers of former times relative to this war. Marius Siculus, historian to Charles the Fifth, pronounces it a war to avenge the ancient injuries received by the Christians from the Moors, to recover the kingdom of Granada, and to extend the name and honour of the Christian religion.

Estevan de Garibay, one of the most distinguished among

Lucio Marino Siculo, *Cosas Memorables de España*, lib. xx.

the Spanish historians, regards the war as a special act of divine clemency towards the Moors; to the end, that those barbarians and infidels, who had dragged out so many centuries under the diabolical oppression of the absurd sect of Mahomet, should at length be reduced to the Christian faith.

Padre Mariana, also, a venerable jesuit, and the most renowned historian of Spain, considers the past domination of the Moors as a scourge inflicted on the Spanish nation for its iniquities; but the triumphant war with Granada as the reward of Heaven, for its great act of propitiation in establishing the glorious tribunal of the inquisition! "No sooner," says the worthy father, "was this holy office opened in Spain, than there instantly shone forth a resplendent light. Then it was, that, through divine favour, the nation increased in power, and became competent to overthrow and trample down the domination of the Moors."

Having thus cited high and venerable authority for considering this war in the light of one of those pious enterprises denominated crusades, we trust we have said enough to engage the Christian reader to follow us into the field, and to stand by us to the very issue of the contest.

## CHAPTER I.

OF THE KINGDOM OF GRANADA, AND THE TRIBUTE WHICH IT  
PAID TO THE CASTILIAN CROWN.

THE history of those desperate and bloody wars, observes Fray Antonio Agapida, which have filled the world with rumour and astonishment, and have determined the fate of mighty empires, has ever been considered as a theme worthy of the pen of the philosopher and the study of the sage. What then must be the history of a holy war, or rather, a pious crusade, waged by the most catholic of sovereigns, for the restoration of the light of the true faith to one of the most beautiful but benighted regions of the globe? Listen, then, while from the solitude of my cell I

- Garibay, *Compend. Hist. España*, lib. xviii, c. 22.
- Mariana, *Hist. España*, lib. xxv, c. 4.

narrate the events of the conquest of Granada, where Christian knight and turbaned infidel disputed hand to hand every inch of the fair land of Andalusia, until the crescent, that symbol of heathenish abomination, was cast into the dust, and the blessed cross, the tree of our redemption, erected in its stead.

Upwards of eight hundred years were past and gone since the Arabian invaders sealed the perdition of Spain, by the defeat of Don Roderick, the last of her Gothic kings. From the period of that disastrous event, kingdom after kingdom had been gradually recovered by the Christian princes, until the single, but powerful, territory of Granada alone remained under the domination of the Moors.

This renowned kingdom was situate in the southern part of Spain, bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, and defended on the land side by lofty and rugged mountains, locking up within their embraces, deep, rich, and verdant valleys, where the sterility of the surrounding heights was repaid by prodigal fertility.

The city of Granada lay in the centre of the kingdom, sheltered as it were in the lap of the Sierra Nevada, or chain of snowy mountains. It covered two lofty hills, and a deep valley that divides them, through which flows the river Darro. One of these hills was crowned by the royal palace and fortress of the Alhambra, capable of containing forty thousand men within its walls and towers. There is a Moorish tradition, that the king who built this mighty pile was skilled in the occult sciences, and furnished himself with gold and silver for the purpose by means of alchemy.\* Certainly never was there an edifice accomplished in a superior style of barbaric magnificence; and the stranger who, even at the present day, wanders among its silent and deserted courts and ruined halls, gazes with astonishment at its gilded and fretted domes and luxurious decorations, still retaining their brilliancy and beauty, in defiance of the ravages of time.

Opposite to the hill on which stood the Alhambra was its rival hill, on the summit of which was a spacious plain, covered with houses, and crowded with inhabitants. It was commanded by a fortress called the Alcazaba. The declivities and skirts of these hills were covered with houses to the number of seventy thousand, separated by narrow streets and small squares, according to the custom of Moorish cities. The houses had interior courts and gardens, refreshed by fountains and running streams, and set out with oranges, citrons, and pomegranates; so that, as the edifices of the city rose above each other on the sides of the hill, they presented a mingled appearance of city and grove, delightful to the eye. The whole was surrounded by high walls, three leagues in circuit, with twelve gates, and fortified by a thousand and thirty towers. The elevation of the city, and the neighbourhood of the Sierra Nevada, crowned with perpetual snows, tempered the fervid

rays of summer; and thus, while other cities were panting with the sultry and stifling heat of the dog-days, the most salubrious breezes played through the marble halls of Granada.

The glory of the city, however, was its vega, or plain, which spread out to a circumference of thirty-seven leagues, surrounded by lofty mountains. It was a vast garden of delight, refreshed by numerous fountains, and by the silver windings of the Xenil. The labour and ingenuity of the Moors had diverted the waters of this river into thousands of rills and streams, and diffused them over the whole surface of the plain. Indeed they had wrought up this happy region to a degree of wonderful prosperity, and took a pride in decorating it, as if it had been a favourite mistress. The hills were clothed with orchards and vine-yards, the valleys embroidered with gardens, and the wide plains covered with waving grain. Here were seen in profusion the orange, the citron, the fig and pomegranate, with large plantations of mulberry-trees, from which was produced the finest of silk. The vine clambered from tree to tree, the grapes hung in rich clusters about the peasant's cottage, and the groves were rejoiced by the perpetual song of the nightingale. In a word, so beautiful was the earth, so pure the air, and so serene the sky of this delicious region, that the Moors imagined the paradise of their prophet to be situate in that part of the heaven which overhung the kingdom of Granada.†

This rich and populous territory had been left in quiet possession of the infidels, on condition of an annual tribute to the sovereign of Castile and Leon of two thousand doblas or pistoles of gold, and sixteen hundred Christian captives, or, in defect of captives, an equal number of Moors to be surrendered as slaves; all to be delivered in the city of Cordova.‡

At the era at which this chronicle commences, Ferdinand and Isabella, of glorious and happy memory, reigned over the united kingdom of Castile, Leon, and Arragon, and Muley Aben Hassan sat on the throne of Granada.

This Muley Aben Hassan had succeeded to his father Ismael in 1465, while Henry IV, brother and immediate predecessor of Queen Isabella, was king of Castile and Leon. He was of the illustrious lineage of Mohammed Aben Alamar, the first Moorish king of Granada, and was the most potent of his line. He had, in fact, augmented in power in consequence of the fall of other Moorish kingdoms, which had been conquered by the Christians. Many cities and strong places of the kingdoms which lay contiguous to Granada had refused to submit to Christian vassalage, and had sheltered themselves under the protection of Muley Aben Hassan. His territories had thus increased in wealth, extent, and population, beyond all former example; and contained fourteen cities, and ninety-seven fortified towns, besides nu-

\* Juan Botero Benes. Relaciones Universales del Mundo.

† Garibay. Compend, lib. iv. c. 25.



merous unwall'd towns and villages, defended by formidable castles. The spirit of Muley Aben Hassan swelled with his possessions.

The tribute of money and captives had been regularly paid by his father Ismael, and Muley Aben Hassan had, on one occasion, attended personally in Cordova at the payment. He had witnessed the taunts and sneers of the haughty Castilians; and so indignant was the proud son of Afric at what he considered a degradation of his race, that his blood boiled, whenever he recollected the humiliating scene.

When he came to the throne he ceased all payment of the tribute, and it was sufficient to put him in a transport of rage only to mention it. "He was a fierce and warlike infidel," says the catholic Fray Antonio Agapida; "his bitterness against the holy Christian faith had been signalized in battle during the lifetime of his father, and the same diabolical spirit of hostility was apparent in his ceasing to pay this most righteous tribute."

## CHAPTER II.

### HOW THE CATHOLIC SOVEREIGNS SENT TO DEMAND ABBEARS OF TRIBUTE FROM THE MOOR, AND HOW THE MOOR REPLIED.

In the year 1478, a Spanish cavalier, of powerful frame and haughty demeanour, arrived at the gates of Granada as ambassador from the catholic monarchs, to demand the arrear of tribute. His name was Don Juan de Vera, a zealous and devout knight, full of ardour for the faith and loyalty for the crown. He was gallantly mounted, armed at all points, and followed by a moderate but well-appointed retinue.

The Moorish inhabitants looked jealously at this small but proud array of Spanish chivalry, as it paraded, with that stateliness possessed only by Spanish cavaliers, through the renowned gate of Elvira. They were struck with the stern and lofty demeanour of Don Juan de Vera, and his sinewy frame, which showed him formed for hardy deeds of arms; and they supposed he had come in search of distinction, by defying the Moorish knights in open tourney, or in the famous tilt with reeds for which they were so renowned. For it was still the custom of the knights of either nation to mingle in these courteous and chivalrous contests, during the intervals of war. When they learned, however, that he was come to demand the tribute so abhorrent to the ears of the fiery monarch, they observed, that it required a warrior of his apparent nerve to execute such an embassy.

Muley Aben Hassan received the cavalier in state, seated on a magnificent divan, and surrounded by the officers of his court, in the hall of ambassadors, one of the most sumptuous apartments of the Alhambra. When De Vera had delivered his message, a haughty and bitter smile curled the lip of the fierce monarch.

"Tell your sovereigns," said he, "that the kings of Granada, who used to pay tribute in money to the Castilian crown, are dead. Our mint at present coins nothing but blades of cimeters and head of lances."

The defiance couched in this proud reply was heard with stern and lofty courtesy by Don Juan de Vera; for he was a bold soldier, and a devout hater of the infidels, and he saw iron war in the words of the Moorish monarch. He retired from the audience-chamber with stately and ceremonious gravity, being master of all points of etiquette. As he passed through the court of Lions, and paused to regard its celebrated fountain, he fell into a discourse with the Moorish courtiers on certain mysteries of the Christian faith. The arguments advanced by these infidels, says Fray Antonio Agapida, awakened the pious indignation of this most Christian knight and discreet ambassador, but still he restrained himself within the limits of lofty gravity, leaning on the pommel of his sword, and looking down with ineffable scorn upon the weak casuists around him. The quick and subtle Arabian wittings redoubled their light attacks upon that stately Spaniard, and thought they had completely foiled him in the contest; but the stern Juan de Vera had an argument in reserve, for which they were but little prepared; for on one of them, of the race of the Abencerrages, daring to question, with a sneer, the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin, the catholic knight could no longer restrain his ire. Elevating his voice of a sudden, he told the infidel he lied, and raising his arm at the same time, he smote him on the head with his sheathed sword.

In an instant the court of Lions glistened with the flash of arms, and its fountains would have been dyed with blood, had not Muley Aben Hassan overheard the tumult, and forbade all appeal to force, pronouncing the person of the ambassador sacred, while within his territories. The Abencerrage treasured up the remembrance of the insult until an hour of vengeance should arrive, and the ambassador prayed our blessed Lady to grant him an opportunity of proving her immaculate conception on the head of this turbaned infidel.\*

Notwithstanding this occurrence, Don Juan de Vera was treated with great distinction by Muley Aben Hassan; but nothing could make him unbend from his stern and stately reserve. Before his departure, a cimeter was sent to him by the king; the blade of the finest Damascus steel; the hilt of agate, enriched with precious stones, and the guard of gold. De Vera drew it, and smiled grimly as he noticed the admirable temper of the blade. "His majesty has given me a trenchant weapon," said he: "I trust a time will come, when I may show him, that I know how

\* Garibay, Compend., lib. xl, c. 29. Conde, Hist. de los Arabes, p. iv, c. 34.

† The curate of Los Palacios also records this anecdote, but mentions it as happening on a subsequent occasion, when Don Juan de Vera was sent to negotiate for certain Christian captives. There appears every reason, however, to consider Fray Antonio Agapida correct in the period to which he refers it.

to use his royal present." The reply was considered as a compliment of course; the bystanders little knew the bitter hostility that lay coched beneath.

Don Juan de Vera and his companions, during his brief sojourn at Granada, scanned the force and situation of the Moor with the eyes of practised warriors. They saw, that he was well prepared for hostilities. His walls and towers were of vast strength, in complete repair, and mounted with lombards and other heavy ordnance. His magazines were well stored with all the munitions of war: he had a mighty host of foot-soldiers, together with squadrons of cavalry, ready to scour the country, and carry on either defensive or predatory warfare. The Christian warriors noted these things without dismay; their hearts rather glowed with emulation at the thoughts of encountering so worthy a foe. As they slowly pranced through the streets of Granada on their departure, they looked round with eagerness on its stately palaces and sumptuous mosques; on its alcaceria or bazar, crowded with silks and cloth of silver and gold, with jewels and precious stones, and other rich merchandise, the luxuries of every clime; and they longed for the time, when all this wealth should be the spoil of the soldiers of the faith, and when each tramp of their steeds might be fetlock-deep in the blood and carnage of the infidels.

Don Juan de Vera and his little band pursued their way slowly through the country to the Christian frontier. Every town was strongly fortified. The vega was studded with towers of refuge for the peasantry; every pass of the mountain had its castle of defence, every lofty height its watch-tower. As the Christian cavaliers passed under the walls of the fortresses, lances and cimiers flashed from their battlements, and the turbaned sentinels seemed to dart from their dark eyes glances of hatred and defiance. It was evident, that a war with this kingdom must be one of doughty peril and valiant enterprise; a war of posts, where every step must be gained by toil and bloodshed, and maintained with the utmost difficulty. The warrior spirit of the cavaliers kindled with the thought, and they were impatient for hostilities; "not," says Antonio Agapida, "from any thirst for rapine and revenge, but from that pure and holy indignation, which every Spanish knight entertained at beholding this beautiful dominion of his ancestors defiled by the footsteps of infidel usurpers. It was impossible," he adds, "to contemplate this delicious country, and not long to see it restored to the dominion of the true faith, and the sway of the Christian monarchs.

### CHAPTER III.

HOW THE MOOR DETERMINED TO STRIKE THE FIRST BLOW IN THE WAR.

THE defiance, thus hurled at the Castilian sove-

reigns by the fiery Moorish king, would at once have been answered by the thunder of their artillery, but they were embroiled at that time in a war with Portugal, and in contests with their own factious nobles. The truce, therefore, which had existed for many years between the nations, was suffered to continue; the wary Ferdinand reserving the refusal to pay tribute as a fair ground for war, whenever the favourable moment to wage it should arrive.

In the course of three years the war with Portugal was terminated, and the factions of the Spanish nobles were for the most part quelled. The Castilian sovereigns now turned their thoughts to what, from the time of the union of their crowns, had been the great object of their ambition, the conquest of Granada, and the complete extirpation of the Moorish power from Spain. Ferdinand, whose pious zeal was quickened by motives of temporal policy, looked with a craving eye at the rich territory of the Moor, studded with innumerable towns and cities. He determined to carry on the war with cautious and persevering patience, taking town after town, and fortress after fortress, and gradually plucking away all the supports, before he attempted the Moorish capital. "I will pick out the seeds one by one of this pomegranate," said the wary Ferdinand.

Muley Aben Hassan was aware of the hostile intentions of the catholic monarch, but felt confident in his means of resisting them. He had amassed great wealth during a tranquil reign; he had strengthened the defences of his kingdom, and had drawn large bodies of auxiliary troops from Barbary, besides making arrangements with the African princes to assist him with supplies in case of emergency. His subjects were fierce of spirit, stout of heart, and valiant of hand. Inured to the exercise of war, they could fight skilfully on foot, but above all were dexterous horsemen, whether heavily armed and fully appointed, or lightly mounted *à la ginetta*, with simply lance and target. They were patient of fatigue, hunger, thirst, and nakedness; prompt for war at the first summons of their king, and tenacious in defence of their towns and possessions.

Thus amply provided for war, Muley Aben Hassan determined to be beforehand with the politic Ferdinand, and to be the first to strike a blow. In the truce which existed between them there was a singular clause, permitting either party to make sudden inroads and assaults upon towns and fortresses, provided they were done furtively and by stratagem, without display of banners, or sound of trumpet, or regular encampment, and that they did not last above three days. This gave rise to frequent enterprises of a hardy and adventurous character, in which castles and strong holds were taken by surprise, and carried sword in hand. A long time had elapsed, however, without any outrage of the kind on the

<sup>1</sup> Granada is the Spanish term for pomegranate.

<sup>2</sup> Zurita, Anales de Arragon, l. xx, c. 41. Mariana, Hist. de España, l. xxv, c. 1.

part of the Moors, and the Christian towns on the frontier had all, in consequence, fallen into a state of the most negligent security.

Muley Aben Hassan cast his eyes round to select his object of attack, when information was brought him that the fortress of Zahara was but feebly garrisoned and scantily supplied, and that its alcaide was careless of his charge. This important post was on the frontier, between Ronda and Medina Sidonia, and was built on the crest of a rocky mountain, with a strong castle perched above it, upon a cliff so high that it was said to be above the flight of birds or drift of clouds. The streets, and many of the houses, were mere excavations, wrought out of the living rock. The town had but one gate, opening to the west, and defended by towers and bulwarks. The only ascent to this cragged fortress was by roads cut in the rock, and so rugged as in many places to resemble broken stairs. Such was the situation of the mountain fortress of Zahara, which seemed to set all attack at defiance, insomuch that it had become so proverbial throughout Spain, that a woman of forbidding and inaccessible virtue was called a Zaharena. But the strongest fortress and sternest virtue have their weak points, and require unremitting vigilance to guard them; let warrior and dame take warning from the fate of Zahara.

## CHAPTER IV.

## EXPEDITION OF MULEY ABEN HASSAN AGAINST THE FORTRESS OF ZAHARA.

It was in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and eighty-one, and but a night or two after the festival of the most blessed Nativity, that Muley Aben Hassan made his famous attack upon Zahara. The inhabitants of the place were sunk in profound sleep; the very sentinel had deserted his post, and sought shelter from a tempest, which had raged for three nights in succession; for it appeared but little probable, that an enemy would be abroad during such an uproar of the elements. But evil spirits work best during a storm, observes the worthy Antonio Magapida; and Muley Aben Hassan found such a season most suitable for his diabolical purposes. In the midst of the night an uproar arose within the walls of Zahara, more awful than the raging of the storm. A fearful alarm-cry, "The Moor! the Moor!" resounded through the streets, mingled with the clash of arms, the shriek of anguish, and the shout of victory. Muley Aben Hassan, at the head of a powerful force, had hurried from Granada, and passed unobserved through the mountains in the security of the tempest. When the storm pelted the sentinel from his post, and howled round tower and battlement, the Moors had planted their scaling-ladders, and mounted securely into both town and

castle. The garrison was unsuspecting of danger until battle and massacre burst forth within its very walls. It seemed to the affrighted inhabitants, as if the fiends of the air had come upon the wings of the wind, and possessed themselves of tower and turret. The war-cry resounded on every side, shout answering shout, above, below, on the battlements of the castle, in the streets of the town; the foe was in all parts, wrapped in obscurity, but acting in concert by the aid of preconcerted signals. Starting from sleep, the soldiers were intercepted and cut down as they rushed from their quarters, or if they escaped, they knew not where to assemble or where to strike. Wherever lights appeared, the flashing cimeter was at its deadly work, and all who attempted resistance fell beneath its edge.

In a little while the struggle was at an end. Those who were not slain took refuge in the secret places of their houses, or gave themselves up as captives. The clash of arms ceased, and the storm continued its howling, mingled with the occasional shout of the Moorish soldiery, roaming in search of plunder. While the inhabitants were trembling for their fate, a trumpet resounded through the streets, summoning them all to assemble, unarmed, in the public square. Here they were surrounded by soldiery, and strictly guarded until day-break. When the day dawned, it was piteous to behold this once prosperous community, which had lain down to rest in peaceful security, now crowded together, without distinction of age, or rank, or sex, and almost without raiment during the severity of a wintry storm. The fierce Muley Aben Hassan turned a deaf ear to all their prayers and remonstrances, and ordered them to be conducted captives to Granada. Leaving a strong garrison in both town and castle, with orders to put them in a complete state of defence, he returned flushed with victory to his capital, entering it at the head of his troops, laden with spoil, and bearing in triumph the banners and pennons taken at Zahara.

While preparations were making for jousts and other festivities in honour of this victory over the Christians, the captives of Zahara arrived; a wretched train of men, women, and children, worn out with fatigue and haggard with despair, and driven like cattle into the city gates by a detachment of Moorish soldiery.

Deep were the grief and indignation of the people of Granada at this cruel scene. Old men, who had experienced the calamities of warfare, anticipated coming troubles. Mothers clasped their infants to their breasts, as they beheld the hapless females of Zahara, with their children expiring in their arms. On every side the accents of pity for the sufferers were mingled with execrations of the barbarity of the king. The preparations for festivity were neglected, and the viands, which were to have feasted the conquerors, were distributed among the captives.

The nobles and alfaquis, however, repaired to the Alhambra to congratulate the king: for whatever

would at once have their artillery, but in a war with Por- town factious nobles. d existed for many offered to continue; refusal to pay tri- whenever the favour- arrive. e war with Portugal ons of the Spanish lled. The Castilian ights to what, from towns, had been the he conquest of Gra- tion of the Moorish l, whose pious zeal nspiratory policy, looked ritory of the Moor, is and cities. He de- th cautious and perse- ter town, and fortress plucking away all the e Moorish capital. by one of this pome- and. ' ware of the hostile in- ch, but felt confident n. He had amassed quill reign; he had his kingdom, and had y troops from Barbary, with the African princes in case of emergency. rit, stout of heart, and the exercise of war, ot, but above all were r heavily armed and nted á la gineta, with hey were patient of fa- edness; prompt for war king, and tenacious in sessions. war, Muley Aben Has- and with the politic Fer- strike a blow. In the them there was a sin- r party to make sudden vns and fortresses, pro- vely and by stratagem, or sound of trumpet, or t they did not last above to frequent enterprises s character, in which taken by surprise, and long time had elapsed, age of the kind on the pomegranate. x. c. 41. Mariana, Hist. de

storm may rage in the lower regions of society, rarely do any clouds, but clouds of incense, rise to the awful eminence of the throne. In this instance, however, a voice rose from the midst of the obsequious crowd, that burst like thunder upon the ears of Aben Hassan. "Wo! wo! wo! to Granada!" exclaimed the voice, "its hour of desolation approaches! The ruins of Zahara will fall upon our heads: my spirit tells me, that the end of our empire is at hand!" All shrunk back aghast, and left the denoumeer of wo standing alone in the centre of the hall. He was an ancient and hoary man, in the rude attire of a dervise. Age had withered his form without quenching the fire of his spirit, which glared in baleful lustre from his eyes. He was, say the Arabian historians, one of those holy men termed santons, who pass their lives in hermitages, in fasting, meditation, and prayer, until they attain to the purity of saints and the foresight of prophets. "He was," says the indignant Fray Antonio Agapida, "a son of Belial, one of those fanatic infidels possessed of the devil, who are sometimes permitted to predict the truth to their followers, but with the proviso, that their predictions shall be of no avail."

The voice of the santon resounded through the lofty hall of the Alhambra, and struck silence and awe into the crowd of courtly sycophants. Muley Aben Hassan alone was unmoved. He eyed the hoary anchorite with scorn as he stood dauntless before him, and treated his predictions as the raving of a mania. The santon rushed from the royal presence, and descending into the city, hurried through its streets and squares with frantic gesticulations. His voice was heard in every part in awful denunciation. "The peace is broken, the exterminating war is commenced. Wo! wo! wo! to Granada! its fall is at hand! desolation shall dwell in its palaces, its strong men shall fall beneath the sword, its children and maidens shall be led into captivity! Zahara is but a type of Granada!"

Terror seized upon the populace; for they considered these ravings as the inspirations of prophecy. They hid themselves in their dwellings, as in a time of general mourning; or, if they went abroad, it was to gather together in knots in the streets and squares, to alarm each other with dismal forebodings, and to curse the rashness and cruelty of the fierce Aben Hassan.

The Moorish monarch heeded not their murmurs. Knowing that his exploit must draw upon him the vengeance of the Christians, he now threw off all reserve, and made attempts to surprise Castellar and Olvera, though without success. He sent alfaquís also to the Barbary powers, informing them that the sword was drawn, and inviting them to aid in maintaining the kingdom of Granada, and the religion of Mahomet, against the violence of unbelievers.

## CHAPTER V.

## EXPEDITION OF THE MARQUIS OF CADIZ AGAINST ALHAMA.

GREAT was the indignation of King Ferdinand, when he heard of the storming of Zahara, more especially as it anticipated his intention of giving the first blow in this eventful war. He valued himself upon his deep and prudent policy; and there is nothing which politic monarchs can less forgive, than thus being forestalled by an adversary. He immediately issued orders to all the adelantados and alcaydes of the frontiers to maintain the utmost vigilance at their several posts, and to prepare to carry fire and sword into the territories of the Moors; while he despatched friars of different orders, to stir up the chivalry of Christendom to take part in this holy crusade against the infidels.

Among the many valiant cavaliers who rallied round the throne of Ferdinand and Isabella, one of the most eminent in rank and renowned in arms was Don Roderigo Ponce de Leon, Marquis of Cadiz. As he was the distinguished champion of this holy war, and commanded in most of its enterprises and battles, it is meet that some particular account should be given of him. He was born in 1443, of the valiant lineage of the Ponces, and from his earliest youth had rendered himself illustrious in the field. He was of the middle stature, with a muscular and powerful frame, capable of great exertion and fatigue. His hair and beard were red and curled, his countenance was open and magnanimous, of a ruddy complexion, and slightly marked with the small-pox. He was temperate, chaste, valorous, vigilant; a just and generous master to his vassals; frank and noble in his deportment towards his equals; loving and faithful to his friends; fierce and terrible, yet magnanimous, to his enemies. He was considered the mirror of chivalry of his times, and compared by contemporary historians to the immortal Cid.

The Marquis of Cadiz had vast possessions in the most fertile parts of Andalusia, including many towns and castles; and could lead forth an army into the field from his own vassals and dependents. On receiving the orders of the king, he burned to signalize himself by some sudden incursion into the kingdom of Granada, that should give a brilliant commencement to the war, and console the sovereigns for the insult they had received on the capture of Zahara. As his estates lay near the Moorish frontiers, and were subject to sudden inroads, he had always in his pay numbers of adalides, or scouts and guides, many of them converted Moors. These he sent out in all directions, to watch the movements of the enemy, and to procure all kinds of information important to the security of the frontier. One of these spies came to him one day in his town of Marchena, and informed him, that the Moorish town of Alhama was slightly garrisoned and negligently guarded, and might be taken by surprise. This was a large, wealthy, and



populous place, within a few leagues of Granada. It was situate on a rocky height, nearly surrounded by a river, and defended by a fortress, to which there was no access but by a steep and cragged ascent. The strength of its situation, and its being embosomed in the centre of the kingdom, had produced the care-less security which now invited attack.

To ascertain fully the state of the fortress, the marquis secretly despatched thither a veteran soldier who was highly in his confidence. His name was Ortega de Prado; a man of great activity, shrewdness, and valour, and captain of escaladores, or those employed to scale the walls of fortresses in time of attack. Ortega approached Alhama one moonless night, and paced along its walls with noiseless step, laying his ear occasionally to the ground or to the wall. Every time he distinguished the measured tread of a sentinel, and now and then the challenge of the night-watch going its rounds. Finding the town thus guarded, he clambered to the castle. There all was silent: as he ranged its lofty battlements, between him and the sky, he saw no sentinel on duty. He noticed certain places where the wall might be ascended by scaling-ladders; and having marked the hour of relieving guard, and made all necessary observations, he retired without being discovered.

Ortega returned to Marchena, and assured the Marquis of Cadiz of the practicability of scaling the castle of Alhama, and taking it by surprise. The marquis had a secret conference with Don Pedro Henriquez, adelantado of Andalusia, Don Diego de Merlo, commander of Seville, and Sancho de Avila, alcaide of Carmona, who all agreed to aid him with their forces. On an appointed day the several commanders assembled at Marchena with their troops and retainers. None but the leaders knew the object or destination of the enterprise, but it was enough to arouse the Andalusian spirit to know that a foray was intended into the country of their old enemies the Moors. Secrecy and celerity were necessary for success. They set out promptly, with three thousand penetes or light cavalry, and four thousand infantry. They chose a route but little travelled, by the way of Antiquera, passing with great labour through rugged and solitary defiles of the sierra or chain of mountains of Alzerife, and left all their baggage on the banks of the river Yeguas, to be brought after them. Their march was principally in the night: all day they remained quiet; no noise was suffered in their camp, and no fires were made, lest the smoke should betray them. On the third day they resumed their march: the evening darkened, and forcing themselves forward at as quick a pace as the rugged and dangerous mountain roads would permit, they descended towards midnight into a small deep valley, only half league from Alhama. Here they made a halt, fatigued by this forced march during a long dark evening towards the end of February.

The Marquis of Cadiz now explained to the troops

the object of the expedition. He told them, it was for the glory of the most holy faith, and to avenge the wrongs of their countrymen of Zahara; and that the rich town of Alhama, full of wealthy spoil, was the place to be attacked. The troops were roused to new ardour by these words, and desired to be led forthwith to the assault. They arrived close to Alhama about two hours before day-break. Here the army remained in ambush, while three hundred men were despatched to scale the walls and take possession of the castle. They were picked men, many of them alcaides and officers, men who preferred death to dishonour. This gallant band was guided by the escalador, Ortega de Prado, at the head of thirty men with scaling-ladders. They clambered the ascent to the castle in silence, and arrived under the dark shadow of its towers without being discovered. Not a light was to be seen, not a sound to be heard; the whole place was wrapped in profound repose.

Fixing their ladders, they ascended cautiously and with noiseless steps. Ortega was the first that mounted upon the battlements, followed by one Martin Galindo, a youthful squire, full of spirit and eager for distinction. Moving stealthily along the parapet to the portal of the citadel, they came upon the sentinel by surprise. Ortega seized him by the throat, brandished a dagger before his eyes, and ordered him to point the way to the guard-room. The infidel obeyed, and was instantly despatched, to prevent his giving any alarm. The guard-room was a scene rather of massacre than combat. Some of the soldiery were killed while sleeping, others were cut down almost without resistance, bewildered by so unexpected an assault: all were despatched, for the scaling party was too small to make prisoners or to spare. The alarm spread throughout the castle; but by this time the three hundred picked men had mounted the battlements. The garrison, startled from sleep, found the enemy already masters of the towers. Some of the Moors were cut down at once, others fought desperately from room to room, and the whole castle resounded with the clash of arms, the cries of the combatants, and the groans of the wounded. The army in ambush, finding by the uproar that the castle was surprised, now rushed from their concealment, and approached the walls with loud shouts and sound of kettle-drums and trumpets, to increase the confusion and dismay of the garrison. A violent conflict took place in the court of the castle, where several of the scaling party sought to throw open the gates to admit their countrymen. Here fell two valiant alcaides, Nicholas de Roja and Sancho de Avila, but they fell honourably, upon a heap of slain. At length Ortega de Prado succeeded in throwing open a postern, through which the Marquis of Cadiz, the adelantado of Andalusia, and Don Diego de Merlo entered with a host of followers, and the citadel remained in full possession of the Christians.

As the Spanish cavaliers were ranging from room to room, the Marquis of Cadiz, entering an apart-

ment of superior richness to the rest, beheld, by the light of a silver lamp, a beautiful Moorish female, the wife of the alcaide of the castle, whose husband was absent, attending a wedding-feast at Velez Malaga. She would have fled at the sight of a Christian warrior in her apartment, but, entangled in the covering of the bed, she fell at the feet of the marquis, imploring mercy. The Christian cavalier, who had a soul full of honour and courtesy towards the sex, raised her from the earth, and endeavoured to allay her fears; but they were increased at the sight of her female attendants, pursued into the room by the Spanish soldiery. The marquis reproached his soldiers with their unmanly conduct, and reminded them, that they made war upon men, not on defenceless women. Having soothed the terrors of the females by the promise of honourable protection, he appointed a trusty guard to watch over the security of their apartment.

The castle was now taken, but the town below it was in arms. It was broad day, and the people, recovered from their panic, were enabled to see and estimate the force of the enemy. The inhabitants were chiefly merchants and trades-people; but the Moors all possessed a knowledge of the use of weapons, and were of brave and warlike spirit. They confided in the strength of their walls, and the certainty of speedy relief from Granada, which was but about eight leagues distant. Manning the battlements and towers, they discharged showers of stones and arrows, whenever the part of the Christian army without the walls attempted to approach. They barricadoed the entrances of their streets also, which opened towards the castle, stationing men expert at the cross-bow and arquebuse. These kept up a constant fire upon the gate of the castle, so that no one could sally forth without being instantly wounded or killed. Two valiant cavaliers, who attempted to lead forth a party in defiance of this fatal tempest, were shot dead at the very portal.

The Christians now found themselves in a situation of great peril. Reinforcements must soon arrive to the enemy from Granada. Unless, therefore, they gained possession of the town in the course of the day, they were likely to be surrounded and beleaguered, and with scarcely any provisions in the castle. Some observed, that, even if they took the town, they should not be able to keep possession of it. They proposed, therefore, to make booty of every thing valuable, to sack the castle, set it on fire, and make good their retreat to Seville.

The Marquis of Cadiz was of different counsel. "God has given the citadel into Christian hands," said he, "he will no doubt strengthen them to maintain it. We have gained the place with difficulty and bloodshed; it would be a stain upon our honour to abandon it through fear of imaginary dangers." The adelantado and Don Diego de Merlo joined in his opinion; but, without their earnest and united remonstrances, the place would have been abandoned;

so exhausted were the troops by forced marches and hard fighting, and so apprehensive of the approach of the Moors of Granada.

The strength and spirits of the party within the castle were in some degree restored by the provisions which they found. The Christian army beneath the town, being also refreshed by a morning repast, advanced vigorously to the attack of the walls. They planted their scaling-ladders, and swarming up, fought fiercely with the Moorish soldiery upon the ramparts.

In the mean time, the Marquis of Cadiz, seeing that the gate of the castle which opened towards the city was completely commanded by the artillery of the enemy, ordered a large breach to be made in the wall, through which he might lead his troops to the attack, animating them in this perilous moment by assuring them, that the place should be given up to plunder, and its inhabitants made captives.

The breach being made, the marquis put himself at the head of his troops, and entered sword in hand. A simultaneous attack was made by the Christians in every part, by the ramparts, by the gate, by the roofs and walls which connected the castle with the town. The Moors fought valiantly in their streets, from their windows, and from the tops of their houses. They were not equal to the Christians in bodily strength; for they were for the most part peaceful men, of industrious callings, and enervated by the frequent use of the warm bath; but they were superior in number, and unconquerable in spirit; old and young, strong and weak, fought with the same desperation. The Moors fought for property, for liberty, for life. They fought at their thresholds and their hearths, with the shrieks of their wives and children ringing in their ears, and they fought in the hope, that each moment would bring aid from Granada. They regarded neither their own wounds nor the deaths of their companions, but continued fighting until they fell; and seemed as if, when they could no longer contend, they would block up the thresholds of their beloved homes with their mangled bodies. The Christians fought for glory, for revenge, for the holy faith, and for the spoil of these wealthy infidels. Success would place a rich town at their mercy; failure would deliver them into the hands of the tyrant of Granada.

The contest raged from morning until night, when the Moors began to yield. Retreating to a large mosque near the walls, they kept up so galling a fire from it with lances, cross-bows, and arquebuses, that for some time the Christians dared not approach. Covering themselves at length, with bucklers and mantlets, to protect them from the deadly shower, they made their way to the mosque, and set fire to the doors. When the smoke and flames rolled in upon them, the Moors gave all up as lost. Many rushed forth desperately upon the enemy, but were immediately slain; the rest surrendered.

<sup>1</sup> Mantellet is a moveable parapet, made of thick planks, to protect troops when advancing to sap or assault a walled place.

The struggle was now at an end; the town remained at the mercy of the Christians; and the inhabitants, both male and female, became slaves of those who made them prisoners. Some few escaped by a mine or subterranean way which led to the river, and concealed themselves, their wives and children, in caves and secret places; but in three or four days were compelled to surrender themselves through hunger.

The town was given up to plunder, and the booty was immense. There were found prodigious quantities of gold, and silver, and jewels, and rich silks, and costly stuffs of all kinds, together with horses and heeves, and abundance of grain, and oil, and honey, and all other productions of this fruitful kingdom; for in Alhama were collected the royal rents and tributes of the surrounding country: it was the richest town in the Moorish territory, and from its great strength and its peculiar situation was called the key to Granada.

Great waste and devastation were committed by the Spanish soldiery; for, thinking it would be impossible to keep possession of the place, they began to demolish whatever they could not take away. Immense jars of oil were destroyed, costly furniture shattered to pieces, and magazines of grain broken open, and their contents scattered to the winds. Many Christian captives, who had been taken at Zahara, were found buried in a Moorish dungeon, and were triumphantly restored to light and liberty; and a renegado Spaniard, who had often served as guide to the Moors in their incursions into the Christian territories, was hanged on the highest part of the battlements, for the edification of the army.

## CHAPTER VI.

HOW THE PEOPLE OF GRANADA WERE AFFECTED ON HEARING OF THE CAPTURE OF ALHAMA, AND HOW THE MOORISH KING SALLIED FORTH TO REGAIN IT.

A MOORISH horseman had spurred across the vega, nor did he rein his panting steed until he alighted at the gate of the Alhambra. He brought tidings to Muley Aben Hassan of the attack upon Alhama. "The Christians," said he, "are in the land. They came upon us, we know not whence or how; and scaled the walls of the castle in the night. There has been dreadful fighting and carnage on its towers and courts; and when I spurred my steel from the gate of Alhama, the castle was in possession of the unbelievers."

Muley Aben Hassan felt for a moment as if swift retribution had come upon him for the woes he had inflicted upon Zahara. Still he flattered himself, that this had only been some transient inroad of a party of marauders, intent upon plunder; and that a little succour thrown into the town would be suffi-

cient to expel them from the castle, and drive them from the land. He ordered out, therefore, a thousand of his chosen cavalry, and sent them in all speed to the assistance of Alhama. They arrived before its walls the morning after its capture. The Christian standards floated upon the towers, and a body of cavalry poured forth from its gates, and came wheeling down into the plain to receive them.

The Moorish horsemen turned the reins of their steeds, and galloped back for Granada. They entered its gates in tumultuous confusion, spreading terror and lamentation by their tidings. "Alhama is fallen! Alhama is fallen!" exclaimed they; "The Christians garrison its walls; the key of Granada is in the hands of the enemy!"

When the people heard these words, they remembered the denunciation of the santon: his prediction seemed still to resound in every ear, and its fulfilment to be at hand. Nothing was heard throughout the city but sighs and wailings. "Wo is me, Alhama!" was in every mouth, and this ejaculation of deep sorrow and doleful foreboding came to be the burden of a plaintive ballad, which remains to the present day.\*

Many aged men, who had taken refuge in Granada from other Moorish dominions which had fallen into the power of the Christians, now groaned in despair at the thought, that war was to follow them into this last retreat, to lay waste this pleasant land, and to bring trouble and sorrow upon their declining years. The women were more loud and vehement in their grief, for they beheld the evils impending over their children, and what can restrain the agony of a mother's heart? Many of them made their way through the halls of the Alhambra into the presence of the king, weeping, and wailing, and tearing their hair. "Accursed be the day," cried they, "when the flame of war was kindled by thee in our land! May the holy prophet bear witness before Allah, that we and our children are innocent of this act! Upon thy head, and upon the heads of thy posterity, to the end of the world, rest the sin of the desolation of Zahara!"

Muley Aben Hassan remained unmoved amidst all this storm: his heart was hardened, observes Fray Antonio Agapida, like that of Pharaoh, to the end that, through his blind violence and rage, he might produce the deliverance of the land from its heathen bondage. In fact, he was a bold and fearless warrior, and trusted soon to make this blow recoil upon the head of the enemy. He had ascertained, that the captors of Alhama were but a handful; they were in the centre of his dominions, within a short distance of his capital. They were deficient in munitions of war, and provisions for sustaining a siege. By a rapid movement he might surround them with a power-

\* The mournful little Spanish romance of *Ay de mi, Alhama!* is supposed to be of Moorish origin, and to embody the grief of the people of Granada on this occasion.

\* Garibay, lib. xl. c. 29.

ful army, cut off all aid from their countrymen, and entrap them in the fortress they had taken.

To think was to act, with Muley Aben Hassan; but he was prone to act with too much precipitation. He immediately set forth in person, with three thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, and, in his eagerness to arrive at the scene of action, would not wait to provide artillery and the various engines required in a siege. "The multitude of my forces," said he, confidently, "will be sufficient to overwhelm the enemy."

The Marquis of Cadiz, who thus held possession of Alhama, had a chosen friend and faithful companion in arms, among the most distinguished of the Christian chivalry. This was Don Alonso de Cordova, senior and lord of the house of Aguilar, and brother of Gonsalvo de Cordova, afterwards renowned as the grand captain of Spain. As yet Alonso de Aguilar was the glory of his name and race; for his brother was but young in arms. He was one of the most hardy, valiant, and enterprising Spanish knights, and foremost in all service of a perilous and adventurous nature. He had not been at hand to accompany his friend Ponce de Leon, Marquis of Cadiz, in his inroad into the Moorish territory; but he hastily assembled a number of retainers, horse and foot, and pressed forward to join the enterprise. Arriving at the river Feguas, he found the baggage of the army still upon its banks, and took charge of it to carry it to Alhama. The Marquis of Cadiz heard of the approach of his friend, whose march was slow, in consequence of being encumbered by the baggage. He was within but a few leagues of Alhama, when scouts came hurrying into the place with intelligence, that the Moorish king was at hand with a powerful army. The Marquis of Cadiz was filled with alarm, lest De Aguilar should fall into the hands of the enemy. Forgetting his own danger, and thinking only of that of his friend, he despatched a well-mounted messenger to ride full speed and warn him not to approach.

The first determination of Alonso de Aguilar, when he heard that the Moorish king was at hand, was to take a strong position in the mountains, and await his coming. The madness of an attempt with his handful of men to oppose an immense army was represented to him with such force, as to induce him to abandon the idea. He then thought of throwing himself into Alhama, to share the fortunes of his friend. But it was now too late. The Moor would infallibly intercept him, and he should only give the marquis the additional distress of beholding him captured beneath his walls. It was even urged upon him, that he had no time for delay, if he would consult his own safety, which could only be ensured by an immediate retreat into the Christian territory. This last opinion was confirmed by the return of scouts, who brought information, that Muley Aben Hassan had received notice of his movements, and was rapidly advancing in quest of him. It was with infinite reluctance that Don Alonso de Aguilar yielded

to these united and powerful reasons. Proudly and sullenly he drew off his forces, laden with the baggage of the army, and made an unwilling retreat towards Antequera. Muley Aben Hassan pursued him for some distance through the mountains, but soon gave up the chase, and turned with his forces upon Alhama.

As the army approached the town, they beheld the fields strewn with the dead bodies of their countrymen, who had fallen in defence of the place, and had been cast forth and left unburied by the Christians. There they lay, mangled and exposed to every indignity, while droves of half-famished dogs were preying upon them, and sighing and howling over their hideous repast. Furious at the sight, the Moors, in the first transports of their rage, attacked these ravenous animals, and their next measure was to vent their fury upon the Christians. They rushed like madmen to the walls, applied scaling-ladders in all parts, without waiting for the necessary mantelets and other protections, thinking, by attacking suddenly and at various points, to distract the enemy, and overcome them by the force of numbers.

The Marquis of Cadiz with his confederate commanders distributed themselves along the walls, to direct and animate their men in the defence. The Moors, in their blind fury, often assailed the most difficult and dangerous places. Darts, stones, and all kinds of missiles were hurled down upon their unprotected heads. As fast as they mounted they were cut down, or dashed from the battlements, their ladders overturned, and all who were on them precipitated headlong below.

Muley Aben Hassan stormed with passion at the sight: he sent detachment after detachment to scale the walls; but in vain: they were like waves rushing upon a rock only to dash themselves to pieces. The Moors lay in heaps beneath the wall, and among them many of the bravest cavaliers of Granada. The Christians, also, sallied frequently from the gates, and made great havoc in the irregular multitude of assailants. On one of these occasions the party was commanded by Don Juan de Vera, the same pious and high-handed knight who had borne the embassy to Muley Aben Hassan demanding tribute. As this doughty cavalier, after a career of carnage, was slowly retreating to the gate, he heard a voice calling after him in furious accents. "Turn back! turn back!" cried the voice: "thou who canst insult in hall, prove that thou canst combat in the field." Don Juan de Vera turned, and beheld the same Abencerrage whom he had struck with his sword in the Alhambra, for scoffing at the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin. All his holy zeal and pious indignation rekindled at the sight: he put lance in rest, and spurred his steed, to finish this doctrinal dispute. Don Juan was a potent and irresistible arguer with his weapon; and he was asked, says Fray Antonio Agapida, by the peculiar virtue of his cause.

Pulgarc. Crónica.



reasons. Proudly and laden with the baggage, an unwilling retreat Muley Aben Hassan pursued through the mountains, but turned with his fore-

the town, they beheld the bodies of their countrymen of the place, and hurried by the Christians. Exposed to every indignity, the dogs were preyed and howling over their sight, the Moors, in rage, attacked these ravening measure was to vent the Christians. They rushed like scaling-ladders in all the necessary manœuvres, by attacking soldiers, to distract the enemy, force of numbers.

With his confederate comrades along the walls, to men in the defence. They, often assailed the most places. Darts, stones, and hurled down upon their fast as they mounted they descended from the battlements, and all who were on them

permeated with passion at the after detachment to scale were like waves rushing themselves to pieces. The wall, and among them of Granada. The Christians from the gates, and irregular multitude of occasions the party was de Vera, the same pious who had borne the embassy manding tribute. As this reer of carnage, was slowly heard a voice calling after "Turn back! turn back!" who canst insult in hall, combat in the field." Don beheld the same Aben-buck with his sword in the the immaculate conception. All his holy zeal and pious the sight: he put lance in d, to finish this doctrinal a potent and irresistible and he was aided, says Fray peculiar virtue of his cause. Crónica.

At the very first encounter, his lance entered the mouth of the Moor, and hurled him to the earth, never more to utter word or breath. Thus, continues the worthy friar, did this scoffing infidel receive a well-merited punishment through the very organ with which he had offended, and thus was the immaculate conception miraculously vindicated from his foul aspersions.

The vigorous and successful defence of the Christians now made Muley Aben Hassan sensible of his error, in hurrying from Granada without the proper engines for a siege. Destitute of all means to batter the fortifications, the town remained uninjured, defying the mighty army which raged in vain before it. Incensed at being thus foiled, Muley Aben Hassan gave orders to undermine the walls. The Moors advanced with shouts to the attempt. They were received with a deadly fire from the ramparts, which drove them from their works. Repeatedly were they repulsed, and repeatedly did they return to the charge. The Christians not merely galled them from the battlements, but issued forth and cut them down in the excavations they were attempting to form. The contest lasted a whole day, and by evening two thousand Moors were either killed or wounded.

Muley Aben Hassan now abandoned all hope of carrying the place by assault; and attempted to distress it into terms, by turning the channel of the river which runs by its walls. On this stream the inhabitants depended for their supply of water, the place being destitute of fountains and cisterns, from which circumstance it is called *Alizama la seca*, or "the dry."

A desperate conflict ensued on the banks of the river; the Moors endeavouring to plant palisades in its bed, to divert the stream, and the Christians striving to prevent them. The Spanish commanders exposed themselves to the utmost danger to animate their men, who were repeatedly driven back into the town. The Marquis of Cadiz was often up to his knees in the stream, fighting hand to hand with the Moors. The water ran red with blood, and was encumbered with dead bodies. At length the overwhelming numbers of the Moors gave them the advantage, and they succeeded in diverting the greater part of the water. The Christians had to struggle severely to supply themselves from the feeble rill which remained. They sallied to the river by a subterraneous passage; but the Moorish cross-bowmen stationed themselves on the opposite bank, keeping up a heavy fire upon the Christians, whenever they attempted to fill their vessels from the scanty and turbid stream. One party of the Christians had therefore to fight, while another drew water. At all hours of day and night this deadly strife was maintained, until it seemed as if every drop of water were purchased with a drop of blood.

In the mean time the sufferings in the town became intense. None but the soldiery and their horses were allowed the precious beverage so dearly earned,

and even that in quantities that only tantalised their wants. The wounded, who could not sally to procure it, were almost destitute; while the unhappy prisoners, shut up in the mosquea, were reduced to frightful extremities. Many perished raving mad, fancying themselves swimming in boundless seas, yet unable to assuage their thirst. Many of the soldiers lay parched and panting along the battlements, no longer able to draw a bow-string or hurl a stone, while above five thousand Moors, stationed upon a rocky height which overlooked part of the town, kept up a galling fire into it with slings and cross-bows; so that the Marquis of Cadiz was obliged to heighten the battlements by using the doors from the private dwellings.

The Christian cavaliers, exposed to this extreme peril, and in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, despatched fleet messengers to Seville and Cordova, entreating the chivalry of Andalusia to hasten to their aid. They sent likewise to implore assistance from the king and queen, who at that time held their court in Medina del Campo. In the midst of their distress, a tank, or cistern of water, was fortunately discovered in the city, which gave temporary relief to their sufferings.

## CHAPTER VII.

HOW THE DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA AND THE CHIVALRY OF ANDALUSIA HASTENED TO THE RELIEF OF ALHAMA.

THE perilous situation of the Christian cavaliers, pent up and beleaguered within the walls of Alhama, spread terror among their friends, and anxiety throughout all Andalusia. Nothing, however, could equal the anguish of the Marchioness of Cadiz, the wife of the gallant Rodrigo Ponce de Leon. In her deep distress she looked round for some powerful noble, who had the means of rousing the country to the assistance of her husband. No one appeared more competent for the purpose than Don Juan de Guzman, the Duke of Medina Sidonia. He was one of the most wealthy and puissant grandees of Spain; his possessions extended over some of the most fertile parts of Andalusia, embracing towns and sea-ports, and numerous villages. Here he reigned in feudal state like a petty sovereign, and could at any time bring into the field an immense force of vassals and retainers. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the Marquis of Cadiz, however, were at this time deadly foes. An hereditary feud existed between them, that had often arisen to bloodshed and war; for as yet the fierce contests between the proud and puissant Spanish nobles had not been completely quelled by the power of the crown, and in this respect they exerted a right of sovereignty, in leading their vassals against each other in open field.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia would have appeared to many the very last person to whom to apply for aid of the Marquis of Cadiz; but the marchioness judged of him by the standard of her own high and generous mind. She knew him to be a gallant and courteous knight, and had already experienced the magnanimity of his spirit, having been relieved by him when besieged by the Moors in her husband's fortress of Arcos. To the duke, therefore, she applied in this moment of sudden calamity, imploring him to furnish succour to her husband. The event showed how well noble spirits understand each other. No sooner did the duke receive this appeal from the wife of his enemy, than he generously forgot all feeling of animosity, and determined to go in person to his succour. He immediately despatched a courteous letter to the marchioness, assuring her, that, in consideration of the request of so honourable and estimable a lady, and to rescue from peril so valiant a cavalier as her husband, whose loss would be great, not only to Spain, but to all Christendom, he would forego the recollection of all past grievances, and hasten to his relief with all the forces he could raise.

The duke wrote at the same time to the alcaides of his towns and fortresses, ordering them to join him forthwith at Seville, with all the force they could spare from their garrisons. He called on all the chivalry of Andalusia to make common cause in the rescue of those Christian cavaliers, and he offered large pay to all volunteers who would resort to him with horses, armour, and provisions. Thus all who could be incited by honour, religion, patriotism, or thirst of gain, were induced to hasten to his standard; and he took the field with an army of five thousand horse and fifty thousand foot. Many cavaliers of distinguished name accompanied him in this generous enterprise. Amongst these was the redoubtable Alonso de Aguilar, the chosen friend of the Marquis of Cadiz, and with him his younger brother, Gonzalvo Fernandez de Cordova, afterwards renowned as the grand captain; Don Rodrigo Givon, also, master of the order of Calatrava; together with Martin Alonso de Montemayor, and the Marquis de Villena, esteemed the best lance in Spain. It was a gallant and splendid army, comprising the power of Spanish chivalry, and poured forth in brilliant array from the gates of Seville, bearing the great standard of that ancient and renowned city.

Ferdinand and Isabella were at Medina del Campo when tidings came of the capture of Alhama. The king was at mass when he received the news, and ordered *Te Deum* to be chanted for this signal triumph of the holy faith. When the first flush of triumph had subsided, and the king learned the imminent peril of the valorous Ponce de Leon and his companions, and the great danger there was that this stronghold might again be wrested from their grasp,

<sup>1</sup> Crónica de los Duques de Medina Sidonia, por Pedro de Medina. MS.

he resolved to hurry in person to the scene of action. So pressing appeared to him the emergency; that he barely gave himself time to take a hasty repast while horses were providing, and then departed at furious speed for Andalusia, leaving a request for the queen to follow him. He was attended by Don Beltran de la Cueva, Duke of Albuquerque; Don Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, Count of Tendilla; and Don Pedro Manriquez, Count of Trevino, with a few more cavaliers of prowess and distinction. He travelled by forced journeys, frequently changing his jaded horses, being eager to arrive in time to take command of the Andalusian chivalry. When he came within five leagues of Cordova, the Duke of Albuquerque remonstrated with him upon entering with such incautious haste into the enemy's country. He represented to him, that there were troops enough assembled to succour Alhama, and that it was not for him to adventure his royal person in doing what could be done by his subjects, especially as he had such valiant and experienced captains to act for him. "Besides, sire," added the duke, "your majesty should bethink you, that the troops about to take the field are mere men of Andalusia; whereas your illustrious predecessors never made an inroad into the territory of the Moors, without being accompanied by a powerful force of the staunch and iron warriors of Old Castile."

"Duke," replied the king, "your counsel might have been good had I not have departed from Medina with the avowed determination of succouring these cavaliers in person. I am now near the end of my journey, and it would be beneath my dignity to change my intention, before even I had met with an impediment. I shall take the troops of this country who are assembled, without waiting for those of Castile, and, with the aid of God, shall prosecute my journey."

As King Ferdinand approached Cordova, the principal inhabitants came forth to receive him. Learning, however, that the Duke of Medina Sidonia was already on the march, and pressing forward into the territory of the Moors, the king was all on fire to overtake him, and to lead in person the succour to Alhama. Without entering Cordova, therefore, he exchanged his weary horses for those of the inhabitants who had come forth to meet him, and pressed forward for the army. He despatched fleet couriers in advance, requesting the Duke of Medina Sidonia to await his coming, that he might take command of the forces.

Neither the duke nor his companions in arms, however, felt inclined to pause in their generous expedition, and gratify the inclination of the king. They sent back missives, representing that they were far within the enemy's frontiers, and it was dangerous either to pause or to turn back. They had likewise received pressing entreaties from the besieged to hasten their speed, setting forth their great sufferings,

<sup>1</sup> Hlescas, Hist. Pontifical.

<sup>2</sup> Fulgar, Crónica, p. lii, c. 5.

to the scene of action. In the emergency, that he made a hasty repast while the king departed at furious request for the queen, attended by Don Beltran de Arque; Don Inigo Lopez de Padilla; and Don Pedro de Padilla, with a few more cavaliers. He travelled by changing his jaded horses, to take command of the army when he came within five leagues of Albuquerque remounting with such incautious haste. He represented to the king enough assembled to succeed what could be done by the king had such valiant aid for him. "Besides, sire," the king should bethink you, the field are mere men of illustrious predecessors of the territory of the Moors, and led by a powerful force of veterans of Old Castile."

When the king, "your counsel might have departed from Medina Sidonia of succouring these Moors now near the end of my reign, beneath my dignity to fore even I had met with the troops of this country about waiting for those of God, shall prosecute my

approached Cordova, the prisoner to receive him. Learning the duke of Medina Sidonia was pressing forward into the king was all on fire to bring person the succour to Cordova, therefore, he sent for those of the inhabitants to meet him, and pressed despatched fleet couriers in the duke of Medina Sidonia to might take command of the companions in arms, how in their generous expedition of the king. They expecting that they were farther, and it was dangerous back. They had likewise news from the besieged to worth their great sufferings,

and their hourly peril of being overwhelmed by the enemy.

The king was at Ponton del Maestre when he received these missives. So inflamed was he with zeal for the success of this enterprise, that he would have penetrated into the kingdom of Granada with the handful of cavaliers who accompanied him; but they represented the rashness of such a journey, through the mountainous defiles of a hostile country thickly beset with towns and castles. With some difficulty, therefore, he was dissuaded from his inclination, and prevailed upon to await tidings from the army, in the frontier city of Antequera.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## SEQUEL OF THE EVENTS AT ALHAMA.

WHILE all Andalusia was thus in arms, and pouring its chivalry through the mountain passes of the Moorish frontier, the garrison of Alhama was reduced to great extremity, and in danger of sinking under its sufferings before the promised succour could arrive. The intolerable thirst that prevailed in consequence of the scarcity of water, the incessant watch that had to be maintained over the vast force of enemies without, and the great number of prisoners within, and the wounds which almost every soldier had received in the incessant skirmishes and assaults, had worn grievously both flesh and spirit. The noble Ponce de Leon, Marquis of Cadiz, still animated the soldiery, however, by word and example, sharing every hardship, and being foremost in every danger; exemplifying, that a good commander is the vital spirit of an army.

When Muley Aben Hassan heard of the vast force that was approaching under the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and that Ferdinand was coming in person with additional troops, he perceived that no time was to be lost: Alhama must be carried by one powerful attack, or abandoned entirely to the Christians.

A number of Moorish cavaliers, some of the bravest youth of Granada, knowing the wishes of the king, proposed to undertake a desperate enterprise, which, if successful, must put Alhama in his power. Early one morning, when it was scarcely the grey of the dawn, about the time of changing the watch, these cavaliers approached the town, at a place considered inaccessible from the steepness of the rocks on which the wall was founded; which it was supposed elevated the battlements beyond the reach of the longest scaling-ladders. The Moorish knights, aided by a number of the strongest and most active escaladors, mounted these rocks, and applied the ladders without being discovered; for, to divert attention from them, Muley Aben Hassan made a false attack upon the town in another quarter.

The scaling party mounted with difficulty, and in small numbers; the sentinel was killed at his post, and seventy of the Moors made their way into the streets before an alarm was given. The guards rushed to the walls, to stop the hostile throng that was still pouring in. A sharp conflict, hand to hand, and man to man, took place on the battlements, and many on both sides fell. The Moors, whether wounded or slain, were thrown headlong without the walls, the scaling-ladders were overturned, and those who were mounting were dashed upon the rocks, and from thence tumbled upon the plain. Thus in a little while the ramparts were cleared by Christian prowess, led on by that valiant knight Don Alonso Ponce the uncle, and that brave esquire Pedro Pineda, nephew of the Marquis of Cadiz.

The walls being cleared, these two kindred cavaliers now hastened with their forces in pursuit of the seventy Moors, who had gained an entrance into the town. The main part of the garrison being engaged at a distance, resisting the feigned attack of the Moorish king, this fierce band of infidels had ranged the streets almost without opposition, and were making their way to the gates, to throw them open to the army. They were chosen men from among the Moorish forces, several of them gallant knights of the proudest families of Granada. Their footsteps through the city were in a manner printed in blood, and they were tracked by the bodies of those they had killed and wounded. They had attained the gate; most of the guard had fallen beneath their cimeters: a moment more and Alhama would have been thrown open to the enemy.

Just at this juncture, Don Alonso Ponce and Pedro de Pineda reached the spot with their forces. The Moors had the enemy in front and rear: they placed themselves back to back, with their banner in the centre. In this way they fought with desperate and deadly determination, making a rampart around them with the slain. More Christian troops arrived, and hemmed them in, but still they fought, without asking for quarter. As their numbers decreased, they serried their circle still closer, defending their banner from assault, and the last Moor died at his post, grasping the standard of the Prophet. This standard was displayed from the walls, and the turbaned heads of the Moors were thrown down to the besiegers.<sup>2</sup>

Muley Aben Hassan tore his beard with rage at the failure of this attempt, and at the death of so many of his chosen cavaliers. He saw, that all further effort was in vain. His scouts brought word, that they had seen from the heights the long columns and flaunting banners of the Christian army approaching through the mountains. To linger would be to place

<sup>1</sup> Zurita, lib. xx, cap. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Pedro Pineda received the honour of knighthood from the hand of King Ferdinand for his valour on this occasion. (Alonso Ponce was already a knight.) See Zurita, Annals of Seville, lib. xii, an. 1482.

himself between two bodies of the enemy. Breaking up his camp, therefore, in all haste, he gave up the siege of Alhama, and hastened back to Granada; and the last clash of his cymbals scarce died upon the ear from the distant hills, before the standard of the Duke of Medina Sidonia was seen emerging in another direction from the defiles of the mountains.

When the Christians in Alhama beheld their enemies retreating on one side, and their friends advancing on the other, they uttered shouts of joy and hymns of thanksgiving; for it was as a sudden relief from present death. Harassed by several weeks of incessant vigil and fighting, suffering from scarcity of provisions and almost continual thirst, they resembled skeletons rather than living men. It was a noble and gracious sight, to behold the meeting of those two ancient foes, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the Marquis of Cadiz. When the marquis beheld his magnanimous deliverer approaching, he melted into tears: all past animosities only gave the greater poignancy to present feelings of gratitude and admiration: they clasped each other in their arms, and, from that time forward, were true and cordial friends.

While this generous scene took place between the commanders, a sordid contest arose among their troops. The soldiers, who had come to the rescue, claimed a portion of the spoils of Alhama; and so violent was the dispute, that both parties seized their arms. The Duke of Medina Sidonia interfered, and settled the question with his characteristic magnanimity. He declared, that the spoil belonged to those who had captured the city. "We have taken the field," said he, "only for honour, for religion, and for the rescue of our countrymen and fellow-Christians; and the success of our enterprise is a sufficient and glorious reward. If we desire booty, there are sufficient Moorish cities yet to be taken to enrich us all." The soldiers were convinced by the frank and chivalrous reasoning of the duke; they replied to his speech by acclamations, and the transient broil was happily appeased.

The Marchioness of Cadiz, with the forethought of a loving wife, had despatched her major-domo with the army, with a large supply of provisions. Tables were immediately spread beneath the tents, where the marquis gave a banquet to the duke and the cavaliers who had accompanied him, and nothing but hilarity prevailed in this late scene of suffering and death.

A garrison of fresh troops was left in Alhama, and the veterans, who had so valiantly captured and maintained it, returned to their homes burdened with precious booty. The marquis and duke, with their confederate cavaliers, repaired to Antequera, where they were received with great distinction by the king, who honoured the Marquis of Cadiz with signal marks of favour. The duke then accompanied his late enemy, but now most zealous and grateful friend, the Marquis of Cadiz, to his town of Marchena,

where he received the reward of his generous conduct in the thanks and blessings of the marchioness. The marquis gave a sumptuous entertainment in honour of his guest; for a day and night his palace was thrown open, and was the scene of continual revel and festivity. When the duke departed for his estates at St Lucar, the marquis attended him for some distance on his journey, and when they separated, it was as the parting scene of brothers. Such was the noble spectacle exhibited to the chivalry of Spain by these two illustrious rivals. Each reaped universal renown from the part he had performed in the campaign: the marquis, from having surprised and captured one of the most important and formidable fortresses of the kingdom of Granada, and the duke from having subdued his deadliest foe by a great act of magnanimity.

## CHAPTER IX.

EVENTS AT GRANADA, AND RISE OF THE MOORISH KING BOABDIL EL CHICO.

The Moorish king Aben Hassan returned, baffled and disappointed, from before the walls of Alhama, and was received with groans and smothered execrations by the people of Granada. The prediction of the santon was in every mouth, and appeared to be rapidly fulfilling; for the enemy was already strongly fortified in Alhama, in the very heart of the kingdom. The disaffection, which broke out in murmurs among the common people, fermented more secretly and dangerously among the nobles. Muley Aben Hassan was of a fierce and cruel nature: his reign had been marked with tyranny and bloodshed, and many chiefs of the family of the Abencerrages, the noblest lineage among the Moors, had fallen victims to his policy or vengeance. A deep plot was now formed to put an end to his oppressions, and dispossess him of the throne. The situation of the royal household favoured the conspiracy.

Muley Aben Hassan, though cruel, was uxorious; that is to say, he had many wives, and was prone to be managed by them by turns. He had two queens, in particular, whom he had chosen from affection. One, named Ayxa, was a Moorish female; she was likewise termed in Arabic La Horra, or "the chaste," while yet in the prime of her beauty, she bore a son to Aben Hassan, the expected heir to his throne. The name of this prince was Mahomet Abdalla, or, as he has more generally been termed among historians, Boabdil. At his birth the astrologers, according to custom, cast his horoscope: they were seized with fear and trembling when they beheld the fatal portents revealed to their science. "Alla achbar! God is great!" exclaimed they: "he alone controls the fate of empires: it is written in the heavens, that this



prince shall sit upon the throne of Granada, but that the downfall of the kingdom shall be accomplished during his reign." From this time the prince was ever regarded with aversion by his father, and the series of persecutions which he suffered, and the dark prediction which hung over him from his infancy, procured him the surname of El Zogoybi, or "the unfortunate." He is more commonly known by the appellation of El Chico, "the younger," to distinguish him from an usurping uncle.

The other favourite queen of Aben Hassan was named Fatima, to which the Moors added the appellation of La Zoroya, or "the light of the dawn," from her effulgent beauty. She was a Christian by birth, the daughter of the commander Sancho Ximenes de Solis, and had been taken captive in her tender youth.

The king, who was well stricken in years at the time, became enamoured of the blooming Christian maid. He made her his sultana; and like most old men, who marry in their dotage, resigned himself to her management. Zoroya became the mother of two princes; and her anxiety for their advancement seemed to extinguish every other natural feeling in her breast. She was as ambitious as she was beautiful, and her ruling desire became, to see one of her sons seated upon the throne of Granada.

For this purpose she made use of all her arts, and of the complete ascendancy she had over the mind of her cruel husband, to undermine his other children in his affections, and to fill him with jealousies of their designs. Muley Aben Hassan was so wrought upon by her machinations, that he publicly put several of his sons to death at the celebrated fountain of lions, in the court of the Alhambra; a place signalized in Moorish history as the scene of many sanguinary deeds.

The next measure of Zoroya was against her rival sultana, the virtuous Ayxa. She was past the bloom of her beauty, and had ceased to be attractive in the eyes of her husband. He was easily persuaded to repudiate her, and to confine her and her son in the tower of Comares, one of the principal towers of the Alhambra. As Boabdil increased in years, Zoroya beheld in him a formidable obstacle to the pretensions of her sons; for he was universally considered heir-apparent to the throne. The jealousies, suspicions, and alarms of his tiger-hearted father were again excited; he was reminded, too, of the prediction, that fixed the ruin of the kingdom during the reign of this prince. Muley Aben Hassan impiously set the stars at defiance. "The sword of the executioner," said he, "shall prove the falsehood of these lying horoscopes, and shall silence the ambition of Boabdil, as it has the presumption of his brothers."

The sultana Ayxa was secretly apprised of the cruel design of the old monarch. She was a woman of talents and courage, and by means of her female

attendants concerted a plan for the escape of her son. A faithful servant was instructed to wait below the Alhambra, in the dead of the night, on the banks of the river Darro, with a fleet Arabian courser. The sultana, when the castle was in a state of deep repose, tied together the shawls and scarfs of herself and her female attendants, and lowered the youthful prince from the tower of Comares. He made his way in safety down the steep rocky hill to the banks of the Darro, and, throwing himself on the Arabian courser, was thus spirited off to the city of Guadix in the Alpuxarres. Here he lay for sometime concealed, until, gaining adherents, he fortified himself in the place, and set the machinations of his tyrant father at defiance. Such was the state of affairs in the royal household of Granada, when Muley Aben Hassan returned foiled from his expedition against Alhama.

The faction which had been secretly formed among the nobles, determined to depose the old king Aben Hassan, and to elevate his son Boabdil to the throne. They concerted their measures with the latter, and an opportunity soon presented to put them in practice. Muley Aben Hassan had a royal country-palace, called Alexares, in the vicinity of Granada, to which he resorted occasionally, to recreate his mind during this time of perplexity. He had been passing one day among its bowers, when, on returning to the capital, he found the gates closed against him, and his son Mohammed Abdalla, otherwise called Boabdil, proclaimed king. "Alla achbar! God is great!" exclaimed old Muley Aben Hassan: "it is in vain to contend against what is written in the book of fate. It was predestined that my son should sit upon the throne. Alla forefend the rest of the prediction!" The old monarch knew the inflammable nature of the Moors, and that it was useless to attempt to check any sudden blaze of popular passion. "A little while, said he, "and this rash flame will burn itself out; and the people, when cool, will listen to reason." So he turned his steed from the gate, and repaired to the city of Baza, where he was received with great demonstrations of loyalty. He was not a man to give up his throne without a struggle. A large part of the kingdom still remained faithful to him; he trusted, that the conspiracy in the capital was but transient and partial, and that by suddenly making his appearance in its streets, at the head of a moderate force, he should awe the people again into allegiance. He took his measures with that combination of dexterity and daring which formed his character, and arrived one night under the walls of Granada with five hundred chosen followers. Scaling the walls of the Alhambra, he threw himself, with sanguinary fury, into its silent courts. The sleeping inmates were roused from their repose only to fall by the exterminating cimeter. The rage of Aben Hassan spared neither age, nor rank, nor sex; the halls resounded with shrieks and yells, and the

fountains ran red with blood. The alcaide, Aben Comixer, retreated to a strong tower, with a few of the garrison and inhabitants. The furious Aben Hassan did not lose time in pursuing him: he was anxious to secure the city, and to wreak his vengeance on its rebellious inhabitants. Descending with his bloody band into the streets, he cut down the defenceless inhabitants, as, startled from their sleep, they rushed forth, to learn the cause of the alarm. The city was soon completely roused; the people flew to arms; lights blazed in every street, revealing the scanty numbers of this band, that had been dealing such fatal vengeance in the dark. Muley Aben Hassan had been mistaken in his conjectures. The great mass of the people, incensed by his tyranny, were zealous in favour of his son. A violent but transient conflict took place in the streets and squares; many of the followers of Aben Hassan were slain, the rest driven out of the city, and the old monarch, with the remnant of his band, retreated to his loyal city of Malaga.

Such was the commencement of those great internal feuds and divisions, which hastened the downfall of Granada. The Moors became separated into two hostile factions, headed by the father and the son, and several bloody encounters took place between them; yet they never failed to act with all their separate force against the Christians, as a common enemy, whenever an opportunity occurred.

## CHAPTER X.

### ROYAL EXPEDITION AGAINST LOXA.

KING FERDINAND held a council of war at Cordova, where it was deliberated what was to be done with Alhama. Most of the council advised, that it should be demolished, inasmuch as, being in the centre of the Moorish kingdom, it would be at all times liable to attack, and could only be maintained by a powerful garrison, and at vast expense. Queen Isabella arrived at Cordova in the midst of these deliberations, and listened to them with surprise and impatience. "What!" said she, "shall we destroy the first fruits of our victories? shall we abandon the first place we have wrested from the Moors? Never let us suffer such an idea to occupy our minds. It would give new courage to the enemy; arguing fear or feebleness in our councils. You talk of the toil and expense of maintaining Alhama. Did we doubt, on undertaking this war, that it was to be a war of infinite cost, labour, and bloodshed? and shall we shrink from the cost the moment a victory is obtained, and the question is merely, to guard or abandon its glorious trophy? Let us hear no more about the destruction of Alhama; let us maintain its walls sacred, as a stronghold, granted us by Heaven, in the centre of this hostile land; and let our only considera-

tion be, how to extend our conquest, and capture the surrounding cities." The language of the queen infused a more lofty and chivalrous spirit into the royal council. Preparations were immediately made to maintain Alhama at all risk and expense; and King Ferdinand appointed as alcaide Luis Fernandez Puerto Carrero, senior of the house of Palma, supported by Diego Lopez de Ayola, Pero Ruiz de Alarzon, and Alonso Ortis, captains of four hundred lances and a body of one thousand foot, supplied with provisions for three months. Ferdinand resolved also to lay siege to Loxa, a city of great strength, at no great distance from Alhama. For this purpose he called upon all the cities and towns of Andalusia and Estremadura, and the domains of the orders of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, and of the priory of St Juan, and the kingdom of Toledo, and beyond, to the cities of Salamanca, Toro, and Valladolid, to furnish, according to their repartimientos or allotments, a certain quantity of bread, wine, and cattle, to be delivered at the royal camp before Loxa, one half at the end of June, and one half in July. These lands, also, together with Biscay and Guipuscoa, were ordered to send reinforcements of horse and foot, each town furnishing its quota; and great diligence was used in providing lombards, powder, and other warlike munitions.

The Moors were no less active in their preparations; and sent missives into Africa, entreating supplies, and calling upon the Barbary princes to aid them in this war of the faith. To intercept all succour, the Castilian sovereigns stationed an armada of ships and galleys in the Straits of Gibraltar, under the command of Martin Diaz de Mena and Carlos de Valera with orders to scour the Barbary coast, and sweep every Moorish sail from the sea.

While these preparations were making, Ferdinand made an incursion, at the head of his army, into the kingdom of Granada, and laid waste the vega; destroying its hamlets and villages, ravaging its fields of grain, and driving away the cattle.

It was about the end of June, that King Ferdinand departed from Cordova, to sit down before the walls of Loxa. So confident was he of success, that he left a great part of the army at Ecija, and advanced with but five thousand cavalry and eight thousand infantry. The Marquis of Cadiz, a warrior as wise as he was valiant, remonstrated against employing so small a force; and, indeed, was opposed to the measure altogether, as being undertaken precipitately, and without sufficient preparation. King Ferdinand, however, was influenced by the counsel of Don Diego de Merla, and was eager to strike a brilliant and decided blow. A vain-glorious confidence prevailed about this time among the Spanish cavaliers: they overrated their own prowess; or rather, they undervalued and despised their enemy. Many of them believed, that the Moors would scarcely remain in their city, when they saw the Christian troops advancing to assail it. The Spanish chivalry marched, therefore, gallantly and

quest, and capture the language of the queen in-ous spirit into the royal immediately made to and expense; and King ayde Luis Fernandez e house of Palma, sup-ola, Pero Ruiz de Alar-ains of four hundred sand foot, supplied with Ferdinand resolved also of great strength, at no a. For this purpose he towns of Andalusia and ins of the orders of San-ara, and of the priory of Toledo, and beyond, to o, and Valladolid, to fur-rtimientos or allotments, wine, and cattle, to be before Loxa, one half at if in July. These lands, and Guipuscoa, were or-ats of horse and foot, each and great diligence was powder, and other war- s active in their prepara- to Africa, entreating sup-Barbary princes to aid them To intercept all succour, tioned an armada of ships of Gibraltar, under the e Mena and Carlos de Va-ur the Barbary coast, and from the sea. s were making, Ferdinand head of his army, into the laid waste the vega; des- lages, ravaging its fields of e cattle. June, that King Ferdinand sit down before the walls as he of success, that he left Ecija, and advanced with and eight thousand infantry, warrior as wise as he was ainst employing so small a pposed to the measure a-ken precipitately, and with- King Ferdinand, however, nsel of Don Diego de Meca, brilliant and decided blow, e prevailed about this time lers: they overrated their they undervalued and des- y of them believed, that th- ain in their city, when they advancing to assail it. The d, therefore, gallantly

fearlessly, and almost carelessly, over the border, scantily supplied with the things needful for a besieging army in the heart of an enemy's country. In the same negligent and confident spirit they took up their station before Loxa. The country around was broken and hilly, so that it was extremely difficult to form a combined camp. The river Xenil, which runs by the town, was compressed between high banks, and so deep as to be fordable with extreme difficulty, and the Moors had possession of the bridge. The king pitched his tents in a plantation of olives, on the banks of the river; the troops were distributed in different encampments on the heights, but separated from each other by deep rocky ravines, so as to be incapable of yielding each other prompt assistance, and there was no room for the operation of the cavalry. The artillery, also, was so injudiciously placed as to be almost entirely useless. Alonso of Aragon, Duke of Villahermosa, and illegitimate brother of the king, was present at the siege, and disapproved of the whole arrangement. He was one of the most able generals of his time, and especially renowned for his skill in battering fortified places. He recommended, that the whole disposition of the camp should be changed, and that several bridges should be thrown across the river. His advice was adopted, but slowly and negligently followed; so that it was rendered of no avail. Among other oversights, in this hasty and negligent expedition, the army had no supply of baked bread, and, in the hurry of encampment, there was no time to erect furnaces. Cakes were therefore hastily made, and baked on the coals, and for two days the troops were supplied in this irregular way.

King Ferdinand felt too late the insecurity of his position, and endeavoured to provide a temporary remedy. There was a height near the city, called by the Moors Santo Albohacen, which was in front of the bridge. He ordered several of his most valiant cavaliers to take possession of this height, and to hold it, as a check upon the enemy and a protection to the camp. The cavaliers chosen for this distinguished and perilous post were the Marquis of Cadiz, the Marquis of Villena, Don Roderigo Tellez Giron, master of Calatrava, his brother the Count of Ureña, and Don Alonso de Aguilar. These valiant warriors, and tried companions in arms, led their troops with alacrity to the height, which soon glittered with the array of arms, and was graced by several of the most redoubtable pennons of warlike Spain.

Loxa was commanded at this time by an old Moorish alayde, whose daughter was the favourite wife of Boabdil el Chico. The name of this Moor was Ibrahim Ali Atar; but he was generally known among the Spaniards as Alatar. He had grown grey in border warfare, was an implacable enemy of the Christians, and his name had long been the terror of the frontier. He was in the ninetieth year of his age, yet indomitable in spirit, fiery in his passions, and newly and powerful in frame, deeply versed in war-

like stratagem, and accounted the best lance in all Mauritania. He had three thousand horsemen under his command, veteran troops, with whom he had often scoured the borders, and he daily expected the old Moorish king with reinforcements.

Old Ali Atar had watched, from his fortress, every movement of the Christian army, and had exulted in all the errors of its commanders. When he beheld the flower of Spanish chivalry glittering about the height of Albohacen, his eye flushed with exultation. "By the aid of Allah," said he, "I will give these pranking cavaliers a rouse."

Ali Atar privately, and by night, sent forth a large body of his chosen troops to lie in ambush near one of the skirts of Albohacen. On the fourth day of the siege, he sallied across the bridge, and made a feigned attack upon the height. The cavaliers rushed impetuously forth to meet him, leaving their encampments almost unprotected. Ali Atar wheeled and fled, and was hastily pursued. When the Christian cavaliers had been drawn a considerable distance from their encampments, they heard a vast shout behind them, and, looking round, beheld their encampments assailed by the Moorish force, which had been placed in ambush, and had ascended a different side of the hill.

The cavaliers desisted from the pursuit, and hastened to prevent the plunder of their tents. Ali Atar in his turn wheeled and pursued them; and they were attacked in front and rear on the summit of the hill. The contest lasted for an hour; the height of Albohacen was red with blood; many brave cavaliers fell, expiring among heaps of the enemy. The fierce Ali Atar fought with the fury of a demon, until the arrival of more Christian forces compelled him to retreat into the city. The severest loss to the Christians in this skirmish was that of Roderigo Tellez Giron, master of Calatrava: as he was raising his arm to make a blow, an arrow pierced him, just beneath the shoulder, at the open part of the corslet. He fell instantly from his horse, but was caught by Pedro Gasca, a cavalier of Avila, who conveyed him to his tent, where he died. The king and queen and the whole kingdom mourned his death; for he was in the freshness of his youth, being but twenty-four years of age, and had proved himself a gallant and high-minded cavalier. A melancholy group collected about his corse, on the bloody height of Albohacen: the knights of Calatrava mourned him as a commander; the cavaliers, who were encamped on the height, lamented him as their companion in arms in a service of perils, while the Count of Ureña grieved over him with the tender affection of a brother.

King Ferdinand now perceived the wisdom of the opinion of the Marquis of Cadiz, and that his force was quite insufficient for the enterprise. To continue his camp in its present unfortunate position would cost him the lives of his bravest cavaliers, if not a total defeat, in case of reinforcements to the enemy. He called a council of war late in the evening of Sa-

turday; and it was determined to withdraw the army, early the next morning, to Rio Frio, a short distance from the city, and there wait for additional troops from Cordova. The next morning early, the cavaliers on the height of Albohacen began to strike their tents. No sooner did Ali Atar behold this, than he sallied forth to attack them. Many of the Christian troops, who had not heard of the intention to change the camp, seeing the tents struck, and the Moors salying forth, supposed that the enemy had been reinforced in the night, and that the army was on the point of retreating. Without stopping to ascertain the truth, or to receive orders, they fled in dismay, spreading confusion through the camp; nor did they halt until they had reached the Rock of the Lovers, about seven leagues from Loxa.'

The king and his commanders saw the imminent peril of the moment, and made face to the Moors, each commander guarding his quarter, and repelling all assaults, while the tents were struck, and the artillery and ammunition conveyed away. The king, with a handful of cavaliers, galloped to a rising ground, exposed to the fire of the enemy, calling upon the flying troops, and endeavouring in vain to rally them. Setting upon the Moors, he and his cavaliers charged them so vigorously, that they put a squadron to flight, slaying many with their swords and lances, and driving others into the river, where they were drowned. The Moors, however, were soon reinforced, and returned in great numbers. The king was in danger of being surrounded: the Moors assailed him furiously; and twice he owed his safety to the valour of Don Juan de Ribera, senior of Montemayor.

The Marquis of Cadiz beheld from a distance the peril of his sovereign. Summoning about seventy horsemen to follow him, he galloped to the spot, threw himself between the king and the enemy, and, hurling his lance, transpierced one of the most daring of the Moors. For some time he remained with no other weapon than his sword; his horse was wounded by an arrow, and many of his followers were slain; but he succeeded in beating off the Moors, and rescuing the king from imminent jeopardy, whom he then prevailed upon to retire to less dangerous ground.

The marquis continued throughout the day to expose himself to the repeated assaults of the enemy. He was ever found in the place of greatest danger, and through his bravery a great part of the army and the camp was preserved from destruction. It was a perilous day for the commanders; for in a retreat of the kind, it is the noblest cavaliers who most expose themselves to save their people. The Duke of Medina Celi was struck to the ground, but rescued by his troops. The Count of Tendilla, whose tents were nearest to the city, received several wounds; and various other cavaliers of the most distinguished note were exposed to fearful hazard. The whole day

<sup>1</sup> Pulgar, Crónica.

<sup>2</sup> Cura de los Palacios, c. 38.

was passed in bloody skirmishings, in which the hidalgos and cavaliers of the royal household distinguished themselves by their bravery. At length, the encampments being all broken up, and most of the artillery and baggage removed, the bloody height of Albohacen was abandoned, and the neighbourhood of Loxa evacuated. Several tents, a quantity of provisions, and a few pieces of artillery, were left upon the spot, from the want of horses or mules to carry them off.

Ali Atar hung upon the rear of the retiring army, and harassed it until it reached Rio Frio. From thence Ferdinand returned to Cordova, deeply mortified, though greatly benefited, by the severe lesson he had received, which served to render him more cautious in his campaigns, and more diffident of fortune. He sent letters to all parts excusing his retreat, imputing it to the small number of his forces, and the circumstance, that many of them were quotas sent from various cities, and not in royal pay. In the mean time, to console his troops for their disappointment, and to keep up their spirits, he led them upon another inroad, to lay waste the vega of Granada.

#### CHAPTER XI.

HOW MULEY ABEN HASSAN MADE A FORAY INTO THE LANDS OF MEDINA SIDONIA, AND HOW HE WAS RECEIVED.

OLD Muley Aben Hassan had mustered an army, and marched to the relief of Loxa; but arrived too late. The last squadron of Ferdinand had already passed over the border. "They have come and gone," said he, "like a summer cloud, and all their vaunting has been mere empty thunder." He turned, to make another attempt upon Alhama, the garrison of which was in the utmost consternation at the retreat of Ferdinand, and would have deserted the place, had it not been for the courage and perseverance of the alcajde, Luis Fernandez Puerto Carreno. That brave and loyal commander cheered up the spirits of the men, and kept the old Moorish king at bay, until the approach of Ferdinand, on his second incursion into the vega, obliged him to make an unwilling retreat to Malaga.

Muley Aben Hassan felt, that it would be in vain, with his inferior force, to oppose the powerful army of the Christian monarch; but to remain idle, and see his territories laid waste, would ruin him in the estimation of his people. "If we cannot parry," said he, "we can strike: if we cannot keep our own lands from being ravaged, we can ravage the lands of the enemy." He inquired, and learned that most of the chivalry of Andalusia, in their eagerness for a foray, had marched off with the king, and left their own country almost defenceless. The territories of the Duke of Medina Sidonia were particularly unguarded. Here were vast plains of pasturage, (the



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vered with flocks and herds; the very country for a hasty inroad. The old monarch had a bitter grudge against the duke, for having foiled him at Alhama. "I'll give this cavalier a lesson," said he, exultingly, "that will cure him of his love of campaigning." So he prepared in all haste for a forage into the country about Medina Sidonia.

Muley Aben Hassan sallied out of Malaga with fifteen hundred horse and six thousand foot, and took the way by the sea-coast, marching through Esteponia and entering the Christian country between Gibraltar and Castellar. The only person that was likely to molest him on this route was one Pedro de Vargas, a shrewd, hardy, and vigilant soldier, alcaide of Gibraltar, and who lay ensconced in his old warrior-rock as in a citadel. Muley Aben Hassan knew the watchful and daring character of the man; but had ascertained, that his garrison was too small to enable him to make a sally, or at least to assure him any success. Still he pursued his march with great silence and caution; sent parties in advance, to explore every pass where a foe might lie in ambush, cast many an anxious eye towards the old rock of Gibraltar, as its cloud-capt summit was seen towering in the distance on his left; nor did he feel entirely at ease, until he had passed through the broken and mountainous country of Castellar, and descended into the plains. Here he encamped, on the banks of the Celemin. From hence he sent four hundred corredors, or fleet horsemen, armed with lances, who were to station themselves near Algeiras, and to keep a strict watch, across the bay, upon the opposite fortress of Gibraltar. If the alcaide attempted to sally forth, they were to waylay and attack him, being almost four times his supposed force, and were to send swift tidings to the camp.

In the mean time, two hundred corredors were despatched to scour that vast plain called the Campina de Tarifa, abounding with flocks and herds, and two hundred more were to ravage the lands about Medina Sidonia. Muley Aben Hassan remained with the main body of the army as a rallying point on the banks of the Celemin. The foraging parties scoured the country to such effect, that they came driving vast flocks and herds before them, enough to supply the place of all that had been swept from the vega of Granada. The troops which had kept watch upon the rock of Gibraltar returned, with word, that they had not seen a Christian helmet stirring. The old king congratulated himself upon the secrecy and promptness with which he had conducted his foray, and upon having baffled the vigilance of Pedro de Vargas.

Muley Aben Hassan had not been so secret as he imagined. The watchful Pedro de Vargas had received notice of his movements. His garrison was barely sufficient for the defence of the place, and he feared to take the field, and leave his fortress unguarded. Luckily, at this juncture, there arrived in the harbour of Gibraltar a squadron of the armed

galleys stationed in the strait, and commanded by Carlos de Valera. The alcaide immediately prevailed upon him to guard the place during his absence, and sallied forth at midnight with seventy horse. He made for the town of Castellar, which is strongly posted on a steep height, knowing that the Moorish king would have to return by this place. He ordered alarm-fires to be lighted upon the mountains, to give notice that the Moors were on the ravage, that the peasants might drive the flocks and herds to places of refuge; and he sent couriers, riding at full speed in every direction, summoning the fighting men of the neighbourhood to meet him at Castellar. Muley Aben Hassan saw, by the fires blazing about the mountains, that the country was rising.

He struck his tents, and pushed forward as rapidly as possible for the border; but he was encumbered with booty, and with the vast cavalgada swept from the pastures of the Campina of Tarifa. His scouts brought him word, that there were troops in the field; but he made light of the intelligence, knowing, that they could only be those of the alcaide of Gibraltar, and that he had not more than a hundred horsemen in his garrison. He threw in advance two hundred and fifty of his bravest troops, and with them the alcaides of Marabilla and Casares. Behind this vanguard was a great cavalgada of cattle, and in the rear marched the king, with the main force of his little army. It was near the middle of a sultry summer day, that they approached Castellar. De Vargas was on the watch; and beheld, by an immense cloud of dust, that they were descending one of the heights of that wild and broken country. The vanguard and rearguard were above half a league asunder, with the cavalgada between them, and a long and close forest hid them from each other. De Vargas saw, that they could render but little assistance to each other, in case of a sudden attack, and might be easily thrown into confusion. He chose fifty of his bravest horsemen, and, making a circuit, took his post secretly in a narrow glen, opening into a defile between two rocky heights, through which the Moors had to pass. It was his intention to suffer the vanguard and the cavalgada to pass, and to fall upon the rear.

While thus lying perdue, six Moorish scouts, well mounted and well armed, entered the glen, examining every place that might conceal an enemy. Some of the Christians advised, that they should slay these six men, and retreat to Gibraltar. "No," said De Vargas; "I have come out for higher game than these, and I hope, by the aid of God and Santiago, to do good on this day. I know these Moors well, and doubt not but that they may readily be thrown into confusion."

By this time the six scouts approached so near, that they were on the point of discovering the Christian ambush. De Vargas gave the word, and ten horsemen rushed forth upon them. In an instant, four of the Moors rolled in the dust; the other two

put spurs to their steeds, and fled towards their army, pursued by the ten Christians. About eighty of the Moorish vanguard came galloping to the relief of their companions: the Christians turned, and fled towards their ambush. De Vargas kept his men concealed, until the fugitives and their pursuers came clattering pell-mell into the glen: at a signal trumpet, his men sallied forth, with great heat, and in close array. The Moors almost rushed upon their weapons before they perceived them. Forty of the infidels were overthrown; the rest turned their backs. "Forward!" cried De Vargas: "let us give the vanguard a brush before it can be joined by the rear." So saying, he pursued the flying Moors down the hill, and came with such force and fury upon the advance guard, as to overthrow many of them at the first encounter. As he wheeled off with his men, the Moors discharged their lances, upon which he returned to the charge, and made great slaughter. The Moors fought valiantly for a short time, until the alcajdes of Marabilla and Casares were slain, when they gave way, and fled for the rearguard. In their flight they passed through the cavalgada of cattle, threw the whole in confusion, and raised such a cloud of dust, that the Christians could no longer distinguish objects. Fearing the king and the main body might be at hand, and finding that De Vargas was severely wounded, they contented themselves with despoiling the slain, and taking above twenty-eight horses, and then returned to Castellar.

When the routed Moors came flying back on the rearguard, Muley Aben Hassan feared that the people of Xeres were in arms. Several of his followers advised him to abandon the cavalgada, and retreat by another road. "No," said the old king; "he is no true soldier, who gives up his booty without fighting." Putting spurs to his horse, he galloped forward through the centre of the cavalgada, driving the cattle to the right and left. When he reached the field of battle, he found it strewn with the bodies of upwards of one hundred Moors, among which were those of the two alcajdes. Enraged at the sight, he summoned all his crossbow-men and cavalry, pushed on to the very gates of Castellar, and set fire to two houses close to the walls. Pedro de Vargas was unable from his wound to sally forth in person; but he ordered out his troops, and there was brisk skirmishing under the walls, until the king drew off, and returned to the scene of the recent encounter. Here he had the bodies of the principal warriors laid across mules, to be interred honourably at Malaga. The rest of the slain were buried in the field of battle. Gathering together the scattered cavalgada, he paraded it slowly, in an immense line, past the walls of Castellar, by way of taunting his foe.

With all his fierceness, old Muley Aben Hassan had a gleam of warlike courtesy, and admired the hardy and soldier-like character of Pedro de Vargas. He summoned two Christian captives, and demanded, what were the revenues of the alcajde of Gibraltar.

They told him, that, among other things, he was entitled to one out of every drove of cattle that passed his boundaries. "Allah forbid!" cried the old monarch, "that so brave a cavalier should be defrauded of his right." He immediately chose twelve of the finest cattle from the twelve droves which formed the cavalgada. These he gave in charge to an alfaqui, to deliver them to Pedro de Vargas. "Tell him," said he, "that I crave his pardon, for not having sent these cattle sooner, but I have this moment learned the nature of his rights, and I hasten to satisfy them with the punctuality due to so worthy a cavalier. Tell him at the same time, that I had no idea the alcajde of Gibraltar was so active and vigilant in collecting his tolls."

The brave alcajde relished the stern soldier-like pleasantry of the old Moorish monarch, and replied in the same tone. "Tell his majesty," said he, "that I kiss his hands for the honour he has done me, and regret that my scanty force has not permitted me to give him a more signal reception on his coming into these parts. Had three hundred horsemen, whom I have been promised from Xeres, arrived in time, I might have served up an entertainment more befitting such a monarch. I trust, however, they will arrive in the course of the night, in which case his majesty may be sure of a royal regale at the dawning."

He then ordered, that a rich silken vest and scarlet mantle should be given to the alfaqui, and dismissed him with great courtesy.

Muley Aben Hassan shook his head when he received the reply of De Vargas. "Allah preserve us," said he, "from any visitation of those hard riders of Xeres! A handful of troops, acquainted with the wild passes of these mountains, may destroy an army encumbered as ours is with booty."

It was some relief to the king, however, to learn, that the hardy alcajde of Gibraltar was too severely wounded to take the field in person. He immediately beat a retreat with all speed; hurrying with such precipitation, that the cavalgada was frequently broken and scattered among the rugged defiles of the mountains, and above five thousand of the cattle turned back, and were regained by the Christians. Muley Aben Hassan proceeded triumphantly with the residue to Malaga, glorying in the spoils of the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

King Ferdinand was mortified at finding his incursion into the vega of Granada counterbalanced by this incursion into his own dominions, and saw, that there were two sides to the game of war, as to all other games. The only one who reaped real glory in this series of inroads and skirmishings was Pedro de Vargas, the stout alcajde of Gibraltar.

\* Alonso de Palencia, l. xxviii, c. 5.

\* Pulgar  
quis of Cac  
Fray Anton  
veracious a  
of Los Pala

## CHAPTER XLII.

## FORAY OF THE SPANISH CAVALIERS AMONG THE MOUNTAINS OF MALAGA.

THE foray of old Moleya Ben Hassan had touched the pride of the Andalusian chivalry, and they determined on retaliation. For this purpose, a number of the most distinguished cavaliers assembled at Antequera, in the month of March, 1485. The leaders of the enterprise were the gallant Marquis of Cadiz, Don Pedro Henriquez, adelantado of Andalusia, Don Juan de Silva, Count of Cifuentes, and bearer of the royal standard, who commanded in Seville, Don Alonso de Cardenas, master of the religious and military order of Santiago, and Don Alonso de Aguilar. Several other cavaliers of note hastened to take part in the enterprise, and in a little time, about twenty-seven hundred horse and several companies of foot were assembled within the old warlike city of Antequera, comprising the very flower of Andalusian chivalry. A council of war was held by the chiefs, to determine in what quarter they should strike a blow. The rival Moorish kings were waging civil war with each other in the vicinity of Granada, and the whole country lay open to inroad. Various plans were proposed by the different cavaliers. The Marquis of Cadiz was desirous of scaling the walls of Zahara, and regaining possession of that important fortress. The master of Santiago, however, suggested a wider range, and a still more important object. He had received information from his adalides, who were apostate Moors, that an incursion might be made with safety into a mountainous region near Malaga, called the Axarquia. Here were valleys of pasture-land, well stocked with flocks and herds; and there were numerous villages and hamlets, which would be an easy prey. The city of Malaga was too weakly garrisoned, and had too few cavalry, to send forth any force in opposition. And he added, that they might extend their ravages to its very gates, and peradventure carry that wealthy place by sudden assault. The adventurous spirits of the cavaliers were inflamed by this suggestion: in their sanguine confidence, they already beheld Malaga in their power, and they were eager for the enterprise. The Marquis of Cadiz endeavoured to interpose a little cool caution: he likewise had apostate adalides, the most intelligent and experienced on the borders. Among these, he placed especial reliance on one, named Luis Amar, who knew all the mountains and valleys of the country. He had received from him a particular account of these mountains of the Axarquia. Their savage and broken nature was a sufficient defence for the fierce people that inhabited them, who, manning their rocks, and

their tremendous passes, which were often nothing more than the deep, dry bed of torrents, might set whole armies at defiance. Even if vanquished, they afforded no spoil to the victor; their houses were little better than bare walls, and they would drive off their scanty flocks and herds to the fortresses of the mountains. The sober counsel of the Marquis was over-ruled. The cavaliers, accustomed to mountain warfare, considered themselves and their horses equal to any wild and rugged expedition, and were flushed with the idea of a brilliant assault upon Malaga. Leaving all heavy baggage at Antequera, and all such as had horses too weak for this mountain scramble, they set forth, full of spirit and confidence. Don Alonso de Aguilar and the adelantado of Andalusia led the squadron of advance; the Count of Cifuentes followed, with certain of the chivalry of Seville; then came the battalion of the most valiant Roderigo Ponce de Leon, Marquis of Cadiz: he was accompanied by several of his brothers and nephews, and many cavaliers who sought distinction under his banner; and as this family band paraded in martial state through the streets of Antequera, they attracted universal attention and applause. The rearguard was led by Don Alonso Cardenas, master of Santiago; and was composed of the knights of his order, and the cavaliers of Ecija, with certain men-at-arms of the Holy Brotherhood, whom the king had placed under his command. The army was attended by a great train of mules, laden with provisions for a few days' supply, until they should be able to forage among the Moorish villages. Never did a more gallant and self-confident little army tread the earth. It was composed of men full of health and vigour, to whom war was a pastime and delight. They had spared no expense in their equipments; for never was the pomp of war carried to a higher pitch than among the proud chivalry of Spain. Cascd in armour, richly inlaid and embossed, decked with rich surcoats and waving plumes, and superbly mounted on Andalusian steeds, they pranced out of Antequera, with banners flying, and their various devices and armorial bearings ostentatiously displayed; and, in the confidence of their hopes, promised the inhabitants to enrich them with the spoils of Malaga. In the rear of this warlike pageant followed a peaceful band, intent upon profiting by the anticipated victories. They were not the customary wretches that hover about armies, to plunder and strip the dead; but goodly and substantial traders, from Seville, Cordova, and other cities of traffic. They rode sleek mules, and were clad in fair raiment, with long leathern purses at their girdles, well filled with pistoles and other golden coin. They had heard of the spoils, wasted by the soldiery at the capture of Alhama, and were provided with moneys to buy up the jewels and precious stones, the vessels of gold and silver, and the rich silks and cloths, that should form the plunder of Malaga. The proud cavaliers eyed these sons of traffic with great disdain, but permitted them to follow, for the convenience of the troops,

\* Pulgar, in his chronicle, reverses the case and makes the Marquis of Cadiz recommend the expedition to the Axarquia; but Fray Antonio Agapida is supported in his statement by that most veracious and contemporary chronicler, Andres Bernaldes, curate of Los Palacios.

who might otherwise be overburdened with booty.

It had been intended to conduct this expedition with great celerity and secrecy; but the noise of their preparations had already reached this city of Malaga. The garrison, it is true, was weak, but the commander was himself a host. This was Muley Abdallah, commonly called El Zagal, or "the valiant." He was younger brother of Muley Aben Hassan, and general of the few forces which remained faithful to the old monarch. He possessed equal fierceness of spirit with his brother, and surpassed him in craft and vigilance. His very name was a war-cry among his soldiery, who had the most extravagant opinion of his prowess.

El Zagal suspected that Malaga was the object of this noisy expedition. He consulted with old Bexir, a veteran Moor, who governed the city. "If this army of marauders were to reach Malaga," said he, "we should hardly be able to keep them without its walls. I will throw myself with a small force into the mountains, rouse the peasantry, take possession of the passes, and endeavour to give these Spanish cavaliers sufficient entertainment upon the road."

It was on a Wednesday, that the pranking army of high-mettled warriors issued from the ancient gates of Antequera. They marched all day and night, making their way secretly, as they supposed, through the passes of the mountains. As the tract of country they intended to maraud was far in the Moorish territories, near the coast of the Mediterranean, they did not arrive there till late in the following day. In passing through these stern and lofty mountains, their path was often along the bottom of a barranca, or deep rocky valley, with a scanty stream dashing along it, among the loose rocks and stones which it had broken and rolled down in the time of its autumnal violence. Sometimes their road was a mere rambla, or dry bed of a torrent, cut deep into the mountains, and filled with their shattered fragments. These barrancas and rambles were overhung by immense cliffs and precipices, forming the lurking-places of ambuscades during the wars between the Moors and Spaniards, as in after times they have become the favourite haunts of robbers, to waylay the unfortunate traveller.

As the sun went down, the cavaliers came to a lofty part of the mountains, commanding, to their right, a distant glimpse of a part of the fair vega of Malaga, with the blue Mediterranean beyond, and they hailed it with exultation as a glimpse of the promised land. As the night closed in, they reached the chain of little valleys and hamlets, locked up among these rocky heights, and known among the Moors by the name of the Axarquia. Here their vaunting hopes were destined to meet with the first disappointment. The inhabitants had heard of their approach; they had conveyed away their cattle and effects; and, with their wives and children, had taken refuge in the towers and fortresses of the mountains. Enraged at their disappointment, the troops set fire to the de-

serted houses, and pressed forward, hoping for better fortune as they advanced. Don Alonso de Aguilar, and the other cavaliers in the vanguard, spread out their forces, to lay waste the country; capturing a few lingering herds of cattle, with the Moorish peasants who were driving them to some place of safety. While this marauding party carried fire and sword in the advance, and lit up the mountain cliffs with the flames of the hamlets, the master of Santiago, who brought up the rearguard, maintained strict order, keeping his knights together in martial array, ready for attack or defence should an enemy appear. The men-at-arms of the Holy Brotherhood attempted to roam in quest of booty; but he called them back, and rebuked them severely.

At length they came to a part of the mountain completely broken up by barrancas and rambles of vast depth, and slugged with rocks and precipices. It was impossible to maintain the order of march; the horses had no room for action, and were scarcely manageable, having to scramble from rock to rock, and up and down frightful declivities, where there was scarce footing for a mountain-goat. Passing by a burning village, the light of the flames revealed their perplexed situation. The Moors who had taken refuge in a watch-tower on an impending height, shouted with exultation, when they looked down upon these glistering cavaliers, struggling and stumbling among the rocks. Sallying forth from their tower, they took possession of the cliffs which overhung the ravine, and hurled darts and stones upon the enemy. It was with the utmost grief of heart, that the good master of Santiago beheld his brave men falling like helpless victims around him, without the means of resistance or revenge. The confusion of his followers was increased by the shouts of the Moors, multiplied by the echoes of every crag and cliff, as if they were surrounded by innumerable foes. Being entirely ignorant of the country, in their struggles to extricate themselves they plunged into other glens and defiles, where they were still more exposed to danger. In this extremity, the master of Santiago despatched messengers in search of succour. The Marquis of Cadiz, like a loyal companion in arms, hastened to his aid with his cavalry. His approach checked the assaults of the enemy; and the master was at length enabled to extricate his troops from the defile. In the mean time, Don Alonso de Aguilar and his companions, in their eager advance, had likewise got entangled in deep glens, and dry beds of torrents, where they had been severely galled by the insulting attacks of a handful of Moorish peasants, posted on the impending precipices. The proud spirit of De Aguilar was incensed at having the game of war thus turned upon him, and his gallant forces demineered over by mountain boors, whom he had thought to drive, like their own cattle, to Antequera. Hearing, however, that the Marquis of Cadiz and the master of Santiago were engaged with the enemy, he disregarded his own danger, and calling together



his troops, returned to assist them, or rather, to partake of their perils. Being once more assembled together, the cavaliers held a hasty council, amidst the hurling of stones and whistling of arrows; and their resolves were quickened by the sight, from time to time, of some gallant companion in arms laid low. They determined, that there was no spoil in this part of the country to repay the extraordinary peril; and that it was better to abandon the herds they had already taken, which only embarrassed their march, and to retreat with all speed to less dangerous ground.

The adalides or guides were ordered to lead the way out of this place of carnage. These, thinking to conduct them by the most secure route, led them by a steep and rocky pass, difficult to the foot-soldiers, but almost impracticable to the cavalry. It was overhung with precipices, whence showers of stones and arrows were poured upon them, accompanied by savage yells, which appalled the stoutest heart. In some places they could pass but one at a time, and were often transpierced, horse and rider, by the Moorish darts; the progress of their comrades impeded by their dying struggles. The surrounding precipices were lit up by a thousand alarm-fires, and every crag and cliff had its flames, by the light of which they beheld their foes bounding from rock to rock, and looking more like fiends than mortal men. Either through terror and confusion, or through real ignorance of the country, their guides, instead of conducting them out of the mountains, led them deeper into their fatal recesses. The morning dawned upon them in a narrow rambla, its bottom filled with broken rocks, where once had raved along the mountain torrent, while above them beetled huge arid cliffs, over the brows of which they beheld the turbaned heads of their fierce and exulting foes. What a different appearance did the unfortunate cavaliers present, from the gallant band that marched so vauntingly out of Antequera! Covered with dust and blood and wounds, and haggard with fatigue and horror, they looked like victims rather than warriors. Many of their banners were lost, and not a trumpet was heard, to rally their sinking spirits. The men turned with imploring eyes to their commanders, while the hearts of the cavaliers were ready to burst with rage and grief, at the merciless havoc made among their faithful followers.

All day they made ineffectual attempts to extricate themselves from the mountains. Columns of smoke rose from the heights where in the preceding night had blazed the alarm-fires. The mountaineers assembled from every direction; they swarmed at every pass, getting in the advance of the Christians, and garrisoning the cliffs like so many towers and entlements.

Night closed again upon the Christians, when they were shut up in a narrow valley, traversed by a deep stream, and surrounded by precipices that seemed to reach the skies, and on which the alarm fires blazed

and flared. Suddenly a new cry was heard resounding along the valley. "El Zagal! El Zagal!" echoed from cliff to cliff. "What cry is that?" said the master of Santiago. "It is the war-cry of El Zagal, the Moorish general," said an old Castilian soldier: "he must be coming in person with the troops of Malaga."

The worthy master turned to his knights: "Let us die," said he, "making a road with our hearts, since we cannot with our swords. Let us scale the mountain, and sell our lives dearly, instead of staying here to be tamely butchered."

So saying, he turned his steed against the mountain, and spurred him up its slinty side. Horse and foot followed his example; eager, if they could not escape, to have at least a dying blow at the enemy. As they struggled up the height, a tremendous storm of darts and stones was showered upon them by the Moors. Sometimes a fragment of rock came bounding and thundering down, ploughing its way through the centre of their host. The foot-soldiers, faint with weariness and hunger, or crippled by wounds, held by the tails and the manes of the horses, to aid them in their ascent, while the horses, losing their footing among the loose stones, or receiving some sudden wound, tumbled down the steep declivity, steed, rider, and soldier rolling from crag to crag, until they were dashed to pieces in the valley. In this desperate struggle, the alferes, or standard-bearer of the master, with his standard, was lost, as were many of his relations and his dearest friends. At length he succeeded in attaining the crest of the mountain, but it was only to be plunged in new difficulties. A wilderness of rocks and rugged dells lay before him, beset by cruel foes. Having neither banner nor trumpet, by which to rally his troops, they wandered apart, each intent upon saving himself from the precipices of the mountains and the darts of the enemy. When the pious master of Santiago beheld the scattered fragments of his late gallant force, he could not restrain his grief. "O God!" exclaimed he, "great is thine anger this day against thy servants! Thou hast converted the cowardice of these infidels into desperate valour, and hast made peasants and boors victorious over armed men of battle!"

He would fain have kept with his foot-soldiers, and, gathering them together, have made head against the enemy; but those around him entreated him to think only of his personal safety. To remain was to perish without striking a blow; to escape was to preserve a life that might be devoted to vengeance on the Moors. The master reluctantly yielded to their advice. "O Lord of Hosts!" exclaimed he again, "from thy wrath do I fly, not from these infidels: they are but instruments in thy hands to chastise us for our sins!" So saying, he sent the guides in advance, and, putting spurs to his horse, dashed through a defile of the mountains, before the Moors could intercept him. The moment the master put

his horse to speed, his troops scattered in all directions. Some endeavoured to follow his traces, but were confounded among the intricacies of the mountain. They fled hither and thither; many perishing among the precipices, others being slain by the Moors, and others taken prisoners.

The gallant Marquis of Cadiz, guided by his trusty adalide, Luis Amar, had ascended a different part of the mountain. He was followed by his friend, Don Alonso de Aguilar, the adelantado, and the Count of Cifuentes; but, in the darkness and confusion, the bands of these commanders became separated from each other. When the marquis attained the summit, he looked around for his companions in arms; but they were no longer following him, and there was no trumpet to summon them. It was a consolation to the marquis, however, that his brothers and several of his relations, with a number of his retainers, were still with him. He called his brothers by name, and their replies gave comfort to his heart.

His guide now led the way into another valley, where he would be less exposed to danger. When he had reached the bottom of it, the marquis paused, to collect his scattered followers, and to give time for his fellow commanders to rejoin him. Here he was suddenly assailed by the troops of El Zagal, aided by the mountaineers from the cliffs. The Christians, exhausted and terrified, lost all presence of mind; most of them fled, and were either slain or taken captive. The marquis and his valiant brothers, with a few tried friends, made a stout resistance. His horse was killed under him; his brothers, Don Diego and Don Lope, with his two nephews, Don Lorenzo and Don Manuel, were, one by one, swept from his side; either transfixing with darts and lances by the soldiers of El Zagal, or crushed by stones from the heights. The marquis was a veteran warrior, and had been in many a bloody battle, but never before had death fallen so thick and close around him. When he saw his remaining brother, Don Beltran, struck out of his saddle by a fragment of a rock, and his horse running wildly about without his rider, he gave a cry of anguish, and stood bewildered and aghast. A few faithful followers surrounded him, and entreated him to fly for his life. He would still have remained, to have shared the fortunes of his friend, Don Alonso de Aguilar, and his other companions in arms; but the forces of El Zagal were between him and them, and death was whistling by on every wind. Reluctantly, therefore, he consented to fly. Another horse was brought him; his faithful adalide guided him by one of the steepest paths, which lasted for four leagues; the enemy still hanging on his traces, and thinning the scanty ranks of his followers. At length the marquis reached the extremity of the mountain defiles, and, with a haggard remnant of his men, escaped by dint of hoof to Antequera.

The Count of Cifuentes, with a few of his retainers, in attempting to follow the Marquis of Cadiz, wandered into a narrow pass, where they were complete-

ly surrounded by the band of El Zagal. Finding all attempt at escape impossible, and resistance vain, the worthy count surrendered himself prisoner, as did also his brother, Don Pedro de Silva, and the few of his retainers who survived.

The dawn of day found Don Alonso de Aguilar, with a handful of his adherents, still among the mountains. They had attempted to follow the Marquis of Cadiz, but had been obliged to pause and defend themselves against the thickening forces of the enemy. They at length traversed the mountain, and reached the same valley where the marquis had made his last disastrous stand. Worn and perplexed, they sheltered themselves in a natural grotto, under an overhanging rock, which kept off the darts of the enemy; while a bubbling fountain gave them the means of slaking their raging thirst, and refreshing their exhausted steeds. As day broke, the scene of slaughter unfolded its horrors. There lay the noble brothers and nephews of the gallant marquis transfixing with darts, or gashed and bruised with unseemly wounds; while many other gallant cavaliers were stretched out dead and dying around, some of them partly stripped and plundered by the Moors. De Aguilar was a pious knight, but his piety was not humble and resigned, like that of the worthy master of Santiago. He imprecated holy curses upon the infidels, for having thus laid low the flower of Christian chivalry, and he vowed in his heart bitter vengeance upon the surrounding country. By degrees the little force of De Aguilar was augmented by numbers of fugitives, who issued from caves and chasms, where they had taken refuge in the night. A little band of mounted knights was gradually formed, and the Moors having abandoned the heights to collect the spoils of the slain, this gallant but forlorn squadron was enabled to retreat to Antequera.

This disastrous affair lasted from Thursday evening throughout Friday, the twenty-first of March, the festival of St Benedict. It is still recorded in Spanish calendars as the defeat of the mountains of Malaga; and the place where the greatest slaughter took place is pointed out to the present day, and is called *La cuesta de la Matanza*, or "the hill of the massacre." The principal leaders who survived returned to Antequera; many of the knights took refuge in Alhama, and others wandered about the mountains for eight days, living on roots and herbs, hiding themselves during the day and roaming forth at night. So enfeebled and disheartened were they, that they offered no resistance if attacked. Three or four soldiers would surrender to a Moorish peasant, and even the women of Malaga sallied forth and made prisoners. Some were thrown into the dungeons of frontier towns; others led captive to Granada; but by far the greater number were conducted to Malaga, the city they had threatened to attack. Two hundred and fifty principal cavaliers, alcaides, commanders, and hidalgos of generous blood, were confined in the alcabaza or citadel of Malaga, to await their ransom;

El Zagal. Finding resistance vain, he made himself prisoner, as did de Silva, and the few

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and five hundred and seventy of the common soldiery were crowded in an enclosure or court-yard of the alcazaba, to be sold as slaves.

Great spoils were collected, of splendid armour and weapons taken from the slain, or thrown away by the cavaliers in their flight; and many horses, magnificently caparisoned, together with numerous standards; all which were paraded in triumph into the Moorish towns.

The merchants, also, who had come with the army, intending to traffic in the spoils of the Moors, were themselves made objects of traffic. Several of them were driven like cattle before the Moorish viragos to the market of Malaga, and, in spite of all their adroitness in trade, and their attempts to buy themselves off at a cheap ransom, they were unable to purchase their freedom without such draughts upon their money-bags at home, as drained them to the very bottom.

### CHAPTER XIII.

#### EFFECTS OF THE DISASTERS AMONG THE MOUNTAINS OF MALAGA.

THE people of Antequera had scarcely recovered from the tumult of excitement and admiration, caused by the departure of the gallant band of cavaliers upon their foray, when they beheld the scattered wrecks flying for refuge to their walls. Day after day, and hour after hour, brought some wretched fugitive, in whose battered plight, and haggard, woe-begone demeanour, it was almost impossible to recognise the warrior, whom they had lately seen to issue so gaily and gloriously from their gates.

The arrival of the Marquis of Cadiz, almost alone, covered with dust and blood, his armour shattered and defaced, his countenance the picture of despair, filled every heart with sorrow; for he was greatly beloved by the people. The multitude asked, where was the band of brothers, that rallied round him as he went forth to the field; and when they heard that they had, one by one, been slaughtered at his side, they hushed their voices; or spoke to each other only in whispers as he passed, gazing at him in silent sympathy. No one attempted to console him in so great an affliction, nor did the good marquis speak ever a word, but, shutting himself up, brooded in lonely anguish over his misfortune. It was only the arrival of Don Alonso de Aguilar that gave him a gleam of consolation; for, amidst the shafts of death that had fallen so thickly among his family, he rejoiced that his chosen friend and brother in arms had escaped uninjured.

For several days every eye was turned, in an agony of suspense, towards the Moorish border, anxiously looking, in every fugitive from the mountains, for the lineaments of some friend or relation, whose fate was yet a mystery. At length all doubt subsided into certainty; the whole extent of this great

calamity was known, spreading grief and consternation throughout the land, and laying desolate the pride and hopes of palaces. It was a sorrow, that visited the marble hall and silken pillow. Stately dames mourned over the loss of their sons, the joy and glory of their age; and many a fair cheek was blanched with woe, that had lately mantled with secret admiration. "All Andalusia," says an historian of the day, "was overwhelmed by a great affliction; there was no drying of the eyes which wept in her."

Fear and trembling reigned for a while along the frontier. Their spear seemed broken; their buckler cleft in twain. Every border town dreaded an attack, and the mother caught her infant to her bosom, when the watch-dog howled in the night, fancying it the war-cry of the Moor. All for a time appeared lost, and despondency even found its way to the royal breasts of Ferdinand and Isabella, amid the splendours of their court.

Great, on the other hand, was the joy of the Moors, when they saw whole legions of Christian warriors brought captive into their towns, by rude mountain peasantry. They thought it the work of Allah in favour of the faithful. But when they recognised, among the captives thus dejected and broken down, several of the proudest of Christian chivalry; when they saw several of the banners and devices of the noblest houses of Spain, which they had been accustomed to behold in the foremost of the battle, now trailed ignominiously through their streets; when, in short, they witnessed the arrival of the Count of Cifuentes, the royal standard-bearer of Spain, with his gallant brother, Don Pedro de Silva, brought prisoners into the gates of Granada, there were no bounds to their exultation. They thought, that the days of their ancient glory were about to return, and that they were to renew their career of triumph over the unbelievers.

The Christian historians of the time are sorely perplexed to account for this misfortune; and why so many Christian knights, fighting in the cause of the holy faith, should thus, miraculously as it were, be given captive to a handful of infidel boors; for we are assured, that all this rout and destruction was effected by five hundred foot and fifty horse, and these mere mountaineers, without science or discipline. "It was intended," observes one historiographer, "as a lesson to their confidence and vain-glory; overrating their own prowess, and thinking, that so chosen a band of chivalry had but to appear in the land of the enemy, and conquer. It was to teach them, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, but that God alone giveth the victory."

The worthy father Fray Antonio Agapida, however, asserts it to be a punishment for the avarice of the Spanish warriors. "They did not enter the kingdom of the infidels with the pure spirit of Christian knights, zealous only for the glory of the faith; but

\* Cura de Los Palacios.

\* Cura de Los Palacios.

rather as greedy men of trade, to enrich themselves by vending the spoils of the infidels. Instead of preparing themselves by confession and communion, and executing their testaments, and making donations to churches and convents, they thought only of arranging bargains and sales of their anticipated booty. Instead of taking with them holy monks, to aid them with their prayers, they were followed by a train of worldlings, to keep alive their secular and sordid ideas, and to turn what ought to be holy triumphs into scenes of brawling traffic." Such is the opinion of the excellent Agapida, in which he is joined by that most worthy and upright of chroniclers, the curate of Los Palacios. Agapida comforts himself, however, with the reflection, that this visitation was meant in mercy, to try the Castilian heart, and to extract from its present humiliation the elements of future success, as gold is extracted from amidst the impurities of earth; and in this reflection he is supported by the venerable historian, Pedro Abarca, of the society of Jesuits.\*

## CHAPTER XIV.

## HOW KING BOABDIL EL CHICO MARCHED OVER THE BORDER.

THE defeat of the Christian cavaliers among the mountains of Malaga, and the successful inroad of Muley Aben Hassan into the lands of Medina Sidonia, had produced a favourable effect on the fortunes of the old monarch. The inconstant populace began to shout forth his name in the streets, and to sneer at the inactivity of his son, Boabdil el Chico. The latter, though in the flower of his age, and distinguished for vigour and dexterity in jousts and tournaments, had never yet fleshed his weapon in the field of battle; and it was murmured, that he preferred the silken repose of the cool halls of the Alhambra, to the fatigue and danger of the foray, and the hard encampments of the mountains.

The popularity of these rival kings depended upon their success against the Christians; and Boabdil el Chico found it necessary to strike some signal blow, to counterbalance the late triumph of his father. He was further incited by the fierce old Moor, his father-in-law, Ali Atar, alcaide of Loxa, with whom the coals of wrath against the Christians still burned among the ashes of age, and had lately been blown into a flame by the attack made by Ferdinand on the city under his command.

Ali Atar informed Boabdil, that the late discomfiture of the Christian knights had stripped Andalusia of the prime of her chivalry, and broken the spirit of the country. All the frontier of Cordova and Ecija now lay open to inroad; but he specially pointed out the city of Lucena as an object of attack; being feebly garrisoned, and lying in a country rich in

pasturage, abounding in cattle and grain, in oil and wine. The fiery old Moor spoke from thorough information; for he had made many an incursion into those parts, and his very name was a terror throughout the country. It had become a by-word in the garrison of Loxa, to call Lucena the garden of Ali Atar; for he was accustomed to forage its fertile territories for all his supplies.

Boabdil el Chico listened to the persuasions of this veteran of the borders. He assembled a force of nine thousand foot and seven hundred horse, most of them his own adherents, but many the partisans of his father: for both factions, however they might fight among themselves, were ready to unite in any expedition against the Christians. Many of the most illustrious and valiant of the Moorish nobility assembled around his standard, magnificently arrayed in sumptuous armour and rich embroidery, as though they were going to a festival, or a tilt of reeds, rather than an enterprise of iron war. Boabdil's mother, the Sultana Ayxa la Horra, armed him for the field, and gave him her benediction as she girted his cimeter to his side. His favourite wife Morayma wept, as she thought of the evils that might befall him. "Why dost thou weep, daughter of Ali Atar?" said the high-minded Ayxa; "these tears become not the daughter of a warrior, nor the wife of a king. Believe me, there lurks more danger for a monarch within the strong walls of a palace, than within the frail curtains of a tent. It is by perils in the field, that thy husband must purchase security on his throne."

But Morayma still hung upon his neck with tears and sad forebodings; and when he departed from the Alhambra, she betook herself to her mirador, which looks out over the vega; whence she watched the army, as it passed in shining order along the road that leads to Loxa; and every burst of warlike melody that came swelling on the breeze was answered by a gush of sorrow.

As the royal cavalcade issued from the palace, and descended through the streets of Granada, the populace greeted their youthful sovereign with shouts, and anticipated success that should wither the laurels of his father. In passing through the gate of Elvira, however, the king accidentally broke his lance against the arch. At this, certain of his nobles turned pale, and entreated him not to proceed, for they regarded it as an evil omen. Boabdil scoffed at their fears, for he considered them mere idle fancies; or rather, says Fray Antonio Agapida, he was an incredulous pagan, puffed up with confidence and vain-glory. He refused to take another spear, but drew forth his cimeter, and led the way (adds Agapida) in an arrogant and haughty style, as though he would set both heaven and earth at defiance. Another evil omen was sent, to deter him from his enterprise. Arriving at the rambla or dry ravine of Beyro, which is scarcely a bowshot from the city, a fox ran through the whole army, and close by the person of the king, and, though a thousand bolts were discharged at it,

\* Abarca, Anales de Aragon, Rey 50, cap. 2, sec. 7.



escaped uninjured to the mountains. The principal courtiers about Boabdil now reiterated their remonstrances against proceeding; for they considered these occurrences as mysterious portents of disasters to their army. The king, however, was not to be dismayed, but continued to march forward.

At Loxa the royal army was reinforced by old Ali Atar, with the chosen horsemen of his garrison, and many of the bravest warriors of the border towns. The people of Loxa shouted with exultation, when they beheld Ali Atar armed at all points, and once more mounted on his Barbary steed, which had often borne him over the borders. The veteran warrior, with nearly a century of years upon his head, had all the fire and animation of a youth at the prospect of a foray, and careered from rank to rank with the velocity of an Arab of the desert. The populace watched the army as it paraded over the bridge, and wound into the passes of the mountains; and still their eyes were fixed upon the pennon of Ali Atar, as if it bore with it an assurance of victory.

The Moorish army entered the Christian frontier by forced marches, hastily ravaging the country, driving off the flocks and herds, and making captives of the inhabitants. They pressed on furiously, and made the latter part of their march in the night, that they might elude observation, and come upon Lucena by surprise. Boabdil was inexperienced in the art of war; but he had a veteran counsellor in his old father-in-law: for Ali Atar knew every secret of the country; and as he prowled through it, his eye ranged over the land, uniting, in its glare, the craft of the fox, with the sanguinary ferocity of the wolf. He had flattered himself that their march had been so rapid as to outstrip intelligence, and that Lucena would be an easy capture; when, suddenly, he beheld alarm-fires, blazing upon the mountains. "We are discovered," said he to Boabdil el Chico; "the country will be up in arms. We have nothing left, but to strike boldly for Lucena: it is but slightly garrisoned, and we may carry it by assault, before it can receive assistance." The king approved of his counsel, and they marched rapidly for the gate of Lucena.

#### CHAPTER XV.

HOW THE COUNT DE CABRA SALLIED FORTH FROM HIS CASTLE, IN QUEST OF KING BOABDIL.

DON DIEGO DE CORDOVA, Count of Cabra, was in the castle of Vaena, which, with the town of the same name, is situated on a lofty sunburnt hill, on the frontier of the kingdom of Cordova, and but a few leagues from Lucena. The range of mountains from Horquera lie between them. The castle of Vaena was strong, and well furnished with arms; and the count had a numerous band of vassals and retainers:

for it behoved the noblemen of the frontiers in those times to be well prepared, with man and horse, with lance and buckler, to resist the sudden incursions of the Moors. The Count of Cabra was a hardy and experienced warrior; shrewd in council, prompt in action, rapid and fearless in the field. He was one of the bravest cavaliers for an inroad, and had been quickened and sharpened in thought and action by living on the borders.

On the night of the 20th of April, 1483, the count was about to retire to rest, when the watchman from the turret brought him word, that there were alarm-fires on the mountains of Horquera, and that they were made on the signal tower, overhanging the defile through which the road passes to Cabra and Lucena.

The count ascended the battlements, and beheld five lights blazing on the tower; a sign that there was a Moorish army attacking some place on the frontier. The count instantly ordered the alarm-bells to be sounded, and despatched couriers, to rouse the commanders of the neighbouring towns. He ordered all his retainers to prepare for action, and sent a trumpet through the town, summoning the men to assemble at the castle-gate at day-break, armed and equipped for the field.

Throughout the remainder of the night, the castle resounded with the din of preparation. Every house in the town was in equal bustle; for in these frontier towns every house had its warrior, and the lance and buckler were ever hanging against the wall, ready to be snatched down for instant service. Nothing was heard but the noise of armourers, the shoeing of steeds, and furnishing of weapons; and all night long the alarm-fires kept blazing on the mountain.

When the morning dawned, the Count of Cabra sallied forth, at the head of two hundred and fifty cavaliers, of the best families of Vaena; all well appointed, exercised in arms, and experienced in the warfare of the borders. There were, besides, twelve hundred foot-soldiers; all brave and well seasoned men of the same town. The count ordered them to hasten forward, whoever could make most speed, taking the road to Cabra, which was three leagues distant. That they might not loiter on the road, he allowed none of them to break their fast until they arrived at that place. The provident count despatched couriers in advance; and the little army, on reaching Cabra, found tables spread with food and refreshments at the gates of the town. There they were joined by Don Alonso de Cordova, senior of Zuheros.

Having made a hearty repast, they were on the point of resuming their march, when the count discovered, that, in the hurry of his departure from home, he had forgotten to bring the standard of Vaena, which, for upwards of eighty years, had always been borne to battle by his family. It was now noon, and there was not time to return. He took, therefore, the standard of Cabra, the device of which

<sup>1</sup> Marmol, Rebel. de los Moros, lib. i. c. 12, fol. 14.

is a goat, and which had not been seen in the wars for the last half century. When about to depart, a courier came galloping at full speed, bringing missives to the count, from his nephew, Don Diego Hernandez de Cordova, senior of Lucena, and alcayde de los Donzeles, entreating him to hasten to his aid, as his town was beset by the Moorish king, Boabdil el Chico, with a powerful army, who were actually setting fire to the gates.

The count put his little army instantly in movement for Lucena, which is only one league from Cabra. He was fired with the idea of having the Moorish king in person to contend with. By the time he had reached Lucena, the Moors had desisted from the attack, and were ravaging the surrounding country. He entered the town with a few of his cavaliers, and was received with joy by his nephew, whose whole force consisted but of eighty horse and three hundred foot. Don Diego Hernandez de Cordova was a young man; yet he was a prudent, careful, and capable officer. Having learned, the evening before, that the Moors had passed the frontiers, he had gathered within his walls all the women and children from the environs; had armed the men, sent couriers in all directions for succour, and had lighted alarm-fires on the mountains.

Boabdil had arrived with his army at day-break, and had sent in a message, threatening to put the garrison to the sword, if the place were not instantly surrendered. The messenger was a Moor of Granada, named Hamet, whom Don Diego had formerly known. He contrived to amuse him with negotiation, to gain time for succour to arrive. The fierce old Ali Atar, losing all patience, had made an assault upon the town, and stormed like a fury at the gate; but had been repulsed. Another and more serious attack was expected in the course of the night.

When the Count de Cabra had heard this account of the situation of affairs, he turned to his nephew with his usual alacrity of manner, and proposed, that they should immediately sally forth in quest of the enemy. The prudent Don Diego remonstrated at the rashness of attacking so great a force with a mere handful of men. "Nephew," said the count, "I came from Vaena with a determination to fight this Moorish king, and I will not be disappointed."

"At any rate," replied Don Diego, "let us wait but two hours, and we shall have reinforcements, which have been promised me from Rambla, Santaella, Montilla, and other places in the neighbourhood." "If we wait these," said the hardy count, "the Moors will be off, and all our trouble will have been in vain. You may await them, if you please: I am resolved on fighting."

The count paused not for a reply; but, in his prompt and rapid manner, sallied forth to his men. The young alcayde de los Donzeles, though more prudent than his ardent uncle, was equally brave. He determined to stand by him in his rash enterprise; and, summoning his little force, marched forth to join the

count, who was already on the alert. They then proceeded together in quest of the enemy.

The Moorish army had ceased ravaging the country, and were not to be seen, the neighbourhood being hilly, and broken with deep ravines. The count despatched six scouts on horseback, to reconnoitre, ordering them to return with all speed when they should have discovered the enemy, and by no means to engage in skirmishing with stragglers. The scouts, ascending a high hill, beheld the Moorish army in a valley behind it; the cavalry ranged in five battalions, keeping guard, while the foot-soldiers were seated on the grass, making a repast. They returned immediately with the intelligence.

The count now ordered the troops to march in the direction of the enemy. He and his nephew ascended the hill, and saw, that the five battalions of Moorish cavalry had been formed into two; one of about nine hundred lances, the other of about six hundred. The whole force seemed prepared to march for the frontier. The foot-soldiers were already in motion, with many prisoners, and a great train of mules and beasts of burden, laden with booty. At a distance was Boabdil el Chico. They could not distinguish his person; but they knew him by his superb white charger, magnificently caparisoned; and by his being surrounded by a numerous guard, sumptuously armed and attired. Old Ali Atar was careering about the valley with his usual impatience, hurrying the march of the loitering troops.

The eyes of the Count de Cabra glistened with eager joy, as he beheld the royal prize within his reach. The immense disparity of their forces never entered into his mind. "By Santiago!" said he to his nephew, as they hastened down the hill, "had we waited for more forces, the Moorish king and his army would have escaped us!"

The count now harangued his men, to inspire them to this hazardous encounter. He told them, not to be dismayed at the number of the Moors, for God often permitted the few to conquer the many; and he had great confidence that, through the divine aid, they were that day to achieve a signal victory, which should win them both riches and renown. He commanded, that no man should hurl his lance at the enemy, but should keep it in his hands, and strike as many blows with it as he could. He warned them, also, never to shout, except when the Moors did; for when both armies shouted together, there was no perceiving which made the most noise, and was the strongest. He desired his uncle, Lope de Mendoza, and Diego Cabrera, alcayde of Menica, to alight, and enter on foot, in the battalion of infantry, to animate them to the combat. He appointed, also, the alcayde of Vaena, and Diego de Clavijo, a cavalier of his household, to remain in the rear, and not to permit any one to lag behind, either to despoil the dead, or for any other purpose.

Such were the orders given by this most adroit, active, and intrepid cavalier to his little army; sup-

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plying, by admirable sagacity, and subtle management, the want of a more numerous force. His orders being given, and all arrangements made, he threw aside his lance, drew his sword, and commanded his standard to be advanced against the enemy.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## THE BATTLE OF LUCENA.

THE Moorish king had descried the Spanish forces at a distance, although a slight fog prevented his seeing them distinctly, and ascertaining their numbers. His old father-in-law, Ali Atar, was by his side, who, being a veteran marauder, was well acquainted with all the standards and armorial bearings of the frontiers. When the king beheld the ancient and long disused banner of Cabra emerging from the mist, he turned to Ali Atar, and demanded whose ensign it was. The old borderer was for once at a loss; for the banner had not been displayed in battle in his time.

"Sire," replied he, after a pause, "I have been considering that standard, but do not know it. It appears to be a dog, which is a device borne by the towns of Baeza and Ubeda. If it be so, all Andalusia is in movement against you; for it is not probable, that any single commander or community would venture to attack you. I would advise you, therefore, to retire."

The Count of Cabra, in winding down the hill towards the Moors, found himself on a much lower station than the enemy: he therefore ordered, in all haste, that his standard should be taken back, so as to gain the vantage ground. The Moors, mistaking this for a retreat, rushed impetuously towards the Christians. The latter, having gained the height proposed, charged down upon them at the same moment, with the battle-cry of "Santiago!" and, dealing the first blows, laid many of the Moorish cavaliers in the dust.

The Moors, thus checked in their tumultuous assault, were thrown into confusion, and began to give way; the Christians following hard upon them. Boabdil el Chico endeavoured to rally them. "Hold! hold! for shame!" cried he: "let us not fly, at least until we know our enemy!" The Moorish chivalry were stung by this reproof, and turned to make front, with the valour of men who feel that they are fighting under their monarch's eye.

At this moment, Lorenzo de Pores, alcaide of Luque, arrived with fifty horse and one hundred foot, sounding an Italian trumpet from among a copse of oak-trees, which concealed his force. The quick ear of old Ali Atar caught the note. "That is an Italian trumpet," said he to the king: "the whole world seems in arms against your majesty!"

The trumpet of Lorenzo de Pores was answered by that of the Count de Cabra in another direction,

and it seemed to the Moors as if they were between two armies. Don Lorenzo, rallying from among the oaks, now charged upon the enemy. The latter did not wait to ascertain the force of this new foe. The confusion, the variety of alarms, the attacks from opposite quarters, the obscurity of the fog, all conspired to deceive them as to the number of their adversaries. Broken and dismayed, they retreated fighting; and nothing but the presence and remonstrances of the king prevented their retreat from becoming a headlong flight.

This skirmishing retreat lasted for about three leagues. Many were the acts of individual prowess between Christian and Moorish knights; and the way was strewed by the flower of the king's guards, and of his royal household. At length they came to the rivulet of Mingonzalez, the verdant banks of which were covered with willows and tamarisks. It was swollen by recent rain, and was now a deep and turbid torrent.

Here the king made a courageous stand, with a small body of cavalry, while his baggage crossed the stream. None but the choicest and most loyal of his guards stood by their monarch in this hour of extremity. The foot-soldiers took to flight the moment they passed the ford; many of the horsemen, partaking of the general panic, gave reins to their steeds, and scoured for the frontier. The little host of devoted cavaliers now serried their forces in front of their monarch, to protect his retreat. They fought hand to hand with the Christian warriors; disinclined to yield, or to ask for quarter. The ground was covered with the dead and dying. The king, having retreated along the river banks, and gained some distance from the scene of combat, looked back, and saw the loyal band at length give way. They crossed the ford, followed pell-mell by the enemy, and several of them were struck down into the stream.

The king now dismounted from his white charger, whose colour and rich caparison made him too conspicuous, and endeavoured to conceal himself among the thickets which fringed the river. A soldier of Lucena, named Martin Hurtado, discovered him, and attacked him with a pike. The king defended himself with cimeter and target, until another soldier assailed him, and he saw a third approaching. Perceiving that further resistance would be vain, he drew back, and called upon them to desist, offering them a noble ransom. One of the soldiers rushed forward to seize him; but the king struck him to the earth with a blow of his cimeter.

Don Diego Fernandez de Cordova coming up at this moment, the men said to him, "Señor, here is a Moor that we have taken, who seems to be a man of rank, and offers a large ransom."

"Slaves!" exclaimed King Boabdil, "you have not taken me. I surrender to this cavalier."

Don Diego received him with knightly courtesy. He perceived him to be a person of high rank; and the king concealed his quality, and gave himself out

as the son of *Aben Aleyzer*, a nobleman of the royal household. Don Diego gave him in charge of five soldiers, to conduct him to the castle of *Lucena*; then putting spurs to his horse, he hastened to rejoin the Count de *Cabra*, who was in hot pursuit of the enemy. He overtook him at a stream called *Riancal*, and they continued to press on the skirts of the flying army during the remainder of the day. The pursuit was almost as hazardous as the battle; for had the enemy at any time recovered from their panic, they might, by a sudden reaction, have overwhelmed the small force of their pursuers. To guard against this peril, the wary count kept his battalion always in close order, and had a body of a hundred chosen lances in the advance. The Moors kept up a Parthian retreat. Several times they turned to make battle; but seeing this solid body of steeled warriors pressing upon them, they again took to flight.

The main retreat of the army was along the valley watered by the *Xenil*, and opening through the mountains of *Algaringo* to the city of *Loxa*. The alarm-fires of the preceding night had roused the country. Every man snatched sword and buckler from the wall; and the towns and villages poured forth their warriors to harass the retreating foe. *Ali Atar* kept the main force of the army together, and turned fiercely from time to time upon his pursuers. He was like a wolf hunted through a country he had often made desolate by his maraudings.

The alarm of this invasion had reached the city of *Antequera*, where were several of the cavaliers who had escaped from the carnage in the mountains of *Malaga*. Their proud minds were festering with their late disgrace, and their only prayer was for vengeance on the infidels. No sooner did they hear of the Moors being over the border, than they were armed and mounted for action. Don *Alonso de Aguilar* led them forth: a small body of but forty horsemen, but all cavaliers of prowess, and thirsting for revenge. They came upon the foe on the banks of the *Xenil*, where it winds through the valleys of *Cordova*. The river, swelled by the late rains, was deep and turbulent, and only fordable at certain places. The main body of the army was gathered in confusion on the banks, endeavouring to ford the stream, protected by the cavalry of *Ali Atar*.

No sooner did the little band of *Alonso de Aguilar* come in sight of the Moors, than fury flashed from their eyes. "Remember the mountains of *Malaga*!" they cried to each other as they rushed to combat. Their charge was desperate, but was gallantly resisted. A scrambling and bloody fight ensued, hand to hand, and sword to sword, sometimes on land, sometimes in the water; many were lanced on the banks; others, throwing themselves into the river, sunk with the weight of their armour, and were drowned. Some, grappling together, fell from their horses, but continued their struggle in the waves, and helm and turban rolled together down the stream.

Garibay, lib. xi. cap. 31.

The Moors were by far the superior in number, and among them were many warriors of rank; but they were disheartened by defeat, while the Christians were excited even to desperation.

*Ali Atar* alone preserved all his fire and energy amid his reverses. He had been enraged at the defeat of the army, the loss of the king, and the ignominious flight he had been obliged to make, through a country which so often had been the scene of his exploits; but to be thus impeded in his flight, and harassed and insulted by a mere handful of warriors, roused the violent passions of the old Moor to perfect frenzy.

He had marked Don *Alonso de Aguilar* dealing his blows, says *Agapida*, with the pious vehemence of a righteous knight, who knows that in every wound inflicted upon the infidels, he is doing God service. *Ali Atar* spurred his steed along the bank of the river, to come upon Don *Alonso* by surprise. The back of that warrior was towards him; and collecting all his force, the Moor hurled his lance, to transfix him on the spot. The lance was not thrown with the usual accuracy of *Ali Atar*. It tore away a part of the cuirass of Don *Alonso*, but failed to inflict a wound. The Moor rushed upon Don *Alonso* with his cineter; but the latter was on the alert, and parried his blow. They fought desperately upon the borders of the river, alternately pressing each other into the stream, and fighting their way again up the bank. *Ali Atar* was repeatedly wounded; and Don *Alonso*, having pity on his age, would have spared his life. He called upon him to surrender. "Never," cried *Ali Atar*, "to a Christian dog." The words were scarce out of his mouth, when the sword of Don *Alonso* clove his turbaned head, and sank deep into the brain. He fell dead without a groan: his body rolled into the *Xenil*; nor was it ever found and recognised. Thus fell *Ali Atar*, who had long been the terror of *Andalusia*. As he had hated and warred upon the Christians all his life, so he died in the very act of bitter hostility.

The fall of *Ali Atar* put an end to the transient stand of the cavalry. Horse and foot mingled together in the desperate struggle across the *Xenil*, and many were trampled down, and perished beneath the waves. Don *Alonso* and his band continued to harass them, until they crossed the frontier; and every blow struck home to the Moors seemed to lighten the load of humiliation and sorrow, which had weighed heavy on their hearts.

In this disastrous rout, the Moors lost upwards of five thousand killed and made prisoners, many of whom were of the most noble lineages of *Granada*. Numbers fled to rocks and mountains, where they were subsequently taken. This battle was called by some the battle of *Lucena*; by others, the battle of the Moorish king, because of the capture of *Boabdil*. Twenty-two banners fell into the hands of the Christians, and were carried to *Vaena*, and hung up in the church, where, says an historian of after times,

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t the borders of the river,  
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e bank. Ali Atar was re-  
Alonso, having pity on his  
e. He called upon him to  
Ali Atar, "to a Chris-  
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the brain. He fell dead  
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gnized." Thus fell Ali  
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d upon the Christians all  
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the Moors lost upwards of  
ade prisoners, many of  
ble lineages of Granada.  
l mountains, where they  
This battle was called by  
by others, the battle of  
of the capture of Boabdil.  
to the hands of the Chris-  
Vaena, and hung up in  
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Palacios.

they remain to this day. Once a year, on the day  
of St George, they are borne about in procession by the  
inhabitants, who at the same time give thanks to  
God, for this signal victory granted to their fore-  
fathers.

Great was the triumph of the Count de Cabra,  
when, on returning from the pursuit of the enemy,  
he found, that the Moorish king had fallen into his  
hands. When the unfortunate Boabdil was brought  
before him, however, and he beheld him a dejected  
captive, whom, but shortly before, he had seen in  
royal splendour, surrounded by his army, the ge-  
nerous heart of the count was touched by sympathy.  
He said every thing that became a courteous and  
Christian knight, to comfort him; observing, that the  
same mutability of things, which had suddenly de-  
stroyed his recent prosperity, might cause his pre-  
sent misfortunes as rapidly to pass away; since, in  
this world, nothing is stable, and even sorrow has its  
allotted term.

Thus consoling him by gentle and soothing words,  
and observing towards him the honour and reverence  
that his dignity and his misfortunes inspired, he  
conducted him a prisoner to his strong castle of  
Vaena.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### LAMENTATIONS OF THE MOORS FOR THE BATTLE OF LUCENA.

THE sentinels looked out from the watch-towers  
of Loxa, along the valley of the Xenil, which passes  
through the mountains of Algaringo. They looked,  
to behold the king returning in triumph, at the head  
of his shining host, laden with the spoil of the un-  
believer. They looked, to behold the standard of  
their warlike idol, the fierce Ali Atar, borne by the  
chivalry of Loxa, ever foremost in the wars of the  
border.

In the evening of the 21st of April, they descried a  
single horseman, urging his faltering steed along the  
banks of the river. As he drew near, they perceived,  
by the flash of arms, that he was a warrior; and, on  
nearer approach, by the richness of his armour, and  
the caparison of his steed, they knew him to be a  
warrior of rank.

He reached Loxa fatigued and aghast; his Arabian  
courser covered with foam and dust and blood, pant-  
ing and staggering with fatigue, and gashed with  
wounds. Having brought his master in safety, he  
sunk down and died before the gate of the city. The  
soldiers at the gate gathered round the cavalier, as  
he stood, mute and melancholy, by his expiring steed.  
They knew him to be the gallant Cidi Caleb, nephew  
of the chief alfaqui of the albaycen of Granada.  
When the people of Loxa beheld this noble cavalier  
thus alone, haggard and dejected, their hearts were  
filled with fearful forebodings.

"Cavalier," said they, "how fares it with the king

and army?" He cast his hand mournfully towards  
the land of the Christians. "There they lie!" ex-  
claimed he: "the heavens have fallen upon them!  
all are lost! all dead!"

Upon this, there was a great cry of consternation  
among the people, and loud wailings of women; for  
the flower of the youth of Loxa were with the army.  
An old Moorish soldier, scarred in many a border  
battle, stood leaning on his lance by the gateway.  
"Where is Ali Atar?" demanded he eagerly. "If  
he still live, the army cannot be lost!"

"I saw his turban cloven by the Christian sword,"  
replied Cidi Caleb. "His body is floating in the  
Xenil."

When the soldier heard these words, he smote his  
breast, and threw dust upon his head; for he was an  
old follower of Ali Atar.

The noble Cidi Caleb gave himself no repose; but,  
mounting another steed, hastened to carry the dis-  
astrous tidings to Granada. As he passed through  
the villages and hamlets, he spread sorrow around;  
for their chosen men had followed the king to the  
wars.

When he entered the gates of Granada, and an-  
nounced the loss of the king and army, a voice of  
horror went throughout the city. Every one thought  
but of his own share in the general calamity, and  
crowded round the bearer of ill tidings. One asked  
after a father, another after a brother, some after a  
lover, and many a mother after her son. His replies  
were still of wounds and death. To one he replied,  
"I saw thy father pierced with a lance, as he de-  
fended the person of the king." To another, "Thy  
brother fell wounded under the hoofs of the horses;  
but there was no time to aid him, for the Christian  
cavalry were upon us." To a third, "I saw the  
horse of thy lover covered with blood, and galloping  
without his rider." To a fourth, "Thy son fought  
by my side on the banks of the Xenil: we were sur-  
rounded by the enemy, and driven into the stream.  
I heard him call aloud upon Allah in the midst of the  
waters: when I reached the other bank, he was no  
longer by my side!"

The noble Cidi Caleb passed on, leaving Granada  
in lamentation. He urged his steed up the steep  
avenue of trees and fountains, that leads to the Al-  
hambra, nor stopped until he arrived before the gate  
of justice. Ayxa, the mother of Boabdil, and Mo-  
rayma, his beloved and tender wife, had daily  
watched, from the tower of the Gomeres, to behold  
his triumphant return. Who shall describe their af-  
fliction, when they heard the tidings of Cidi Caleb?  
The sultana Ayxa spake not much, but sate as one  
entranced in wo. Every now and then a deep sigh  
burst forth; but she raised her eyes to Heaven. "It  
is the will of Allah!" said she; and with these words  
she endeavoured to repress the agonies of a mother's  
sorrow. The tender Morayma threw herself on the

earth, and gave way to the full turbulence of her feelings, bewailing her husband and her father. The high-minded Ayxa rebuked the violence of her grief. "Moderate these transports, my daughter," said she; "remember, magnanimity should be the attribute of princes: it becomes not them to give way to clamorous sorrow, like common and vulgar minds." But Morayma could only deplore her loss with the anguish of a tender woman. She shut herself up in her mirador, and gazed all day with streaming eyes upon the vega. Every object before her recalled the causes of her affliction. The river Xenil, which ran shining amidst the groves and gardens, was the same on the banks of which had perished her father, Ali Atar: before her lay the road to Loxa, by which Boabdil had departed in martial state, surrounded by the chivalry of Granada. Ever and anon she would burst into an agony of grief. "Alas, my father!" she would exclaim, "the river runs smiling before me, that covers thy mangled remains! who will gather them to an honoured tomb, in the land of the unbeliever? And thou, oh, Boabdil! light of my eyes! joy of my heart! life of my life! Wo the day, and wo the hour, that I saw thee depart from these walls! The road by which thou hast departed is solitary; never will it be gladdened by thy return! The mountain thou hast traversed lies like a cloud in the distance, and all beyond it is darkness!"

The royal minstrels were summoned, to assuage the sorrows of the queen: they attuned their instruments to cheerful strains; but, in a little while, the anguish of their hearts prevailed, and turned their songs to lamentations.

"Beautiful Granada!" they exclaimed, "how is thy glory faded! The vivarrambra no longer echoes to the tramp of steel and sound of trumpet; no longer is it crowded with thy youthful nobles, eager to display their prowess in the tourney and the festive tilt of reeds. Alas! the flower of thy chivalry lies low in a foreign land! The soft note of the lute is no longer heard in thy mournful streets, the lively castanet is silent upon thy hills, and the graceful dance of the zambra is no more seen beneath thy bowers! Behold, the Alhambra is forlorn and desolate! In vain do the orange and myrtle breathe their perfumes into its silken chambers; in vain does the nightingale sing within its groves; in vain are its marble halls refreshed by the sound of fountains and the gush of limpid rills! Alas! the countenance of the king no longer shines within those halls; the light of the Alhambra is set for ever!"

Thus all Granada, say the Arabian chroniclers, gave itself up to lamentations; there was nothing but the voice of wailing from the palace to the cottage. All joined to deplore their youthful monarch, cut down in the freshness and promise of his youth. Many feared that the prediction of the astrologer was about to be fulfilled, and that the downfall of the kingdom would follow the death of Boabdil; while all declared, that had he survived, he was the very

sovereign calculated to restore the realm to its ancient prosperity and glory.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

HOW MULEY ABEN HASSAN PROFITED BY THE MISFORTUNES OF HIS SON BOABDIL.

AN unfortunate death atones with the world for a multitude of errors. While the populace thought their youthful monarch had perished in the field, nothing could exceed their grief for his loss, and their adoration of his memory: when, however, they learned, that he was still alive, and had surrendered himself captive to the Christians, their feelings underwent an instant change. They derided his talents as a commander, his courage as a soldier. They railed at his expedition, as rash and ill conducted; and they reviled him, for not having dared to die on the field of battle, rather than surrender to the enemy.

The alfaquis, as usual, mingled with the populace, and artfully guided their discontents. "Behold," exclaimed they, "the prediction is accomplished, which was pronounced at the birth of Boabdil! He has been seated on the throne, and the kingdom has suffered downfall and disgrace by his defeat and captivity. Comfort yourselves, oh Moslems! The evil day has passed by: the fates are satisfied; the sceptre, which has been broken in the feeble hand of Boabdil, is destined to resume its former power and sway, in the vigorous grasp of Aben Hassan."

The people were struck with the wisdom of these words. They rejoiced, that the baleful prediction, which had so long hung over them, was at an end; and declared, that none but Muley Aben Hassan had the valour and capacity necessary for the protection of the kingdom in this time of trouble.

The longer the captivity of Boabdil continued, the greater grew the popularity of his father. One city after another renewed allegiance to him: for power attracts power, and fortune creates fortune. At length he was enabled to return to Granada, and establish himself once more in the Alhambra. At his approach, his repudiated spouse, the sultana Ayxa, gathered together the family and treasures of her captive son, and retired with a handful of the nobles into the Albaycen, the rival quarter of the city, the inhabitants of which still retained feelings of loyalty to Boabdil. Here she fortified herself, and held the semblance of a court, in the name of her son. The fierce Muley Aben Hassan would have willingly carried fire and sword into this factious quarter of the capital; but he dared not confide in his new and uncertain popularity. Many of the nobles detested him for his past cruelty; and a large portion of the soldiery, beside many of the people of his own party, respected the virtues of Ayxa la Horra, and pitied the misfortunes of Boabdil. Granada, therefore, pre-

sented the singular spectacle of two sovereignties within the same city. The old king fortified himself in the lofty towers of the Alhambra, as much against his own subjects as against the Christians: while Ayxa, with the zeal of a mother's affection, which waxes warmer and warmer towards her offspring when in adversity, still maintained the standard of Boabdil on the rival fortress of the alcazaba; and kept his powerful faction alive within the walls of the albaycen.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## CAPTIVITY OF BOABDIL EL CHICO.

THE unfortunate Boabdil remained a prisoner, closely guarded in the castle of Vaena. From the towers of his prison he beheld the town below filled with armed men; and the lofty hill on which it was built, girdled by massive walls and ramparts, on which a vigilant watch was maintained, night and day. The mountains around were studded with watch-towers, overlooking the lonely roads which led to Granada; so that a turban could not stir over the border without the alarm being given, and the whole country put on the alert. Boabdil saw, that there was no hope of escape from such a fortress, and that any attempt to rescue him would be equally in vain. His heart was filled with anxiety, as he thought on the confusion and ruin which his captivity must cause in his affairs; while sorrows of a softer kind overcame his fortitude, as he thought on the evils it might bring upon his family.

The Count de Cabra, though he maintained the most vigilant guard over his royal prisoner, yet treated him with profound deference. He had appointed the noblest apartments in the castle for his abode, and sought in every way to cheer him during his captivity. A few days only had passed away, when missives arrived from the Castilian sovereigns. Ferdinand had been transported with joy at hearing of the capture of the Moorish monarch, seeing the deep and politic uses that might be made of such an event: but the magnanimous spirit of Isabella was filled with compassion for the unfortunate captive. Their messages to Boabdil were full of sympathy and consolation; breathing that high and gentle courtesy, which dwells in noble minds.

This magnanimity in his foe cheered the dejected spirit of the captive monarch. "Tell my sovereigns, the king and the queen," said he to the messenger, "that I cannot be unhappy, being in the power of such high and mighty princes; especially since they partake so largely of that grace and goodness, which Allah bestows upon the monarchs whom he greatly loves. Tell them, further, that I had long thought of submitting myself to their sway, to receive the kingdom of Granada from their hands, in the same manner that my ancestor received it from King

John II, father of the gracious queen. My greatest sorrow, in this my captivity, is, that I must appear to do that from force, which I would fain have done from inclination."

In the mean time, Muley Aben Hassan, finding the faction of his son still formidable in Granada, was anxious to consolidate his power, by gaining possession of the person of Boabdil. For this purpose, he sent an embassy to the catholic monarchs, offering large terms for the ransom, or rather the purchase, of his son; proposing, among other conditions, to release the Count of Cifuentes, and nine other of his most distinguished captives, and to enter into a treaty of confederacy with the sovereigns. Neither did the implacable father make any scruple of testifying his indifference, whether his son were delivered up alive or dead, so that his person were placed assuredly within his power.

The humane heart of Isabella revolted at the idea of giving up the unfortunate prince into the hands of his most unnatural and inveterate enemy. A disdainful refusal was therefore returned to the old monarch, whose message had been couched in a vaunting spirit. He was informed, that the Castilian sovereigns would listen to no proposals of peace from Muley Aben Hassan, until he should lay down his arms, and offer them in all humility. Overtures in a different spirit were made by the mother of Boabdil, the sultana Ayxa la Horra, with the concurrence of the party which still remained faithful to him. It was thereby proposed, that Mahomet Abdalla, otherwise called Boabdil, should hold his crown as vassal to the Castilian sovereigns; paying an annual tribute, and releasing seventy Christian captives annually for five years: that he should moreover pay a large sum upon the spot for his ransom, and at the same time give freedom to four hundred Christians, to be chosen by the king: that he should also engage to be always ready to render military aid; and should come to the Cortes, or assemblage of nobles and distinguished vassals of the crown, whenever summoned. His only son, and the sons of twelve distinguished Moorish houses, were to be delivered as hostages.

King Ferdinand was at Cordova when he received this proposition; Queen Isabella was absent at the time. He was anxious to consult her in so momentous an affair; or rather he was fearful of proceeding too precipitately, and not drawing from this fortunate event all the advantage of which it was susceptible. Without returning any reply, therefore, to the mission, he sent missives to the castle of Vaena, where Boabdil remained in courteous durance of the brave Count de Cabra, ordering, that the captive monarch should be brought to Cordova.

The Count de Cabra set out with his illustrious prisoner; but when he arrived at Cordova, King Ferdinand declined seeing the Moorish monarch.

He was still undetermined what course to pursue; whether to retain him prisoner, set him at liberty on ransom, or treat him with politic magnanimity; and

each course would require a different kind of reception. Until this point should be resolved, therefore, he gave him in charge to Martin de Alarcon, alcaide of the ancient fortress of Porcuna, with orders to guard him strictly, but to treat him with the distinction and deference due to a prince. These commands were strictly obeyed, and, with the exception of being restrained in his liberty, the monarch was as nobly entertained as he could have been in his royal palace at Granada.

In the mean time, Ferdinand availed himself of this critical moment, while Granada was distracted with factions and dissensions, and before he had concluded any treaty with Boabdil, to make a puissant and ostentatious inroad into the very heart of the kingdom, at the head of his most illustrious nobles. He sacked and destroyed several towns and castles, and extended his ravages to the very gates of Granada. Old Muley Aben Hassan did not venture to oppose him. His city was filled with troops; but he was uncertain of their affection. He dreaded, that should he sally forth, the gates of Granada might be closed against him by the faction of the albaycen.

"The old Moor stood on the lofty tower of the Alhambra," says Antonio Agapida, "grinding his teeth, and foaming like a tiger shut up in his cage, as he beheld the glittering battalions of the Christians wheeling about the vega, and the standard of the cross shining forth from amidst the smoke of infidel villages and hamlets. The most catholic king," continues Agapida, "would gladly have persevered in this righteous ravage; but his munitions began to fail. Satisfied, therefore, with having laid waste the country of the enemy, and insulted old Muley Aben Hassan in his very capital, he returned to Cordova, covered with laurels, and his army loaded with spoils; and now bethought himself of coming to an immediate decision in regard to his royal prisoner."

## CHAPTER XX.

### OF THE TREATMENT OF BOABDIL BY THE CASTILIAN SOVEREIGNS.

A STATELY conversation was held by King Ferdinand, in the ancient city of Cordova, composed of several of the most reverend prelates and renowned cavaliers of the kingdom, to determine upon the fate of the unfortunate Boabdil.

Don Alonso de Cardenas, the worthy master of Santiago, was one of the first who gave his counsel. He was a pious and zealous knight, rigid in his devotion to the faith; and his holy zeal had been inflamed to peculiar vehemence since his disastrous crusade among the mountains of Malaga. He inveighed with ardour against any compromise or compact with the infidels. The object of this war, he observed, was not the subjection of the Moors, but their utter expulsion from the land, so that there might no longer

remain a single stain of Mahometanism throughout Christian Spain. He gave it as his opinion, therefore, that the captive king ought not to be set at liberty.

Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, the valiant Marquis of Cadiz, on the contrary, spoke warmly for the release of Boabdil. He pronounced it a measure of sound policy, even if done without conditions. It would tend to keep up the civil war in Granada, which was a fire consuming the entrails of the enemy, and effecting more for the interests of Spain, without expense, than all the conquests of its arms.

The grand cardinal of Spain, Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, coincided in opinion with the Marquis of Cadiz. "Nay," added that pious prelate and politic statesman, "it would be sound wisdom to furnish the Moor with men and money, and all other necessaries to promote the civil war in Granada: by this means would be produced great benefit to the service of God; since we are assured by his infallible word, that 'a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand.'"

Ferdinand weighed these counsels in his mind, but was slow in coming to a decision. "He was religiously attentive to his own interests," observes Fray Antonio Agapida; "knowing himself to be but an instrument of Providence in this holy war; and that, therefore, in consulting his own advantage, he was promoting the interests of the faith." The opinion of Queen Isabella relieved him from his perplexity. That high-minded princess was zealous for the promotion of the faith, but not for the extermination of the infidels. The Moorish kings had held their thrones as vassals to her progenitors: she was content, at present, to accord the same privilege, and that the royal prisoner should be liberated, on condition of becoming a vassal to the crown. By this means might be effected the deliverance of many Christian captives, who were languishing in Moorish chains.

King Ferdinand adopted the magnanimous measure recommended by the queen, but he accompanied it with several shrewd conditions; exacting tribute, military services, and safe passage and maintenance for Christian troops throughout the places which should adhere to Boabdil. The captive king readily submitted to these stipulations; and swore, after the manner of his faith, to observe them with exactitude. A truce was arranged for two years, during which the Castilian sovereigns engaged to maintain him on his throne, and to assist him in recovering all places which he had lost during his captivity.

When Boabdil el Chico had solemnly agreed to this arrangement in the castle of Porcuna, preparations were made to receive him in Cordova in regal style. Superb steeds, richly caparisoned, and raiment of brocade and silk, and the most costly cloths, with all other articles of sumptuous array, were furnished to him, and to fifty Moorish cavaliers, who had come to



## CHAPTER XXI.

## RETURN OF BOABDIL FROM CAPTIVITY.

great for his ransom, that he might appear in state befitting the monarch of Granada, and the most distinguished vassal of the Christian sovereigns. Money, also, was advanced, to maintain him in suitable grandeur during his residence at the Castilian court, and his return to his dominions. Finally, it was ordered by the sovereigns, that, when he came to Cordova, all the nobles and dignitaries of the court should go forth to receive him.

A question now arose among certain of those ancient and experienced men, who grow grey about a court in the profound study of forms and ceremonials; with whom a point of punctilio is as a vast political right, and who contract a sublime and awful idea of the external dignity of the throne. Certain of these court sages propounded the momentous question, whether the Moorish monarch, coming to do homage as a vassal, ought not to kneel, and kiss the hand of the king. "This was immediately decided in the affirmative, by a large number of ancient cavaliers, accustomed," says Antonio Agapida, "to the lofty punctilio of our most dignified court and transcendent sovereigns." The king, therefore, was informed, by those who arranged the ceremonials, that, when the Moorish monarch appeared in his presence, he was expected to extend his royal hand to receive the kiss of homage.

"I should certainly do so," replied King Ferdinand, "were he at liberty, and in his own kingdom: but I certainly shall not do so, seeing that he is a prisoner, and in mine."

The courtiers loudly applauded the magnanimity of this reply; though many condemned it in secret, as savouring of too much generosity towards an infidel; and the worthy Jesuit, Fray Antonio Agapida, fully concurs in their opinion.

The Moorish king entered Cordova with his little train of faithful knights, and escorted by all the nobility and chivalry of the Castilian court. He was conducted with great state and ceremony to the royal palace. When he came in presence of King Ferdinand, he knelt, and offered to kiss his hand, not merely as homage as his subject, but in gratitude for his liberty. Ferdinand declined the token of vassalage, and raised him graciously from the earth. An interpreter began, in the name of Boabdil, to laud the magnanimity of the Castilian monarch, and to propose the most implicit submission. "Enough," said King Ferdinand, interrupting the interpreter in the midst of his harangue; "there is no need of these compliments. I trust in his integrity, that he will do every thing becoming a good man, and a good king." With these words, he received Boabdil el Chico into his royal friendship and protection.

In the month of August, a noble Moor, of the race of the Abencerrages, arrived with a splendid retinue at the city of Cordova, bringing with him the son of Boabdil el Chico, and other of the noble youths of Granada, as hostages for the fulfilment of the terms of ransom. When the Moorish king beheld his son, his only child, who was to remain in his stead, a sort of captive in a hostile land, he folded him in his arms, and wept over him. "Wo the day that I was born!" exclaimed he, "and evil the star that presided at my birth! well was I called El Zogoyhi, or 'the unlucky;' for sorrow is heaped upon me by my father, and sorrow do I transmit to my son!"

The afflicted heart of Boabdil, however, was soothed by the kindness of the Christian sovereigns, who received the hostage prince with a tenderness suited to his age, and a distinction worthy of his rank.

They delivered him in charge to the worthy alcaide Martin de Alarcon, who had treated his father with such courtesy, during his confinement in the castle of Porcuna; giving orders, that, after the departure of the latter, his son should be entertained with great honour and princely attention in the same fortress.

On the 2d of September, a guard of honour assembled at the gate of the mansion of Boabdil, to escort him to the frontiers of his kingdom. He pressed his child to his heart at parting; but he uttered not a word, for there were many Christian eyes to behold his emotion. He mounted his steed, and never turned his head to look again upon the youth! but those who were near him observed the vehement struggle that shook his frame, wherein the anguish of the father had well nigh subdued the studied equanimity of the king.

Boabdil el Chico and King Ferdinand sallied forth, side by side, from Cordova, amidst the acclamations of a prodigious multitude. When they were a short distance from the city, they separated, with many gracious expressions on the part of the Castilian monarch, and many thankful acknowledgments from his late captive, whose heart had been humbled by adversity. Ferdinand departed for Guadalupe, and Boabdil for Granada. The latter was accompanied by a guard of honour; and the viceroys of Andalusia, and the generals on the frontier, were ordered to furnish him with escorts, and to show him all possible honour on his journey. In this way, he was conducted, in royal state, through the country he had entered to ravage, and was placed in safety in his own dominions.

He was met, on the frontier, by the principal nobles and cavaliers of his court, who had been secretly sent by his mother, the sultana Ayxa, to escort him to the capital.

The heart of Boabdil was lifted up for a moment, when he found himself in his own territories, sur-

rounded by Moslem knights, with his own standards waving over his head; and he began to doubt the predictions of the astrologers. He soon found cause, however, to moderate his exultation. The loyal train, which had come to welcome him, was but scanty in number; and he missed many of his most zealous and obsequious courtiers. He had returned, indeed, to his kingdom; but it was no longer the devoted kingdom he had left. The story of his vassalage to the Christian sovereigns had been made use of by his father to ruin him with his people. He had been represented as a traitor to his country, a renegado to his faith, and as leagued with the enemies of both, to subdue the Moslems of Spain to the yoke of Christian bondage. In this way the mind of the public had been turned from him. The greater part of the nobility had thronged round the throne of his father in the Alhambra; and his mother, the resolute sultana Ayxa, with difficulty maintained her faction in the opposite towers of the alcazaba.

Such was the melancholy picture of affairs given to Boabdil by the courtiers who had come forth to meet him. They even informed him, that it would be an enterprise of difficulty and danger to make his way back to the capital, and regain the little court which still remained faithful to him in the heart of the city. The old tiger, Muley Aben Hassan, lay couched within the Alhambra, and the walls and gates of the city were strongly guarded by his troops. Boabdil shook his head at these tidings. He called to mind the ill omen of his breaking his lance against the gate of Elvira, when issuing forth so vain-gloriously with his army, which he now saw clearly foreboded the destruction of that army, on which he had so confidently relied. "Henceforth," said he, "let no man have the impiety to scoff at omens."

Boabdil approached his capital by stealth, and in the night, prowling about its walls like an enemy seeking to destroy, rather than a monarch returning to his throne. At length he seized upon a postern-gate of the albaycen, a part of the city which had always been in his favour. He passed rapidly through the streets, before the populace were aroused from their sleep, and reached in safety the fortress of the alcazaba. Here he was received into the embraces of his intrepid mother, and his favourite wife Morayma. The transports of the latter, on the safe return of her husband, were mingled with tears; for she thought of her father, Ali Atar, who had fallen in his cause; and of her only son, who was left a hostage in the hands of the Christians.

The heart of Boabdil, softened by his misfortunes, was moved by the changes in every thing round him; but his mother called up his spirit. "This," said she, "is no time for tears and fondness: a king must think of his sceptre and his throne, and not yield to softness like common men. Thou hast done well, my son, in throwing thyself resolutely into Granada: it must depend upon thyself whether thou remain here a king or a captive."

The old king, Muley Aben Hassan, had retired to his couch that night, in one of the strongest towers of the Alhambra; but his restless anxiety kept him from repose. In the first watch of the night, he heard a shout faintly rising from the quarter of the albaycen, which is on the opposite side of the deep valley of the Darro. Shortly afterwards, horsemen came galloping up the hill that leads to the main gate of the Alhambra, spreading the alarm, that Boabdil had entered the city, and possessed himself of the alcazaba.

In the first transports of his rage, the old king would have struck the messenger to earth. He hastily summoned his counsellors and commanders, exhorting them to stand by him in this critical moment; and, during the night, made every preparation to enter the albaycen, sword in hand, in the morning.

In the mean time, the sultana Ayxa had taken prompt and vigorous measures to strengthen her party. The albaycen was in the part of the city filled by the lower orders. The return of Boabdil was proclaimed throughout the streets, and large sums of money were distributed among the populace. The nobles, assembled in the alcazaba, were promised honours and rewards by Boabdil, as soon as he should be firmly seated on the throne. These well-timed measures had the customary effect; and by day-break all the motley populace of the albaycen were in arms.

A doleful day succeeded. All Granada was a scene of tumult and horror. Drums and trumpets resounded in every part; all business was interrupted; the shops were shut, the doors barricadoed. Armed bands paraded the streets; some shouting for Boabdil, and some for Muley Aben Hassan. When they encountered each other, they fought furiously, and without mercy; every public square became a scene of battle. The great mass of the lower orders was in favour of Boabdil; but it was a multitude without discipline or lofty spirit. Part of the people was regularly armed; but the greater number had sallied forth with the implements of their trade. The troops of the old king, among whom were many cavaliers of pride and valour, soon drove the populace from the squares. They fortified themselves, however, in the streets and lanes, which they barricadoed. They made fortresses of their houses, and fought desperately from the windows and the roofs; and many a warrior of the highest blood of Granada was laid low by plebeian hands, and plebeian weapons, in this civil brawl.

It was impossible that such violent convulsions should last long in the heart of a city. The people soon longed for repose, and a return to their peaceful occupations; and the cavaliers detested these conflicts with the multitude, in which there were all the horrors of war, without its laurels. By the interference of the alfaquis, an armistice was at length effected. Boabdil was persuaded, that there was no dependence upon the inconstant favour of the mul-

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THOU divided a alfaquis, Boabdil as to misfort among th any act of turbulent hint of the ing out th rience hau character ruled. " great! but unbelievers than a thou ten thousand At this Andalusia his troops. and Muley eader to co the scourge another ve predatory v and crafty a his comman The signal nights, in the people c they had at which had b any of the public with gain on that layed as the and talked th Andalusia overrun a Muley Aben

ssan, had retired to the strongest towers. His anxiety kept him up all night, he was in the quarter of the opposite side of the deep. Afterwards, horsemen proceeded to the main gate. On the alarm, that Boabdil perceived himself of the

his rage, the old king fled to earth. He and his sons and commanders, were in this critical moment made every preparation in hand, in the

Alfama Ayxa had taken care to strengthen her part of the city filled with the arms of Boabdil, and large sums of money were promised to the populace. The houses were promised to be burnt, as soon as he should be taken. These well-timed measures had a great effect; and by day-break the Moors were in arms.

All Granada was a scene of confusion. Drums and trumpets were beating, all business was interrupted, the doors barricaded. The people were shouting for Muley Aben Hassan. When they fought furiously, the public square became a scene of confusion. A mass of the lower orders, but it was a multitude without spirit. Part of the people, the greater number had no other means of their trade. The king, whom were many casualties, soon drove the populace to fortified themselves, howbeit, which they barricaded their houses, and fought from the windows and the roofs; and the best blood of Granada was slain, and plebeian weapons,

such violent convulsions of a city. The people, on their return to their peaceful avocations, detested these convulsions, which there were all the more detested by the laurels. By the interposition of an armistice was at length procured, that there was no constant favour of the mul-

titude, and was prevailed upon to quit a capital, where he could only maintain a precarious seat upon his throne, by a perpetual and bloody struggle. He fixed his court at the city of Almeria, which was entirely devoted to him; and which at that time vied with Granada in splendour and importance. This compromise of grandeur for tranquillity, however, was sorely against the counsels of his proud spirited mother, the sultana Ayxa. Granada appeared in her eyes the only legitimate seat of dominion; and she observed, with a smile of disdain, that he was not worthy of being called a monarch, who was not master of his capital.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## FORAY OF THE MOORISH ALCAYDES, AND BATTLE OF LOPERA.

THOUGH Muley Aben Hassan had regained undivided sway over the city of Granada; and the alfaquis, by his command, had denounced his son Boabdil as an apostate, and as one doomed by Heaven to misfortune; still the latter had many adherents among the common people. Whenever, therefore, any act of the old monarch was displeasing to the turbulent multitude, they were prone to give him a hint of the slippery nature of his standing, by shouting out the name of Boabdil el Chico. Long experience had instructed Muley Aben Hassan in the character of the inconstant people over whom he ruled. "Allah achbar!" exclaimed he, "God is great! but a successful inroad into the country of the unbelievers will make more converts to my cause, than a thousand texts of the Koran, expounded by ten thousand alfaquis."

At this time, King Ferdinand was absent from Andalusia on a distant expedition, with many of his troops. The moment was favourable for a foray; and Muley Aben Hassan cast about his thoughts for a leader to conduct it. Ali Atar, the terror of the border, the scourge of Andalusia, was dead; but there was another veteran general, scarce inferior to him for predatory warfare. This was old Bexir, the grey and crafty alcajde of Malaga; and the people under his command were ripe for an expedition of the kind. The signal defeat and slaughter of the Spanish knights, in the neighbouring mountains, had filled the people of Malaga with vanity and self-conceit: they had attributed to their own valour the defeat which had been caused by the nature of the country. Many of them wore the armour, and paraded in public with the horses, of the unfortunate cavaliers slain on that occasion; which they vainly displayed as the trophies of their boasted victory. They had talked themselves into a contempt for the chivalry of Andalusia, and were impatient for an opportunity to overrun a country defended by such troops. This Muley Aben Hassan considered a favourable state of

mind to ensure a daring inroad; and he sent orders to old Bexir, to gather together his people, and the choicest warriors of the borders, and to carry fire and sword into the very heart of Andalusia. The wary old Bexir immediately despatched his emissaries among the alcajdes of the border towns, calling upon them to assemble, with their troops, at the city of Ronda, close upon the Christian frontier.

Ronda was the most virulent nest of Moorish depredators in the whole border country. It was situated in the midst of the wild Serrania, or chain of mountains of the same name, which are uncommonly lofty, broken, and precipitous. It stood on an almost isolated rock, nearly encircled by a deep valley, or rather chasm, through which ran the beautiful river called Rio Verde. The Moors of this city were the most active, robust, and warlike of all the mountaineers; and their very children discharged the cross-bow with unerring aim. They were incessantly harassing the rich plains of Andalusia; their city abounded with Christian spoils; and their deep dungeons were crowded with Christian captives, who might sigh in vain for deliverance from this impregnable fortress. Such was Ronda in the time of the Moors; and it has ever retained something of the same character, even to the present day. Its inhabitants continue to be among the boldest, fiercest, and most adventurous of the Andalusian mountaineers; and the Serrania de Ronda is famous, as the most dangerous resort of the bandit and the contra-bandista.

Hamet Zeli, surnamed El Zegri, was the commander of this belligerent city and its fierce inhabitants. He was of the tribe of the Zegrís, and one of the most proud and daring of that warlike race. Besides the inhabitants of Ronda, he had a legion of African Moors in his immediate service. They were of the tribe of the Gomerés; mercenary troops, whose hot African blood had not yet been tempered by the softer living of Spain; and whose whole business was to fight. These he kept always well armed and well appointed. The rich pasturage of the valley of Ronda produced a breed of horses, famous for strength and speed; no cavalry, therefore, was better mounted than the band of Gomerés. Rapid on the march, fierce in the attack, it would sweep down upon the Andalusian plains like a sudden blast from the mountains, and pass away as suddenly, before there was time for pursuit.

There was nothing that stirred up the spirit of the Moors of the frontiers more thoroughly than the idea of a foray. The summons of Bexir was gladly obeyed by the alcajdes of the border towns; and in a little while there was a force of fifteen hundred horse, and four thousand foot, the very pith and marrow of the surrounding country, assembled within the walls of Ronda. The people of the place anticipated with eagerness the rich spoils of Andalusia, that were soon to crowd their gates. Throughout the day, the city resounded with the noise of kettle-drum and trum-

pet; the high-mettled steeds stamped and neighed in their stalls, as if they shared the impatience for the foray; while the Christian captives sighed, as the varied din of preparation reached to their rocky dungeons, denoting that a fresh assault was preparing against their countrymen.

The infidel host sallied forth, full of spirits; anticipating an easy ravage, and abundant booty. They encouraged each other in a contempt for the prowess of the foe. Many of the warriors of Malaga, and of some of the mountain towns, had insultingly arrayed themselves in the splendid armour of the Christian knights, slain or taken prisoners in the famous massacre; and some of them rode the Andalusian steeds which had been captured on that occasion.

The wary Bexir had concerted his plans so secretly and expeditiously, that the Christian towns of Andalusia had not the least suspicion of the storm that had gathered beyond the mountains. The vast and rocky range of the Serrania de Ronda extended like a screen, covering all their movements from observation.

The army made its way as rapidly as the rugged nature of the mountains would permit, guided by Hamet el Zegri, the bold alcaide of Ronda, who knew every pass and defile. Not a drum, nor the clash of a cymbal, nor the blast of a trumpet, was permitted to be heard. The mass of war rolled quietly on, as the gathering cloud to the brow of the mountains, intending to burst down, like the thunderbolt, upon the plain.

Never let the most wary commander fancy himself secure from discovery; for rocks have eyes, and trees have ears, and the birds of the air have tongues, to betray the most secret enterprise. There chanced, at this time, to be six Christian scouts prowling about the savage heights of the Serrania de Ronda. They were of that kind of lawless ruffians who infest the borders of belligerent countries, ready at any time to fight for pay, or prowl for plunder. The wild mountain passes of Spain have ever abounded with loose, rambling vagabonds of the kind: soldiers in war, robbers in peace; guides, guards, smugglers, or cut-throats, according to the circumstances of the case.

"These six marauders," says Fray Antonio Agapida, "were, on this occasion, chosen instruments, sanctified by the righteousness of their cause. They were lurking among the mountains, to entrap Moorish cattle, or Moorish prisoners; both of which were equally saleable in the Christian market."

They had ascended one of the loftiest cliffs, and were looking out, like birds of prey, ready to pounce upon any thing that might offer in the valley, when they descried the Moorish army emerging from a mountain glen. They watched it in silence, as it wound below them, remarking the standards of the various towns, and the pennons of the commanders. They hovered about it, on its march, skulking from

cliff to cliff, until they saw the route by which it intended to enter the Christian country. They then dispersed, each making his way, by the secret passes of the mountains, to some different alcaide, that they might spread the alarm far and wide, and each get a separate reward.

One hastened to Luis Fernandez Puerto Carrero, the same valiant alcaide who had repulsed Muley Aber Hassan from the walls of Alhama, and who now commanded at Ecija, in the absence of the master of Santiago. Others roused the town of Utrera, and the places of that neighbourhood, putting them all on the alert.

Puerto Carrero was a cavalier of consummate vigour and activity. He immediately sent couriers to the alcaides of the neighbouring fortresses, to Herman Carrello, captain of a body of the Holy Brotherhood, and to certain knights of the order of Alcantara. Puerto Carrero was the first to take the field. Knowing the hard and hungry service of these border scampers, he made every man take a hearty repast, and see that his horse was well shod, and perfectly appointed. Then, all being refreshed, and in valiant heart, he sallied forth to seek the Moors. He had but a handful of men, the retainers of his household, and troops of his captaincy; but they were well armed and mounted, and accustomed to the sudden rouses of the border, men with whom the cry of "Arm and out! to horse and to the field!" was sufficient at any time to put them in a fever of animation.

While the northern part of Andalusia was thus on the alert, one of the scouts had hastened southward, to the city of Xeres, and given the alarm to the valiant Marquis of Cadiz. When the marquis heard, that the Moor was over the border, and that the standard of Malaga was in the advance, his heart bounded with a momentary joy; for he remembered the massacre in the mountains, where his valiant brothers had been mangled before his eyes. The very authors of his calamity were now at hand, and he flattered himself that the day of vengeance had arrived.

He made a hasty levy of his retainers, and of the fighting men of Xeres, and hurried off, with three hundred horse and two hundred foot, all resolute men, and panting for revenge.

In the mean time the veteran Bexir had accomplished his march, as he imagined, undiscovered. From the openings of the craggy defiles, he pointed out the fertile plains of Andalusia, and regaled the eyes of his soldiery with the rich country they were about to ravage. The fierce Gomerers of Ronda were flushed with joy at the sight; and even their steeds seemed to prick up their ears, and sniff the breeze, as they beheld the scenes of their frequent forays.

When they came to where the mountain defile opened into the low land, Bexir divided his force into three parts: one, composed of foot-soldiers, and of such as were weakly mounted, he left to guard the



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pass; being too experienced a veteran not to know the importance of securing a retreat. A second body he placed in ambush, among the groves and thickets on the banks of the river Lopera. The third, consisting of light cavalry, he sent forth to ravage the Campiña, or great plain of Utrera. Most of this latter force was composed of the fiery Gomeres of Ronda, mounted on the fleet steeds bred among the mountains. It was led by the bold alcayde Hamet el Zegri, who was ever eager to be foremost in the foray.

Little suspecting that the country on both sides was on the alarm, and rushing from all directions, to close upon them in rear, this fiery troop dashed forward, until they came within two leagues of Utrera. Here they scattered themselves about the plain, careering round the great herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep, and sweeping them into droves, to be hurried to the mountains.

While they were thus dispersed in every direction, a troop of horse, and body of foot, from Utrera, came suddenly upon them. The Moors rallied together in small parties, and endeavoured to defend themselves: but they were without a leader; for Hamet el Zegri was at a distance, having, like a hawk, made a wide circuit in pursuit of prey. The marauders soon gave way, and fled towards the ambush on the banks of the Lopera, being hotly pursued by the men of Utrera.

When they reached the Lopera, the Moors in ambush rushed forth, with furious cries; and the fugitives, recovering courage from this reinforcement, rallied, and turned upon their pursuers. The Christians stood their ground, though greatly inferior in number. Their lances were soon broken, and they came to sharp work with sword and cimeter. The Christians fought valiantly, but were in danger of being overwhelmed. The bold Hamet had collected a handful of his scattered Gomeres; and, leaving his prey, had galloped towards the scene of action. His little troop of horsemen had reached the crest of a rising ground, at no great distance, when trumpets were heard in another direction, and Luis Fernandez Puerto Carrero, and his followers, came galloping into the field, and charged upon the infidels in flank.

The Moors were astounded, at finding war thus breaking upon them from various quarters of what they had expected to find an unguarded country. They fought for a short time with desperation, and resisted a vehement assault from the knights of Alcantara, and the men-at-arms of the Holy Brotherhood. At length the veteran Bexir was struck from his horse by Puerto Carrero, and taken prisoner, and the whole force gave way and fled. In their flight they separated, and took two roads to the mountains; thinking, by dividing their forces, to distract the enemy. The Christians were too few to separate. Puerto Carrero kept them together, pursuing one division of the enemy with great slaughter. This battle took place near the fountain of the fig-tree, near to the Lopera. A hundred Moorish cavaliers were slain, and many more prisoners. Much spoil was collected on the

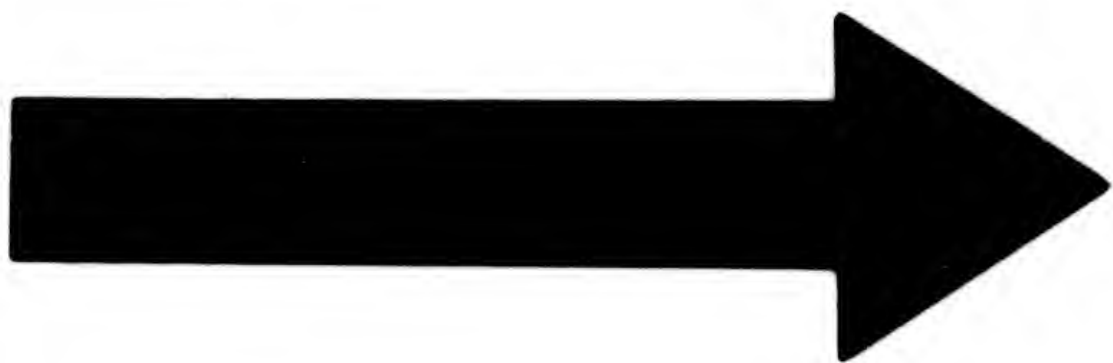
field, with which the Christians returned in triumph to their homes.

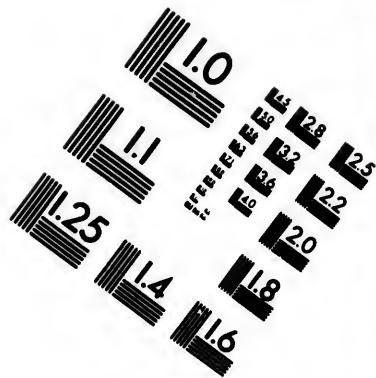
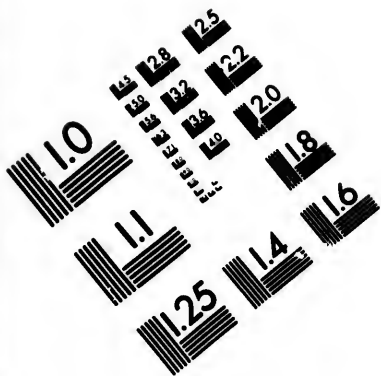
The larger body of the enemy had retreated along a road, leading more to the south, by the banks of the Guadalete. When they reached that river, the sound of pursuit had died away; and they rallied, to breathe and refresh themselves on the margin of the stream. Their force was reduced to about a thousand horse, and a confused multitude of foot. While they were scattered, and partly dismounted, on the banks of the Guadalete, a fresh storm of war burst upon them from an opposite direction. It was the Marquis of Cadiz, leading on his household troops, and the fighting men of Xerez. When the Christian warriors came in sight of the Moors, they were roused to fury at beholding many of them arrayed in the armour of the cavaliers who had been slain among the mountains of Malaga. Nay, some, who had been in that defeat, beheld their own armour, which they had cast away in their flight, to enable themselves to climb the mountains. Exasperated at the sight, they rushed upon the foe, with the ferocity of tigers, rather than the temperate courage of cavaliers. Each man felt as if he were avenging the death of a relative, or wiping out his own disgrace. The good marquis himself beheld a powerful Moor bestriding the horse of his brother Beltran: giving a cry of rage and anguish at the sight, he rushed through the thickest of the enemy, attacked the Moor with resistless fury, and, after a short combat, hurled him breathless to the earth.

The Moors, already vanquished in spirit, could not withstand the assault of men thus madly excited. They soon gave way, and fled for the defile of the Serrania de Ronda, where the body of troops had been stationed to secure a retreat. These, seeing them come galloping wildly up the defile, with Christian banners in pursuit, and the flash of weapons at their deadly work, thought all Andalusia was upon them, and fled, without awaiting an attack. The pursuit continued among glens and defiles; for the Christian warriors, eager for revenge, had no compassion on the foe.

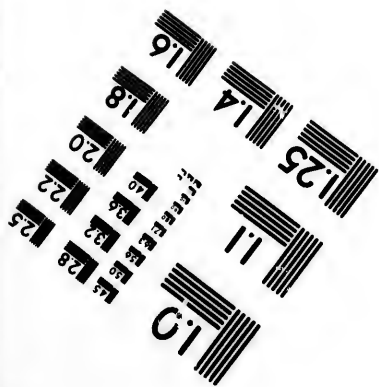
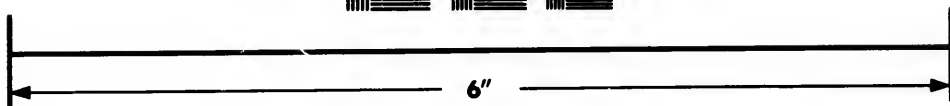
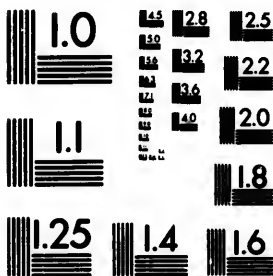
When the pursuit was over, the Marquis of Cadiz and his followers reposed themselves upon the banks of the Guadalete, where they divided the spoil. Among this were found many rich corslets, helmets, and weapons, the Moorish trophies of the defeat in the mountains of Malaga. Several were claimed by their owners, others were known to have belonged to noble cavaliers, who had been slain, or taken prisoners. There were several horses also, richly caparisoned, which had pranced proudly with the unfortunate warriors, as they sallied out of Antequera upon that fatal expedition. Thus the exultation of the victors was dashed with melancholy, and many a knight was seen lamenting over the helmet or corslet of some loved companion in arms.

The good Marquis of Cadiz was resting under a tree, on the banks of the Guadalete, when the horse,





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which had belonged to his slaughtered brother Beltran, was brought to him. He laid his hand upon the mane, and looked wistfully at the empty saddle. His bosom heaved with violent agitation, and his lip quivered, and was pale. "Ay de mi, mi hermano!" "Wo is me, my brother!" was all that he said, for the grief of a warrior has not many words. He looked around on the field strewn with the bodies of the enemy; and, in the bitterness of his wo, he felt consoled by the idea, that his brother had not been unrevenged.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## RETREAT OF HAMET EL ZEGRI, ALCAYDE OF RONDA.

THE bold alcaide of Ronda, Hamet el Zegri, had careered wide over the campiña of Utrera, encompassing the flocks and herds, when he heard the burst of war at a distance. There were with him but a handful of his Gomeres. He saw the scamper and pursuit afar off, and beheld the Christian horsemen spurring madly on towards the ambuscade, on the banks of the Lopera. Hamet tossed his hand triumphantly aloft for his men to follow him. "The Christian dogs are ours!" said he as he put spurs to his horse, to take the enemy in rear.

The little band which followed Hamet scarcely amounted to thirty horsemen. They spurred across the plain, and reached a rising ground, just as the force of Puerto Carrero had charged with sound of trumpet upon the flank of the party in ambush. Hamet beheld the headlong rout of the army with rage and consternation. They found the country was pouring forth its legions from every quarter, and perceived that there was no safety but in precipitate flight. But which way to fly? an army was between him and the mountain pass: all the forces of the neighbourhood were rushing to the borders; the whole route by which he had come was, by this time, occupied by the foe. He checked his steed, rose in his stirrups, and rolled a stern and thoughtful eye over the country; then, sinking into his saddle, he seemed to commune for a moment with himself. Turning quickly to his troop, he singled out a renegado Christian, a traitor to his religion and his king. "Come hither," said Hamet: "thou knowest all the secret passes of this country?" "I do," replied the renegado. "Dost thou know any circuitous route, solitary, and untravelled, by which we can pass wide within these troops, and reach the Serrania?" The renegado paused: "Such a route I

<sup>1</sup> "En el despojo de la batalla se vieron muchas ricas corazas e capacetes e barberas de las que se habian perdido en el Axarquia, e otras muchas armas, e algunas fueron conocidas de sus dueños que las habian dejado para fuir, e otras fueron conocidas, que eran muy señaladas de hombres principales que habian quedado muertos e cautivos, e fueron tomados muchos de los mismos caballos con sus ricas sillas, de los que quedaron en la Axarquia, e fueron conocidos cuyos eran."—Cura de los Palacios, c. 67.

know, but it is full of peril; for it leads through the heart of the Christian land." "It is well," said Hamet: "the more dangerous in appearance, the less it will be suspected. Now, hearken to me. Ride by my side. Thou seest this purse of gold and this cimeter. Take us, by the route thou hast mentioned, safe to the pass of the Serrania, and this purse shall be thy reward: betray us, and this cimeter shall cleave thee to the saddle-bow."<sup>1</sup>

The renegado obeyed, trembling. They turned off from the direct road to the mountains, and struck southward towards Lebrixa, passing by the most solitary roads, and along those deep ramblas and ravines by which the country is intersected. It was indeed a daring course. Every now and then they heard the distant sound of trumpets, and the alarm-bells of towns and villages, and found that the war was still hurrying to the borders. They hid themselves in thickets, and in the dry beds of rivers, until the danger had passed by, and then resumed their course. Hamet el Zegri rode on in silence, his hand upon his cimeter, and his eye upon the renegado guide, prepared to sacrifice him on the least sign of treachery; while his band followed, gnawing their lips with rage, at having thus to skulk through a country they had come to ravage.

When night fell they struck into more practicable roads, always keeping wide of the villages and hamlets, lest the watch-dogs should betray them. In this way they passed, in deep midnight, by Arcos, crossed the Guadalete, and effected their retreat to the mountains. The day dawned as they made their way up the savage defiles. Their comrades had been hunted up these very glens by the enemy. Every now and then they came to where there had been a partial fight, or a slaughter of the fugitives, and the rocks were red with blood, and strewed with mangled bodies. The alcaide of Ronda was almost frantic with rage at seeing many of his bravest warriors, lying stiff and stark, a prey to the hawks and vultures of the mountains. Now and then some wretched Moor would crawl out of a cave or glen, whither he had fled for refuge; for, in the retreat, many of the horsemen had abandoned their steeds, thrown away their armour, and clambered up the cliffs, where they could not be pursued by the Christian cavalry.

The Moorish army had sallied forth from Ronda amidst shouts and acclamations; but wailings were heard within its walls as the alcaide and his broken band returned, without banner or trumpet, and beggared with famine and fatigue. The tidings of the disaster had preceded them, borne by the fugitives of the army. No one ventured to speak to the stern Hamet el Zegri as he entered the city, for they saw dark cloud gathered upon his brow.

"It seemed," says the pious Antonio Agapida, "as if Heaven inflicted out this defeat, in exact retribution for the ills inflicted upon the Christian warriors in the

<sup>1</sup> Cura de los Palacios, ubi suprâ.

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the pious Antonio Agapida, "in  
 his defeat, in exact retribu-  
 in the Christian warriors in the

heights of Malaga." It was equally signal and disas-  
 trous. Of the brilliant array of Moorish chivalry,  
 which descended so confidently into Andalusia, not  
 more than two hundred escaped. The choicest troops  
 of the frontier were either taken or destroyed; the  
 Moorish garrisons enfeebled, and many alcaides and  
 cavaliers of noble lineage carried into captivity, who  
 were afterwards obliged to redeem themselves with  
 heavy ransoms.

This was called the battle of Lopera, and was  
 fought on the 17th of September, 1483. Ferdinand  
 and Isabella were at Vittoria, in Old Castle, when  
 they received news of the victory, and the standards  
 taken from the enemy. They celebrated the event  
 with processions, illuminations, and other festivities.  
 Ferdinand sent to the Marquis of Cadiz the royal  
 raiment which he had worn on that day, and con-  
 ferred on him, and on all those who should inherit  
 his title, the privilege of wearing royal robes on our  
 Lady's day in September, in commemoration of this  
 victory.

Queen Isabella was equally mindful of the great  
 services of Don Luis Fernandez Puerto Carrero. Be-  
 sides many encomiums and favours, she sent to his  
 wife the royal vestments and robe of brocade which  
 she had worn on the same day, to be worn by her,  
 during her life, on the anniversary of that battle.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

OF THE HIGH AND CEREMONIOUS RECEPTION AT COURT  
 OF THE COUNT DE CABRA AND THE ALCAYDE DE LOS DONZELES.

In the midst of the bustle of warlike affairs, the  
 worthy chronicler Fray Antonio Agapida pauses to  
 note, with curious accuracy, the distinguished recep-  
 tion given to the Count de Cabra, and his nephew,  
 the alcaide de los Donzeles, at the stately and cere-  
 monious court of Castile, in reward for the capture  
 of the Moorish king Boabdil.

"The court," he observes, "was held, at the time,  
 in the ancient Moorish palace of the city of Cordova;  
 and the ceremonials were arranged by that venerable  
 prelate Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, bishop of  
 Toledo, and grand cardinal of Spain.

"It was on Wednesday, the fourteenth of Octo-  
 ber," continues the precise Antonio Agapida, "that  
 the good Count de Cabra, according to arrangement,  
 appeared at the gate of Cordova. Here he was met  
 by the grand cardinal, and the Duke of Villahermosa,  
 legitimate brother of the king, together with many  
 of the first grandees and prelates of the kingdom. By  
 this august train was he attended to the palace, amidst  
 triumphant strains of martial music, and the shouts  
 of a prodigious multitude.

"When the count arrived in presence of the so-  
 vereigns, who were seated in state, on a dais, or raised

part of the hall of audience, they both arose. The  
 king advanced exactly five steps toward the count,  
 who knelt, and kissed his majesty's hand; but the  
 king would not receive him as a mere vassal, but em-  
 braced him with affectionate cordiality. The queen,  
 also, advanced two steps, and received the count with  
 a countenance full of sweetness and benignity. After  
 he had kissed her hand, the king and queen returned  
 to their thrones; and, cushions being brought, they  
 desired the worthy count to be seated in their pre-  
 sence." This last circumstance is written in large  
 letters, and followed by several notes of admiration,  
 in the manuscript of the worthy Fray Antonio Aga-  
 pida; who considers the extraordinary privilege of  
 sitting in the presence of the catholic sovereigns an  
 honour well worth fighting for.

"The good count took his seat at a short distance  
 from the king; and near him was seated the Duke  
 of Najera, then the Bishop of Palencia, then the Count  
 of Aguilar, the Count Luna, and Don Gutiere de Car-  
 denas, senior commander of Leon.

"On the side of the queen were seated the grand  
 cardinal of Spain, the Duke of Villahermosa, the Count  
 of Monte Rey, and the bishops of Jaen and Cuenca,  
 each in the order in which they are named. The  
 Infanta Isabella was prevented, by indisposition, from  
 attending this ceremony.

"And now festive music resounded through the  
 sumptuous hall; and, behold, twenty ladies of the  
 queen's retinue entered, magnificently attired; upon  
 which twenty youthful cavaliers, very gay and gal-  
 liard in their array, stepped forth; and, each taking  
 his fair partner, they commenced a stately dance.  
 The court, in the mean time," observes Fray Anto-  
 nio Agapida, "looked on with lofty and becoming  
 gravity.

"When the dance was concluded, the king and  
 queen rose, to retire to supper, and dismissed the  
 court with many gracious expressions. He was  
 then attended, by all the grandees present, to the  
 palace of the grand cardinal, where they partook of a  
 sumptuous banquet.

"On the following Saturday, the alcaide de los  
 Donzeles was received likewise with great honours;  
 but the ceremonies were so arranged, as to be a de-  
 gree less in dignity than those shown to his uncle,  
 the latter being considered the principal actor in this  
 great achievement. Thus, the grand cardinal and  
 the Duke of Villahermosa did not meet him at the  
 gate of the city, but received him in the palace, and  
 entertained him in conversation until summoned to  
 the sovereigns.

"When the alcaide de los Donzeles entered the  
 presence-chamber, the king and queen rose from their  
 chairs; but, without advancing, they embraced him  
 graciously, and commanded him to be seated next to  
 the Count de Cabra.

"The Infanta Isabella came forth to this reception,  
 and took her seat beside the queen. When the court  
 were all seated, the music again sounded through the

\* Mariana. Abarca. Zurita. Pitigar, etc.

hall, and the twenty ladies came forth, as on the preceding occasion, richly attired, but in different raiment. They danced, as before; and the Infanta Isabella, taking a young Portuguese damsel for a partner, joined in the dance. When this was concluded, the king and queen dismissed the alcaide de los Donzeles with great courtesy, and the court broke up."

The worthy Fray Antonio Agapida here indulges in a long eulogy on the scrupulous discrimination of the Castilian court, in the distribution of its honours and rewards; by which means every smile, and gesture, and word, of the sovereigns had its certain value, and conveyed its equivalent of joy to the heart of the subject: "a matter well worthy the study," says he, "of all monarchs; who are too apt to distribute honours with a heedless caprice, that renders them of no avail.

"On the following Sunday, both the Count de Cabra and the alcaide de los Donzeles were invited to sup with the sovereigns. The court, that evening, was attended by the highest nobility, arrayed with that cost and splendour for which the Spanish nobility of those days was renowned.

"Before supper, there was a stately and ceremonious dance, befitting the dignity of so august a court. The king led forth the queen, in grave and graceful measure; the Count de Cabra was honoured with the hand of the Infanta Isabella; and the alcaide de los Donzeles danced with a daughter of the Marquis de Astorga.

"The dance being concluded, the royal party repaired to the supper table, which was placed on an elevated part of the saloon. Here, in full view of the court, the Count de Cabra and the alcaide de los Donzeles supped at the same table with the king, the queen, and the infanta. The royal family were served by the Marquis of Villena. The cup-bearer to the king was his nephew, Fadrique de Toledo, son to the Duke of Alva. Don Alonso de Estañiga had the honour of fulfilling that office for the queen, and Tello de Aguilar for the infanta. Other cavaliers of rank and distinction waited on the count and the alcaide de los Donzeles. At one o'clock, the two distinguished guests were dismissed, with many courteous expressions, by the sovereigns."

"Such," says Fray Antonio Agapida, "were the great honours, paid at our most exalted and ceremonious court, to these renowned cavaliers. But the gratitude of the sovereigns did not end here. A few days afterwards, they bestowed upon them large revenues for life, and others to descend to their heirs; with the privilege, for them and their descendants, to prefix the title of Don to their names. They gave them, moreover, as armorial bearings, a Moor's head

\* The account given by Fray Antonio Agapida, of this ceremonial, so characteristic of the old Spanish court, agrees, in almost every particular, with an ancient manuscript, made up from the Chronicles of the curate of Los Palacios, and other old Spanish writers.

crowned, with a golden chain round the neck, in a sanguine field, and twenty-two banners round the margin of the escutcheon. Their descendants, of the houses of Cabra and Cordova, continue to bear these arms at the present day, in memorial of the victory of Lucena, and the capture of Boabdil el Chico."

## CHAPTER XXV.

HOW THE MARQUIS OF CADIZ CONCEIVED TO SURPRISE ZABARA, AND THE RESULT OF HIS ENTERPRISE.

THE valiant Roderigo Ponce de Leon, Marquis of Cadiz, was one of the most vigilant of commanders. He kept in his pay a number of converted Moors, to serve as adalides or armed guides. These mongrel Christians were of great service in procuring information. Availing themselves of their Moorish character and tongue, they penetrated into the enemy's country, prowled about the castles and fortresses, noticed the state of the walls, the gates, and towers; the strength of their garrisons, and the vigilance or negligence of their commanders. All this they reported minutely to the marquis; who thus knew the state of every fortress upon the frontier, and when it might be attacked with advantage. Besides the various towns and cities over which he held a feudal sway, he had always an armed force about him, ready for the field. A host of retainers fed in his hall, who were ready to follow him to danger, and death itself, without inquiring who, or why, they fought. The armories of his castles were supplied with helms, and cuirasses, and weapons of all kinds, ready burnished for use; and his stables were filled with hardy steels, that could stand a mountain scamper.

The marquis was aware, that the late defeat of the Moors, on the banks of the Lopera, had weakened their whole frontier; for many of the castles and fortresses had lost their alcaides and their choicest troops. He sent out his war-hounds, therefore, upon the range, to ascertain where a successful blow might be struck; and they soon returned with word, that Zahara was weakly garrisoned, and short of provisions.

This was the very fortress which, about two years before, had been stormed by Muley Aben Hassan; and its capture had been the first blow of this eventful war. It had ever since remained a thorn in the side of Andalusia. All the Christians had been carried away captive, and no civil population had been introduced in their stead. There were no women or children in the place. It was kept up as a mere military post, commanding one of the most important passes of the mountains, and was a stronghold of Moorish marauders. The marquis was animated by the idea of regaining this fortress for his sovereigns, and wresting from the old Moorish king this boasted trophy of his prowess.

He sent missives, therefore, to the brave Luis Fernandez Puerto Carrero, who had distinguished himself in the late victory, and to Juan Almaraz, captain of the men-at-arms of the Holy Brotherhood, informing them of his designs, and inviting them to meet him with their forces on the banks of the Guadalete.

"It was on the day," says Fray Antonio Agapida, "of the glorious apostles St Simon and Judas, the 28th of October, in the year of grace 1483, that this chosen band of Christian soldiers assembled, suddenly and secretly, at the appointed place. Their forces, when united, amounted to six hundred horse and fifteen hundred foot. Their gathering-place was at the entrance of the defile leading to Zahara. That ancient town, renowned in Moorish warfare, is situated in one of the roughest passes of the Serrania de Ronda. It is built round the craggy cone of a hill, on the lofty summit of which is a strong castle. The country around is broken into deep barrancas or ravines, some of which approach its very walls. The place had, until recently, been considered impregnable; but," as the worthy Fray Antonio Agapida observes, "the walls of impregnable fortresses, like the virtue of self-confident saints, have their weak points of attack."

The Marquis of Cadiz advanced with his little army in the dead of the night, marching silently up the deep and dark defiles of the mountains, and stealing up the ravines, which extended to the walls of the town. Their approach was so noiseless, that the Moorish sentinels upon the walls heard not a voice or a footfall. The marquis was accompanied by his old escalador, Ortega de Prado, who had distinguished himself at the scaling of Alhama. This hardy veteran was stationed, with ten men, furnished with scaling-ladders, in a cavity among the rocks, close to the walls: at a little distance seventy men were hid in a ravine, to be at hand to second him, when he should have fixed his ladders. The rest of the troops were concealed in another ravine, commanding a fair approach to the gate of the fortress. A shrewd and wary adalide, well acquainted with the place, was appointed to give signals; and was so stationed, that he could be seen by the various parties in ambush, but was hidden from the garrison.

The remainder of the night passed away in profound quiet. The Moorish sentinels could be heard tranquilly patrolling the walls, in perfect security. The day dawned, and the rising sun began to shine against the lofty peaks of the Serrania de Ronda. The sentinels looked, from their battlements, over a savage but quiet mountain country, where not a human being was stirring. They little dreamed of the mischief that lay lurking in every ravine and chasm of the rocks around them. Apprehending no danger of surprise in broad day, the greater part of the soldiers abandoned the walls and towers, and descended into the city.

By orders of the marquis, a small body of light cavalry passed along the glen, and, turning round a

point of rock, showed themselves before the town. They skirred the fields almost to the gates, as if by way of bravado, and to defy the garrison to a skirmish. The Moors were not slow in replying to it. About seventy horse, and a number of foot, who had guarded the walls, sallied forth impetuously, thinking to make easy prey of these insolent marauders. The Christian horsemen fled for the ravine; the Moors pursued them down the hill, until they heard a great shouting and tumult behind them. Looking round, they beheld their town assailed, and a scaling party mounting the walls, sword in hand. Wheeling about, they galloped furiously for the gate. The Marquis of Cadiz and Luis Fernandez Puerto Carrero rushed forth at the same time, with their ambuscade, and endeavoured to cut them off, but the Moors succeeded in throwing themselves within the walls.

While Puerto Carrero stormed at the gate, the marquis put spurs to his horse, and galloped to the support of Ortega de Prado and his scaling party. He arrived at a moment of imminent peril, when the party was assailed by fifty Moors, armed with cuirasses and lances, who were on the point of thrusting them from the walls. The marquis sprang from his horse, mounted a ladder, sword in hand, followed by a number of his troops, and made a vigorous attack upon the enemy. They were soon driven from the walls, and the gates and towers remained in possession of the Christians. The Moors defended themselves for a short time in the street; but at length took refuge in the castle, the walls of which were strong, and capable of holding out until relief should arrive. The marquis had no desire to carry on a siege, and he had not provisions sufficient for many prisoners: he granted them, therefore, favourable terms. They were permitted, on leaving their arms behind them, to march out, with as much of their effects as they could carry; and it was stipulated, that they should pass over to Barbary. The marquis remained in the place, until both town and castle were put in a perfect state of defence, and strongly garrisoned.

Thus did Zahara return once more into the possession of the Christians, to the great confusion of old Muley Aben Hassan; who, having paid the penalty of his ill-timed violence, was now deprived of its vaunted fruits. The Castilian sovereigns were so gratified by this achievement of the valiant Ponce de Leon, that they authorized him, thenceforth, to entitle himself Duke of Cadiz and Marquis of Zahara. The warrior, however, was so proud of the original title, under which he had so often signalized himself, that he gave it the precedence, and always signed himself Marquis Duke of Cadiz. As the reader may have acquired the same predilection, we shall continue to call him by his ancient title.

\* Cura de los Palacios, c. 68.



## CHAPTER XXVI.

OF THE FORTRESS OF ALHAMA; AND HOW WISELY IT WAS GOVERNED BY THE COUNT DE TENDILLA.

In this part of his chronicle the worthy Fray Antonio Agapida indulges in triumphant exultation over the downfall of Zahara. "Heaven sometimes speaks," says he, "through the mouths of false prophets, for the confusion of the wicked. By the fall of the fortress was the prediction of the santon of Granada in some measure fulfilled, that the ruins of Zahara should fall upon the heads of the infidels."

Our zealous chronicler scoffs at the Moorish alcaide, who lost his fortress by surprise, in broad day-light; and contrasts the vigilance of the Christian governor of Alhama, the town taken in retaliation for the storming of Zahara.

The important post of Alhama was at this time confided, by King Ferdinand, to Don Diego Lopez de Mendoza, Count de Tendilla; a cavalier of noble blood, brother to the grand cardinal of Spain. He had been instructed by the king, not merely to maintain his post, but also to make sallies, and lay waste the surrounding country. His fortress was critically stationed. It was within seven leagues of Granada, and at no great distance from the warlike city of Loxa. It was nestled in the lap of the mountains, commanding the high road to Malaga, and a view over the extensive vega. Thus situate, in the heart of the enemy's country, surrounded by foes ready to assail him, and a rich country for him to ravage, it behoved this cavalier to be for ever on the alert. He was, in fact, an experienced veteran, a shrewd and wary officer, and a commander amazingly prompt and fertile in expedients.

On assuming the command, he found, that the garrison consisted but of one thousand men, horse and foot. They were hardy troops, seasoned in rough mountain campaigning; but reckless and dissolute, as soldiers are apt to be, when accustomed to predatory warfare. They would fight hard for booty, and then gamble it heedlessly away, or squander it in licentious revellings. Alhama abounded with hawking, sharpening, idle hangers-on, eager to profit by the vices and follies of the garrison. The soldiers were oftener gambling and dancing beneath the walls, than keeping watch upon the battlements; and nothing was heard from morning till night, but the noisy contest of cards and dice, mingled with the sound of the bolero or fandango, the drowsy strumming of the guitar, and the rattling of the castanets; while often the whole was interrupted by the loud brawl and fierce and bloody contest.

The Count de Tendilla set himself vigorously to reform these excesses. He knew, that laxity of morals is generally attended by neglect of duty; and that the least breach of discipline, in the exposed situation of his fortress, might be fatal. "Here is but a hand-

ful of men," said he: "it is necessary that each man should be a hero."

He endeavoured to awaken a proper ambition in the minds of his soldiers, and to instil into them the high principles of chivalry. "A just war," he observed, "is often rendered wicked and disastrous by the manner in which it is conducted: for the righteousness of the cause is not sufficient to sanction the profligacy of the means; and the want of order and subordination among the troops may bring ruin and disgrace upon the best concerted plans." But we cannot describe the character and conduct of this renowned commander in more forcible language than that of Fray Antonio Agapida, excepting, that the pious father places, in the foreground of his virtues, his hatred of the Moors.

"The Count de Tendilla," says he, "was a mirror of Christian knighthood: watchful, abstemious, chaste, devout, and thoroughly filled with the spirit of the cause. He laboured incessantly and strenuously for the glory of the faith, and the prosperity of their most catholic majesties; and, above all, he hated the infidels with a pure and holy hatred. This worthy cavalier discountenanced all idleness, rioting, chambering, and wantonness, among his soldiers. He kept them constantly to the exercise of arms, making them adroit in the use of their weapons and management of their steeds, and prompt for the field, at a moment's notice. He permitted no sound of lute, or harp, or song, or other loose minstrelsy, to be heard in his fortress; debauching the ear and softening the valour of the soldier: no other music was allowed but the wholesome rolling of the drums and braying of the trumpet, and such like spirit-stirring instruments, as fill the mind with thoughts of iron war. All wandering minstrels, sharpening pedlers, sturdy trulls, and other camp trumpery, were ordered to pack up their baggage, and were drummed out of the gates of Alhama. In place of such rabble, he introduced a train of holy friars, to inspirit his people by exhortation, and prayer, and choral chanting; and to spur them on to fight the good fight of faith. All games of chance were prohibited, except the game of war; and this he laboured, by vigilance and vigour, to reduce to a game of certainty. Heaven smiled upon the efforts of this righteous cavalier. His men became soldiers at all points, and terrors to the Moors. The good count never set forth on a ravage without observing the rites of confession, absolution, and communion, and obliging his followers to do the same. Their banners were blessed by the holy friars whom he maintained in Alhama; and, in this way, success was secured to his arms; and he was enabled to lay waste the land of the heathen.

"The fortress of Alhama," continues Fray Antonio Agapida, "overlooked, from its lofty site, a great part of the fertile vega, watered by the Caza and the Xenil. From this he made frequent sallies, sweeping away the flocks and herds from the pasture, the labourer from the field, and the convoy from the

road; so that it was said by the Moors, that a beetle could not crawl across the vega without being seen by the Count de Tendilla. The peasantry, therefore, were fain to betake themselves to watch-towers and fortified hamlets, where they shut up their cattle, garnered their corn, and sheltered their wives and children. Even there they were not safe: the count would storm these rustic fortresses with fire and sword; make captives of their inhabitants; carry off the corn, the oil, the silks, and cattle; and leave the ruins blazing and smoking, within the very sight of Granada.

"It was a pleasing and refreshing sight," continues the good father, "to behold the pious knight and his followers returning from one of these crusades, leaving the rich land of the infidel in smoking desolation behind them. To behold the long line of mules and asses, laden with the plunder of the Gentiles, the hosts of captive Moors, men, women, and children; droves of sturly beeves, lowing kine, and bleating sheep; all winding up the steep acclivity to the gates of Alhama, pricked on by the catholic soldiery. His garrison thus thrived on the fat of the land and the spoil of the infidel: nor was he unmindful of the pious fathers, whose blessings crowned his enterprises with success; a large portion of the spoil was always dedicated to the church, and the good friars were ever ready at the gates to hail him on his return, and receive the share allotted them. Besides these allotments, he made many votive offerings, either in time of peril or on the eve of a foray; and the chapels of Alhama were resplendent with chalices, crosses, and other precious gifts, made by this catholic cavalier."

Thus eloquently praise the venerable Fray Antonio Agapida dilate in praise of the good Count de Tendilla; and other historians, of equal veracity but less unction, agree in pronouncing him one of the ablest of Spanish generals. So terrible, in fact, did he become in the land, that the Moorish peasantry could not venture a league from Granada or Loxa, to labour in the fields, without peril of being carried into captivity. The people of Granada clamoured against Muley Aben Hassan for suffering his lands to be thus outraged and insulted, and demanded to have this bold marauder shut up in his fortress. The old monarch was roused by their remonstrances. He sent forth powerful troops of horse to protect the country during the season that the husbandmen were abroad in the fields. These troops patrolled, in formidable squadrons, in the neighbourhood of Alhama, keeping strict watch upon its gates, so that it was impossible for the Christians to make a sally, without being seen and interrupted.

While Alhama was thus blockaded by a roving force of Moorish cavalry, the inhabitants were awakened one night, by a tremendous crash, that shook the fortress to its foundations. The garrison flew to arms, supposing it some assault of the enemy. The alarm proved to have been caused by a rupture of a portion of the wall, which, undermined by heavy

rains, had suddenly given way, leaving a large chasm yawning towards the plain.

The Count de Tendilla was for a time in great anxiety. Should this breach be discovered by the blockading horsemen, they would arouse the country. Granada and Loxa would pour out an overwhelming force, and they would find his walls ready sapped for an assault. In this fearful emergency, the count displayed his noted talent for expedients. He ordered a quantity of linen cloth to be stretched in front of the breach, painted in imitation of stone, and indented with battlements, so as, at a distance, to resemble the other parts of the walls. Behind this screen, he employed workmen, day and night, in repairing the fracture. No one was permitted to leave the fortress, lest information of its defenceless plight should be carried to the Moors. Light squadrons of the enemy were seen hovering about the plain, but none approached near enough to discover the deception; and thus, in the course of a few days, the wall was rebuilt stronger than before.

There was another expedient of this shrewd veteran, which greatly excites the marvel of Agapida. "It happened," he observes, "that this catholic cavalier at one time was destitute of gold and silver, wherewith to pay the wages of his troops; and the soldiers murmured greatly, seeing that they had not the means of purchasing necessaries from the people of the town. In this dilemma, what does this most sagacious commander? He takes him a number of little morsels of paper, on which he inscribes various sums, large and small, according to the nature of the case, and signs them with his own hand and name. These did he give to the soldiery, in earnest of their pay. How! you will say, are soldiers to be paid with scraps of paper? Even so, I answer, and well paid too, as I will presently make manifest: for the good count issued a proclamation, ordering the inhabitants of Alhama to take these morsels of paper for the full amount thereon inscribed, promising to redeem them, at a future time, with silver and gold, and threatening a severe punishment, to all who should refuse. The people, having full confidence in his words, and trusting, that he would be as willing to perform the one promise, as he certainly was able to perform the other, took these curious morsels of paper without hesitation or demur.

"Thus, by a subtle and most miraculous kind of alchymy, did this catholic cavalier turn worthless paper into precious gold, and make his late impoverished garrison abound in money."

It is but just to add, that the Count de Tendilla redeemed his promises like a loyal knight; and this miracle, as it appeared in the eyes of Fray Antonio Agapida, is the first instance on record of paper money, which has since inundated the civilized world with unbounded opulence.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

## FORAY OF CHRISTIAN KNIGHTS INTO THE TERRITORIES OF THE MOORS.

THE Spanish cavaliers, who had survived the memorable massacre among the mountains of Malaga, although they had repeatedly avenged the death of their companions, yet could not forget the horror and humiliation of their defeat. Nothing would satisfy them but to undertake a second expedition of the kind, to carry fire and sword throughout a wide part of the Moorish territories, and to leave all those regions, which had triumphed in their disaster, a black and burning monument of their vengeance. Their wishes accorded with the policy of the king, who desired to lay waste the country, and destroy the resources, of the enemy; every assistance was therefore given, to promote and accomplish their enterprise.

In the spring of 1484, the ancient city of Antequera again resounded with arms. Numbers of the same cavaliers, who had assembled there so gaily the preceding year, again came wheeling into the gates, with their steeled and shining warriors, but with a more dark and solemn brow than on that disastrous occasion; for they had the recollection of their slaughtered friends present to their minds, whose deaths they were to avenge.

In a little while there was a chosen force of six thousand horse and twelve thousand foot assembled in Antequera, many of them the very flower of Spanish chivalry, troops of the established military and religious orders, and of the Holy Brotherhood.

Every precaution had been taken to provide this army with all things needful for its extensive and perilous inroad. Numerous surgeons accompanied it, who were to attend upon all the sick and wounded, without charge, being paid for their services by the queen. Isabella also, in her considerate humanity, provided six spacious tents, furnished with beds, and all things requisite for the wounded and infirm. These continued to be used in all great expeditions throughout the war, and were called the Queen's Hospital. The worthy father, Fray Antonio Agapida, vaunts this benignant provision of the queen, as the first introduction of a regular camp hospital in campaigning service.

Thus thoroughly prepared, the cavaliers issued forth from Antequera in splendid and terrible array, but with less exulting confidence and vaunting ostentation than on their former foray: and this was the order of the army.

Don Alonso de Aguilar led the advanced guard, accompanied by Don Diego Fernandez de Cordova, alcaide de los Donzeles, and Luiz Fernandez Puerto Carrero, Count of Palma, with their household troops. They were followed by Juan de Merlo, Juan de Almaraz, and Carlos de Biezman, of the Holy Brotherhood, with the men-at-arms of their captaincies.

The second battalion was commanded by the Marquis of Cadiz and the master of Santiago, with the cavaliers of Santiago, and the troops of the house of Ponce de Leon: with these also went the senior commander of Calatrava, and the knights of that order, and various other cavaliers and their retainers.

The right wing of this second battalion was led by Gonsalvo de Cordova, afterwards renowned as grand captain of Spain: the left wing, by Diego Lopez de Avila. They were accompanied by several cavaliers, and certain captains of the Holy Brotherhood, with their men-at-arms.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia and the Count de Cabra commanded the third battalion, with the troops of their respective houses. They were accompanied by other commanders of note, with their forces.

The rearguard was brought up by the senior commander and knights of Alcantara, followed by the Andalusian chivalry, from Xerez, Ecija, and Carmona.

Such was the army that issued forth from the gates of Antequera, on one of the most extensive *talas*, or devastating inroads, that ever laid waste the kingdom of Granada.

The army entered the Moorish territory by the way of Alora, destroying all the corn-fields, vineyards and orchards, and plantations of olives, round that city. It then proceeded through the rich valleys and fertile uplands of Coin, Cazarabonela, Almedia, and Cartama, and, in ten days, all those fertile regions were a smoking and frightful desert. From hence it pursued its slow and destructive course, like the stream of lava of a volcano, through the regions of Pupiana, and Allendin, and so on to the vega of Malaga, laying waste the groves of olives and almonds, and the fields of grain, and destroying every green thing. The Moors of some of those places interceded in vain for their groves and fields, offering to deliver up their Christian captives. One part of the army blockaded the towns, while the other ravaged the surrounding country. Sometimes the Moors sallied forth desperately to defend their property, but were driven back to their gates with slaughter, and their suburbs pillaged and burnt. It was an awful spectacle at night, to behold the volumes of black smoke, mingled with lurid flames, that rose from the burning suburbs, and the women on the walls of the town, wringing their hands, and shrieking at the desolation of their dwellings.

The destroying army, on arriving at the sea-coast, found vessels lying off shore, laden with all kinds of provisions and munitions for its use, which had been sent from Seville and Xerez. It was thus enabled to continue its desolating career. Advancing to the neighbourhood of Malaga, it was bravely assailed by the Moors of that city, and there was severe skirmishing for a whole day; but while the main part of the army encountered the enemy, the rest ravaged the whole vega, and destroyed all the mills. As the object of the expedition was not to capture places, but

commanded by the Marquis of Santiago, with the troops of the house of Alcantara, also went the senior commander, the knights of that order, and their retainers.

The second battalion was led by warriors renowned as grand warriors, by Diego Lopez de Sotomayor, and several cavaliers. Holy Brotherhood, with

Alfonso de Albornoz and the Count de Castile, with the troops of the house of Alcantara. They were accompanied by the Count de Alentejo, with their forces.

They were brought up by the senior commander of Alcantara, followed by the Count de Alentejo, from Xerez, Ecija, and

Alcobaça, issued forth from the gates of the most extensive *talas*, or salt-marshes, never laid waste the kingdom

Moorish territory by the way of the corn-fields, vineyards, plantations of olives, round that through the rich valleys and the *cañadas*, of Cazarabonela, Almería, and Almería, all those fertile regions fruitful desert. From hence it was a destructive course, like the *cañada*, through the regions of the *vega*, and so on to the *vega* of the groves of olives and almonds, and destroying every grove of some of those places, their groves and fields, offering Christian captives. One part of the towns, while the other remained to defend their suburbs, back to their gates with their suburbs pillaged and burnt. It was at night, to behold the volumes of fire with lurid flames, that rose from the hands, and shivered their dwellings.

On arriving at the sea-coast, the fleet, laden with all kinds of provisions for its use, which had been sent from Xerez. It was thus enabled to proceed. Advancing to the city, it was bravely assailed by the Moors, and there was severe skirmishing while the main part of the army, the rest ravaged the country, and all the mills. As the object was not to capture places, but

merely to burn, ravage, and destroy, the host, satisfied with the mischief they had done in the *vega*, turned their backs upon Malaga, and again entered the mountains. They passed by Coin, and through the regions of Allagagna, and Gatero, and Alhamin; all which were likewise desolated. In this way did they make the circuit of that chain of rich and verdant valleys, the glory of those mountains, and the pride and delight of the Moors. For forty days did they continue on, like a consuming fire, leaving a smoking and howling waste to mark their course, until, weary with the work of destruction, and having fully sated their revenge for the massacre of the Axarquía, they returned in triumph to the meadows of Antequera.

In the month of June, King Ferdinand took command in person of this destructive army. He increased its force; and he added to its means of mischief several lombards, and other heavy artillery, intended for the battering of towns, and managed by engineers from France and Germany. With these, the Marquis of Cadiz assured the king, he would soon be able to reduce the Moorish fortresses. They were only calculated for the defence against the engines anciently used in warfare. Their walls and towers were high and thin, depending on their rough and rocky situations. The stone and iron balls, thundered from the lombards, would soon tumble them in ruins upon the heads of their defenders.

The fate of Alora speedily proved the truth of this opinion. It was strongly posted on a rock, washed by a river. The artillery soon battered down two of the towers, and a part of the wall. The Moors were thrown into consternation at the vehemence of the assault, and the effect of those tremendous engines upon their vaulted bulwarks. The roaring of the artillery, and the tumbling of the walls, terrified the women; who beset the alcaide with vociferous supplications to surrender. The place was given up on the 20th of June, on condition that the inhabitants might depart with their effects. The people of Malaga, as yet unacquainted with the power of this battering ordnance, were so incensed at those of Alora, for what they considered a tame surrender, that they would not admit them into their city.

A similar fate attended the town of Setenil, built on a lofty rock, and esteemed impregnable. Many times had it been besieged, under former Christian kings, but never had it been taken. Even now, for several days, the artillery was directed against it without effect; and many of the cavaliers murmured at the Marquis of Cadiz, for having counselled the king to attack this unconquerable place.

On the same night that these reproaches were uttered, the marquis directed the artillery himself. He levelled the lombards at the bottom of the walls, and at the gates. In a little while, the gates were battered to pieces; a great breach was effected in the walls; and the Moors were fain to capitulate. Twenty

four Christian captives, who had been taken in the defeat of the mountains of Malaga, were rescued from the dungeons of this fortress, and hailed the Marquis of Cadiz as their deliverer.

Needless is it to mention the capture of various other places, which surrendered without waiting to be attacked. The Moors had always shown great bravery and perseverance in defending their towns; they were formidable in their sallies and skirmishes, and patient in enduring hunger and thirst when besieged: but this terrible ordnance, which demolished their walls with such ease and rapidity, overwhelmed them with confusion and dismay, and rendered vain all resistance. King Ferdinand was so struck with the effect of this artillery, that he ordered the number of lombards to be increased; and these potent engines had henceforth a great influence on the fortunes of the war.

The last operation of this year, so disastrous to the Moors, was an inroad by King Ferdinand, in the latter part of summer, into the *vega*; in which he ravaged the country, burned two villages near Granada, and destroyed the mills close to the very gates of the city.

Old Muley Aben Hassan was overwhelmed with dismay at this desolation; which, during the whole year, had been raging throughout his territories, and had now reached to the walls of his capital. His fierce spirit was broken by misfortunes and infirmity: he offered to purchase a peace, and to hold his crown as a tributary vassal. Ferdinand would listen to no propositions; the absolute conquest of Granada was the great object of the war; and he was resolved never to rest content without its complete fulfillment. Having supplied and strengthened the garrisons of the places he had taken in the heart of the Moorish territories, he enjoined their commanders to render every assistance to the younger Moorish king, in the civil war against his father. He then returned with his army to Cordova, in great triumph; closing a series of ravaging campaigns, that had filled the kingdom of Granada with grief and consternation.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### ATTEMPT OF EL ZAGAL TO SURPRISE BOABDIL IN ALMERIA.

DURING this year of sorrow and disaster to the Moors, the younger king, Boabdil, most truly called the unfortunate, held a diminished and feeble court in the maritime city of Almería. He retained little more than the name of king; and was supported, in even the shadow of royalty, by the countenance and treasures of the Castilian sovereigns. Still he trusted that, in the fluctuation of events, the inconstant nation might once more return to his standard, and replace him on the throne of the Alhambra.

His mother, the high-spirited sultana Ayxa la



Horra, endeavoured to rouse him from this passive state. "It is a feeble mind," said she, "that waits for the turn of fortune's wheel; the brave mind seizes upon it, and turns it to its purpose. Take the field, and you may drive danger before you; remain cowering at home, and it besieges you in your dwelling. By a bold enterprise, you may regain your splendid throne in Granada; by passive forbearance, you will forfeit even this miserable throne in Almeria."

Boabdil had not the force of soul to follow these courageous counsels; and, in a little time, the evils his mother had predicted fell upon him.

Old Muley Aben Hassan was almost extinguished by age and infirmity. He had nearly lost his sight, and was completely bed-ridden. His brother Abdalla, surnamed El Zagal, or "the valiant," the same who had assisted in the massacre of the Spanish chivalry among the mountains of Malaga, was commander in chief of the Moorish armies; and gradually took upon himself most of the cares of sovereignty. Among other things, he was particularly zealous in espousing his brother's quarrel with his son; and he prosecuted it with such vehemence, that many affirmed there was something more than fraternal sympathy at the bottom of his zeal.

The disasters and disgraces inflicted on the country by the Christians, during this year, had wounded the national feelings of the people of Almeria; and many had felt indignant, that Boabdil should remain passive at such a time; or rather, should appear to make a common cause with the enemy. His uncle Abdalla diligently fomented this feeling by his agents. The same arts were made use of that had been successful in Granada. Boabdil was secretly, but actively, denounced by the alfaquis as an apostate, leagued with the Christians against his country and his early faith. The affections of the populace and soldiery were gradually alienated from him, and a deep conspiracy concerted for his destruction. In the month of February, 1485, El Zagal suddenly appeared before Almeria, at the head of a troop of horse. The alfaquis were prepared for his arrival, and the gates were thrown open to him. He entered, with his band, and galloped to the citadel. The alcaide would have made resistance; but the garrison put him to death, and received El Zagal with acclamations. El Zagal rushed through the apartments of the alcazar, but he sought in vain for Boabdil. He found the sultana Ayxa la Horra in one of the saloons, with Ben Ahagete, a younger brother of the monarch, a valiant Abencerrage, and several attendants, who rallied round them to protect them. "Where is the traitor Boabdil?" exclaimed El Zagal. "I know no traitor more perfidious than thyself," exclaimed the intrepid sultana: "and I trust my son is in safety, to take vengeance on thy treason." The rage of El Zagal was without bounds, when he learned that his intended victim had escaped. In his fury he slew the prince, Ben Ahagete; and his followers fell upon and massacred the Abencerrage

and attendants. As to the proud sultana, she was borne away prisoner, and loaded with revilings; as having upheld her son in his rebellion, and fomented a civil war.

The unfortunate Boabdil had been apprised of his danger by a faithful soldier, just in time to make his escape. Throwing himself on one of the fleetest horses of his stables, and followed by a handful of adherents, he had galloped, in the confusion, out of the gates of Almeria. Several of the cavalry of El Zagal, who were stationed without the walls, perceived his flight, and attempted to pursue him. Their horses were jaded with travel, and he soon left them far behind. But whither was he to fly? Every fortress and castle in the kingdom was closed against him. He knew not whom among the Moors to trust; for they had been taught to detest him, as a traitor and an apostate. He had no alternative but to seek refuge among the Christians, his hereditary enemies. With a heavy heart, he turned his horse's head towards Cordova. He had to lurk, like a fugitive, through a part of his own dominions; nor did he feel himself secure until he had passed the frontier, and beheld the mountain barrier of his country towering behind him. Then it was that he became conscious of his humiliating state: a fugitive from his throne; an outcast from his nation; a king without a kingdom. He smote his breast in an agony of grief. "Evil indeed," exclaimed he, "was the day of my birth; and truly was I named El Zogoybi, the unlucky!"

He entered the gates of Cordova with downcast countenance, and with a train of only forty followers. The sovereigns were absent; but the cavaliers of Andalusia manifested that sympathy in the misfortunes of the monarch, that becomes men of lofty and chivalrous souls. They received him with great distinction, attended him with the utmost courtesy; and he was honourably entertained by the civil and military commanders of that ancient city.

In the mean time, El Zagal put a new alcaide over Almeria, to govern in the name of his brother; and, having strongly garrisoned the place, he repaired to Malaga, where an attack of the Christians was apprehended. The young monarch being driven out of the land, and the old monarch blind and bed-ridden, El Zagal, at the head of the armies, was virtually the sovereign of Granada. The people were pleased with having a new idol to look up to, and a new name to shout forth; and El Zagal was hailed with acclamations, as the main hope of the nation.

#### CHAPTER XXIX.

HOW KING FERDINAND COMMENCED ANOTHER CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE MOORS, AND HOW HE LAID SIEGE TO COIN AND CARTAGENA.

THE great effect of the battering ordnance, in demolishing the Moorish fortresses, in the preceding

year, induced King Ferdinand to procure a powerful train for the campaign of 1483; in the course of which he resolved to assault some of the most formidable holds of the enemy. An army of nine thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry assembled at Cordova early in the spring; and the king took the field on the 5th of April. It had been determined, in secret council, to attack the city of Malaga, that ancient and important sea-port, on which Granada depended for foreign aid and supplies. It was thought proper previously, however, to get possession of various towns and fortresses in the valleys of Santa Maria and Cartama, through which pass the roads to Malaga.

The first place assailed was the town of Benamaque. It had submitted to the catholic sovereigns in the preceding year, but had since renounced its allegiance. King Ferdinand was enraged at the rebellion of the inhabitants. "I will make their punishment, said he, a terror to others: they shall be loyal through force, if not through faith." The place was carried by storm; one hundred and eight of the principal inhabitants were either put to the sword or hanged on the battlements. The rest were carried into captivity.

The towns of Coin and Cartama were besieged on the same day; the first by a division of the army led on by the Marquis of Cadiz; the second by another division, commanded by Don Alonso de Aguilar, and Luis Fernandez Puerto Carrero, the brave senior of Palma. The king, with the rest of the army, remained posted between the two places, to render assistance to either division. The batteries opened upon both places at the same time; and the thunder of the lombards was mutually heard from one camp to the other. The Moors made frequent sallies, and a valiant defence; but they were confounded by the tremendous uproar of the batteries, and the destruction of their walls. In the mean time, the alarm-fires gathered together the Moorish mountaineers of the Serrania, who assembled in great numbers in the city of Monda, about a league from Coin.

They made several attempts to enter the besieged town, but in vain; they were each time intercepted and driven back by the Christians, and were reduced to gaze at a distance, in despair, on the destruction of the place. While thus situated, there rode one day into Monda a fierce and haughty Moorish chieftain, at the head of a band of swarthy African horsemen. It was Hamet el Zegri, the fiery-spirited alcaide of Ronda, at the head of his band of Gomerers. He had not yet recovered from the rage and mortification of his defeat on the banks of the Lopera, in the disastrous foray of old Bexir, when he had been obliged to steal back to his mountains, with the loss of his bravest followers. He had ever since panted for revenge. He now rode among the host of warriors assembled at Monda. "Who among you," cried he, "feels pity for the women and children of Coin, ex-

posed to captivity and death? Whoever he is, let him follow me, who am ready to die as a Moslem for the relief of Moslems!" So saying, he seized a white banner, and, waving it over his head, rode forth from the town, followed by the Gomerers. Many of the warriors, roused by his words and his example, spurred resolutely after his banner. The people of Coin, being prepared for this attempt, sallied forth as they saw the white banner, and made an attack upon the Christian camp; and, in the confusion of the moment, Hamet and his followers galloped into the gates. This reinforcement animated the besieged, and Hamet exhorted them to hold out obstinately in defence of life and the town. As the Gomerers were veteran warriors, the more they were attacked, the harder they fought.

At length, a great breach was made in the walls; and Ferdinand, who was impatient of the resistance of the place, ordered the Duke of Naxera and the Count of Benavente to enter with their troops; and, as their forces were not sufficient, he sent word to Luis de Cerda, Duke of Medina Celi, to send a part of his people to their assistance.

The feudal pride of the duke was roused at this demand. "Tell my lord the king," said the haughty grandee, "that I have come to succour him with my household troops. If my people are ordered to any place, I am to go with them; but if I am to remain in the camp, they must remain with me: for troops cannot serve without their commander, nor their commander without his troops."

The reply of the high-spirited grandee perplexed the cautious Ferdinand, who knew the jealous pride of his powerful nobles. In the mean time, the people of the camp, having made all preparations for the assault, were impatient to be led forward. Upon this Pero Ruyz de Alarcon put himself at their head, and, seizing their mantas, or portable bulwarks, and their other defences, they made a gallant assault, and fought their way in at the breach. The Moors were so overcome by the fury of their assault, that they retreated fighting to the square of the town. Pero Ruyz de Alarcon thought the place was carried, when suddenly Hamet and his Gomerers came scouring through the streets, with wild war-cries, and fell furiously upon the Christians. The latter were, in their turn, beaten back; and, while attacked in front by the Gomerers, were assailed by the inhabitants with all kinds of missiles, from their roofs and windows. They at length gave way, and retreated through the breach. Pero Ruyz de Alarcon still maintained his ground in one of the principal streets. The few cavaliers that stood by him urged him to fly: "No," said he, "I came here to fight, and not to fly!" He was presently surrounded by the Gomerers. His companions fled for their lives. Before they fled, they saw him covered with wounds, but still fighting desperately for the fame of a good cavalier.

The resistance of the inhabitants, though aided by

\* Pulgar. Garibay. Cura de los Palacios.

\* Pulgar, part. iii, cap. 42.

the valour of the Gomerés, was of no avail. The battering artillery of the Christians demolished their walls; combustibles were thrown into their town, which set it on fire in various places, and they were at length compelled to capitulate. They were permitted to depart with their effects, and the Gomerés with their arms. Hamet el Zegri and his African band sallied forth, and rode proudly through the Christian camp; nor could the Spanish cavaliers refrain from regarding with admiration that haughty warrior and his devoted and dauntless adherents.

The capture of Coin was accompanied by that of Cartama. The fortifications of the latter were repaired and garrisoned; but Coin being too extensive to be defended by a moderate force, its walls were demolished. The siege of these places struck such terror into the surrounding country, that the Moors of many of the neighbouring towns abandoned their homes, and fled, with such of their effects as they could carry away: upon which the king gave orders to demolish their walls and towers.

King Ferdinand now left his camp and his heavy artillery near Cartama, and proceeded with his lighter troops to reconnoitre Malaga. By this time the secret plan of attack, arranged in the council of war at Cordova, was known to all the world. The vigilant warrior, El Zagal, had thrown himself into the place. He had put all the fortifications, which were of vast strength, into a state of defence, and had sent orders to the alcaýdes of the mountain towns to hasten with their forces to his assistance.

The very day that Ferdinand appeared before the place, El Zagal sallied forth to receive him at the head of a thousand cavalry, the choicest warriors of Granada. A hot skirmish took place among the gardens and olive-trees near the city. Many were killed on both sides, and this gave the Christians a sharp foretaste of what they might expect, if they attempted to besiege the place.

When the skirmish was over, the Marquis of Cadiz had a private conference with the king. He represented the difficulty of besieging Malaga with their present force, especially as their plans had been discovered and anticipated, and the whole country was marching over the mountains to oppose them. The marquis, who had secret intelligence from all quarters, had received a letter from Juceph Xerife, a Moor of Ronda, of Christian lineage, apprising him of the situation of that important place and its garrison, which at that moment laid it open to attack; and the marquis was urgent with the king to seize upon this critical moment, and secure a place, which was one of the most powerful Moorish fortresses on the frontiers, and, in the hands of Hamet el Zegri, had been the scourge of Andalusia. The good marquis had another motive for his advice, becoming a true and loyal knight. In the deep dungeons of Ronda languished several of his companions in arms, who had been captured in the defeat in the Axarquía. To break their chains, and restore them to liberty and

light, he felt to be his peculiar duty, as one of those who had most promoted that disastrous enterprise.

King Ferdinand listened to the advice of the marquis. He knew the importance of Ronda, which was considered one of the keys of the kingdom of Granada; and he was disposed to punish the inhabitants, for the aid they had rendered to the garrison at Coin. The siege of Malaga, therefore, was abandoned for the present, and preparations made for a rapid and secret move against the city of Ronda.

## CHAPTER XXX.

## SIEGE OF RONDA.

THE bold Hamet el Zegri, the alcaýde of Ronda, had returned sullenly to his stronghold after the surrender of Coin. He had fleshed his sword in battle with the Christians; but his thirst for vengeance was still unsatisfied. Hamet gloried in the strength of his fortress and the valour of his people. A fierce and warlike populace was at his command; his signal-fires would summon all the warriors of the Serranía; his Gomerés almost subsisted on the spoils of Andalusia; and in the rock on which his fortress was built were hopeless dungeons, filled with Christian captives, who had been carried off by these war-hawks of the mountains.

Ronda was considered as impregnable. It was situated in the heart of wild and rugged mountains, and perched upon an isolated rock, crested by a strong citadel, with triple walls and towers. A deep ravine, or rather a perpendicular chasm of rocks, of frightful depth, surrounded three parts of the city; through this flowed the Rio Verde, or Green River. There were two suburbs to the city, fortified by walls and towers, and almost inaccessible, from the natural asperity of the rocks. Around this rugged city were deep rich valleys, sheltered by the mountains, refreshed by constant streams, abounding with grain and the most delicious fruits, and yielding verdant meadows; in which was reared a renowned breed of horses, the best in the whole kingdom for a foal.

Hamet el Zegri had scarcely returned to Ronda, when he received intelligence, that the Christian army was marching to the siege of Malaga, and orders from El Zagal to send troops to his assistance. Hamet sent a part of his garrison for that purpose. In the mean time, he meditated an expedition to which he was stimulated by pride and revenge. All Andalusia was now drained of its troops: there was an opportunity, therefore, for an inroad, by which he might wipe out the disgrace of his defeat at the battle of Lopera. Apprehending no danger to his mountain city, now that the storm of war had passed down into the vega of Malaga, he left but a remnant of his garrison to man its walls; and, putting himself at the head of his band of Gomerés, swept down suddenly

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i, the alcaide of Ronda, stronghold after the sur- dished his sword in battle s thirst for vengeance was oried in the strength of his his people. A fierce and his command; his signal- warriors of the Serrania; sted on the spoils of Anda- which his fortress was built filled with Christian cap- ed off by these war-hawks

as impregnable. It was si- and rugged mountains, and d rock, crested by a strong and towers. A deep ravine, chasm of rocks, of frightful parts of the city; through e, or Green River. There city, fortified by walls and essible, from the natural a- ound this rugged city were ed by the mountains, refresh- abounding with grain and and yielding verdant mead- eared a renowned breed of hole kingdom for a foray. earcely returned to Ronda. lligence, that the Christian he siege of Malaga, and or- and troops to his assistance. s garrison for that purpose. litated an expedition to which ride and revenge. All An- l of its troops: there was an for an inroad, by which he ace of his defeat at the battle ng no danger to his moun- tform of war had passed down he left but a remnant of his s; and, putting himself at the neres, swept down suddenl

into the plains of Andalusia. He careered, almost without resistance, over those vast campinas, or pasture-lands, which form a part of the domains of the Duke of Medina Sidonia. In vain the bells were rung, and the alarm-fires kindled; the band of Hamet had passed by before any force could be assembled; and was only to be traced, like a hurricane, by the devastation it had made.

Hamet regained in safety the Serrania de Ronda, exulting in his successful inroad. The mountain glens were filled with long droves of cattle, and flocks of sheep, from the campinas of Medina Sidonia. There were mules, too, laden with the plunder of the vil- lages; and every warrior had some costly spoil of jewels for his favourite mistress.

As El Zegri drew near to Ronda, he was roused from his dream of triumph by the sound of heavy ord- nance, following through the mountain defiles. His heart misgave him: he put spurs to his horse, and galloped in advance of his lagging cavalgada. As he proceeded, the noise of the ordnance increased, echoing from cliff to cliff. Spurring his horse up a craggy height, which commanded an extensive view, he beheld, to his consternation, the country about Ronda white with the tents of a besieging army. The royal standard, displayed before a proud encampment, showed that Ferdinand himself was present; while the incessant blaze and thunder of artillery, and the volumes of overhanging smoke, told the work of destruction that was going on.

The royal army had succeeded in coming upon Ronda by surprise, during the absence of its alcaide, and most of its garrison; but its inhabitants were war- like, and defended themselves bravely, trusting that Hamet and his Gomeres would soon return to their assistance.

The fancied strength of their bulwarks had been of little avail against the batteries of the besiegers. In the space of four days, three towers, and great masses of the walls which defended the suburbs, were battered down, and the suburbs taken and plundered. Bombards and other heavy ordnance were now levelled at the walls of the city, and stones and missiles of all kinds hurled into the streets. The very rock in which the city stood shook with the thunder of the artillery; and the Christian captives, deep within its dungeons, hailed the sound as the promise of de- liverance.

When Hamet el Zegri beheld his city thus sur- rounded and assailed, he called upon his men to follow him and make a desperate attempt to cut their way through to its relief. They proceeded stealthily through the mountains, until they came to the nearest heights above the Christian camp. When night fell, a part of the army was sunk in sleep, they de- scended the rocks, and rushing suddenly upon the weakest part of the camp, endeavoured to break their way through, and gain the city. The camp was too strong to be forced; they were driven back to the heights of the mountains, whence they defended them-

selves by showering down darts and stones upon their pursuers.

Hamet now lighted alarm-fires about the heights; his standard was joined by the neighbouring moun- taineers, and by troops from Malaga. Thus rein- forced, he made repeated assaults upon the Christians, cutting off all stragglers from the camp. All his at- tempts, however, to force his way into the city were fruitless. Many of his bravest men were slain, and he was obliged to retreat into the fastnesses of the mountains.

In the mean while, the distress of Ronda was hourly increasing. The Marquis of Cadiz, having possession of the suburbs, was enabled to approach to the very foot of the perpendicular precipice, rising from the river, on the summit of which the city is built. At the foot of this rock is a living fountain of limpid water, gushing into a great natural basin. A secret mine led down from within the city to this fountain, by several hundred steps, cut in the solid rock. From this the city obtained its chief supply of water; and the steps were deeply worn by the weary feet of Christian captives employed in the painful labour. The Marquis of Cadiz discovered this subterranean passage, and directed his pioneers to countermine it through the solid body of the rock. They pierced to the shaft; and, stopping it up, deprived the city of the benefit of this precious fountain.

While the brave Marquis of Cadiz was thus press- ing the siege with zeal, and glowing with the gener- ous thoughts of soon delivering his companions in arms from the Moorish dungeons, far other were the feelings of the alcaide, Hamet el Zegri. He smote his breast, and gnashed his teeth, in impotent fury, as he beheld, from the mountain cliffs, the destruction of the city. Every thunder of the Christian ordnance seemed to batter against his heart. He saw tower after tower tumbling by day, and at night the city blazed like a volcano. "They fired not merely stones from their ordnance," says a chronicler of the times, "but likewise great balls of iron, cast in moulds, which demolished every thing they struck." They threw also balls of tow, steeped in pitch and oil and gunpowder, which, when once on fire, were not to be extinguished, and which set the houses in flames.

Great was the horror of the inhabitants. They knew not where to flee for refuge: their houses were in a blaze, or shattered by the ordnance. The streets were perilous, from the falling ruins and the bounding balls, which dashed to pieces every thing they en- countered. At night the city looked like a fiery furnace: the cries and wailings of the women were heard between the thunders of the ordnance, and reached even to the Moors on the opposite moun- tains, who answered them by yells of fury and de- spair.

All hope of external succour being at an end, the inhabitants of Ronda were compelled to capitulate. Ferdinand was easily prevailed upon to grant them favourable terms. The place was capable of longer



resistance; and he feared for the safety of his camp, as the forces were daily augmenting on the mountains, and making frequent assaults. The inhabitants were permitted to depart with their effects, either to Barbary or elsewhere; and those who chose to reside in Spain had lands assigned them, and were indulged in the exercise of their religion.

No sooner did the place surrender, than detachments were sent to attack the Moors, who hovered about the neighbouring mountains. Hamet el Zegri, however, did not remain, to try a fruitless battle. He gave up the game as lost, and retreated with his Gomerres, filled with grief and rage, but trusting to fortune to give him future vengeance.

The first care of the good Marquis of Cadiz, on entering Ronda, was to deliver his unfortunate companions in arms from the dungeons of the fortress. What a difference in their looks, from the time, when, flushed with health and hope, and arrayed in military pomp, they had sallied forth upon the mountain foray! Many of them were almost naked, with irons at their ankles, and beards reaching to their waists. Their meeting with the marquis was joyful, yet it had the look of grief; for their joy was mingled with many bitter recollections. There was an immense number of other captives, among whom were several young men of noble families, who, with filial piety, had surrendered themselves prisoners in place of their fathers.

The captives were all provided with mules, and sent to the queen at Cordova. The humane heart of Isabella melted at the sight of the piteous cavalcade. They were all supplied by her with food and raiment, and money to pay their expenses to their homes. Their chains were hung as pious trophies against the exterior of the church of St Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, where the Christian traveller may regale his eyes with the sight of them at this very day.

Among the Moorish captives was a young infidel maiden of great beauty, who desired to become a Christian, and to remain in Spain. She had been inspired with the light of the true faith, through the ministry of a young man, who had been a captive in Ronda. He was anxious to complete his good work by marrying her. The queen consented to their pious wishes, having first taken care that the young maiden should be properly purified by the holy sacrament of baptism.

"Thus this pestilent nest of warfare and infidelity, the city of Ronda," says the worthy Fray Antonio Agapida, "was converted to the true faith by the thunder of our artillery. An example which was soon followed by Casanbonelas, Alarbella, and other towns in these parts; insomuch that, in the course of this expedition, no less than seventy-two places were rescued from the vile sect of Mahomet, and placed under the benignant domination of the cross."

## CHAPTER XXXI.

HOW THE PEOPLE OF GRANADA INVITED EL ZAGAL TO THE THRONE; AND HOW HE MARCHED TO THE CAPITAL.

THE people of Granada were a versatile, unsteady race, and exceedingly given to make and unmake kings. They had, for a long time, vacillated between old Muley Aben Hassan and his son, Boabdil el Chico; sometimes setting up the one, sometimes the other, and sometimes both at once, according to the pinch and pressure of external evils. They found, however, that the evils still went on increasing, in defiance of every change; and were at their wits' end to devise some new combination or arrangement, by which an efficient government might be wrought out of two bad kings.

When the tidings arrived of the fall of Ronda, and the consequent ruin of the frontier, a tumultuous assemblage took place in one of the public squares. As usual, the people attributed the misfortunes of the country exclusively to the faults of their rulers: for the populace never imagine, that any part of their miseries can originate with themselves. A crafty alfaqui, named Alyme Mazer, who had watched the current of their discontents, rose and harangued them.

"You have been chusing and changing," said he, "between two monarchs; and who and what are they? Muley Aben Hassan for one: a man worn out by age and infirmities; unable to fly forth against the foe, even when ravaging the very gates of the city: and Boabdil el Chico for the other; an apostate, a traitor, a deserter from his throne, a fugitive among the enemies of his nation; a man doomed to misfortune, and proverbially named 'the unlucky.'

"In a time of overwhelming war, like the present, he only is fit to sway a sceptre who can wield a sword. Would you see such a man? You need not look far. Allah has sent such a one, in this time of distress, to retrieve the fortunes of Granada. You already know whom I mean. You know it can be no other than your general, the invincible Abdalla; whose surname of El Zagal has become a watchword in battle, rousing the courage of the faithful, and striking terror into the unbelievers."

The multitude received the words of the alfaqui with acclamations; they were delighted with the idea of a third king over Granada; and Abdalla el Zagal, being of the royal family, and already in the virtual exercise of royal power, the measure had nothing in it that appeared either rash or violent. A deputation was therefore sent to El Zagal at Malaga, inviting him to repair to Granada, to receive the crown.

El Zagal expressed great surprise and repugnance when the mission was announced to him; and nothing but his patriotic zeal for the public safety, and his fraternal eagerness to relieve the aged Aben Hassan from the cares of government, prevailed upon him to accept the offer of the crown. Leaving, therefore,

Rodovan de Vanegas, one of the bravest Moorish generals, in command of Malaga, he departed for Granada, attended by three hundred trusty cavaliers.

Old Muley Aben Hassan did not wait for the arrival of his brother. Unable any longer to buffet with the storms of the times, his only solicitude was to seek some safe and quiet harbour of repose. In one of the deep valleys which indent the Mediterranean coast, and which are shut up, on the land side, by stupendous mountains, stood the little city of Almunecar. The valley was watered by the river Frio, and abounded with fruits, with grain, and with pasturage. The city was strongly fortified; and the garrison and alcaide were devoted to the old monarch. This was the place chosen by Muley Aben Hassan for his asylum. His first care was to send thither all his treasures; his next, to take refuge there himself; his third, that his sultana Zorayna, and their two sons, should follow him.

In the mean time, Muley Abdalla el Zagal pursued his journey towards the capital, attended by his three hundred cavaliers. The road from Malaga to Granada winds close by Alhama, and is commanded by that fortress. This had been a most perilous pass for the Moors during the time that Alhama was commanded by the Count de Tendilla. Not a traveller could escape his eagle eye; and his garrison was ever ready for a sally. The Count de Tendilla, however, had been relieved from this arduous post; and it had been given in charge to Don Gutiere de Padilla, clavero or treasurer of the order of Calatrava; an easy, indulgent man, who had with him three hundred gallant knights of his order, beside other mercenary troops. The garrison had fallen off in discipline; the cavaliers were hardy in fight and daring in foray, but confident in themselves, and negligent of proper precautions. Just before the journey of El Zagal, a number of these cavaliers, with several soldiers of fortune of the garrison, in all one hundred and seventy men, had sallied forth to harass the Moorish country, during its present distracted state; and having ravaged the valleys of the Sierra Nevada, or snowy mountains, were returning to Alhama, in gay spirits, and laden with booty.

As El Zagal passed through the neighbourhood of Alhama, he recollected the ancient perils of the road, and sent light couriers in advance, to inspect each rock and ravine where a foe might lurk in ambush. One of these scouts, overlooking a narrow valley, which opened upon the road, descried a troop of horsemen, on the banks of a little stream. They were dismounted, and had taken the bridles from their steeds, that they might crop the fresh grass on the banks of the river. The horsemen were scattered about; some reposing in the shade of rocks and trees, others gambling for the spoil they had taken. Not a sentinel was posted to keep guard; every thing showed the perfect security of men who consider themselves beyond the reach of danger.

These careless cavaliers were, in fact, the knights

of Calatrava, with a part of their companions in arms, returning from their foray. A part of their force had passed on with the cavalgada: ninety of the principal cavaliers had halted, to repose and refresh themselves in this valley. El Zagal smiled with ferocious joy, when he heard of their negligent security. "Here will be trophies," said he, "to grace our entrance into Granada." Approaching the valley with cautious silence, he wheeled into it at full speed, at the head of his troop, and attacked the Christians so suddenly and furiously, that they had not time to put the bridles upon their horses, or even to leap into the saddles. They made a confused but valiant defence, fighting among the rocks, and in the rugged bed of the river. Their defence was useless; seventy-nine were slain, the remaining eleven were taken prisoners.

A party of the Moors galloped in pursuit of the cavalgada: they soon overtook it, winding slowly up a hill. The horsemen, who convoyed it, perceiving the enemy at a distance, made their escape, and left the spoil to be retaken by the Moors.

El Zagal gathered together his captives and his booty, and proceeded, elate with success, to Granada. He paused before the gate of Elvira; for as yet he had not been proclaimed king. This ceremony was immediately performed; for the fame of his recent exploit had preceded him, and had intoxicated the minds of the giddy populace.

He entered Granada in a sort of triumph. The eleven captive knights of Calatrava walked in front. Next were paraded the ninety captured steeds, bearing the armour and weapons of their late owners, and mounted by as many Moors. Then came seventy Moorish horsemen, with as many Christian heads hanging at their saddle-bows. Muley Abdalla el Zagal followed, surrounded by a number of distinguished cavaliers, richly attired; and the pageant was closed by a long cavalgada of the flocks, and herds, and other booty, recovered from the Christians.

The populace gazed with almost savage triumph at these captive cavaliers, and the gory heads of their companions; knowing them to have been part of the formidable garrison of Alhama, so long the scourge of Granada, and the terror of the vega. They hailed this petty triumph as an auspicious opening of the reign of their new monarch. For several days the names of Muley Aben Hassan and Boabdil el Chico were never mentioned but with contempt; and the whole city resounded with the praises of El Zagal, or "the valiant."

\* Zurita, lib. xx, c. 62. Mariana, Hist. España. Abarca, Anales de Aragon.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

HOW THE COUNT DE CABRA ATTEMPTED TO CAPTURE ANOTHER KING, AND HOW HE FARED IN HIS ATTEMPT.

THE elevation of a bold and active veteran to the throne of Granada, in place of its late bedridden king, made a vast difference in the aspect of the war, and called for some blow that should dash the confidence of the Moors in their new monarch, and animate the Christians to fresh exertions.

Don Diego de Cortova, the brave Count de Cabra, was at this time in his castle of Vaena, where he kept a wary eye upon the frontier. It was now the latter part of August; and he grieved, that the summer should pass away without any inroad into the country of the foe. He sent out his scouts on the prowl, and they brought him word, that the important post of Moclin was but weakly garrisoned. This was a castellated town, strongly situate upon a high mountain, partly surrounded by thick forests, and partly girdled by a river. It defended one of the rugged and solitary passes by which the Christians were wont to make their inroads; inasmuch that the Moors, in their figurative way, denominated it the shield of Granada.

The Count de Cabra sent word to the monarchs of the feeble state of the garrison, and gave it as his opinion, that, by a secret and rapid expedition, the place might be surprised. King Ferdinand asked the advice of his counsellors. Some cautioned him against the sanguine temperament of the count, and his heedlessness of danger. Moclin, they observed, was near to Granada, and might be promptly reinforced. The opinion of the count, however, prevailed; the king considering him almost infallible in matters of border warfare, since his capture of Boabdil el Chico.

The king departed from Cordova, therefore, and took post at Alcala la Real, for the purpose of being near to Moclin. The queen also proceeded to Vaena, accompanied by her children, Prince Juan and the Princess Isabella, and her great counsellor in all matters, public and private, spiritual and temporal, the venerable grand cardinal of Spain.

Nothing could exceed the pride and satisfaction of the loyal Count de Cabra, when he saw this stately train winding along the dreary mountain roads, and entering the gates of Vaena. He received his royal guests with all due ceremony, and lodged them in the best apartments that the warrior castle afforded; being the same that had formerly been occupied by the royal captive Boabdil.

King Ferdinand had concerted a wary plan to ensure the success of the enterprise. The Count de Cabra and Don Martin Alonso de Montemayor were to set forth with their troops, so as to reach Moclin by a certain hour, and to intercept all who should attempt to enter, or should sally from the town. The master of Calatrava, the troops of the grand car-

dinal commanded by the Count of Buendia, and the forces of the Bishop of Jaen, led by that belligerent prelate, amounting in all to four thousand horse and six thousand foot, were to set off in time to co-operate with the Count de Cabra, so as to surround the town. The king was to follow with his whole force, and encamp before the place.

And here the worthy Padre Fray Antonio Agapida breaks forth into a triumphant eulogy of the pious prelates, who thus mingled personally in these scenes of warfare. "As this was a holy crusade," says he, "undertaken for the advancement of the faith, and the glory of the church, so was it always countenanced and upheld by saintly men. For the victories of their most catholic majesties were not followed, like those of more worldly sovereigns, by erecting castles and towers, and appointing alcajdes and garrisons, but by founding of convents and cathedrals, and the establishment of wealthy bishoprics. Wherefore their majesties were always surrounded, in court or camp, in the cabinet or in the field, by a crowd of ghostly advisers, inspiring them to the prosecution of this most righteous war. Nay, the holy men of the church did not scruple, at times, to buckle on the cuirass over the cassock, to exchange the crosier for the lance; and thus, with corporal hands, and temporal weapons, to fight the good fight of the faith."

But to return from this rhapsody of the worthy friar. The Count de Cabra, being instructed in the complicated arrangements of the king, marched forth at midnight to execute them punctually. He led his troops by the little river, which winds below Vaena, and so up the wild defiles of the mountains; marching all night, and stopping only in the heat of the following day, to repose under the shadowy cliffs of a deep barranca, calculating to arrive at Moclin exactly in time to co-operate with the other forces.

The troops had scarcely stretched themselves on the earth to take repose, when a scout arrived, bringing word, that El Zagal had suddenly sallied out of Granada, with a strong force, and had encamped in the vicinity of Moclin. It was plain, that the wary Moor had received information of the intended attack. This, however, was not the idea that presented itself to the mind of the Count de Cabra. He had captured one king: here was a fair opportunity to secure another. What a triumph, to lodge a second captive monarch in his castle of Vaena! What a prisoner to deliver into the hands of his royal mistress! Fired with the thought, the good count forgot all the arrangements of the king; or rather, blinded by former success, he trusted every thing to courage and fortune; and thought that, by one bold swoop, he might again bear off the royal prize, and wear his laurels without competition. His only fear was, that the master of Calatrava, and the belligerent bishop, might come up in time to share the glory of the victory. So ordering every one to horse, this hot-spirited cavalier pushed on for

Moelin, without allowing his troops the necessary time for repose.

The evening closed as the count arrived in the neighbourhood of Moelin. It was the full of the moon, and a bright and cloudless night. The count was marching through one of those deep valleys or ravines, worn in the Spanish mountains by the brief but tremendous torrents, which prevail during the autumnal rains. It was walled, on both sides, by lofty and almost perpendicular cliffs; but the strong gleams of moonlight, that penetrated to the bottom of the glen, glittered on the armour of the squadrons, as they silently passed through it. Suddenly the war-cry of the Moors rose in various parts of the valley. "El Zagal! El Zagal!" was shouted from every cliff, accompanied by showers of missiles, that struck down several of the Christian warriors. The count lifted up his eyes, and beheld, by the light that prevailed, every cliff glistening with Moorish soldiery. The deadly shower fell thickly round him; and the shining armour of his followers made them fair objects for the aim of the enemy. The count saw his brother Gonzalo struck dead by his side; his own horse sunk under him, pierced by four Moorish lances; and he received a wound in the hand from an arquebuse. He remembered the horrible massacre of the mountains of Malaga, and feared a similar catastrophe. There was no time to pause. His brother's horse, freed from his slaughtered rider, was running at large; seizing the reins, he sprang into the saddle, called upon his men to follow him, and, wheeling round, retreated out of the fatal valley.

The Moors, rushing down from the heights, pursued the retreating Christians. The chase endured for a league; but it was a league of rough and broken ground, where the Christians had to turn and fight at almost every step. In these short but fierce combats, the enemy lost many cavaliers of note; but the loss of the Christians was infinitely more grievous, comprising numbers of the noblest warriors of Vaena and its vicinity. Many of the Christians, disabled by wounds, or exhausted by fatigue, turned aside, and endeavoured to conceal themselves among rocks and thickets, but never more rejoined their companions; being slain or captured by the Moors, or perishing in their wretched retreats.

The arrival of the troops led by the master of Calatrava and the bishop of Jaen, put an end to the rout. El Zagal contented himself with the laurels he had gained; and, ordering the trumpets to call off his men from the pursuit, returned in great triumph to Moelin.

Queen Isabella was at Vaena, awaiting, in great anxiety, the result of the expedition. She was in a private apartment of the castle, looking towards the road that winds through the mountains from Moelin, and regarding the watch-towers that crowned the neighbouring heights, in hopes of favourable signals.

<sup>1</sup> Mariana, lib. xxv, c. 47. Abarca. Zurita, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Zurita, lib. xx, c. 4. Pulgar, Crónica.

The prince and princess, her children, were with her, and her venerable counsellor, the grand cardinal. All shared in the anxiety of the moment. At length couriers were seen riding towards the town. They entered its gates; but, before they reached the castle, the nature of their tidings was known to the queen, by the shrieks and wailings that rose from the streets below. The messengers were soon followed by wounded fugitives, hastening home to be relieved, or to die among their friends and families. The whole town resounded with lamentations, for it had lost the flower of its youth, and its bravest warriors. Isabella was a woman of courageous soul, but her feelings were overpowered by the spectacle of woe which presented itself on every side. Her maternal heart mourned over the death of so many loyal subjects, who, so shortly before, had rallied round her with devoted affection; and, losing her usual self-command, she sunk into deep despondency.

In this gloomy state of mind, a thousand apprehensions crowded upon her. She dreaded the confidence which this success would impart to the Moors. She feared, also, for the important fortress of Alhama, the garrison of which had not been reinforced since its foraging party had been cut off by this same El Zagal. On every side the queen saw danger and disaster, and feared that a general rout was about to attend the Castilian arms.

The grand cardinal comforted her with both spiritual and worldly counsel. He told her to recollect, that no country was ever conquered, without occasional reverses to the conquerors; that the Moors were a warlike people, fortified in a rough and mountainous country where they never could be conquered by her ancestors; and that, in fact, her armies had already, in three years, taken more cities than those of any of her predecessors had been able to do in twelve. He concluded by offering to take the field, with three thousand cavalry, his own retainers, paid and maintained by himself, and either hasten to the relief of Alhama, or undertake any other expedition her majesty might command. The discreet words of the cardinal soothed the spirit of the queen, who always looked to him for consolation, and she soon recovered her usual equanimity.

Some of the counsellors of Isabella, of that politic class who seek to rise by the faults of others, were loud in their censures of the rashness of the count. The queen defended him with prompt generosity. "The enterprise," said she, "was rash; but not more rash than that of Lucena, which was crowned with success, and which we have all applauded, as the height of heroism. Had the Count de Cabra succeeded in capturing the uncle, as he did the nephew, who is there that would not have praised him to the skies?"

The magnanimous words of the queen put a stop to all invidious remarks in her presence; but certain of the courtiers, who had envied the count the glory gained by his former achievements, continued to



magnify, among themselves, his present imprudence; and we are told by Fray Antonio Agapida, that they aneeringly gave the worthy cavalier the appellation of "Count de Cabra, the king-catcher."

Ferdinand had reached the place on the frontier called the Fountain of the King, within three leagues of Moclin, when he heard of the late disaster. He greatly lamented the precipitation of the count, but forbore to express himself with severity; for he knew the value of that loyal and valiant cavalier. He held a council of war, to determine what course was to be pursued. Some of his cavaliers advised him to abandon the attempt upon Moclin, the place being strongly reinforced, and the enemy inspirited by his recent victory. Certain old Spanish hidalgos reminded him, that he had but a few Castilian troops in his army, without which staunch soldiery his predecessors never presumed to enter the Moorish territory; while others remonstrated, that it would be beneath the dignity of the king to retire from an enterprise on account of the defeat of a single cavalier and his retainers. In this way, the king was distracted by a multitude of counsellors; when fortunately a letter from the queen put an end to his perplexities. Proceed we, in the next chapter, to relate what was the purport of that letter.

#### CHAPTER XXXIII.

##### EXPEDITION AGAINST THE CASTLES OF CAMBIL AND ALBABA.

"HAPPY are those princes," exclaims the worthy Padre Fray Antonio Agapida, "who have women and priests to advise them; for in these dwelleth the spirit of counsel!" While Ferdinand and his captains were confounding each other in their deliberations at the Fountain of the King, a quiet but deep little council of war was held, in the state-apartment of the old castle of Vaena, between Queen Isabella, the venerable Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, grand cardinal of Spain, and Don Garcia Osorio, the belligerent bishop of Jaen. This last worthy prelate, who had exchanged his mitre for a helm, no sooner beheld the defeat of the enterprise against Moclin, than he turned the reins of his sleek, stall-fed steed, and hastened back to Vaena, full of a project for the employment of the army, the advancement of the faith, and the benefit of his own diocese. He knew, that the actions of the king were influenced by the opinions of the queen; and that the queen always inclined a listening ear to the counsels of saintly men. He laid his plans, therefore, with the customary wisdom of his cloth, to turn the ideas of the queen into the proper channel; and this was the purport of the worthy bishop's suggestions.

The bishopric of Jaen had for a long time been harassed by two Moorish castles, the scourge and

terror of all that part of the country. They were situate on the frontiers of the kingdom of Granada, about four leagues from Jaen, in a deep, narrow, and rugged valley, surrounded by lofty mountains. Through this valley runs the Rio Frio, or "cold river," in a deep channel, between high precipitous rocks. On each side of the stream rise two vast rocks, nearly perpendicular, within a stone's-throw of each other; blocking up the narrow gorge of the valley. On the summits of these rocks stood the two formidable castles of Cambil and Albabar, fortified with battlements and towers of great height and thickness. They were connected together by a bridge, thrown from rock to rock across the river. The road which passed through the valley traversed this bridge, and was completely commanded by these castles. They stood, like two giants of romance, guarding the pass and dominating the valley.

The kings of Granada, knowing the importance of these castles, kept them always well garrisoned and victualled, to stand a siege; with fleet steeds and hard riders, to forage the country of the Christians. The warlike race of the Abencerrages, the troops of the royal household, and others of the choicest chivalry of Granada, made them their strongholds, from whence to sally forth on those predatory and roving enterprises, which were the delight of the Moorish cavaliers. As the wealthy bishopric of Jaen lay immediately at hand, it suffered more peculiarly from these marauders. They drove off the fat bees, and the flocks of sheep from the pastures, and swept the labourers from the field. They scoured the country to the very gates of Jaen; so that the citizens could not venture from their walls without the risk of being borne off captive to the dungeons of these castles.

The worthy bishop, like a good pastor, beheld, with grief of heart, his fat bishopric daily waxing leaner and leaner, and poorer and poorer; and his holy ire was kindled at the thought, that the possessions of the church should thus be at the mercy of a crew of infidels.

It was the urgent counsel of the bishop, therefore, that the military force thus providentially assembled in the neighbourhood, since it was apparently foiled in its attempt upon Moclin, should be turned against these insolent castles, and the country delivered from their domination. The grand cardinal supported the suggestion of the bishop, and declared, that he had long meditated the policy of a measure of the kind. Their united opinions found favour with the queen, and she despatched a letter on the subject to the king. It came just in time to relieve him from the distraction of a multitude of counsellors, and he immediately undertook the reduction of the castles.

The Marquis of Cadiz was, accordingly, sent in advance, with two thousand horse, to keep watch upon the garrisons, and prevent all entrance or exit until the king should arrive with the main army and the battering artillery. The queen, to be near at hand in case of need, moved her quarters to the city

\* Abarca, Anaes de Aragon.

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of Jaen, where she was received with martial honours by the belligerent bishop, who had buckled on his cuirass, and girded on his sword, to fight in the cause of his diocese.

In the mean time, the Marquis of Cadiz arrived in the valley, and completely shut up the Moors within their walls. The castles were under the command of Mahomet Lentin ben Usef, an Abencerrage, and one of the bravest cavaliers of Granada. In his garrisons were many troops of the fierce African tribe of Gomerces. Mahomet Lentin, confident in the strength of his fortresses, smiled, as he looked down from his battlements, upon the Christian cavalry, perplexed in the rough and narrow valley. He sent forth skirmishing parties to harass them; and there were many sharp combats between small parties and single knights; but the Moors were driven back to the castles; and all attempts to send intelligence of their situation to Granada were intercepted by the vigilance of the Marquis of Cadiz.

At length the legions of the royal army came pouring, with fluttering banner and vaunting trumpet, along the defiles of the mountains. They halted before the castles; but the king could not find room, in the narrow and rugged valley, to form his camp: he had to divide it into three parts, which were posted on different heights, and his tents whitened the sides of the neighbouring hills. When the encampment was formed, the army remained gazing idly at the castles. The artillery was upwards of four leagues in the rear, and without artillery all attack would be in vain.

The alcaide, Mahomet Lentin, knew the nature of the road by which the artillery had to be brought. It was merely a rugged path, at times scaling almost perpendicular crags and precipices, up which it was utterly impossible for wheel-carriages to pass; neither was it in the power of man or beast to draw up the leabards and other ponderous ordnance. He felt assured, therefore, that they never could be brought to the camp; and, without their aid, what could the Christians effect against his rock-built castles? He scoffed at them, therefore, as he saw their tents by day, and their fires by night covering the surrounding heights. "Let them linger here a little while longer," said he, "and the autumnal torrents will wash them from the mountains."

While the alcaide was thus closely mewed up within his walls, and the Christians lay inactive in their camp, he noticed, one calm autumnal day, the sound of implements of labour echoing among the mountains, and now and then the crash of a fallen tree, or a thundering report, as if some rock had been heaved from its bed, and hurled into the valley. The alcaide was on the battlements of his castle, surrounded by his knights. "Methinks," said he, "these Christians are making war upon the rocks and trees of the mountains, since they find our castles unassailable."

The sounds did not cease even during the night;

every now and then, the Moorish sentinel, as he paced the battlements, heard some crash echoing among the heights. The return of day explained the mystery. Scarcely did the sun shine against the summits of the mountains, than shouts burst from the cliffs opposite to the castles, and were answered from the camp with joyful sound of kettle-drums and trumpets.

The astonished Moors lifted up their eyes, and beheld, as it were, a torrent of war breaking out of a narrow defile. There was a multitude of men with pickaxes, spades, and bars of iron, clearing away every obstacle, while behind them slowly moved along great teams of oxen, dragging heavy ordnance, and all the munitions of battering warfare.

"What cannot women and priests effect, when they unite in counsel!" exclaims again the worthy Antonio Agapida. The queen had held another consultation with the grand cardinal, and the belligerent bishop of Jaen. It was clear, that the heavy ordnance could never be conveyed to the camp by the regular road of the country, and on this must depend every hope of success. It was suggested, however, by the zealous bishop, that another road might be opened through a more practicable part of the mountains. It would be an undertaking extravagant and chimerical with ordinary means, and, therefore, unlooked for by the enemy; but what could not kings do, who had treasures and armies at command?

The project struck the enterprising spirit of the queen. Six thousand men, with pickaxes, crowbars, and every other necessary implement, were set to work, day and night, to break a road through the very centre of the mountains. No time was to be lost; for it was rumoured, that El Zagal was about to march with a mighty host to the relief of the castles. The bustling Bishop of Jaen acted as pioneer, to mark the route and superintend the labourers; and the grand cardinal took care that the work should never languish through lack of money.

"When kings' treasures," says Fray Antonio Agapida, "are dispensed by priestly hands, there is no stint, as the glorious annals of Spain bear witness." Under the guidance of these ghostly men, it seemed as if miracles were effected. Almost an entire mountain was levelled, valleys filled up, trees hewn down, rocks broken and overturned; in short, all the obstacles, which nature had heaped around, entirely and promptly vanquished. In little more than twelve days this gigantic work was accomplished, and the ordnance dragged to the camp, to the great triumph of the Christians, and confusion of the Moors.<sup>2</sup>

No sooner was the heavy artillery arrived than it was disposed in all haste upon the neighbouring heights. Francisco Ramirez de Madrid, the first engineer in Spain, superintended the batteries, and soon opened a destructive fire upon the castles.

When the valiant alcaide, Mahomet Lentin, found

<sup>1</sup> Zurita, *Anales de Aragon*, lib. xx, c. 64. Pulgar, part. iii, c. 81.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

his towers tumbling about him, and his bravest men dashed from the walls, without the power of inflicting a wound upon the foe, his haughty spirit was greatly exasperated. "Of what avail," said he, "is all the prowess of knighthood against these cowardly engines, that murder from afar?"

For a whole day a tremendous fire kept thundering upon the castle of Albahar. The lombards discharged large stones, which demolished two of the towers, and all the battlements which guarded the portal. If any Moors attempted to defend the walls, or repair the breaches, they were shot down by ribadoquines, and other small pieces of artillery. The Christian soldiery issued forth from the camp, under cover of this fire, and, approaching the castles, discharged flights of arrows and stones through the openings made by the ordnance.

At length, to bring the siege to a conclusion, Francisco Ramirez elevated some of the heaviest artillery on a mount, that rose in form of a cone or pyramid, on the side of the river near to Albahar, and commanded both castles. This was an operation of great skill and excessive labour, but it was repaid by complete success; for the Moors did not dare to wait until this terrible battery should discharge its fury. Satisfied that all further resistance was vain, the valiant alcaide made signal for a parley. The articles of capitulation were soon arranged. The alcaide and his garrison were permitted to return in safety to the city of Granada, and the castles were delivered into the possession of King Ferdinand, on the day of the festival of St Matthew, in the month of September. They were immediately repaired, strongly garrisoned, and given in charge to the city of Jaen.

The effects of this triumph were immediately apparent. Quiet and security once more settled upon the bishopric. The husbandmen tilled their fields in peace, the herds and flocks fattened unmolested in the pastures, and the vineyards yielded copulent skinsful of rosy wine. The good bishop enjoyed, in the gratitude of his people, the approbation of his conscience, the increase of his revenues, and the abundance of his table, a reward for all his toils and perils. "This glorious victory," exclaims Fray Antonio Agapida, "achieved by such extraordinary management and infinite labour, is a shining example of what a bishop can effect for the promotion of the faith, and the good of his diocese."

#### CHAPTER XXXIV.

##### ENTERPRISE OF THE KNIGHTS OF CALATRAVA AGAINST ZALEA.

WHILE these events were taking place on the northern frontier of the kingdom of Granada, the important fortress of Alhama was neglected, and its commander, Don Gutiere de Padilla, clavero of Ca-

latrava, reduced to great perplexity. The remnant of the foraging party, which had been surprised and massacred by the fierce El Zagal, when on his way to Granada to receive the crown, had returned in confusion and dismay to the fortress. They could only speak of their own disgrace, being obliged to abandon their cavalgada, and to fly, pursued by a superior force. Of the flower of their party, the gallant knights of Calatrava, who had remained behind in the valley, they knew nothing. A few days cleared up the mystery, and brought tidings of their steeds, led in triumph into the gates of Granada; and their bleeding heads borne at the saddle-bows of the warriors of El Zagal. Their fellow knights, who formed a part of the garrison, were struck with horror at the dismal story, and panted to revenge their death. Their number, however, was too much reduced by this loss to take the field; for the vega swarmed with the troops of El Zagal. They could not even venture forth to forage for provisions; and the defeat of the Count de Cabra having interrupted their customary supplies, they were reduced to such extremity, that they had to kill several of their horses for food.

Don Gutiere de Padilla, clavero of Calatrava, the commander of the fortress, was pondering one day over the gloomy state of affairs, when a Moor was brought before him, who had applied at the gate for an audience. He bore a budget, and appeared to be one of those itinerant merchants who wandered about the country in those days, hanging on the skirts of armies, to purchase the spoils of the soldiery, and who would pretend to sell amulets, trinkets, and perfumes, but would often draw forth from their wallets articles of great rarity and value: rich shawls, chains of gold, necklaces of pearls and diamonds, and costly gems, the plunder of camps and cities. The Moor approached the clavero with a mysterious look. "Senior," said he, "I would speak with you alone; I have a precious jewel to dispose of." "I need no jewels," said the clavero, abruptly; "take thy wares to the soldiery." "By the blood of him who died on the cross," exclaimed the Moor, with earnest solemnity, "do not turn a deaf ear to my offer: the jewel I have to sell would be to you of inestimable value, and you alone can be the purchaser."

The clavero was moved by the earnestness of the Moor, and perceived, that, under the figurative language common to his countrymen, he concealed some meaning of importance. He made a sign, therefore, to his attendants to withdraw. The Moor looked after them, until the door closed; then advancing cautiously, "What will you give me," said he, "if I deliver the fortress of Zalea into your hands?"

Zalea was a strong town, about two leagues distant, which had been a hostile and dangerous neighbour to Alhama; its warriors laying frequent ambuscades to surprise the knights of Calatrava, when

<sup>1</sup> Clavero of Calatrava is he who bears the keys of the convents, and archives of the order. It is an office of great honour and distinction.

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The clavero looked with mingled surprise and distrust at this itinerant pedler, who thus offered to traffic for a warlike town. "Thou talkest," said he, "of selling me Zalea; what means hast thou of making good the sale?" "I have a brother in the garrison," replied the Moor, "who for a proper sum paid down, will admit a body of troops by night into the citadel."

"And for a sum of gold, then," said the clavero, regarding him with stern scrutiny, "thou art prepared to betray thy people and thy faith?"

"I adjure them and their faith," replied the Moor: "my mother was a Castilian captive; her people shall be my people, and her religion my religion."

The cautious clavero still distrusted the sincerity of this mongrel Moor and piebald Christian. "What assurance," continued he, "have I, that thou wilt deal more truly with me, than with the alcaide of the fortress thou wouldst betray? To me thou hast no tie of fealty, to him thou owest thy allegiance."

"I owe him no allegiance!" cried the Moor, fire flashing from his eyes: "the alcaide is a tyrant, a dog! he has robbed me of my merchandise, stripped me of my lawful booty, and ordered me the bastinado, because I dared to complain. May the curse of God light upon me, if I rest contented, until I have ample vengeance!"

"Enough," said the clavero; "I will trust to thy vengeance, even more than to thy Christianity."

Don Gutiere now summoned a council of his principal knights. They were all eager for the enterprise, as a mode of revenging the death of their companions, and wiping off the stigma cast upon the order by the late defeat. Spies were sent to reconnoitre Zalea, and to communicate with the brother of the Moor; the sum to be paid as a recompense was adjusted, and every arrangement made for the enterprise.

On the appointed night, a party of cavaliers set out under the guidance of the Moor. When they came near to Zalea, their leader bound the hands of the guide behind his back, and pledged his knightly word to strike him dead on the least sign of treachery; he then bade him lead the way. It was midnight, when they arrived in silence under the walls of the citadel. At a low signal, a ladder of ropes was let down: Gutiere Muñoz and Pedro de Alvarado were the first to ascend, followed by half a dozen others. They surprised the guards, cut them down, threw them over the wall, and gained possession of a tower. The alarm was given, the whole citadel was in confusion, but already the knights of Calatrava were in every part. They called to each other to remember their brethren massacred in the valley of the vega, and their bloody heads borne in triumph to Granada. They fought with sanguinary fury; most of the half armed and bewildered garrison were put to the sword; the rest were taken prisoners; in an hour they were masters

of the citadel, and the town submitted of course.

They found the magazines stored with all kinds of provisions, with which they loaded an immense train of beasts of burden, for the relief of the famishing garrison of Alhama.

Thus did the gallant knights of Calatrava gain the strong town of Zalea, with scarcely any loss, and atone for the inglorious defeat sustained by their companions. Large reinforcements and supplies from the sovereigns arriving soon after, strengthened them in their own fortress, and enabled them to keep possession of their new conquest. This gallant affair took place about the same time as the capture of Cambil and Albahar; and these two achievements gave a prosperous termination to the chequered events of this important year. Ferdinand and Isabella retired for the winter to Alcalá de Henares, where the queen, on the 16th of December, gave birth to the infanta Catherine, afterwards spouse to Henry VIII of England.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

## DEATH OF OLD MULEY ABEN HASSAN.

THE personal exploits with which el Zagal had commenced his reign, in surprising the knights of Calatrava, and defeating the Count de Cabra, had given him a transient popularity, which he had promoted by feasts and tournaments, and other public rejoicings, in which the Moors delighted. Knowing, however, the uncertain nature of the people over whom he reigned, he feared some capricious revolution in favour of his deposed brother, Muley Aben Hassan. That once fiery old monarch was now blind and bedridden, and lived in a kind of durance in the city of Almunegar. He was treated, however, with deference and attention; for the garrison had been originally appointed by himself. El Zagal, having now a little leisure during the interval of the campaigns, became suddenly solicitous about the death of his brother, and had him removed to Salobreña, for the benefit of purer and more salubrious air.

The small town of Salobreña was situate on a lofty hill, that rose out of the centre of a beautiful and fertile valley on the Mediterranean coast. It was protected by a strong castle, built by the Moorish kings, as a place of deposit for their treasures. Here also they sent such of their sons and brothers as might endanger the security of their reign. They lived here, prisoners at large, in a state of voluptuous repose, under a serene sky, in a soft climate and luxuriant valley. The palace was adorned with fountains, and delicious gardens, and perfumed baths; a harem of beauties was at the command of the royal captives, and music and the dance beguiled the lagging hours. Nothing was denied them but the liberty to depart; that alone was wanting to render the abode a perfect paradise.



Notwithstanding the extreme salubrity of the air, and the assiduous attentions of the commander, who was devoted to El Zagal, and had been particularly charged by him to be watchful over the health of his brother, the old monarch had not been here many days before he expired. There was nothing surprising in this event; for life with him had long glimmered in the socket: but the measures immediately taken by El Zagal roused the suspicions of the public. With indecent haste, he ordered, that the treasures of the deceased should be packed upon mules, and conveyed to Granada, where he took possession of them, to the exclusion of the children. The sultana Zorayna, and her two sons, were imprisoned in the Alhambra, in the tower of Comares; the same place, where, by her instigation, the virtuous Ayxa la Horra and her son Boabdil had once been confined. There she had leisure to ruminate on the disappointment of all her schemes, perfidiously executed, for the advancement of those sons, who were her fellow-prisoners. The corpse of old Muley Aben Hassan was also brought to Granada; not in state, like the remains of a once powerful sovereign, but transported ignominiously on a mule. It received no funeral honours, but was borne obscurely to the grave by two Christian captives, and deposited in the royal Osario or charnel-house.

No sooner were the people well assured that old Muley Aben Hassan was dead and buried, than they all, with one accord, began to deplore his loss, and extol his memory. They admitted, that he had been fierce and cruel, but then he had been brave: it was true, he had pulled down this war upon their heads; but he had himself also been crushed by it. In a word, he was dead; and his death atoned for every fault: for a king, just deceased, is generally either a hero or a saint. In proportion as they ceased to hate Muley Aben Hassan, they began to hate his brother El Zagal. The manner of the old king's death, the eagerness to seize upon his treasures, the scandalous neglect of his corpse, and the imprisonment of his sultana and children, all filled the public mind with dark suspicions; and the name of El Zagal was often coupled with the epithets of fratricide, in the low murmurings of the people.

As the public must always have some leading person to like, as well as to hate, there began once more to be an inquiry after Boabdil el Chico. That unfortunate monarch was living at Cordova, under the shade of the cold friendship of Ferdinand, who had ceased to regard him with much attention, when he was no longer useful to his interests. No sooner, however, did the public favour once more incline towards him, than the kindness of the catholic monarch immediately revived. He furnished him with money and means again to elevate his standard, and create a division in the Moorish power. By this assistance, Boabdil established the shadow of a court,

at Velez el Blanco, a strong frontier town on the confines of Murcia, where he remained, as it were, with one foot over the border, and ready to draw that back, at a moment's warning. His presence, however, gave new life to his faction in Granada. It is true, the more courtly and opulent inhabitants of the quarter of the Alhambra still rallied round the throne of El Zagal, as the great seat of power; but then the inhabitants of the albaycen, the poorest part of the community, who had nothing to risk, and nothing to lose, were almost unanimous in favour of the indigent Boabdil. So it is in this wonderful system of sublimary affairs; the rich befriend the rich, the powerful stand by the powerful, while the poor enjoy the sterile assistance of their fellows: thus, each one seeking his kind, the admirable order of all things is maintained, and a universal harmony prevails.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

OF THE CHRISTIAN ARMY, WHICH ASSEMBLED AT THE CITY OF CORDOVA.

GREAT and glorious was the style with which the catholic sovereigns opened another year's campaign of this eventful war. It was like commencing another act of a stately and heroic drama, where the curtain rises to the inspiring sound of martial melody, and the whole stage glitters with the array of warriors and the pomp of arms. The ancient city of Cordova was the place appointed by the sovereigns for the assemblage of the troops; and, early in the spring of 1486, the fair valley of the Guadalquivir resounded with the shrill blast of trumpet, and the impatient neighing of the war-horse. In this splendid era of Spanish chivalry, there was a rivalry among the nobles, who most should distinguish himself by the splendour of his appearance, and the number and equipments of his feudal followers. Every day beheld some cavalier of note, the representative of some proud and powerful house, entering the gates of Cordova with sound of trumpet, and displaying his banner and device, renowned in many a contest. He would appear in sumptuous array, surrounded by pages and lackeys, no less gorgeously attired, and followed by a host of vassals and retainers, horse and foot, all admirably equipped in burnished armour.

Such was the state of Don Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, Duke del Infantado; who may be cited as a picture of a warlike noble of those times. He brought with him five hundred men-at-arms of his household, equipped and mounted *à la geneta* and *à la guisat*. The cavaliers who attended him were both magnificently armed and dressed. The housings of fifty of his horses were of rich cloth, embroidered with gold; and others were of brocade. The sumpter-mules had housings of the same, with halters of silk; while the bridles, headpieces, and all the harnessing, glittered with silver.

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The camp equipage of these noble and luxurious warriors was equally magnificent. Their tents were gay pavilions, of various colours, fitted up with silken hangings, and decorated with fluttering pennons. They had vessels of gold and silver for the service of their tables, as if they were about to engage in a course of stately feasts and courtly revels, instead of the stern encounters of rugged and mountainous warfare. Sometimes they passed through the streets of Cordova at night, in splendid cavalcade, with great numbers of lighted torches, the rays of which, falling upon polished armour, and nodding plumes, and silken scarfs, and trappings of golden embroidery, filled all beholders with admiration.

But it was not the chivalry of Spain alone which thronged the streets of Cordova. The fame of this war had spread throughout Christendom: it was considered a kind of crusade; and catholic knights from all parts hastened to signalize themselves in so holy a cause. There were several valiant chevaliers from France, among whom the most distinguished was Gaston de Léon, seneschal of Toulouse. With him came a gallant train, well armed and mounted, and decorated with rich surcoats and panaches of feathers. These cavaliers, it is said, eclipsed all others in the light festivities of the court. They were devoted to the fair; but not after the solemn and passionate manner of the Spanish lovers: they were gay, gallant, and joyous in their amours, and captivated by the vivacity of their attacks. They were at first held in light estimation by the grave and stately Spanish knights, until they made themselves to be respected by their wonderful prowess in the field.

The most conspicuous of the volunteers, however, who appeared in Cordova on this occasion, was an English knight of royal connexion. This was the Lord Scyles, Earl of Rivers, related to the Queen of England, wife of Henry VII. He had distinguished himself, in the preceding year, at the battle of Bosworth Field, where Henry Tudor, then Earl of Richmond, overcame Richard III. That decisive battle having left the country at peace, the Earl of Rivers, retaining a passion for warlike scenes, repaired to the Castilian court, to keep his arms in exercise in a campaign against the Moors. He brought with him a hundred archers, all dexterous with the long-bow and the cloth-yard arrow; also two hundred yeomen, armed cap-à-piè, who fought with pike and battle-axe; men robust of frame, and of prodigious strength.

The worthy Padre Fray Antonio Agapida describes this stranger knight and his followers with his accustomed accuracy and minuteness. "This cavalier," he observes, "was from the island of England, and brought with him a train of his vassals; men who had been hardened in certain civil wars which had raged in their country. They were a comely race of men, but too fair and fresh for warriors; not having the sunburnt, martial hue of our old Castilian soldiery.

They were huge feeders, also, and deep carousers; and could not accommodate themselves to the sober diet of our troops, but must fain eat and drink after the manner of their own country. They were often noisy and unruly, also, in their wassail; and their quarter of the camp was prone to be a scene of loud revel and sudden brawl. They were withal of great pride; yet it was not like our inflammable Spanish pride: they stood not much upon the *pundonor* and high punctilio, and rarely drew the stiletto in their disputes; but their pride was silent and contumelious. Though from a remote and somewhat barbarous island, they yet believed themselves the most perfect men upon earth; and magnified their chieftain, the Lord Scyles, beyond the greatest of our grandees. With all this, it must be said of them, that they were marvellous good men in the field, dexterous archers, and powerful with the battle-axe. In their great pride and self-will, they always sought to press in the advance, and take the post of danger, trying to outvie our Spanish chivalry. They did not rush forward fiercely, or make a brilliant onset, like the Moorish and Spanish troops, but they went into the fight deliberately, and persisted obstinately, and were slow to find out when they were beaten. Withal, they were much esteemed, yet little liked, by our soldiery, who considered them staunch companions in the field, yet coveted but little fellowship with them in the camp.

"Their commander, the Lord Scyles, was an accomplished cavalier, of gracious and noble presence, and fair speech. It was a marvel to see so much courtesy in a knight brought up so far from our Castilian court. He was much honoured by the king and queen, and found great favour with the fair dames about the court; who, indeed, are rather prone to be pleased with foreign cavaliers. He went always in costly state, attended by pages and esquires, and accompanied by noble young cavaliers of his country, who had enrolled themselves under his banner, to learn the gentle exercise of arms. In all pageants and festivals, the eyes of the populace were attracted by the singular bearing and rich array of the English earl and his train, who prided themselves in always appearing in the garb and manner of their country; and were indeed something very magnificent, delectable, and strange to behold."

The worthy chronicler is no less elaborate in his description of the masters of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, and their valiant knights; armed at all points, and decorated with the badges of their orders. "These," he affirms, "were the flower of Christian chivalry. Being constantly in service, they became more steadfast and accomplished in discipline than the irregular and temporary levies of the feudal nobles. Calm, solemn, and stately, they sat like towers upon their powerful chargers. On parades, they manifested none of the show and ostentation of the other troops. Neither, in battle, did they endeavour to signalize themselves by any fiery vivacity, or desperate and vain-glorious exploit; every thing with

• Pulgar, part. iii, cap. 41. 36.

them was measured and sedate; yet it was observed, that none were more warlike in their appearance in the camp, or more terrible for their achievements in the field."

The gorgeous magnificence of the Spanish nobles found but little favour in the eyes of the sovereigns. They saw that it caused a competition in expense, ruinous to cavaliers of moderate fortune; and they feared that a softness and effeminacy might thus be introduced, incompatible with the stern nature of the war. They signified their disapprobation to several of the principal noblemen, and recommended a more sober and soldierlike display while in actual service.

"These are rare troops for a tourney, my lord," said Ferdinand to the Duke del Infantado, as he beheld his retainers glittering in gold and embroidery: "but gold, though gorgeous, is soft and yielding: iron is the metal for the field."

"Sire," replied the duke, "if my men parade in gold, your majesty will find they fight with steel." The king smiled, but shook his head; and the duke treasured up his speech in his heart.

It remains now to reveal the immediate object of this mighty and chivalrous preparation; which had, in fact, the gratification of a royal pique at bottom. The severe lesson which Ferdinand had received from the veteran Ali Atar, before the walls of Loxa, though it had been of great service in rendering him wary in his attacks upon fortified places, yet rankled sorely in his mind; and he had ever since held Loxa in peculiar odium. It was, in truth, one of the most belligerent and troublesome cities on the borders; incessantly harassing Andalusia by its incursions. It also intervened between the Christian territories and Alhama, and other important places, gained in the kingdom of Granada. For all these reasons, King Ferdinand had determined to make another grand attempt upon this warrior city; and for this purpose he had summoned to the field his most powerful chivalry.

It was in the month of May that the king sallied from Cordova, at the head of his army. He had twelve thousand cavalry, and forty thousand foot-soldiers, with cross-bows, lances, and arquebuses. There were six thousand pioneers, with hatchets, pickaxes, and crowbars, for levelling roads. He took with him, also, a great train of lombards and other heavy artillery; with a body of Germans, skilled in the service of ordnance and the art of battering walls.

"It was a glorious spectacle," says Fray Antonio Agapida, "to behold this pompous pageant issuing forth from Cordova: the pennons and devices of the proudest houses of Spain, with those of gallant stranger knights, fluttering above a sea of crests and plumes; to see it slowly moving, with flash of helmet, and cuirass, and buckler, across the ancient bridge, and reflected in the waters of the Guadalquivir; while the neigh of steed, and the blast of trumpet, vibrated in the air, and resounded to the distant mountains. But,

above all," concludes the good father, with his accustomed zeal, "it was triumphant to behold the standard of the faith every where displayed; and to reflect, that this was no worldly-minded army, intent upon some temporal scheme of ambition or revenge; but a Christian host, bound on a crusade to extirpate the vile seed of Mahomet from the land, and to extend the pure dominion of the church."

#### CHAPTER XXXVII.

HOW FRESH COMMOTIONS BROKE OUT IN GRANADA, AND HOW THE PEOPLE UNDERTOOK TO ALLAY THEM.

WHILE perfect unity of object, and harmony of operation, gave power to the Christian arms, the devoted kingdom of Granada continued a prey to internal feuds. The transient popularity of El Zagal had declined ever since the death of his brother, and the party of Boabdil el Chico was daily gaining strength. The albaycen and the Alhambra were again arrayed against each other in deadly strife, and the streets of unhappy Granada were daily dyed in the blood of her children. In the midst of these dissensions, tidings arrived of the formidable army assembling at Cordova. The rival factions paused in their infatuated brawls, and were roused to a temporary sense of the common danger. They forthwith resorted to their old expedient of new-modelling their government, or rather, of making and unmaking kings. The elevation of El Zagal to the throne had not produced the desired effect. What, then, was to be done? Recall Boabdil el Chico, and acknowledge him again as sovereign? While they were in a popular tumult of deliberation, Hamet Aben Zarrax, surnamed El Santo, arose among them. This was the same wild, melancholy man, who had predicted the woes of Granada. He issued from one of the caverns of the adjacent height, which overhangs the Darro, and has since been called the Holy Mountain. His appearance was more haggard than ever; for the unheeded spirit of prophecy seemed to have turned inwardly, and preyed upon his vitals. "Beware, O Moslems!" exclaimed he, "of men, who are eager to govern, yet are unable to protect! Why slaughter each other for El Chico or El Zagal? Let your kings renounce their contests, and unite for the salvation of Granada, or let them be deposed!"

Hamet Aben Zarrax had long been revered as a saint; he was now considered an oracle. The old men and the nobles immediately consulted together how the two rival kings might be brought to accord. They had tried most expedients: it was now determined to divide the kingdom between them; giving Granada, Malaga, Velez Malaga, Almeria, Almuñegar, and their dependencies, to El Zagal, and the residue to Boabdil el Chico. Among the cities granted to the latter, Loxa was particularly specified, with

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a condition, that he should immediately take com-  
mand of it in person; for the council thought the fa-  
vour he enjoyed with the Castilian monarchs might  
avert the threatened attack.

El Zagal readily acceded to this arrangement. He  
had been hastily elevated to the throne by an ebuli-  
tion of the people, and might be as hastily cast down  
again. It secured him one half of a kingdom to which  
he had no hereditary right, and he trusted to force  
or fraud to gain the other half hereafter. The wily  
old monarch even sent a deputation to his nephew,  
making a merit of offering him cheerfully the half,  
which he had thus been compelled to relinquish, and  
inviting him to enter into an amicable coalition for  
the good of the country.

The heart of Boabdil shrunk from all connexion  
with a man who had sought his life, and whom he  
regarded as the murderer of his kindred. He accepted  
one half of the kingdom as an offer from the nation,  
not to be rejected by a prince, who scarcely held pos-  
session of the ground he stood on. He asserted,  
nevertheless, his absolute right to the whole, and only  
submitted to the partition out of anxiety for the pre-  
sent good of his people. He assembled his handful of  
adherents, and prepared to hasten to Loxa. As he  
mounted his horse to depart, Hamet Aben Zarrax  
stood suddenly before him. "Be true to thy country  
and thy faith," cried he, "hold no further communi-  
cation with these Christian dogs. Trust not the  
hollow-hearted friendship of the Castilian king: he  
is mining the earth beneath thy feet. Chuse one of  
two things: be a sovereign or a slave; thou canst not  
be both!"

Boabdil ruminated on these words: he made many  
wise resolutions; but he was prone always to act  
from the impulse of the moment, and was unfortu-  
nately given to temporise in his policy. He wrote to  
Ferdinand, informing him, that Loxa and certain  
other cities had returned to their allegiance, and that  
he held them as vassal to the Castilian crown, ac-  
cording to their convention. He conjured him, there-  
fore, to refrain from any meditated attack, offering  
free passage to the Spanish army to Malaga, or any  
other place under the dominion of his uncle.

Ferdinand turned a deaf ear to the entreaty, and  
to all professions of friendship and vassalage. Boabdil  
was nothing to him, but as an instrument for stirring  
up the flames of civil discord. He now insisted, that  
he had entered into a hostile league with his uncle,  
and had, consequently, forfeited all claims to his  
indulgence; and he prosecuted with greater earnest-  
ness his campaign against the city of Loxa.

"Thus," observes the worthy Fray Antonio Aga-  
pida, "did this most sagacious sovereign act upon the  
text in the eleventh chapter of the evangelist St Luke,  
that "a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand."  
He had induced these infidels to waste and destroy  
themselves by internal dissensions, and finally cast

forth the survivor; while the Moorish monarchs, by  
their ruinous contests, made good the old Castilian  
proverb in cases of civil war, "El vencido vencido,  
y el vencidor perfitido, "the conquered conquered,  
and the conqueror undone.""

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

HOW KING FERDINAND HELD A COUNCIL OF WAR AT THE ROCK OF  
THE LOVERS.

THE royal army, on its march against Loxa, lay  
encamped, one pleasant evening in May, in a mea-  
dow, on the banks of the river Yeguas, around the  
foot of a lofty cliff, called the Rock of the Lovers.  
The quarters of each nobleman, formed, as it were, a  
separate little encampment; his stately pavilion, sur-  
mounted by his fluttering pennon, rising above the  
surrounding tents of his vassals and retainers. A  
little apart from the others, as it were in proud re-  
serve, was the encampment of the English earl. It  
was sumptuous in its furniture, and complete in its  
munitions. Archers, and soldiers armed with battle-  
axes, kept guard around it; while above, the standard  
of England rolled out its ample folds, and flapped in  
the evening breeze.

The mingled sounds of various tongues and nations  
were heard from the soldiery, as they watered their  
horses in the stream, or busied themselves round the  
fires which began to glow, here and there, in the  
twilight: the gay chanson of the Frenchman, singing  
of his amours on the pleasant banks of the Loire, or  
the sunny regions of the Garonne; the broad guttural  
tones of the German, chanting some doughty *krieger-  
lied*, or extolling the vintage of the Rhine; the wild  
romance of the Spaniard, reciting the achievements  
of the Cid, and many a famous passage of the Moorish  
wars; and the long and melancholy ditty of the Eng-  
lishman, treating of some feudal hero or redoubtable  
outlaw of his distant island.

On a rising ground, commanding a view of the  
whole encampment, stood the ample and magnificent  
pavilion of the king, with the banner of Castile and  
Aragon, and the holy standard of the cross erected  
before it. In this tent were assembled the principal  
commanders of the army, having been summoned  
by Ferdinand to a council of war, on receiving tidings,  
that Boabdil had thrown himself into Loxa, with a  
considerable reinforcement. After some consultation,  
it was determined to invest Loxa on both sides: one  
part of the army was to seize upon the dangerous but  
commanding height of Santo Albohacin, in front of  
the city; while the remainder, making a circuit,  
should encamp on the opposite side.

No sooner was this resolved upon, than the Marquis  
of Cadiz stood forth, and claimed the post of danger,  
on behalf of himself and those cavaliers, his companions

• Zurita, lib. xx. c. 68.

• Garibay, lib. xl. c. 35.



in arms, who had been compelled to relinquish it by the general retreat of the army on the former siege. The enemy had exulted over them, as if driven from it in disgrace. To regain that perilous height, to pitch their tents upon it, and to avenge the blood of their valiant compeer, the master of Calatrava, who had fallen upon it, was due to their fame: the marquis demanded, therefore, that they might lead the advance, and secure the height, engaging to hold the enemy employed, until the main army should take its position on the opposite side of the city.

King Ferdinand readily granted his permission, upon which the Count de Cabra begged to be admitted to a share of the enterprise. He had always been accustomed to serve in the advance; and now that Boabdil was in the field, and a king was to be taken, he could not content himself with remaining in the rear. Ferdinand yielded his consent; for he was disposed to give the good count every opportunity to retrieve his late disaster.

The English earl, when he heard there was a work of danger in question, was eager to be of the party; but the king restrained his ardour. "These cavaliers," said he, "conceive that they have an account to settle with their pride. Let them have the enterprise to themselves, my lord: if you follow these Moorish wars long, you will find no lack of perilous service."

The Marquis of Cadiz and his companions in arms struck their tents before day-break. They were five thousand horse, and twelve thousand foot, and they marched rapidly along the defiles of the mountains; the cavaliers being anxious to strike the blow, and get possession of the height of Albohacin, before the king, with the main army, should arrive to their assistance.

The city of Loxa stands on a high hill, between two mountains, on the banks of the Xenil. To attain the height in question, the troops had to pass over a tract of country, rugged and broken, and a deep valley, intersected by the canals and water-courses, with which the Moors irrigated their lands. They were extremely embarrassed in this part of their march, and in imminent risk of being cut up in detail, before they could reach the height. The Count de Cabra, with his usual eagerness, endeavoured to push across this valley, in defiance of every obstacle. He, in consequence, soon became entangled with his cavalry among the canals; but his impatience would not permit him to retrace his steps, and chuse a more practicable but circuitous route. Others slowly crossed another part of the valley by the aid of pontoons; while the Marquis of Cadiz, Don Alonso de Aguilar, and the Count de Ureña, being more experienced in the ground, from their former campaign, made a circuit round the bottom of the height, and, thus ascending, began to display their squadrons, and elevate their banners, on the redoubtable post, which, in the former siege, they had been compelled so reluctantly to abandon.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

HOW THE ROYAL ARMY APPEARED BEFORE THE CITY OF LOXA, AND HOW IT WAS RECEIVED, AND OF THE DOUGHTY ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ENGLISH EARL.

THE advance of the Christian army upon Loxa threw the wavering Boabdil el Chico into one of his usual dilemmas; and he was greatly perplexed between his oath of allegiance to the Spanish sovereigns, and his sense of duty to his subjects. His doubts were determined by the sight of the enemy, glittering upon the height of Albohacin, and by the clamours of the people to be led forth to battle. "Allah!" exclaimed he, "thou knowest my heart; thou knowest I have been true in my faith to this Christian monarch! I have offered to hold Loxa as his vassal, but he has preferred to approach it as an enemy: on his head be the infraction of our treaty!"

Boabdil was not wanting in courage; he only needed decision. When he had once made up his mind, he acted vigorously. The misfortune was, he either did not make it up at all, or he made it up too late. He who decides tardily, generally acts rashly; endeavouring to compensate, by hurry of action, for slowness of deliberation. Boabdil hastily buckled on his armour, and sallied forth, surrounded by his guards, and at the head of five hundred horse, and four thousand foot, the flower of his army. Some he detached to skirmish with the Christians, who were scattered and perplexed in the valley, and to prevent their concentrating their forces; while, with his main body, he pressed forward, to drive the enemy from the height of Albohacin, before they had time to collect there in any number, or to fortify themselves in that important position.

The worthy Count de Cabra was yet entangled, with his cavalry, among the water-courses of the valley, when he heard the war-cries of the Moors, and saw their army rushing over the bridge. He recognised Boabdil himself by his splendid armour, the magnificent caparison of his steed, and the brilliant guard which surrounded him. The royal host swept on towards the height. An intervening hill hid it from his sight; but loud shouts and cries, the din of drums and trumpets, and the reports of arquebuses, gave note, that the battle had begun.

Here was a royal prize in the field, and the Count de Cabra unable to share in the action! The good cavalier was in an agony of impatience. Every attempt to force his way across the valley only plunged him into new difficulties. At length, after many eager but ineffectual efforts, he was obliged to order his troops to dismount, and slowly and carefully to lead their horses back, along slippery paths, and amid splashes of mire and water, where often there was scarcely a foothold. The good count groaned in spirit, and was in a profuse sweat with mere impatience as he went, fearing the battle might be fought, and the prize won or lost, before he could reach the field. Having at length toilsomely unravelled the mazes of

the valley, and arrived at firmer ground, he ordered his troops to mount, and led them full gallop to the height. Part of the good count's wishes were satisfied, but the dearest were disappointed. He came in season to partake of the very hottest of the fight, but the royal prize was no longer in the field.

Boabdil had led on his men with impetuous valour, or rather with hurried rashness. Heedlessly exposing himself in the front of the battle, he received two wounds in the very first encounter. His guards rallied round him, defended him with matchless valour, and bore him bleeding out of the action. The Count de Cabra arrived just in time to see the loyal squadron crossing the bridge, and slowly conveying their disabled monarch towards the gate of the city.

The departure of Boabdil made no difference in the fury of the contest. A Moorish warrior, dark and terrible in aspect, mounted on a black charger, and followed by a band of savage Gomerers, rushed forward to take the lead. It was Hamet el Zegri, the fierce alcaide of Ronda, with the remnant of his once redoubtable garrison. Animated by his example, the Moors renewed their assaults upon the height. It was bravely defended on one side by the Marquis of Cadiz, on another by Don Alonso de Aguilar; and as fast as the Moors ascended, they were driven back and dashed down the declivities. The Count de Ureña took his stand upon the fatal spot where his brother had fallen. His followers entered with zeal into the feelings of their commander; and heaps of the enemy sunk beneath their weapons, sacrifices to the manes of the lamented master of Calatrava.

The battle continued with incredible obstinacy. The Moors knew the importance of the height to the safety of the city; the cavaliers felt their honours staked to maintain it. Fresh supplies of troops were poured out of the city; some battled on the height, while some attacked the Christians who were still in the valley, and among the orchards and gardens, to prevent their uniting their forces. The troops in the valley were gradually driven back, and the whole host of the Moors swept around the Albohacin. The situation of the Marquis of Cadiz and his companions was perilous in the extreme; they were a mere handful; and while they were fighting hand to hand with the Moors who assailed the height, they were galled from a distance by the cross-bows and arquebuses of a host, that augmented each moment in number. At this critical juncture, King Ferdinand emerged from the mountains with the main body of the army, and advanced to an eminence commanding a full view of the field of action. By his side was the noble English cavalier, the Earl of Rivers. This was the first time he had witnessed a scene of Moorish warfare. He looked with eager interest at the chance-medley fight before him,—the wild career of cavalry, the irregular and tumultuous rush of infantry, and Christian helm and Moorish turban intermingling in deadly struggle. His high blood mounted at the sight; and

his very soul was stirred within him, by the confused war-cries, the clangour of drums and trumpets, and the reports of arquebuses, that came echoing up the mountains. Seeing the king was sending a reinforcement to the field, he entreated permission to mingle in the affray, and fight according to the fashion of his country. His request being granted, he alighted from his steed. He was merely armed *en blanco*, that is to say, with morion, back-piece, and breast-plate; his sword was girded by his side, and in his hand he wielded a powerful battle-axe.

He was followed by a body of his yeomen, armed in like manner, and by a band of archers, with bows made of the tough English yew-tree. The earl turned to his troops, and addressed them briefly and bluntly, according to the manner of his country. "Remember, my merry men all," said he, "the eyes of strangers are upon you; you are in a foreign land, fighting for the glory of God and the honour of merry old England!" A loud shout was the reply. The earl waved his battle-axe over his head. "St George for England!" cried he; and to the inspiring sound of this old English war-cry, he and his followers rushed down to the battle, with manly and courageous hearts.

They soon made their way into the midst of the enemy; but, when engaged in the hottest of the fight, they made no shouts or outcries. They pressed steadily forward, dealing their blows to right and left, hewing down the Moors, and cutting their way with their battle-axes, like woodmen in a forest; while the archers, pressing into the opening they made, plied their bows vigorously, and spread death on every side.

When the Castilian mountaineers beheld the valour of the English yeomanry, they would not be outdone in hardihood. They could not vie with them in weight and bulk, but for vigour and activity they were surpassed by none. They kept pace with them, therefore, with equal heart and rival prowess, and gave a brave support to the stout islanders.

The Moors were confounded by the fury of these assaults, and disheartened by the loss of Hamet el Zegri, who was carried wounded from the field. They gradually fell back upon the bridge; the Christians followed up their advantage, and drove them over it tumultuously. The Moors retreated into the suburb, and Lord Rivers and his troops entered with them pell-mell, fighting in the streets and in the houses. King Ferdinand came up to the scene of action with his royal guard, and the infidels were all driven within the city walls. Thus were the suburbs gained by the hardihood of the English lord, without such an event having been premeditated.

The Earl of Rivers, notwithstanding he had received a wound, still urged forward in the attack. He penetrated almost to the city gate, in defiance of a shower of missiles, that slew many of his followers.

\* Cura de los Palacios.

• Cura de los Palacios, MS.

A stone, hurled from the battlements, checked his impetuous career. It struck him in the face, dashed out two of his front teeth, and laid him senseless on the earth. He was removed to a short distance by his men; but, recovering his senses, refused to permit himself to be taken from the suburb.

When the contest was over, the streets presented a piteous spectacle, so many of their inhabitants had died in the defence of their thresholds, or been slaughtered without resistance. Among the victims was a poor weaver, who had been at work in his dwelling at this turbulent moment. His wife urged him to fly into the city. "Why should I fly?" said the Moor, "to be reserved for hunger and slavery? I tell you, wife, I will abide here; for better is it to die quickly by the steel, than to perish piecemeal in chains and dungeons." He said no more, but resumed his occupation of weaving; and, in the indiscriminate fury of the assault, was slaughtered at his loom.

The Christians remained masters of the field, and proceeded to pitch three encampments for the prosecution of the siege. The king, with the great body of the army, took a position on the side of the city next to Granada. The Marquis de Cadiz and his brave companions once more pitched their tents upon the height of Santo Albahacin; but the English earl planted his standard sturdily within the suburb he had taken.

#### CHAPTER XL.

##### CONCLUSION OF THE SIEGE OF LOXA.

HAVING possession of the heights of Albahacin, and the suburb of the city, the Christians were enabled to chuse the most favourable situations for their batteries. They immediately destroyed the stone bridge, by which the garrison had made its sallies; and they threw two wooden bridges across the river, and others over the canals and streams, so as to establish an easy communication between the different camps.

When all was arranged, a heavy fire was opened upon the city from various points. They threw not only balls of stone and iron, but great carcasses of fire, which burst like meteors on the houses, wrapping them instantly in a blaze. The walls were shattered, and the towers toppled down by tremendous discharges from the lombards. Through the openings thus made, they could behold the interior of the city; houses tumbling down or in flames; men, women, and children flying in terror through the streets, and slaughtered by the shower of missiles sent through these openings from smaller artillery, and from cross-bows and arquebuses.

The Moors attempted to repair the breaches; but fresh discharges from the lombards buried them beneath the ruins of the walls they were mending. In

<sup>1</sup> Pulgar, part. iiii, cap. 58.

their despair, many of the inhabitants rushed forth into the narrow streets of the suburbs, and assailed the Christians with darts, cimeters, and poniards; seeking to destroy rather than defend, and heedless of death, in the confluence, that to die fighting with an unbeliever was to be translated at once to paradise.

For two nights and a day this awful scene continued; when certain of the principal inhabitants began to reflect upon the hopelessness of resistance. Their king was disabled; their principal captains were either killed or wounded; their fortifications little better than heaps of ruins. They had urged the unfortunate Boabdil to the conflict; they now clamoured for a capitulation. A parley was procured from the Christian monarch, and the terms of surrender were soon adjusted. They were to yield up the city immediately, with all their Christian captives, and to sally forth with as much of their property as they could take with them. The Marquis of Cadiz, on whose honour and humanity they had great reliance, was to escort them to Granada, to protect them from assault or robbery. Such as chose to remain in Spain were to be permitted to reside in Castile, Aragon, or Valencia. As to Boabdil el Chico, he was to do homage as vassal to King Ferdinand; but no charge was to be urged against him, of having violated his former pledge. If he should yield up all pretensions to Granada, the title of Duke of Guadix was to be assigned him, and the territory thereto annexed, provided it should be recovered from El Zagal within six months.

The capitulation being arranged, they gave as hostages the alcaide of the city, and the principal officers, together with the sons of their late chieftain, the veteran Ali Atar. The warriors of Loxa then issued forth, humbled and dejected, at having to surrender those walls, which they had so long maintained with valour and renown; and the women and children filled the air with lamentations, at being exiled from their native homes.

Last came forth Boabdil, most truly called El Zogoybi, the unlucky. Accustomed, as he had been, to be crowned and uncrowned; to be ransomed, and treated as a matter of bargain, he had acceded of course to the capitulation. He was enfeebled by his wounds, and had an air of dejection; yet, it is said, his conscience acquitted him of a breach of faith towards the Castilian sovereigns; and the personal valour he had displayed had caused a sympathy for him among many of the Christian cavaliers. He knelt to Ferdinand, according to the forms of vassalage, and then departed in melancholy mood for Priego, a town about three leagues distant. Ferdinand immediately ordered Loxa to be repaired and strongly garrisoned. He was greatly elated at the capture of this place, in consequence of his former defeat before its walls. He passed great encomiums upon the commanders who had distinguished themselves; and historians dwell particularly upon his visit to the tent of the English earl. His majesty consulted

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him for the loss of his teeth, by the consideration, that he might otherwise have been deprived of them by natural decay: whereas the lack of them would now be esteemed a beauty rather than a defect; serving as a trophy of the glorious cause in which he had been engaged.

The earl replied, "that he gave thanks to God and to the holy Virgin for being thus honoured by a visit from the most potent king in Christendom; that he accepted, with all gratitude, his gracious consolation for the loss he had sustained; though he held it little to lose two teeth in the service of God, who had given him all."

"A speech," says Fray Antonio Agapida, "full of most courtly wit and Christian piety; and one only marvels that it should be made by a native of an island so far distant from Castile."

## CHAPTER XLI.

## CAPTURE OF ILLORA.

KING FERDINAND followed up his victory at Loxa by laying siege to the strong town of Illora. This redoubtable fortress was perched upon a high rock, in the midst of a spacious valley. It was within four leagues of the Moorish capital; and its lofty castle, keeping vigilant watch over a wide circuit of country, was termed the Right Eye of Granada.

The alcaide of Illora was one of the bravest of the Moorish commanders, and made every preparation to defend his fortress to the last extremity. He sent the women and children, the aged and infirm, to the metropolis. He placed barricadoes in the suburbs, opened doors of communication from house to house, and pierced their walls with loop-holes, for the discharge of cross-bows, arquebuses, and other missiles.

King Ferdinand arrived before the place with all his forces. He stationed himself upon the hill of Encinilla, and distributed the other encampments in various situations, so as to invest the fortress. Knowing the valiant character of the alcaide, and the desperate courage of the Moors, he ordered the encampments to be fortified with trenches and palisades, the guards to be doubled, and sentinels to be placed in all the watch-towers of the adjacent heights.

When all was ready, the Duke del Infantado demanded the attack. It was his first campaign; and he was anxious to disprove the royal insinuation made against the hardihood of his embroidered chivalry. King Ferdinand granted his demand, with a becoming compliment to his spirit. He ordered the Count de Cabra to make a simultaneous attack upon a different quarter. Both chiefs led forth their troops. Those of the duke were in fresh and brilliant armour, richly ornamented, and as yet uninjured by the service of the field. Those of the count were

weather-beaten veterans, whose armour was dented and hacked in many a hard-fought battle. The youthful duke blushed at the contrast. "Cavaliers!" cried he, "we have been reproached with the finery of our arms: let us prove, that a trenchant blade may rest in a gilded sheath. Forward! to the foe! and I trust in God, that, as we enter this affray knights well accounted, so we shall leave it cavaliers well proved!" His men responded by eager acclamations, and the duke led them forward to the assault. He advanced under a tremendous shower of stones, darts, balls, and arrows; but nothing could check his career. He entered the suburb sword in hand; his men fought furiously, though with great loss; for every dwelling had been turned into a fortress. After a severe conflict, he succeeded in driving the Moors into the town, about the same time that the other suburb was carried by the Count de Cabra and his veterans. The troops of the Duke del Infantado came out of the contest thinned in number, and covered with blood, and dust, and wounds. They received the highest encomiums of the king; and there was never afterwards any sneer at their embroidery.

The suburbs being taken, three batteries, each furnished with eight large lombards, were opened upon the fortress. The damage and havoc were tremendous; for the fortifications had not been constructed to withstand such engines. The towers were overthrown; the walls battered to pieces; the interior of the place was all exposed; houses demolished, and many people slain. The Moors were terrified by the tumbling ruins and the tremendous din. The alcaide had resolved to defend the place unto the last extremity. He beheld it a heap of rubbish; there was no prospect of aid from Granada; his people had lost all spirit to fight, and were vociferous for a surrender. With a reluctant heart he capitulated. The inhabitants were permitted to depart with all their effects, excepting their arms; and were escorted in safety, by the Duke del Infantado and the Count de Cabra, to the bridge of Pinos, within two leagues of Granada.

King Ferdinand gave directions to repair the fortifications of Illora, and to place it in a strong state of defence. He left, as alcaide of the town and fortress, Gonsalvo de Cordova, younger brother of Don Alonso de Aguilar. This gallant cavalier was captain of the royal guards of Ferdinand and Isabella, and gave already proofs of that prowess, which afterwards rendered him so renowned.

## CHAPTER XLII.

## OF THE ARRIVAL OF QUEEN ISABELLA AT THE CAMP BEFORE MUGLIN, AND OF THE PLEASANT SAYINGS OF THE ENGLISH EARL.

THE war of Granada, however poets may embroider it with the flowers of their fancy, was certainly one of the sternest of those iron conflicts, which have been



celebrated under the name of holy wars. The worthy Fray Antonio Agapida dwells with unsated delight upon the succession of rugged mountain enterprises, bloody battles, and merciless sackings and ravages, which characterise it; yet we find him, on one occasion, pausing, in the full career of victory over the infidels, to detail a stately pageant of the catholic sovereigns.

Immediately on the capture of Loxa, Ferdinand had written to Isabella, soliciting her presence at the camp, that he might consult with her as to the disposition of their newly acquired territories.

It was in the early part of June that the queen departed from Cordova, with the Princess Isabella, and numerous ladies of her court. She had a glorious attendance of cavaliers and pages, with many guards and domestics. There were forty mules for the use of the queen, the princess, and their train.

As this courtly cavalcade approached the Rock of the Lovers, on the banks of the river Yeguas, they beheld a splendid train of knights advancing to meet them. It was headed by the accomplished cavalier, the Marquis Duke de Cadiz, accompanied by the adelantado of Andalusia. He had left the camp the day after the capture of Illora, and advanced thus far to receive the queen, and escort her over the borders. The queen received the marquis with distinguished honour, for he was esteemed as the mirror of chivalry. His actions in this war had become the theme of every tongue, and many hesitated not to compare him, in prowess, to the immortal Cid.<sup>1</sup>

Thus gallantly attended, the queen entered the vanquished frontier of Granada, journeying securely along the pleasant banks of the Xenil, so lately subject to the scourings of the Moors. She stopped at Loxa, where she administered aid and consolation to the wounded, distributing money among them for their support, according to their rank.

The king, after the capture of Illora, had removed his camp before the fortress of Moelin, with an intention of besieging it. Thither the queen proceeded, still escorted through the mountain roads by the Marquis of Cadiz. As Isabella drew near to the camp, the Duke del Infantado issued forth a league and a half to receive her, magnificently arrayed, and followed by all his chivalry in glorious attire. With him came the standard of Seville, borne by the men-at-arms of that renowned city, and the prior of St Juan, with his followers. They arranged themselves in order of battle on the left of the road by which the queen was to pass. The worthy Agapida is loyally minute in his description of the state and grandeur of the catholic sovereigns. The queen rode a chesnut mule, seated in a magnificent saddle-chair, decorated with silver gilt. The housings of the mule were of fine crimson cloth; the borders embroidered with gold; the reins and head-piece were of satin, curiously embossed with needlework of silk, and wrought with

golden letters. The queen wore a brial or royal skirt of velvet, under which were others of brocade; a scarlet mantle, ornamented in the moresco fashion, and a black hat embroidered round the crown and brim.

The infanta was likewise mounted on a chesnut mule, richly caparisoned. She wore a brial or skirt of black brocade, and a black mantle, ornamented like that of the queen.

When the royal cavalcade passed by the chivalry of the Duke del Infantado, which was drawn out in battle array, the queen made a reverence to the standard of Seville, and ordered it to pass to the right hand. When she approached the camp, the multitude ran forth to meet her, with great demonstrations of joy; for she was universally beloved by her subjects. All the battalions sallied forth in military array, bearing the various standards and banners of the camp, which were lowered in salutation as she passed.

The king now appeared, in royal state, mounted on a superb chesnut horse, and attended by many grandees of Castile. He wore a jubon or close vest of crimson cloth, with cuisses or short skirts of yellow satin; a loose cassock of brocade, a rich Moorish cimeter, and a hat with plumes. The grandees who attended him were arrayed with wonderful magnificence, each according to his taste and invention.

"These high and mighty princes," says Antonio Agapida, "regarded each other with great deference as allied sovereigns, rather than with connubial familiarity as mere husband and wife, when they approached each other: therefore, before embracing, they made three profound reverences; the queen taking off her hat, and remaining in a silk net or cawl, with her face uncovered. The king then approached, and embraced her, and kissed her respectfully on the cheek. He also embraced his daughter the princess, and, making the sign of the cross, he blessed her, and kissed her on the lips."<sup>2</sup>

The good Agapida seems scarcely to have been more struck with the appearance of the sovereigns, than with that of the English earl. "He followed," says he, "immediately after the king, with great pomp, and in an extraordinary manner, taking precedence of all the rest. He was mounted, *à la guisa*, or with long stirrups, on a superb chesnut horse, with trappings of azure silk, which reached to the ground. The housings were of mulberry, powdered with stars of gold. He was armed in proof, and wore over his armour a short French mantle of black brocade. He had a white French hat with plumes; and carried on his left arm a small round buckler, handled with gold. Five pages attended him, apparelled in silk and brocade, and mounted on horses sumptuously caparisoned. He had also a train of followers, attired after the fashion of his country."

He advanced in a chivalrous and courteous manner,

<sup>1</sup> Cura de los Palacios.

<sup>2</sup> Cura de los Palacios.

making his reverences first to the queen and infant, and afterwards to the king. Queen Isabella received him graciously, complimenting him on his courageous conduct at Loxa, and condoling with him on the loss of his teeth. The earl, however, made light of his disfiguring wound; saying, that "our blessed Lord, who had built all that house, had opened a window there, that he might see more readily what passed within." Whereupon, the worthy Fray Antonio Agapida is more than ever astonished at the pregnant wit of this island cavalier. The earl continued some little distance by the side of the royal family, complimenting them all with courteous speeches, his steed curveting and carrying, but managed with great grace and dexterity, leaving the grandees and the people at large not more filled with admiration at the strangeness and magnificence of his state, than at the excellence of his horsemanship.<sup>2</sup>

To testify her sense of the gallantry and services of this noble English knight, who had come from so far to assist in their wars, the queen sent him, the next day, presents of twelve horses, with stately tents, fine linen, two beds, with coverings of gold brocade, and many other articles of great value.

Having refreshed himself, as it were, with the description of this progress of Queen Isabella to the camp, and the glorious pomp of the catholic sovereigns, the worthy Antonio Agapida returns, with renewed relish, to his pious work of discomfiting the Moors.<sup>3</sup>

## CHAPTER XLIII.

HOW KING FERDINAND ATTACKED MOCLIN, AND OF THE STRANGE EVENTS THAT ATTENDED ITS CAPTURE.

"THE catholic sovereigns," says Fray Antonio Agapida, "had by this time closely clipped the right wing of the Moorish vulture." In other words, most of the strong fortresses along the western frontier of Granada had fallen beneath the Christian artillery. The army now lay encamped before the town of Moclin, on the frontier of Jaen, one of the most stubborn fortresses of the border. It stood on a high rocky hill, the base of which was nearly girdled by a river. A thick forest protected the back part of the town towards the mountain. Thus strongly situate, it domineered, with its frowning battlements and massive towers, over all the mountain passes into

<sup>1</sup> Pietro Martyr, Epist. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Cura de los Palacios.

<sup>3</sup> The description of this royal pageant, and the particulars concerning the English earl, agree precisely with the chronicle of Andres Bernaldes, the curate of Los Palacios. The English earl makes no further figure in this war. It appears, from various histories, that he returned in the course of the year to England. In the following year, his passion for fighting took him to the Continent, at the head of four hundred adventurers, in aid of Francis, Duke of Brittany, against Louis XI of France. He was killed. In the same year (1488), in the battle of St Alban's, between the Bretons and the French.

that part of the country, and was called the Shield of Granada. It had a double arrear of blood to settle with the Christians. Two hundred years before, a master of Santiago and all his cavaliers had been lanced by the Moors before its gates. It had recently made terrible slaughter among the troops of the good Count de Cabra, in his precipitate attempt to entrap the old Moorish monarch. The pride of Ferdinand had been piqued, by being obliged, on that occasion, to recede from his plan, and abandon his concerted attack on the place. He was now prepared to take a full revenge.

El Zagal, the old warrior king of Granada, anticipating a second attempt, had provided the place with ample munitions and provision; had ordered trenches to be dug, and additional bulwarks thrown up, and caused all the old men, the women, and the children, to be removed to the capital.

Such was the strength of the fortress, and the difficulties of its position, that Ferdinand anticipated much trouble in reducing it, and made every preparation for a regular siege. In the centre of his camp were two great mounds, one of sacks of flour, the other of grain, which were called the royal granary. Three batteries of heavy ordnance were opened against the citadel and principal towers, while smaller artillery, engines for the discharge of missiles, arquebuses, and cross-bows, were distributed in various places, to keep up a fire into any breach that might be made, and upon those of the garrison who should appear on the battlements.

The lombards soon made an impression on the works, demolishing a part of the wall, and tumbling down several of those haughty towers, which, from their height, had been impregnable before the invention of gunpowder. The Moors repaired their walls as well as they were able, and, still confiding in the strength of their situation, kept up a resolute defence, firing down from their lofty battlements and towers upon the Christian camp. For two nights and a day an incessant fire was kept up, so that there was not a moment in which the roaring of ordnance was not heard, or some damage sustained by the Christians or the Moors. It was a conflict, however, more of engineers and artillerymen than of gallant cavaliers; there was no sally of troops, or shock of armed men, or rush and charge of cavalry. The knights stood looking on with idle weapons, waiting until they should have an opportunity of signalling their prowess, by scaling the walls or storming the breaches. As the place, however, was assailable only in one part, there was every prospect of a long and obstinate resistance.

The engines, as usual, discharged not only balls of stone and iron to demolish the walls, but flaming balls of inextinguishable combustibles, designed to set fire to the houses. One of these, which passed high through the air, like a meteor, sending out sparks, and crackling as it went, entered the window of a tower, which was used as a magazine of gun-

powder. The tower blew up, with a tremendous explosion; the Moors, who were upon its battlements, were hurled into the air, and fell mangled in various parts of the town; and the houses in its vicinity were rent and overthrown, as with an earthquake.

The Moors, who had never witnessed an explosion of this kind, ascribed the destruction of the tower to a miracle. Some, who had seen the descent of the flaming ball, imagined, that the fire had fallen from heaven, to punish them for their pertinacity. The pious Agapida himself believes that this fiery missile was conducted by divine agency, to confound the infidels—an opinion in which he is supported by other catholic historians.<sup>1</sup>

Seeing heaven and earth, as it were, combined against them, the Moors lost all heart, and capitulated; and were permitted to depart with their effects, leaving behind all arms and munitions of war.

“The catholic army,” says Antonio Agapida, “entered Moclin in solemn state, not as a licentious host, intent upon plunder and desolation, but as a band of Christian warriors, coming to purify and regenerate the land. The standard of the cross, that ensign of this holy crusade, was borne in the advance, followed by the other banners of the army. Then came the king and queen, at the head of a vast number of armed cavaliers. They were accompanied by a band of priests and friars, with the choir of the royal chapel, chanting the canticle *Te Deum laudamus*. As they were moving through the streets in this solemn manner, every sound hushed, excepting the anthem of the choir, they suddenly heard, issuing as it were from under ground, a chorus of voices, chanting the solemn response, *Benedictum qui venit in nomine Domini*.” The procession paused in wonder. The sounds arose from Christian captives, and among them several priests, who were confined in subterraneous dungeons.

The heart of Isabella was greatly touched: she ordered the captives to be drawn forth from their cells; and was still more moved at beholding, by their wan, discoloured, and emaciated appearance, how much they had suffered. Their hair and beards were overgrown and shagged; they were wasted by hunger, and were half naked, and in chains. She ordered that they should be clothed and cherished, and money furnished them to bear them to their homes.<sup>2</sup>

Several of the captives were brave cavaliers, who had been wounded and made prisoners, in the defeat of the Count de Cabra, by El Zagal, in the preceding year. There were also found other melancholy traces of that disastrous affair. On visiting the narrow pass, where the defeat had taken place, the remains of several Christian warriors were found in thickets, or hidden behind rocks, or in the clefts of the mountains. There were some who had been

struck from their horses, and wounded too severely to fly. They had crawled away from the scene of action, and concealed themselves to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, and had thus perished miserably and alone. The remains of those of note were known by their armour and devices, and were mourned over by their companions, who had shared the disasters of that day.<sup>3</sup>

The queen had these remains piously collected, as the relics of so many martyrs, who had fallen in the cause of the faith. They were interred, with great solemnity, in the mosques of Moclin, which had been purified, and consecrated to Christian worship. “There,” says Antonio Agapida, “rest the bones of those truly catholic knights, in the holy ground, which, in a manner, had been sanctified by their blood; and all pilgrims, passing through those mountains, offer up prayers and masses for the repose of their souls.”

The queen remained for some time at Moclin, administering comfort to the wounded and the prisoners, bringing the newly acquired territory into order, and founding churches and monasteries, and other pious institutions. “While the king marched in front, laying waste the land of the Philistines,” says the figurative Antonio Agapida, “Queen Isabella followed his traces, as the binder follows the reaper, gathering the rich harvest, that has fallen beneath his sickle. In this she was greatly assisted by the counsels of that cloud of bishops, friars, and clergymen, besides other saintly personages, which continually surrounded her, garnering the first-fruits of this infidel land into the granaries of the church.” Leaving her thus piously employed, the king pursued his career of conquest, determined to lay waste the vega, and carry fire and sword to the very gates of Granada.

#### CHAPTER XLIV.

HOW KING FERDINAND FORAGED THE VEGA; AND OF THE FITE OF THE TWO MOORISH BROTHERS.

MULEY ABDALLA EL ZAGAL had been under a spell of ill fortune, ever since the suspicious death of the old king his brother. Success had deserted his standard, and, with his fickle subjects, want of success was one of the greatest crimes in a sovereign. He found his popularity declining, and he lost all confidence in his people. The Christian army marched in open defiance through his territories, and sat down deliberately before his fortresses; yet he dared not lead forth his legions to oppose them, lest the inhabitants of the albaycen, ever ripe for a revolt, should rise, and shut the gates of Granada against his return.

Every few days some melancholy train entered the metropolis, the inhabitants of some captured town.

<sup>1</sup> Pulgar. Garibay. Lucio Marino Siculo, *Cosas Memorab. de Hispan.* lib. xx.

<sup>2</sup> Marino Siculo.

<sup>3</sup> Illecas, *Hist. Pontif.*, lib. vi, c. 20, sect. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Pulgar, part. iii, cap. 61

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bearing the few effects that had been spared them, and weeping and bewailing the desolation of their homes. When the tidings arrived, that Illora and Moclin had fallen, the people were seized with consternation. "The right eye of Granada is extinguished!" exclaimed they; "the shield of Granada is broken! what shall protect us from the inroad of the foe?" When the survivors of the garrisons of those towns arrived, with downcast looks, bearing the marks of battle, and destitute of arms and standards, the populace reviled them in their wrath: but they answered, "We fought as long as we had force to fight, or walls to shelter us; but the Christians laid our towers and battlements in ruins, and we looked in vain for aid from Granada."

The alcaydes of Illora and Moclin were brothers; they were alike in prowess, and the bravest among the Moorish cavaliers. They had been the most distinguished in all tilts and tourneys which graced the happier days of Granada, and had distinguished themselves in the sterner conflicts of the field. Acclamation had always followed their banners, and they had long been the delight of the people. Now, when they returned, after the capture of their fortresses, they were followed by the unsteady populace with execrations. The hearts of the alcaydes swelled with indignation; they found the ingratitude of their countrymen still more intolerable than the hostility of the Christians. Tidings came, that the enemy was advancing with his triumphant legions, to lay waste the country about Granada. Still El Zagal did not dare to take the field. The two alcaydes of Illora and Moclin stood before him. "We have defended your fortresses," said they, "until we were almost buried under their ruins; and, for our reward, we receive scoffs and revilings. Give us, O king, an opportunity in which knightly valour may signalise itself; not shut up behind stone walls, but in the open conflict of the field! The enemy approaches, to lay our country desolate. Give us men to meet him in the advance; and let shame light upon our heads, if we be found wanting in the battle!"

The two brothers were sent forth with a large force of horse and foot. El Zagal intended, should they be successful, to issue out with his whole force; and, by a decisive victory, repair the losses he had suffered. When the people saw the well known standards of the brothers going forth to battle, there was a feeble shout; but the alcaydes passed on with stern countenances; for they knew the same voices would curse them were they to return unfortunate. They cast a farewell look upon fair Granada, and upon the beautiful fields of their infancy, as if for these they were willing to lay down their lives, but not for an ungrateful people.

The army of Ferdinand had arrived within two leagues of Granada, at the bridge of Pinos, a pass famous in the wars of the Moors and Christians for many a bloody conflict. It was the pass by which the Castilian monarchs generally made their inroads,

and was capable of great defence, from the ruggedness of the country, and the difficulty of the bridge. The king, with the main body of the army, had attained the brow of a hill, when they beheld the advanced guard, under the Marquis of Cadiz and the master of Santiago, furiously attacked by the enemy, in the vicinity of the bridge. The Moors rushed to the assault with their usual shouts, but with more than usual ferocity. There was a hard struggle at the bridge, both parties knowing the importance of the pass. The king particularly noted the prowess of two Moorish cavaliers, alike in arms and devices, and who, by their bearing and attendance, he perceived to be commanders of the enemy. They were the two brothers, the alcaydes of Illora and Moclin. Wherever they turned, they carried confusion and death into the ranks of the Christians; but they fought with desperation rather than valour. The Count de Cabra and his brother, Don Martin de Cordova, pressed forward with eagerness against them; but, having advanced too precipitately, were surrounded by the foe, and in imminent danger. A young Christian knight, seeing their peril, hastened with his followers to their relief. The king recognised him for Don Juan de Aragon, Count of Ribagoza, his own nephew; for he was illegitimate son of the Duke of Villahermosa, illegitimate brother of King Ferdinand. The splendid armour of Don Juan, and the sumptuous caparison of his steed, rendered him a brilliant object of attack. He was assailed on all sides, and his superb steed slain under him; yet still he fought valiantly, bearing for a while the brunt of the fight, and giving the exhausted forces of the Count de Cabra time to recover breath.

Seeing the peril of these troops, and the general obstinacy of the contest, the king ordered the royal standard to be advanced, and hastened with all his forces to the relief of the Count de Cabra. At his approach the enemy gave way, and retreated towards the bridge. The two Moorish commanders endeavoured to rally their troops, and animate them to defend this pass to the utmost. They used prayers, remonstrances, menaces; but nearly in vain. They could only collect a scanty handful of cavaliers. With these they planted themselves at the head of the bridge, and disputed it inch by inch. The fight was hot and obstinate; for but few could contend hand to hand; yet many discharged cross-bows and arquebuses from the banks. The river was covered with the floating bodies of the slain. The Moorish band of cavaliers was almost entirely cut to pieces; the two brothers fell, covered with wounds, upon the bridge they had so resolutely defended. They had given up the battle for lost, but had determined not to return alive to ungrateful Granada. When the people of the capital heard how devotedly they had fallen, they lamented greatly their deaths, and extolled their memory. A column was erected to their honour in the vicinity of the bridge, which long went by the name of "The tomb of the brothers."



The army of Ferdinand now marched on, and established its camp in the vicinity of Granada. The worthy Agapida gives many triumphant details of the ravages committed in the vega, which was again laid waste; the grain, fruits, and other productions of the earth destroyed; and that earthly paradise rendered a dreary desert. He narrates several fierce but ineffectual sallies and skirmishes of the Moors in defence of their favourite plain; among which one deserves to be mentioned, as it records the achievement of one of the saintly heroes of this war.

During one of the movements of the Christian army near the walls of Granada, a battalion of fifteen hundred cavalry, and a large force of foot, had sallied from the city, and posted themselves near some gardens, which were surrounded by a canal, and traversed by ditches, for the purpose of irrigation.

The Moors beheld the Duke del Infantado pass by with his two splendid battalions; one of men-at-arms, the other of light cavalry, armed *á la geneta*. In company with him, but following as a rear-guard, was Don García Osorio, the belligerent bishop of Jaen, attended by Francisco Bovadillo, the corregidor of his city, and followed by two squadrons of men-at-arms, from Jaen, Andujar, Ubeda, and Baza. The success of the preceding year's campaign had given the good bishop an inclination for warlike affairs; and he had once more buckled on his cuirass.

The Moors were much given to stratagem in warfare. They looked wistfully at the magnificent squadrons of the Duke del Infantado; but their martial discipline precluded all attack. The good bishop promised to be a more easy prey. Suffering the duke and his troops to pass unmolested, they approached the squadrons of the bishop; and making a pretended attack, skirmished slightly, and fled in apparent confusion. The bishop considered the day his own; and, seconded by his corregidor Bovadillo, followed with valorous precipitation. The Moors fled into the *Huerta del Rey*, or orchard of the king. The troops of the bishop followed hotly after them. When the Moors perceived their pursuers fairly embarrassed among the intricacies of the garden, they turned fiercely upon them, while some of their number threw open the sluices of the Xenil. In an instant, the canal which encircled, and the ditches which traversed, the garden, were filled with water, and the valiant bishop and his followers found themselves overwhelmed by a deluge. A scene of great confusion succeeded. Some of the men of Jaen, stoutest of heart and hand, fought with the Moors in the garden, while others struggled with the water, endeavouring to escape across the canal, in which attempt many horses were drowned. Fortunately the Duke del Infantado perceived the snare into which his companions had fallen, and despatched his light cavalry to their assistance. The Moors were compelled to flight, and driven along the road of Elvira

up to the gates of Granada. Several Christian cavaliers perished in this affray; the bishop himself escaped with difficulty, having slipped from his saddle in crossing the canal, but saved himself by holding on to the tail of his charger. This perilous achievement seems to have satisfied the good bishop's belligerent propensities. "He retired on his laurels," says Agapida, "to his city of Jaen, where, on the fruition of all good things, he gradually waxed too corpulent for his corslet, which was hung up in the hall of his episcopal palace; and we hear no more of his military deeds throughout the residue of the holy war of Granada."

King Ferdinand having completed his ravage of the vega, and kept El Zagal shut up in his capital, conducted his army back through the pass of Lope, to rejoin Queen Isabella at Moclin. The fortresses lately taken being well garrisoned and supplied, he gave the command of the frontier to his cousin, Don Fadrique de Toledo, afterwards so famous in the Netherlands as the Duke of Alba. The campaign being thus completely crowned with success, the sovereign returned in triumph to the city of Cordova.

#### CHAPTER XLV.

ATTEMPT OF EL ZAGAL UPON THE LIFE OF BOABDIL; AND HOW THE LATTER WAS ROUSED TO ACTION.

No sooner did the last squadron of Christian cavalry disappear behind the mountain of Elvira, and the note of its trumpets die away upon the ear, than the long suppressed wrath of old Muley el Zagal burst forth. He determined no longer to be half a king, reigning over a divided kingdom, in a divided capital; but to exterminate, by any means, fair or foul, his nephew Boabdil and his confederates. He turned furiously upon those, whose factious conduct had deterred him from sallying upon the foe. Some he punished by confiscations, others by banishment, others by death. Once undisputed monarch of the entire kingdom, he trusted to his military skill to retrieve his fortune, and drive the Christians over the frontier.

Boabdil, however, had again retired to Velez el Blanco, on the confines of Murcia, where he could avail himself, in case of emergency, of any assistance or protection afforded him by the policy of Ferdinand. His defeat had blighted his reviving fortunes, for the people considered him as inevitably doomed to misfortune. Still, while he lived, El Zagal knew he would be a rallying point for faction, and liable, at any moment, to be elevated into power by the capricious multitude. He had recourse, therefore, to the

<sup>1</sup> Don Luis Osorio fué obispo de Jaen desde el año de 1465, y presidió en esta Iglesia hasta el de 1496 en que murió en Flandes á donde fué acompañando á la Princesa Doña Juana, esposa del Archiduque Don Felipe.—España Sagrada, por Fr. M. Lucio tom. xli, trat. 77, c. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Puiggar, part iii, cap. 62.  
<sup>2</sup> Puiggar.

Several Christian cavalry; the bishop himself slipped from his saddle and hid himself by holding on to this perilous achievement. "A good bishop's belligerent end on his laurels," says Sen, where, on the fruition daily waxed too corpulent hung up in the hall of his hear no more of his military residue of the holy war of

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THE LIFE OF BOABDIL; AND HOW HE WAS ROUSED TO ACTION.

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most perfidious means to compass his destruction. He sent ambassadors to him, representing the necessity of concord, for the salvation of the kingdom; and even offering to resign the title of king, and to become subject to his sway, on receiving some estate, on which he could live in tranquil retirement. But, while the ambassadors bore these words of peace, they were furnished with poisoned herbs, which they were to administer secretly to Boabdil; and, if they failed in this attempt, they had pledged themselves to despatch him openly, while engaged in conversation. They were instigated to this treason by promises of great reward, and by assurances from the alcaiques, that Boabdil was an apostate, whose death would be acceptable to Heaven.

The young monarch was secretly apprised of the concerted treason, and refused an audience to the ambassadors. He denounced his uncle as the murderer of his father and his kindred, and the usurper of his throne, and vowed never to relent in hostility to him, until he should place his head on the walls of the Alhambra.

Open war again broke out between the two monarchs, though feebly carried on, in consequence of their mutual embarrassments. Ferdinand again extended his assistance to Boabdil, ordering the commanders of his fortresses to aid him in all enterprises against his uncle, and against such places as refused to acknowledge him as king. And Don Juan de Benavides, who commanded in Loxa, even made inroads, in his name, into the territories of Almeria, Baza, and Guadix, which owned allegiance to El Zagal.

The unfortunate Boabdil had three great evils to contend with; the inconstancy of his subjects, the hostility of his uncle, and the friendship of Ferdinand. The last was by far the most baneful; his fortunes withered under it. He was looked upon as the enemy of his faith and of his country. The cities shut their gates against him. The people cursed him. Even the scanty band of cavaliers, who had hitherto followed his ill-starred banner, began to desert him; for he had not wherewithal to reward, or even to support them. His spirits sank with his fortune; and he feared that, in a little time, he should not have a spot of earth whereon to place his standard, or an adherent to rally under it.

In the midst of his despondency, he received a message from his lion-hearted mother, the sultana Aysa la Horra. "For shame," said she, "to linger about the borders of your kingdom, when a usurper is seated in your capital! Why look abroad for perfidious aid, when you have loyal hearts beating true to you in Granada? The albaycen is ready to throw open its gates to receive you. Strike home vigorously. A sudden blow may mend all, or make an end. A throne, or a grave! for a king, there is no honourable medium."

Boabdil was of an undecided character: but there are circumstances which bring the most wavering to

a decision, and, when once resolved, they are apt to act with a daring impulse, unknown to steadier judgments. The message of the sultana roused him from a dream. Granada, beautiful Granada! with its stately Alhambra, its delicious gardens, its gushing and limpid fountains, sparkling among groves of orange, citron, and myrtle, rose before him. "What have I done," exclaimed he, "that I should be an exile from this paradise of my forefathers, a wanderer and fugitive in my own kingdom, while a murderous usurper sits proudly upon my throne? Surely, Allah will befriend the righteous cause: one blow, and all may be my own!"

He summoned his scanty band of cavaliers. "Who is ready to follow his monarch unto the death?" said he; and every one laid his hand upon his cimeter. "Enough!" said he: "let each man arm himself, and prepare his steed in secret, for an enterprise of toil and peril: if we succeed, our reward is empire!"

## CHAPTER XLVI.

HOW BOABDIL RETURNED SECRETLY TO GRANADA; AND HOW HE WAS RECEIVED.

"In the hand of God," exclaims an old Arabian chronicler, "is the destiny of princes: he alone giveth empire. A single Moorish horseman, mounted on a fleet Arabian steed, was one day traversing the mountains which extend between Granada and the frontiers of Murcia. He galloped swiftly through the valleys, but paused and looked out cautiously from the summit of every height. A squadron of cavaliers followed warily at a distance. There were fifty lances. The richness of their armour and attire showed them to be warriors of noble rank, and their leader had a lofty and prince-like demeanour." The squadron thus described by the Arabian chronicler was the Moorish king Boabdil and his devoted followers.

For two nights and a day they pursued their adventurous journey, avoiding all populous parts of the country, and chusing the most solitary passes of the mountains. They suffered severe hardships and fatigues; but they suffered without a murmur. They were accustomed to rugged campaigning, and their steeds were of generous and unyielding spirit. It was midnight, and all was dark and silent, as they descended from the mountains, and approached the city of Granada. They passed along quietly under the shadow of its walls, until they arrived near the gate of the albaycen. Here Boabdil ordered his followers to halt, and remain concealed. Taking but four or five with him, he advanced resolutely to the gate, and knocked with the hilt of his cimeter. The guards demanded who sought to enter at that unseasonable hour. "Your king!" exclaimed Boabdil: "open the gate, and admit him."

The guards held forth a light, and recognised the

person of the youthful monarch. They were struck with sudden awe, and threw open the gates, and Boabdil and his followers entered unmolested. They galloped to the dwellings of the principal inhabitants of the albaycen; thundering at their portals, and summoning them to rise, and take arms for their rightful sovereign. The summons was instantly obeyed; trumpets resounded throughout the streets; the gleam of torches and the flash of arms showed the Moors hurrying to their gathering-places; and by day-break the whole force of the albaycen was rallied under the standard of Boabdil. Such was the success of this sudden and desperate act of the young monarch; for we are assured by contemporary historians, that there had been no previous concert or arrangement. "As the guards opened the gate of the city to admit him," observes a pious chronicler, "so God opened the hearts of the Moors to receive him as their king."

In the morning early, the tidings of this event roused El Zagal from his slumbers in the Alhambra. The fiery old warrior assembled his guard in haste, and made his way, sword in hand, to the albaycen, hoping to come upon his nephew by surprise. He was vigorously met by Boabdil and his adherents, and driven back into the quarter of the Alhambra. An encounter took place between the two kings in the square before the principal mosque. Here they fought, hand to hand, with implacable fury, as though it had been agreed to decide their competition for the crown by single combat. In the tumult of this chance-medley affray, however, they were separated, and the party of El Zagal was ultimately driven from the square.

The battle raged for some time in the streets and places of the city; but finding their powers of mischief cramped within such narrow limits, both parties sallied forth into the fields, and fought beneath the walls until evening. Many fell on both sides; and at night each party withdrew into its quarter, until the morning gave them light to renew the unnatural conflict. For several days, the two divisions of the city remained like hostile powers arrayed against each other. The party of the Alhambra was more numerous than that of the albaycen, and contained most of the nobility and chivalry; but the adherents of Boabdil were men hardened and strengthened by labour, and habitually skilled in the exercise of arms.

The albaycen underwent a kind of siege by the forces of El Zagal: they effected breaches in the walls, and made repeated attempts to carry it sword in hand, but were as often repulsed. The troops of Boabdil, on the other hand, made frequent sallies; and, in the conflicts which took place, the hatred of the combatants rose to such a pitch of fury, that no quarter was given on either side.

Boabdil perceived the inferiority of his force. He dreaded, also, that his adherents, being for the most part tradesmen and artisans, would become impatient

of this interruption of their gainful occupations and disheartened by these continual scenes of carnage. He sent missives, therefore, in all haste, to Don Fadrique de Toledo, who commanded the Christian forces on the frontier, entreating his assistance.

Don Fadrique had received orders from the politic Ferdinand to aid the youthful monarch in all his contests with his uncle. He advanced, therefore, with a body of troops near to Granada; but, wary lest some treachery might be intended, he stood for some time aloof, watching the movements of the parties. The furious and sanguinary nature of the conflicts, which distracted unhappy Granada, soon convinced him, that there was no collusion between the monarchs. He sent Boabdil, therefore, a reinforcement of Christian foot-soldiers and arquebusiers, under Fernan Alvarez de Sotomayor, alcaide of Colomara. This was as a firebrand thrown in to light up anew the flames of war in the city, which remained raging between the Moorish inhabitants for the space of fifty days.

#### CHAPTER XLVII.

##### HOW KING FERDINAND LAID SIEGE TO VELEZ MALAGA.

HITHERTO the events of this renowned war have been little else than a succession of brilliant but brief exploits, such as sudden forays and wild skirmishes among the mountains, or the surprisals of castles, fortresses, and frontier towns. We approach now to more important and prolonged operations, in which ancient and mighty cities, the bulwarks of Granada, were invested by powerful armies, subdued by slow and regular sieges, and thus the capital left naked and alone.

The glorious triumphs of the catholic sovereigns, says Fray Antonio Agapida, had resounded throughout the East, and filled all heathenness with alarm. The Grand Turk, Bajazet II, and his deadly foe the Grand Soldan of Egypt, suspending for a time their bloody feuds, entered into a league to protect the religion of Mahomet and the kingdom of Granada from the hostilities of the Christians. It was concerted between them, that Bajazet should send a powerful armada against the island of Sicily, then appertaining to the Spanish crown, for the purpose of distracting the attention of the Castilian sovereigns, while, at the same time, great bodies of troops should be poured into Granada from the opposite coast of Africa.

Ferdinand and Isabella received timely intelligence of these designs. They resolved at once to carry the war into the seabord of Granada, to possess themselves of its ports, and thus, as it were, to bar the gates of the kingdom against all external aid. Malaga was to be the main object of attack: it was the principal sea-port of the kingdom, and almost necessary to its existence. It had long been the seat of opulent commerce, sending many ships to the coasts

\* Pulgar.

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of Syria and Egypt. It was also the great channel of  
 communication with Africa, through which were  
 introduced supplies of money, troops, arms, and  
 steeds, from Tunis, Tripoli, Fez, Tremezan, and  
 other Barbary powers. It was emphatically called,  
 therefore, the Hand and Mouth of Granada.

Before laying siege to this redoubtable city, how-  
 ever, it was deemed necessary to secure the neigh-  
 bouring city of Velez Malaga, and its dependant  
 places, which might otherwise harass the besieging  
 army.

For this important campaign, the nobles of the  
 kingdom were again summoned to take the field with  
 their forces, in the spring of 1487. The menaced  
 invasion of the infidel powers of the East had awak-  
 ened new ardour in the bosoms of all true Christian  
 knights, and so zealously did they respond to the sum-  
 mons of the sovereigns, that an army of twenty  
 thousand cavalry, and fifty thousand foot, the flower  
 of Spanish warriors, led by the bravest of Spanish  
 cavaliers, thronged the renowned city of Cordova at  
 the appointed time.

On the night before this mighty host set forth upon  
 its march, an earthquake shook the city. The inhabi-  
 tants, awakened by the shaking of the walls and  
 rocking of the towers, fled to the courts and squares,  
 fearing to be overwhelmed by the ruins of their dwell-  
 ings. The earthquake was most violent in the quar-  
 ter of the royal residence, the site of the ancient pal-  
 lace of the Moorish kings. Many looked upon this as  
 an omen of some impending evil, but Fray Antonio  
 Agapida, in that infallible spirit of divination which  
 succeeds an event, plainly reads in it a presage, that  
 the empire of the Moors was about to be shaken to its  
 centre.

It was on Saturday, the eve of the Sunday of  
 Palms, says a worthy and loyal chronicler of the times,  
 that the most catholic monarch departed with his  
 army to render service to heaven, and make war  
 upon the Moors. Heavy rains had swelled all the  
 streams, and rendered the roads deep and difficult.  
 The king therefore divided his host into two bodies.  
 In one he put all the artillery, guarded by a strong  
 body of horse, and commanded by the master of Al-  
 cantara, and Martin Alonso, senior of Montemayor.  
 This division was to proceed by the road through the  
 valleys, where pasturage abounded for the oxen which  
 drew the ordnance.

The main body of the army was led by the king  
 in person. It was divided into numerous battalions,  
 each commanded by some distinguished cavalier.  
 The king took the rough and perilous road of the  
 mountains; and few mountains are more rugged and  
 difficult than those of Andalusia. The roads are mere  
 tumble-paths, straggling amidst rocks and along the  
 verge of precipices, clambering vast craggy heights,  
 or descending into frightful chasms and ravines, with  
 scanty and uncertain foothold for either man or steed.

<sup>1</sup> Pulgar, Crónica de los Reyes Catholicos.

Four thousand pioneers were sent in advance, under  
 the alcajde de los Donzeles, to conquer, in some  
 degree, the asperities of the road. Some had pickaxes  
 and crows, to break the rocks; some implements to  
 construct bridges over the mountain torrents; while  
 it was the duty of others to lay stepping-stones in the  
 smaller streams. As the country was inhabited by  
 fierce Moorish mountaineers, Don Diego de Castrillo  
 was despatched, with a body of horse and foot, to  
 take possession of the heights and passes. Notwith-  
 standing every precaution, the royal army suffered  
 excessively on its march. At one time, there was no  
 place to encamp for five leagues of the most toilsome  
 and mountainous country, and many of the beasts of  
 burden sank down and perished on the road.

It was with the greatest joy, therefore, that the  
 royal army emerged from these stern and frightful de-  
 files, and came to where they looked down upon the  
 vega of Velez Malaga. The region before them was  
 one of the most delectable to the eye that ever was  
 ravaged by an army. Sheltered from every rude blast  
 by a screen of mountains, and sloping and expanding  
 to the south, this lovely valley was quickened by the  
 most generous sunshine, watered by the silver mean-  
 derings of the Velez, and refreshed by cooling breezes  
 from the Mediterranean. The sloping hills were  
 covered with vineyards and olive-trees, the distant  
 fields waved with grain, or were verdant with pas-  
 turage, while around the city were delightful gardens,  
 the favourite retreats of the Moors, where their white  
 pavilions gleamed among groves of oranges, citrons,  
 and pomegranates, and were surmounted by stately  
 palms, those plants of southern growth, bespeaking a  
 generous climate and a cloudless sky.

In the upper part of this delightful valley the city  
 of Velez Malaga reared its warrior battlements, in  
 stern contrast to the landscape. It was built on the  
 declivity of a steep and insulated hill, and strongly  
 fortified by walls and towers. The crest of the hill  
 rose high above the town into a mere crag, inaccessi-  
 ble on every other side, and crowned by a powerful  
 castle, which domineered over the surrounding coun-  
 try. Two suburbs swept down into the valley, from  
 the skirts of the town, and were defended by bul-  
 warks and deep ditches. The vast ranges of grey  
 mountains, often capped with clouds, which rose to  
 the North, were inhabited by a hardy and warlike  
 race, whose strong fortresses of Comares, Camillas,  
 Competa, and Benemarhorga frowned down from  
 cragged heights.

At the time that the Christian host arrived in sight  
 of this valley, a squadron was hovering on the smooth  
 sea before it, displaying the banner of Castile. This  
 was commanded by the Count of Trevento, and con-  
 sisted of four armed galleys, conveying a number of  
 caravels, laden with supplies for the army.

After surveying the ground, King Ferdinand en-  
 camped on the side of a mountain, which advanced  
 close to the city, and was the last of a rugged sierra,  
 or chain of heights, that extended quite to Granada.



On the summit of this mountain, and overlooking the camp, was a Moorish town, powerfully fortified, called Bentomiz, and which, from its vicinity, had been considered capable of yielding great assistance to Velez Malaga. Several of the generals remonstrated with the king for chusing a post so exposed to assaults from the mountaineers. Ferdinand replied, that he should thus cut off all communication between the town and the city; and that, as to the danger, his soldiers must keep the more vigilant guard against surprise.

King Ferdinand rode forth, attended by several cavaliers, and a small number of cuirassiers, appointing the various stations of the camp. While a body of foot-soldiers were taking possession, as an advanced guard, of an important height which overlooked the city, the king retired to a tent to take refreshment. While at table, he was startled by a sudden uproar, and, looking forth, beheld his soldiers flying before a superior force of the enemy. The king had on no other armour but a cuirass. Seizing a lance, however, he sprang upon his horse, and galloped to protect the fugitives, followed by his handful of knights and cuirassiers. When the Spaniards saw the king hastening to their aid, they turned upon their pursuers. Ferdinand, in his eagerness, threw himself into the midst of the foe. One of his grooms was killed beside him; but before the Moor who slew him could escape, the king transixed him with his lance. He then sought to draw his sword, which hung at his saddle-bow, but in vain. Never had he been exposed to such peril: he was surrounded by the enemy, without a weapon wherewith to defend himself.

In this moment of awful jeopardy, the Marquis of Cadiz, the Count de Cabra, the adelantado of Murcia, with two other cavaliers, named Garcilasso de la Vega and Diego de Atayde, came galloping to the scene of action, and, surrounding the king, made a loyal rampart of their bodies against the assaults of the Moors. The horse of the marquis was pierced by an arrow, and that worthy cavalier exposed to imminent danger; but, with the aid of his valorous companions, he quickly put the enemy to flight, and pursued them with slaughter to the very gates of the city.

When these loyal warriors returned from the pursuit, they remonstrated with the king for exposing his life in personal conflict, seeing that he had so many valiant captains, whose business it was to fight. They reminded him, that the life of a prince was the life of his people, and that many a brave army was lost by the loss of its commander. They entreated him, therefore, in future to protect them with the force of his mind in the cabinet, rather than his arm in the field.

Ferdinand acknowledged the wisdom of their advice, but declared, that he could not see his people in peril without venturing his person to assist them: a reply, say the old chroniclers, which delighted the whole army, inasmuch as they saw, that he not only

governed them as a good king, but protected them as a valiant captain. Ferdinand, however, was conscious of the extreme peril to which he had been exposed, and made a vow never again to venture into battle without having his sword girt to his side.\*

When this achievement of the king was related to Isabella, she trembled amidst her joy at his safety; and afterwards, in memorial of the event, she granted to Velez Malaga, as the arms of the city, the figure of the king on horseback, with a groom lying dead at his feet, and the Moors flying.†

The camp was formed, but the artillery was yet on the road, advancing with infinite labour at the rate of merely a league a day; for heavy rains had converted the streams of the valleys into raging torrents, and completely broken up the roads. In the mean time King Ferdinand ordered an assault on the suburbs of the city. They were carried, after a sanguinary conflict of six hours, in which many Christian cavaliers were killed and wounded, and among the latter Don Alvaro of Portugal, son of the Duke of Braganza. The suburbs were then fortified towards the city with trenches and palisades, and garrisoned by a chosen force under Don Fadrique de Toledo. Other trenches were digged round the city, and from the suburbs to the royal camp, so as to cut off all communication with the surrounding country.

Bodies of troops were also sent to take possession of the mountain passes, by which the supplies for the army had to be brought. The mountains, however, were so steep and rugged, and so full of defiles and lurking places, that the Moors could sally forth and retreat in perfect security, frequently sweeping down upon Christian convoys, and bearing off both booty and prisoners to their strongholds. Sometimes the Moors would light fires at night on the sides of the mountains, which would be answered by fires from the watch-towers and fortresses. By these signals they would concert assaults upon the Christian camp, which, in consequence, was obliged to be continually on the alert, and ready to fly to arms.

King Ferdinand flattered himself, that the manifestation of his force had struck sufficient terror into the city, and that, by offers of clemency, it might be induced to capitulate. He wrote a letter, therefore, to the commanders, promising, in case of immediate surrender, that all the inhabitants should be permitted to depart with their effects; but threatening them with fire and sword if they persisted in defence. This letter was despatched by a cavalier named Carvajal, who, putting it on the end of a lance, gave it to the Moors who were on the walls of the city. The commanders replied, that the king was too noble and magnanimous to put such a threat in execution, and that they should not surrender, as they knew the

\* Itescas. Hist. Pontif., lib. vi. c. 20. Vedmat. Hist. Velez Malaga.

† Idem.

artillery could not be brought to the camp, and they were promised succour by the king of Granada.

At the same time that he received this reply, the king learned, that at the strong town of Comares, upon a height about two leagues distant from the camp, a large number of warriors had assembled from the *Atarquia*, the same mountains in which the Christian cavaliers had been massacred in the beginning of the war; and that others were daily expected, for this rugged sierra was capable of furnishing fifteen thousand fighting men.

King Ferdinand felt that his army, thus disjointed and enclosed in an enemy's country, was in a perilous situation, and that the utmost discipline and vigilance were necessary. He put the camp under the strictest regulations, forbidding all gaming, blasphemy, or brawl, and expelling all loose women, and their attendant bully-ruffians, the usual fomenters of riot and contention among soldiery. He ordered that none should sally forth to skirmish without permission from their commanders; that none should set fire to the woods of the neighbouring mountains, and that all word of security given to Moorish places or individuals should be inviolably observed. These regulations were enforced by severe penalties, and had such salutary effect, that, though a vast host of various people was collected together, not an opprobrious epithet was heard, nor a weapon drawn in quarrel.

In the mean time the cloud of war went on gathering about the summits of the mountains: multitudes of the fierce warriors of the sierra descended to the lower heights of *Bentomiz*, which overhung the camp, intending to force their way into the city. A detachment was sent against them, which, after sharp fighting, drove them to the higher cliffs of the mountain, where it was impossible to pursue them.

Ten days had elapsed since the encampment of the army, yet still the artillery had not arrived. The lombards and other heavy ordnance were left, in despair, at *Antequera*; the rest came groaning slowly through the narrow valleys, which were filled with long trains of artillery and cars laden with munitions. At length part of the smaller ordnance arrived within half a league of the camp, and the Christians were animated with the hopes of soon being able to make a regular attack upon the fortifications of the city.

#### CHAPTER XLVIII.

##### HOW KING FERDINAND AND HIS ARMY WERE EXPOSED TO IMMINENT PERIL BEFORE VELEZ MALAGA.

WHILE the standard of the cross waved on the hills before *Velez Malaga*, and every height and cliff bristled with hostile arms, the civil war between the factions of the *Alliambra* and the *albaycen*, or rather between *El Zagal* and *El Chico*, continued to convulse the city of Granada.

The tidings of the investment of *Velez Malaga* at length roused the attention of the old men and the *alfaquis*, whose heads were not heated by the daily broils. They spread themselves through the city, and endeavoured to arouse the people to a sense of their common danger.

"Why," said they, "continue these brawls between brethren and kindred? What battles are these, where even triumph is ignominious, and the victor blushes and conceals his scars? Behold the Christians ravaging the land won by the valour and blood of your forefathers, dwelling in the houses they have built, sitting under the trees they have planted, while your brethren wander about, houseless and desolate. Do you wish to seek your real foe? He is encamped on the mountain of *Bentomiz*. Do you want a field for the display of your valour? You will find it before the walls of *Velez Malaga*."

When they had roused the spirit of the people, they made their way to the rival kings, and addressed them with like remonstrances. *Hamet Aben Zarrax*, the inspired santon, reproached *El Zagal* with his blind and senseless ambition. "You are striving to be king," said he bitterly, "yet suffer the kingdom to be lost."

*El Zagal* found himself in a perplexing dilemma. He had a double war to wage, with the enemy without and the enemy within. Should the Christians gain possession of the sea-coast, it would be ruinous to the kingdom; should he leave Granada to oppose them, his vacant throne might be seized on by his nephew. He made a merit of necessity; and, pretending to yield to the remonstrances of the *alfaquis*, endeavoured to compromise with *Boabdil*. He expressed deep concern at the daily losses of the country, caused by the dissensions of the capital; an opportunity now presented itself to retrieve all by a blow. The Christians had, in a manner, put themselves in a tomb between the mountains; nothing remained but to throw the earth upon them. He offered to resign the title of king, to submit to the government of his nephew, and fight under his standard; all he desired was to hasten to the relief of *Velez Malaga*, and to take full vengeance on the Christians.

*Boabdil* spurned his proposition as the artifice of a hypocrite and a traitor. "How shall I trust a man," said he, "who has murdered my father and my kindred by treachery, and repeatedly sought my own life, both by violence and stratagem?"

*El Zagal* foamed with rage and vexation; but there was no time to be lost. He was beset by the *alfaquis* and the nobles of his court; the youthful cavaliers were hot for action, the common people loud in their complaints that the richest cities were abandoned to the enemy. The old warrior was naturally fond of fighting; he saw also, that to remain inactive would endanger both crown and kingdom, whereas a successful blow would secure his popularity in Granada. He had a much more powerful force than his nephew, having lately received reinforcements from *Baza*.

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b. vi. c. 20. Vedmar, Hist. Velez

Guadix, and Almeria; he could march therefore with a large force, and yet leave a strong garrison in the Alhambra. He formed his measures accordingly, and departed suddenly in the night, at the head of one thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. He took the most unfrequented roads along the chain of mountains extending from Granada to the height of Bentomiz, and proceeded with such rapidity, as to arrive there before King Ferdinand had notice of his approach.

The Christians were alarmed one evening by the sudden blazing of great fires on the mountain, about the fortress of Bentomiz. By the ruddy light they beheld the flash of weapons and the array of troops, and they heard the distant sound of Moorish drums and trumpets. The fires of Bentomiz were answered by fires on the towers of Velez Malaga. The shouts of "El Zagal! El Zagal!" echoed along the cliffs and resounded from the city, and the Christians found that the old warrior-king of Granada was on the mountain above their camp.

The spirits of the Moors were suddenly raised to a pitch of the greatest exultation, while the Christians were astonished to see this storm of war ready to burst upon their heads. The Count de Cabra, with his accustomed eagerness when there was a king in the field, would fain have scaled the heights, and attacked El Zagal before he had time to form his camp; but Ferdinand, who was more cool and wary, restrained him. To attack the height would be to abandon the siege. He ordered every one, therefore, to keep vigilant watch at his post, and to stand ready to defend it to the utmost, but on no account to sally forth and attack the enemy.

All night the signal-fires kept blazing along the mountains, rousing and animating the whole country. The morning sun rose over the lofty summit of Bentomiz on a scene of martial splendour. As its rays glanced down the mountain, they lighted up the white tents of the Christian cavaliers, cresting its lower prominences, their pennons and ensigns fluttering in the morning breeze. The sumptuous pavilion of the king, with the holy standard of the cross, and the royal banners of Castile and Aragon, dominated the encampment. Beyond lay the city, its lofty castle and numerous towers glistening with arms; while above all, and just on the profile of the height, in the full blaze of the rising sun, were described the tents of the Moor, his turbaned troops clustering about them, and his infidel banners floating against the sky. Columns of smoke rose where the night-fire had blazed, and the clash of the Moorish cymbal, the bray of the trumpet, and the neigh of steeds, were faintly heard from those airy heights. So pure and transparent is the atmosphere in this region, that every object can be distinctly seen at a great distance, and the Christians were able to behold the formidable hosts of foes that were gathering on the summits of the surrounding mountains.

One of the first measures of the Moorish king was

to detach a large force under Rodovan de Vanegas, alcaide of Granada, to fall upon the convoy of ordnance, which stretched for a great distance through the mountain defiles. Ferdinand had anticipated this attempt, and sent the commander of Leon with a body of horse and foot to reinforce the master of Alcantara. El Zagal, from his mountain height, beheld the detachment issue from the camp, and immediately recalled Rodovan de Vanegas. The armies now remained quiet for a time, the Moor looking grimly down upon the Christian camp, like a tiger meditating a bound upon his prey. The Christians were in fearful jeopardy; a hostile city below them, a powerful army above them, and on every side mountains filled with implacable foes.

After El Zagal had maturely consulted the situation of the Christian camp, and informed himself of all the passes of the mountain, he conceived a plan to surprise the enemy, which he flattered himself would ensure their ruin, and perhaps the capture of King Ferdinand. He wrote a letter to the alcaide of the city, commanding him, in the dead of the night, on a signal fire being made from the mountain, to sally forth with all his troops, and fall furiously upon the camp. The king would, at the same time, rush down with his army from the mountain, and assail it on the opposite side, thus overwhelming it at the hour of deep repose. This letter he despatched by a renegade Christian, who knew all the secret roads of the country, and, if taken, could pass himself for a Christian who had escaped from captivity.

The stern El Zagal, confident in the success of his stratagem, looked down upon the Christians as his devoted victims. As the sun went down, and the long shadows of the mountains stretched across the vega, he pointed with exultation to the camp below, apparently unconscious of the impending danger. "Allah achbar!" exclaimed he, "God is great! Behold, the unbelievers are delivered into our hands! their king and choicest chivalry will soon be at our mercy. Now is the time to show the courage of men, and by one glorious victory retrieve all that we have lost. Happy he who falls fighting in the cause of the prophet: he will at once be transported to the paradise of the faithful, and surrounded by immortal hours! Happy he who shall survive victorious: he will behold Granada, an earthly paradise, once more delivered from its foes, and restored to all its glory!" The words of El Zagal were received with acclamations by his troops, who waited impatiently for the appointed hour to pour down from their mountain-hold upon the Christians.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

SECRET OF THE STRATAGEM OF EL ZAGAL TO SURPRISE KING FERDINAND.

QUEEN ISABELLA and her court had remained at Cordova, in great anxiety for the result of the royal expedition. Every day brought tidings of the difficulties which attended the transportation of the ordnance and munitions, and of the critical situation of the army.

While in this state of anxious suspense, couriers arrived with all speed from the frontiers, bringing tidings of the sudden sally of El Zagal from Granada to surprise the Christian camp. All Cordova was in consternation. The destruction of the Andalusian chivalry among the mountains of this very neighbourhood was called to mind; it was feared that similar ruin was about to burst forth, from rocks and precipices, upon Ferdinand and his army.

Queen Isabella shared in the public alarm; but it served to rouse all the energies of her heroic mind. Instead of uttering idle apprehensions, she sought only how to avert the danger. She called upon all the men of Andalusia, under the age of seventy, to arm and hasten to the relief of their sovereign; and she prepared to set out with the first levies.

The grand cardinal of Spain, old Pedro Gonzales de Mendoza, in whom the piety of the saint and the wisdom of the counsellor were mingled with the fire of the cavalier, offered high pay to all horsemen who would follow him to aid their king and the Christian cause; and buckling on armour, prepared to lead them to the scene of danger.

The summons of the queen roused the quick Andalusian spirit. Warriors, who had long since given up fighting, and had sent their sons to battle, now seized the sword and lance that were resting on the wall, and marshalled forth their grey-headed domestics and their grand-children for the field. The great dread was, that all aid would arrive too late. El Zagal and his host had passed like a storm through the mountains, and it was feared the tempest had already burst upon the Christian camp.

In the mean while the night had closed, which had been appointed by El Zagal for the execution of his plan. He had watched the last light of day expire, and all the Spanish camp remained tranquil. As the hours wore away, the camp-fires were gradually extinguished. No drum or trumpet sounded from below; nothing was heard but now and then the heavy tread of troops, or the echoing tramp of horses, the usual patrols of the camp, and the changes of the guard. El Zagal restrained his own impatience, and that of his troops, until the night should be advanced, and the camp sunk in that heavy sleep from which men are with difficulty awakened, and, when awakened, so prone to be bewildered and dismayed.

At length the appointed hour arrived. By order of the Moorish king a bright flame sprung up from the

height of Bentomiz; but El Zagal looked in vain for the responding light from the city. His impatience could brook no longer delay: he ordered the advance of the army to descend the mountain defile, and attack the camp. The defile was narrow, and overhung by rocks. As the troops proceeded, they came suddenly, in a shadowy hollow, upon a dark mass of Christian warriors. A loud shout burst forth, and the Christians rushed to assail them. The Moors, surprised and disconcerted, retreated in confusion to the height. When El Zagal heard of a Christian force posted in the defile, he doubted some counter plan of the enemy. He gave orders to light the mountain-fires. On a signal given, bright flames sprung out on every height, from great pyres of wood prepared for the purpose. Cliff blazed out after cliff, until the whole atmosphere was in a glow of furnace light. The ruddy glare lit up the glens and passes of the mountains, and fell strongly upon the Christian camp, revealing all its tents, and every post and bulwark. Wherever El Zagal turned his eyes, he beheld the light of his fires flashed back from cuirass, and helm, and sparkling lance; he beheld a grove of spears planted in every pass, every assailable point bristling with arms, and squadrons of horse and foot, in battle array, awaiting his attack.

In fact, the letter of El Zagal to the alcaide of Velez Malaga had been intercepted by the vigilant Ferdinand, and the renegade messenger hanged, and secret measures taken, after the night had closed in, to give the enemy a warm reception. El Zagal saw that his plan of surprise was discovered and foiled: furious with disappointment, he ordered his troops forward to the attack. They rushed down the defile with loud cries, but were again encountered by the mass of Christian warriors, being the advanced guard of the army commanded by Don Hurtado de Mendoza, brother of the grand cardinal. The Moors were again repulsed, and retreated up the heights. Don Hurtado would have pursued them; but the ascent was steep and rugged, and easily defended by the Moors. A sharp action was kept up through the night with cross-bows, darts, and arquebuses; the cliffs echoed with deafening uproar, while the fires, blazing upon the mountains, threw a lurid and uncertain light upon the scene.

When the day dawned, and the Moors saw that there was no co-operation from the city, they began to slacken in their ardour: they beheld also every pass of the mountain filled with Christian troops, and began to apprehend an assault in return. Just then King Ferdinand sent the Marquis of Cadiz, with horse and foot, to seize upon a height occupied by a battalion of the enemy. The Marquis assailed the Moors with his usual intrepidity, and soon put them to flight. The others, who were above, seeing their companions flying, were seized with a sudden alarm. They threw down their arms and retreated. One of those unaccountable panics which now and then seize upon great bodies of people, and to which the



light-spirited Moors were very prone, now spread through the camp. They were terrified they knew not why, or at what. They threw away swords, lances, breast-plates, cross-bows, every thing that could burden or impede their flight, and, spreading themselves wildly over the mountains, fled headlong down the defiles. They fled, without pursuers, from the glimpse of each other's arms, from the sound of each other's footsteps. Rodovan de Vanegas, the brave alcaide of Granada, alone succeeded in collecting a body of the fugitives: he made a circuit with them through the passes of the mountains, and, forcing his way across a weak part of the Christian lines, galloped towards Velez Malaga. The rest of the Moorish host was completely scattered. In vain did El Zagal and his knights attempt to rally them; they were left almost alone, and had to consult their own security by flight. The Marquis of Cadiz, finding no opposition, ascended from height to height, cautiously reconnoitring, and fearful of some stratagem or ambush. All, however, was quiet. He reached, with his men, the place which the Moorish army had occupied: the heights were abandoned, and strewed with cuirasses, cimeters, cross-bows, and other weapons. His force was too small to pursue the enemy, and he returned to the royal camp laden with the spoils.

King Ferdinand at first could not credit so signal and miraculous a defeat. He suspected some lurking stratagem. He ordered, therefore, that a strict watch should be maintained throughout the camp, and every one be ready for instant action. The following night a thousand cavaliers and hidalgos kept guard about the royal tent, as they had done for several preceding nights; nor did the king relax this vigilance, until he received certain intelligence that the army was completely scattered, and El Zagal flying in confusion.

The tidings of this route, and of the safety of the Christian army, arrived at Cordova just as the reinforcements were on the point of setting out. The anxiety and alarm of the queen and the public were turned to transports of joy and gratitude. The forces were disbanded, solemn processions were made, and *Te Deums* chanted in the churches for so signal a victory.

#### CHAPTER L.

##### HOW THE PEOPLE OF GRANADA REWARDED THE VALOUR OF EL ZAGAL.

THE daring spirit of the old warrior, Muley Abdalla el Zagal, in sallying forth to defend his territories, while he left an armed rival in his capital, had struck the people of Granada with admiration. They recalled his former exploits, and again anticipated some hardy achievement from his furious valour. Couriers from the army reported its formidable position on the height of Bentomiz. For a time there

was a pause in the bloody commotions of the city; all attention was turned to the blow about to be struck at the Christian camp. The same considerations, which diffused anxiety and terror through Cordova, swelled every bosom with exulting confidence in Granada. The Moors expected to hear of another massacre, like that in the mountains of Malaga. "El Zagal has again entrapped the enemy!" was the cry. "The power of the unbelievers is about to be struck to the heart; and we shall soon see the Christian king led captive to the capital!" Thus the name of El Zagal was on every tongue. He was extolled as the saviour of the country, the only one worthy of wearing the Moorish crown. Boabdil was reviled as basely remaining passive while his country was invaded; and so violent became the clamour of the populace, that his adherents trembled for his safety.

While the people of Granada were impatiently looking for tidings of the anticipated victory, scattered horsemen came spurring across the vega. They were fugitives from the Moorish army, and brought the first incoherent account of its defeat. Every one who attempted to tell the tale of this unaccountable panic and dispersion was as if bewildered by the broken recollection of some frightful dream. He knew not how or why it came to pass. He talked of a battle in the night among rocks and precipices, by the glare of bale-fires; of multitudes of armed foes in every pass, seen by gleams and flashes; of the sudden horror that seized upon the army at day-break, its headlong flight and total dispersion. Hour after hour the arrival of other fugitives confirmed the story of ruin and disgrace.

In proportion to their recent vaunting was the humiliation that now fell upon the people of Granada. There was a universal burst, not of grief, but indignation.

They confounded the leader with the army; the deserted with those who had abandoned him; and El Zagal, from being their idol, became the object of their execration. He had sacrificed the army; he had disgraced the nation; he had betrayed the country. He was a dastard, a traitor, he was unworthy to reign!

On a sudden, one among the multitude cried out, "Long live Boabdil el Chico!" The cry was echoed on all sides, and every one shouted, "Long live Boabdil el Chico! long live the legitimate king of Granada! and death to all usurpers!" In the excitement of the moment they thronged to the albayes, and those, who had lately besieged Boabdil with arms, now surrounded his palace with acclamations. The keys of the city and of all the fortresses were laid at his feet; he was borne in state to the Alhambra, and once more seated, with all due ceremony, on the throne of his ancestors.

Boabdil had by this time become so accustomed to be crowned and uncrowned by the multitude, that he put no great faith in the duration of their loyalty.

He knew, that he was surrounded by hollow hearts, and that most of the courtiers of the Alhambra were

ommotions of the city; all blow about to be struck at same considerations, which through Cordova, swelled confidence in Granada. of another massacre, like Malaga. "El Zagal has y!" was the cry. "The s about to be struck to see the Christian king led Thus the name of El Zagal was extolled as the saviour one worthy of wearing the was reviled as basely re- country was invaded; and mour of the populace, that or his safety.

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secretly devoted to his uncle. He ascended the throne as the rightful sovereign, who had been dispossessed of it by usurpation, and he ordered the heads of four of the principal nobles to be struck off, who had been most zealous in support of the usurper. Executions of this kind were matters of course on any change of Moorish government, and Boabdil was extolled for his moderation and humanity, in being content with so small a sacrifice. The factions were awed into obedience; the populace, delighted with any change, extolled Boabdil to the skies, and the name of Muley Abdalla el Zagal was for a time a by-word of scorn and opprobrium throughout the city.

Never was any commander more astonished and confounded by a sudden reverse than El Zagal. The evening had seen him with a powerful army at his command, his enemy within his grasp, and victory about to cover him with glory, and to consolidate his power. The morning beheld him a fugitive among the mountains; his army, his prosperity, his power, all dispelled he knew not how; gone like a dream of the night. In vain had he tried to stem the headlong flight of the soldiery. He saw his squadrons breaking and dispersing among the cliffs of the mountains, until, of all his host, only a handful of cavaliers remained faithful to him. With these he made a gloomy retreat towards Granada, but with a heart full of foreboding. When he drew near the city, he paused on the banks of the Xenil, and sent forth scouts to collect intelligence. They returned with dejected countenances. "The gates of Granada," said they, "are closed against you. The banner of Boabdil floats on the tower of the Alhambra."

El Zagal turned his steed, and departed in silence. He retreated to the town of Almuneçar, and from thence to Almeria, places which still remained faithful to him. Restless and uneasy at being so distant from the capital, he again changed his abode and repaired to the city of Guadix, within a few leagues of Granada. Here he remained, endeavouring to rally his forces, and preparing to avail himself of any change in the fluctuating politics of the metropolis.

## CHAPTER LI.

### SURRENDER OF VELEZ MALAGA, AND OTHER PLACES.

THE people of Velez Malaga had beheld the camp of Muley Abdalla el Zagal covering the summit of Bentomiz, and glittering in the last rays of the setting sun. During the night they had been alarmed and perplexed by signal-fires on the mountain, and by the distant sound of battle. When the morning broke, the Moorish army had vanished as if by enchantment. While the inhabitants were lost in wonder and conjecture, a body of cavalry, the fragment of the army led by Rodovan de Vanegas, the brave alcaide of Granada, came galloping to the gates. The tidings

of the strange discomfiture of the host filled the city with consternation; but Rodovan exhorted the people to continue their resistance. He was devoted to El Zagal, and confident in his skill and prowess; and felt assured, that he would soon collect his scattered forces, and return with fresh troops from Granada. The people were comforted by the words and encouraged by the presence of Rodovan, and they had still a lingering hope, that the heavy artillery of the Christians might be locked up in the impassable defiles of the mountains. This hope was soon at an end. The very next day they beheld long laborious lines of ordnance slowly moving into the Spanish camp; lombards, ribadoquines, catapultas, and cars laden with munitions, while the escort, under the brave master of Alcantara, wheeled in great battalions into the camp, to augment the force of the besiegers.

The intelligence, that Granada had shut its gates against El Zagal, and that no reinforcements were to be expected, completed the despair of the inhabitants; even Rodovan himself lost confidence, and advised capitulation.

The terms were arranged between the alcaide and the noble Count de Cifuentes. The latter had been prisoner of Rodovan at Granada, who had treated him with chivalrous courtesy. They had conceived a mutual esteem for each other, and met as ancient friends.

Ferdinand granted favourable conditions; for he was eager to proceed against Malaga. The inhabitants were permitted to depart with their effects, except their arms, and to reside, if they chose it, in Spain, in any place distant from the sea. One hundred and twenty Christians of both sexes were rescued from captivity by the surrender of Velez Malaga, and were sent to Cordova, where they were received with great tenderness by the queen, and her daughter the infanta Isabella, in the famous cathedral, in the midst of public rejoicings for the victory.

The capture of Velez Malaga was followed by the surrender of Bentomiz, Comares, and all the towns and fortresses of the Axarquia, which were strongly garrisoned, and discreet and valiant cavaliers appointed as their alcaides. The inhabitants of nearly forty towns of the Alpuxarra mountains also sent deputations to the Castilian sovereigns, taking the oath of allegiance as Mudixares, or Moslem vassals.

About the same time came letters from Boabdil el Chico, announcing to the sovereigns the revolution of Granada in his favour. He solicited kindness and protection for the inhabitants who had returned to their allegiance, and for those of all other places which should renounce allegiance to his uncle. By this means, he observed, the whole kingdom of Granada would soon be induced to acknowledge his sway, and would be held by him in faithful vassalage to the Castilian crown.

The catholic sovereigns complied with his request. Protection was immediately extended to the inhabitants of Granada, permitting them to cultivate their

fields in peace, and to trade with the Christian territories in all articles excepting arms, being provided with letters of surety from some Christian captain or alcaide. The same favour was promised to all other places that within six months should renounce El Zagal and come under allegiance to the younger king. Should they not do so within that time, the sovereigns threatened to make war upon them and conquer them for themselves. This measure had a great effect in inducing many to return to the standard of Boabdil.

Having made every necessary arrangement for the government and security of the newly conquered territory, Ferdinand turned his attention to the great object of his campaign, the reduction of Malaga.

### CHAPTER LII.

#### OF THE CITY OF MALAGA AND ITS INHABITANTS.

THE city of Malaga lies in the lap of a fertile valley, surrounded by mountains, excepting on the part which lies open to the sea. As it was one of the most important, so it was one of the strongest cities of the Moorish kingdom. It was fortified by walls of prodigious strength, studded with a great number of huge towers. On the land side it was protected by a natural barrier of mountains, and, on the other, the waves of the Mediterranean beat against the foundations of its massive bulwarks.

At one end of the city, near the sea, on a high mound, stood the alcazaba or citadel, a fortress of great strength. Immediately above this rose a steep and rocky mount, on the top of which, in old times, had been a pharos, or light-house, from which the height derived its name of Gibralfaro. It was at present crowned by an immense castle, which, from its lofty and cragged situation, its vast walls and mighty towers, was deemed impregnable. It communicated with the alcazaba by a covered way, six paces broad, leading down between two walls, along the profile or ridge of the rock. The castle of Gibralfaro commanded both citadel and city, and was capable, if both were taken, of maintaining a siege.

Two large suburbs adjoined the city: in the one towards the sea were dwelling-houses of the most opulent inhabitants, adorned with hanging gardens; the other, on the land side, was thickly peopled, and surrounded by strong walls and towers.

Malaga possessed a brave and numerous garrison, and the common people were active, hardy and resolute; but the city was rich and commercial, and under the habitual control of numerous opulent merchants, who dreaded the ruinous consequences of a siege. They were little zealous for the warlike renown of their city, and longed rather to participate in the enviable security of property, and the lucrative

privileges of safe traffic with the Christian territories, granted to all places which declared for Boabdil. At the head of these gainful citizens was Ali Dordux, a mighty merchant, of uncounted wealth, whose ships traded to every port of the Levant, and whose word was a law in Malaga.

Ali Dordux assembled the most opulent and important of his commercial brethren, and they repaired in a body to the alcazaba, where they were received by the alcaide, Albozen Connexa, with that deference generally shown to men of their great local dignity and power of purse. Ali Dordux was ample and stately in his form, and fluent and emphatic in his discourse. His eloquence had an effect, therefore, upon the alcaide, as he represented the hopelessness of a defence of Malaga, the misery that must attend a siege, and the ruin that must follow a capture by force of arms. On the other hand, he set forth the grace that might be obtained from the Castilian sovereigns by an early and voluntary acknowledgment of Boabdil as king, the peaceful possession of their property, and the profitable commerce with the Christian ports that would be allowed them. He was seconded by his wealthy and important coadjutors; and the alcaide, accustomed to regard them as the arbiters of the affairs of the place, yielded to their united counsels. He departed, therefore, with all speed, to the Christian camp, empowered to arrange a capitulation with the Castilian monarch, and in the mean time his brother remained in command of the alcazaba.

There was, at this time, as alcaide, in the old crag-built castle of Gibralfaro, a warlike and fiery Moor, an implacable enemy of the Christians. This was no other than Hamet Zeli, surnamed El Zegri, the once formidable alcaide of Ronda, and the terror of its mountains. He had never forgiven the capture of his favourite fortress, and panted for vengeance on the Christians. Notwithstanding his reverses, he had retained the favour of El Zagal, who knew how to appreciate a bold warrior of the kind, and had placed him in command of this important fortress of Gibralfaro.

Hamet el Zegri had gathered round him the remnant of his band of Gomerers, with others of the same tribe. These fierce warriors were nestled, like so many war-hawks, about their lofty cliff. They looked down with martial contempt upon the commercial city of Malaga, which they were placed to protect; or rather, they esteemed it only for its military importance and its capability of defence. They held in communion with its trading, gainful inhabitants, and even considered the garrison of the alcazaba as their inferiors. War was their pursuit and passion; they rejoiced in its turbulent and perilous scenes; and confident in the strength of the city, and above all of their castle, they set at defiance the menace of Christian invasion. There were among them, also, many apostate Moors, who had once embraced Christianity, but had since recanted, and had fled from the vengeance of the inquisition. These were desperate

<sup>1</sup> A corruption of Gibel-fano, the hill of the light-house.

who had no mercy to expect should they again fall into the hands of the enemy.

Such were the fierce elements of the garrison of Gibralfaro; and its rage may easily be conceived at hearing, that Malaga was to be given up without a blow; that they were to sink into Christian vassals, under the intermediate sway of Boabdil el Chico, and that the alcaide of the alcazaba had departed to arrange the terms of capitulation.

Hamet el Zegri determined to avert, by desperate means, the threatened degradation. He knew that there was a large party in the city faithful to El Zagal, being composed of warlike men, who had taken refuge from the various mountain towns which had been captured. Their feelings were desperate as their fortunes, and, like Hamet, they panted for revenge upon the Christians. With these he had a secret conference, and received assurances of their adherence to him in any measures of defence. As to the council of the peaceful inhabitants, he considered it unworthy the consideration of a soldier, and he spurned at the interference of the wealthy merchant, Ali Dordux, in matters of warfare.

"Still," said Hamet el Zegri, "let us proceed regularly." So he descended with his Gomeres to the citadel, entered it suddenly, put to death the brother of the alcaide and such of the garrison as made any demur, and then summoned the principal inhabitants to deliberate on measures for the welfare of the city.

The wealthy merchants again mounted to the citadel, excepting Ali Dordux, who refused to obey the summons. They entered with hearts filled with awe, for they found Hamet surrounded by his grim African guard, and all the array of military power, and they beheld the bloody traces of the recent massacre.

Hamet el Zegri rolled a dark and searching eye upon the assembly. "Who," said he, "is loyal and devoted to Muley Abdalla el Zagal?" Every one present asserted his loyalty. "Good!" said Hamet, "and who is ready to prove his devotion to his sovereign by defending this his important city to the last extremity!" Every one present expressed his readiness. "Enough," observed Hamet: "the alcaide, Albozen Connexa, has proved himself a traitor to his sovereign and to you all; for he has conspired to deliver the place to the Christians. It behoves you to choose some other commander, capable of defending our city against the approaching enemy." The assembly declared unanimously, that there could be no one so worthy of the command as himself. So Hamet el Zegri was appointed alcaide of Malaga, and immediately proceeded to man the forts and towers with his partisans, and to make every preparation for desperate resistance.

Intelligence of these occurrences put an end to the negotiations between King Ferdinand and the su-

perseded alcaide Albozen Connexa, and it was supposed there was no alternative but to lay siege to the place. The Marquis of Cadiz, however, found at Velez a Moorish cavalier of some note, a native of Malaga, who offered to tamper with Hamet el Zegri for the surrender of the city; or, at least, of the castle of Gibralfaro. The Marquis communicated this to the king. "I put this business and the key of my treasury into your hand," said Ferdinand: "act, stipulate, and disburse, in my name, as you think proper."

The marquis armed the Moor with his own lance, cuirass, and target, and mounted him on one of his own horses. He equipped also, in similar style, another Moor, his companion and relation. They bore secret letters to Hamet from the Marquis, offering him the town of Coin in perpetual inheritance, and four thousand doblas in gold, if he would deliver up Gibralfaro; together with large sums to be distributed among his officers and soldiers; and he held out unlimited rewards for the surrender of the city.

Hamet had a warrior's admiration for the Marquis of Cadiz, and received his messengers with courtesy, in his fortress of Gibralfaro. He even listened to their propositions with patience, and dismissed them in safety, though with an absolute refusal. The Marquis thought his reply was not so peremptory as to discourage another effort. The emissaries were despatched, therefore, a second time, with further propositions. They approached Malaga in the night; but found the guards doubled, patrols abroad, and the whole place on the alert. They were discovered, pursued, and only saved themselves by the fleetness of their steeds, and their knowledge of the passes of the mountains.

Finding all attempts to tamper with the faith of Hamet el Zegri utterly futile, King Ferdinand publicly summoned the city to surrender; offering the most favourable terms in case of immediate compliance, but threatening captivity to all the inhabitants in case of resistance.

The message was delivered in presence of the principal inhabitants, who, however, were too much in awe of the stern alcaide to utter a word. Hamet el Zegri then rose haughtily, and replied, that the city of Malaga had not been confided to him to be surrendered, but defended; and the king should witness how he acquitted himself of his charge.

The messengers returned with formidable accounts of the force of the garrison, the strength of the fortifications, and the determined spirit of the commander and his men. The king immediately sent orders to have the heavy artillery forwarded from Antequera; and, on the seventh of May, marched with his army towards Malaga.

<sup>1</sup> Cura de los Palacios, c. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Pulgar, part. iii, c. 74.

<sup>1</sup> Cura de los Palacios, c. 82.



## CHAPTER LIII.

ADVANCE OF KING FERDINAND AGAINST MALAGA.

THE army of Ferdinand advanced in lengthened line, glittering along the foot of the mountains which border the Mediterranean; while a fleet of vessels, freighted with heavy artillery and warlike munitions, kept pace with it, at a short distance from the land, covering the sea with a thousand gleaming sails. When Hamet el Zegri saw this force approaching, he set fire to the houses of the suburbs which adjoined the walls, and sent forth three battalions to encounter the advance guard of the enemy.

The Christian army drew near to the city at that end where the castle and rocky height of Gibralfaro defend the seaboard. Immediately opposite to the castle, and about two bow-shots' distance, and between it and the high chain of mountains, was a steep and rocky hill, commanding a pass through which the Christians must march to penetrate to the vega, and surround the city. Hamet el Zegri ordered the three battalions to take their stations, one on this hill, another in the pass near the castle, and a third on the side of the mountain near the sea.

A body of Spanish foot-soldiers of the advance guard, sturdy mountaineers of Galicia, sprang forward to climb the side of the height next the sea; at the same time a number of cavaliers and hidalgos of the royal household attacked the Moors who guarded the pass below. The Moors defended their posts with obstinate valour. The Galicians were repeatedly overpowered and driven down the hill, but as often rallied; and, being reinforced by the hidalgos and cavaliers, returned to the assault. This obstinate struggle lasted for six hours. The strife was of a deadly kind, not merely with cross-bows and arquebuses, but hand to hand, with swords and daggers: no quarter was claimed or given on either side: they fought not to make captives, but to slay. It was but the advance guard of the Christian army that was engaged: so narrow was the pass along the coast, that the army could proceed only in file. Horse and foot, and beasts of burden, were crowded one upon another, impeding each other, and blocking up the narrow and rugged defile. The soldiers heard the uproar of the battle, the sound of trumpets, and the war-cries of the Moors, but tried in vain to press forward to the assistance of their companions.

At length a body of foot soldiers of the Holy Brotherhood climbed, with great difficulty, the steep side of the mountain which overhung the pass, and advanced with seven banners displayed. The Moors, seeing this force above them, abandoned the pass in despair.

The battle was still raging on the height. The Galicians, though supported by Castilian troops, under Don Hurtado de Mendoza and Garcilasso de la Vega, were severely pressed, and roughly handled by the Moors. At length a brave standard-bearer, Luys Mazedo by name, threw himself into the midst

of the enemy, and planted his banner on the summit. The Galicians and Castilians, stimulated by this noble self-devotion, followed him, fighting desperately, and the Moors were at length driven to their castle of Gibralfaro.

This important height being taken, the pass lay open to the army: but by this time evening was advancing, and the host was too weary and exhausted to seek proper situations for the encampment. The king, attended by several grandees and cavaliers, went the rounds at night, stationing outposts towards the city, and guards and patrols to give the alarm on the least movement of the enemy. All night the Christians lay upon their arms, lest there should be some attempt to sally forth and attack them.

When the morning dawned, the king gazed with admiration at this city, which he hoped soon to add to his dominions. It was surrounded on one side by vineyards, gardens, and orchards, which covered the hills with verdure; on the other side its walls were bathed by the smooth and tranquil sea. Its vast and lofty towers and prodigious castles showed the labours of magnanimous men, in former times, to protect their favourite abode. Hanging gardens, groves of oranges, citrons, and pomegranates, with tall cedars and stately palms, were mingled with the stern battlements and towers, bespeaking the opulence and luxury that reigned within.

In the mean time the Christian army poured through the pass, and throwing out its columns, and extending its lines, took possession of every vantage-ground around the city. King Ferdinand surveyed the ground, and appointed the stations of the different commanders.

The important mount, which had cost so violent a struggle, and which faced the powerful fortress of Gibralfaro, was given in charge to Roderigo Ponce de Leon, the Marquis of Cadiz, who in all sieges claimed the post of danger. He had several noble cavaliers, with their retainers, in his encampment, which consisted of fifteen hundred horse, and fourteen thousand foot; and extended from the summit of the mount to the margin of the sea, completely blocking up the approach to the city on that side. From this post a line of encampments extended quite round the city to the seaboard, fortified by bulwarks and deep ditches; while a fleet of armed ships and galleys stretched before the harbour, so that the place was completely invested by sea and land. The various parts of the valley now resounded with the din of preparation, and were filled with artificers preparing warlike engines and munitions; armourers and smiths, with glowing forges and deafening hammers; carpenters and engineers constructing machines wherewith to assail the walls; stone-cutters shaping stone balls for the ordnance; and burners of charcoal preparing fuel for the furnaces and forges.

When the encampment was formed, the heavy ordnance was landed from the ships, and mounted in

by vulgar, Crónica.

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various parts of the camp. Five huge lombards were placed on the mount, commanded by the Marquis of Cadiz, so as to bear upon the castle of Gibralfaro.

The Moors made strenuous efforts to impede these preparations. A heavy fire was kept up from their ordnance upon the men employed in digging trenches or constructing batteries, so that the latter had to work principally in the night. The royal tents had been stationed conspicuously and within reach of the Moorish batteries, but were so warmly assailed that they had to be removed behind a hill.

When the works were completed, the Christian batteries opened in return, and kept up a tremendous cannonade, while the fleet, approaching the land, assailed the city vigorously on the opposite side.

It was a glorious and delectable sight, observes Fray Antonio Agapida, to behold this infidel city thus surrounded by sea and land by a mighty Christian force. Every mound in its circuit was, as it were, a little city of tents, bearing the standard of some renowned catholic warrior. Besides the warlike ships and galleys which lay before the place, the sea was covered with innumerable sails, passing and repassing, appearing and disappearing, being engaged in bringing supplies for the subsistence of the army. It would have seemed a vast spectacle contrived to recreate the eye, had not the volleying bursts of flame and smoke from the ships, which appeared to lie asleep on the quiet sea, and the thunder of ordnance from camp and city, from tower and battlement, told the deadly warfare that was waging.

At night the scene was far more direful than in the day. The cheerful light of the sun was gone; there was nothing but the flashes of artillery, or the baleful gleams of combustibles thrown into the city, and the conflagration of the houses. The fire kept up from the Christian batteries was incessant; there were seven great lombards, in particular, called the Seven Sisters of Ximenes, which did tremendous execution. The Moorish ordnance replied in thunder from the walls; Gibralfaro was wrapped in volumes of smoke, rolling about its base; and Hamet el Zegri and his Gomeris looked out with triumph upon the tempest of war they had awakened. "Truly they were so many demons incarnate," says the pious Fray Antonio Agapida, "who were permitted by Heaven to enter into and possess this infidel city for its perdition."

#### CHAPTER LIV.

##### SIEGE OF MALAGA.

THE attack on Malaga by sea and land was kept up for several days with tremendous violence, but without producing any great impression, so strong were the ancient bulwarks of the city. The Count de Cifuentes was the first to signalize himself by any notable achievement. A main tower of the suburb had been shattered by the ordnance, and the battlements

demolished, so as to yield no shelter to its defenders. Seeing this, the count assembled a gallant band of cavaliers of the royal household, and advanced to take it by storm. They applied scaling ladders, and mounted, sword in hand. The Moors, having no longer battlements to protect them, descended to a lower floor, and made furious resistance from the windows and loop-holes. They poured down boiling pitch and rosin, and hurled stones and darts and arrows on the assailants. Many of the Christians were slain; their ladders were destroyed by flaming combustibles, and the count was obliged to retreat from before the tower. On the following day he renewed the attack with superior force, and, after a severe combat, succeeded in planting his victorious banner on the tower.

The Moors now assailed the tower in their turn. They undermined the part towards the city, placed props of wood under the foundation, and, setting fire to them, drew off to a distance. In a little while the props gave way, the foundation sank, the tower was rent, part of its wall fell with a tremendous noise, many of the Christians were thrown out headlong, and the rest were laid open to the missiles of the enemy.

By this time, however, a breach had been made in the wall adjoining the tower; and troops poured in to the assistance of their comrades. A continued battle was kept up for two days and a night by reinforcements from camp and city. The parties fought backwards and forwards through the breach of the wall, with alternate success, and the vicinity of the town was strewn with the dead and wounded. At length the Moors gradually gave way, disputing every inch of ground, until they were driven into the city; and the Christians remained masters of the greater part of the suburb.

This partial success, though gained with great toil and bloodshed, gave temporary animation to the Christians. They soon found, however, that the attack on the main works of the city was a much more arduous task. The garrison contained veterans who had served in many of the towns captured by the Christians. They were no longer confounded and dismayed by the battering ordnance and other strange engines of foreign invention, and had become expert in parrying their effects, in repairing breaches, and erecting counterworks.

The Christians, accustomed of late to speedy conquests of Moorish fortresses, became impatient of the slow progress of the siege. Many were apprehensive of a scarcity of provisions, from the difficulty of subsisting so numerous a host in the heart of the enemy's country, where it was necessary to transport supplies across rugged and hostile mountains, or subjected to the uncertainties of the seas. Many were also alarmed at the pestilence which broke out in the neighbouring villages, and some were so overcome by these apprehensions, as to abandon the camp and return to their homes.

Several of the loose and worthless hangers-on, that

infest all great armies, hearing these murmurs, thought that the siege would soon be raised, and deserted to the enemy, hoping to make their fortunes. They gave exaggerated accounts of the alarms and discontents of the army, and represented the troops as daily returning home in bands. Above all, they declared, that the gunpowder was nearly exhausted, so that the artillery would soon be useless. They assured the Moors, therefore, that, if they persisted in their defence a little longer, the king would be obliged to draw off his forces, and abandon the siege.

The reports of these renegades gave fresh courage to the garrison. They made vigorous sallies upon the camp, harassing it by night and day, and obliging every part to be guarded with the most painful vigilance. They fortified the weak parts of their walls with ditches and palisades, and gave every manifestation of a determined and unyielding spirit.

Ferdinand soon received intelligence of the reports which had been carried to the Moors. He understood, that they had been informed, likewise, that the queen was alarmed for the safety of the camp, and had written repeatedly, urging him to abandon the siege. As the best means of disproving all these falsehoods, and of destroying the vain hopes of the enemy, Ferdinand wrote to the queen, entreating her to come and take up her residence in the camp.

#### CHAPTER LV.

##### SEIGE OF MALAGA CONTINUED. OBSTINACY OF HAMET EL ZEGRI.

GREAT was the enthusiasm of the army, when they beheld their patriot queen advancing in state, to share the toils and dangers of her people. Isabella entered the camp, attended by the dignitaries, and the whole retinue of her court, to manifest, that this was no temporary visit. On one side of her was her daughter, the infanta; on the other, the grand cardinal of Spain; and Hernando de Talavera, the prior of Praxo, confessor to the queen, followed, with a great train of prelates, courtiers, cavaliers, and ladies of distinction. The cavalcade moved in calm and stately order through the camp, softening the iron aspect of war by this array of courtly grace and female beauty.

Isabella had commanded, that, on her coming to the camp, the horrors of war should be suspended, and fresh offers of peace made to the enemy. On her arrival, therefore, there had been a cessation of firing throughout the camp. A messenger was at the same time despatched to the besieged, informing them of her being in the camp, and of the determination of the sovereigns to make it their settled residence, until the city should be taken. The same terms were offered, in case of immediate surrender, that had been granted to Velez Malaga, but the inhabitants were threatened with captivity and the sword, should they persist in their defiance.

Hamet el Zegri received this message with haughty contempt, and dismissed the messenger without deigning a reply.

"The Christian sovereigns," said he, "have made this offer, in consequence of their despair. The silence of their batteries proves the truth of what has been told us, that their powder is exhausted. They have no longer the means of demolishing our walls; and, if they remain much longer, the autumnal rains will interrupt their convoys, and fill their camp with famine and disease. The first storm will disperse their fleet, which has no neighbouring port of shelter. Africa will then be open to us, to procure reinforcements and supplies."

The words of Hamet el Zegri were hailed as oracular by his adherents. Many of the peaceful part of the community, however, ventured to remonstrate, and to implore him to accept the proffered mercy. The stern Hamet silenced them with a terrific threat. He declared, that whoever should talk of capitulating, or should hold any communication with the Christians, should be put to death. His fierce Gomerers, like true men of the sword, acted upon the menace of their chieftain as upon a written law, and, having detected several of the inhabitants in secret correspondence with the enemy, they set upon and slew them, and then confiscated their effects. This struck such terror into the citizens, that those who had been loudest in their murmurs became suddenly mute, and were remarked as evincing the greatest bustle and alacrity in the defence of the city.

When the messenger returned to the camp, and reported the contemptuous reception of the royal message, King Ferdinand was exceedingly indignant. Finding the cessation of firing, on the queen's arrival, had encouraged a belief among the enemy that there was a scarcity of powder in the camp, he ordered a general discharge from every battery. This sudden burst of war from every quarter soon convinced the Moors of their error, and completed the confusion of the citizens, who knew not which most to dread, their assailants or their defenders, the Christians or the Gomerers.

That evening the sovereigns visited the encampment of the Marquis of Cadiz, which commanded a view over a great part of the city and the camp. The tent of the marquis was of great magnitude, furnished with hangings of rich brocade, and French cloth of the rarest texture. It was in the oriental style, and, as it crowned the height, with the surrounding tents of other cavaliers, all sumptuously furnished, presented a gay and silken contrast to the opposite towers of Gibraltar. Here a splendid collation was served up to the sovereigns; and the courtly revel that prevailed on this chivalrous encampment, the glitter of pageantry, and the bursts of festive music, made more striking the gloom and silence that reigned over the dark Moorish castle.

The Marquis of Cadiz, while it was yet light, conducted his royal visitors to every point that commanded

a view of the warlike scene below. He caused the heavy lombards also to be discharged, that the queen and the ladies of the court might witness the effect of those tremendous engines. The fair dames were filled with awe and admiration, as the mountain shook beneath their feet with the thunder of the artillery, and they beheld great fragments of the Moorish walls tumbling down the rocks and precipices.

While the good marquis was displaying these things to his royal guests, he lifted up his eyes, and to his astonishment, beheld his own banner hanging out from the nearest tower of Gibralfaro. The blood mantled in his cheek, for it was a banner which he had lost at the time of the memorable massacre of the heights of Malaga. To make this taunt more evident, several of the Gomeres displayed themselves upon the battlements, arrayed in the helmets and cuirasses of some of the cavaliers, slain or captured on that occasion. The Marquis of Cadiz restrained his indignation, and held his peace; but several of his cavaliers vowed loudly to revenge this cruel bravado on the ferocious garrison of Gibralfaro.

## CHAPTER LVI.

## ATTACK OF THE MARQUIS OF CADIZ UPON GIBRALFARO.

THE Marquis of Cadiz was not a cavalier that readily forgave an injury or an insult. On the morning after the royal banquet, his batteries opened a tremendous fire upon Gibralfaro. All day the encampment was wrapped in wreaths of smoke; nor did the assault cease with the day, but throughout the night there was an incessant flashing and thundering of the lombards, and the following morning the assault rather increased than slackened in its fury. The Moorish bulwarks were no proof against these formidable engines. In a few days the lofty tower, on which the taunting banner had been displayed, was shattered; a smaller tower, in its vicinity, reduced to ruins; and a great breach made in the intervening walls.

Several of the hot-spirited cavaliers were eager for storming the breach sword in hand; others, more cool and wary, pointed out the rashness of such an attempt; for the Moors, working indefatigably in the night, had digged a deep ditch within the breach, and had fortified it with palisades and a high breast-work. All, however, agreed, that the camp might safely be advanced near to the ruined walls, and that it ought to be so placed, in return for the insolent defiance of the enemy.

The Marquis of Cadiz felt the temerity of the measure; but he was unwilling to damp the zeal of these high-spirited cavaliers; and, having chosen the post of danger in the camp, it did not become him to de-

cline any service, merely because it might appear perilous. He ordered his outposts, therefore, to be advanced within a stone's-throw of the breach, but exhorted the soldiers to maintain the utmost vigilance.

The thunder of the batteries had ceased; the troops, exhausted by two nights' fatigue and watchfulness, and apprehending no danger from the dismantled walls, were half of them asleep, the rest were scattered about in negligent security. On a sudden, upwards of two thousand Moors sallied forth from the castle, led on by Abraham Zenete, the principal captain under Hamet. They fell with fearful havoc upon the advance guard, slaying many of them in their sleep, and putting the rest to headlong flight. The marquis was in his tent, about a bow-shot distance, when he heard the tumult of the onset, and beheld his men flying in confusion. He rushed forth, followed by his standard-bearers. "Turn again, cavaliers!" exclaimed he; "turn again! I am here, Ponce de Leon! To the foe! to the foe!" The flying troops stopped at hearing his well-known voice, rallied under his banner, and turned upon the enemy. The encampment by this time was roused; several cavaliers from the adjoining stations had hastened to the scene of action, with a number of Gallicians, and soldiers of the Holy Brotherhood. An obstinate and bloody contest ensued. The ruggedness of the place, the rocks, chasms, and declivities, broke it into numerous combats. Christian and Moor fought hand to hand, with swords and daggers; and often, grappling and struggling, rolled together down the precipices.

The banner of the marquis was in danger of being taken. He hastened to its rescue, followed by some of his bravest cavaliers. They were surrounded by the enemy, and several of them cut down. Don Diego Ponce de Leon, brother to the marquis, was wounded by an arrow; and his son-in-law, Luis Ponce, was likewise wounded: they succeeded, however, in rescuing the banner, and bearing it off in safety. The battle lasted for an hour: the height was covered with killed and wounded; and the blood flowed in streams down the rocks. At length, Abraham Zenete being disabled by the thrust of a lance, the Moors gave way, and retreated to the castle.

They now opened a galling fire from their battlements and towers, approaching the breaches, so as to discharge their cross-bows and arquebuses into the advance guard of the encampment. The marquis was singled out: the shot fell thick about him, and one passed through his buckler, and struck upon his cuirass, but without doing him any injury. Every one now saw the danger and inutility of approaching the camp thus near to the castle; and those who had counselled it were now urgent that it should be withdrawn. It was accordingly removed back to its original ground, from which the marquis had most reluctantly advanced it. Nothing but his valour and timely aid had prevented this attack from ending in a total rout of all that part of the army.

\* Diego de Valera, Crónica. MS.



Many cavaliers of distinction fell in this contest; but the loss of none was felt more deeply than that of Ortega de Prado, captain of escaladors. He was one of the bravest men in the service; the same who had devised the first successful blow of the war, the storming of Alhama, where he was the first to plant and mount the scaling-ladders. He had always been high in the favour and confidence of the noble Ponce de Leon, who knew how to appreciate and avail himself of the merits of all able and valiant men.

## CHAPTER LVII.

## SIEGE OF MALAGA CONTINUED. STRATAGEMS OF VARIOUS MINDS.

GREAT were the exertions now made, both by the besiegers and the besieged, to carry on this contest with the utmost vigour. Hamet el Zegri went the rounds of the walls and towers, doubling the guards, and putting every thing into the best posture of defence. The garrison was divided into parties of a hundred, to each of which a captain was appointed. Some were to patrol; others to sally forth, and skirmish with the enemy; and others to hold themselves ready armed and in reserve. Six albatozas, or floating batteries, were manned, and armed with pieces of artillery, to attack the fleet.

On the other hand, the Castilian sovereigns kept open a communication, by sea, with various parts of Spain, from which they received provisions of all kinds. They ordered supplies of powder, also, from Valencia, Barcelona, Sicily, and Portugal. They made great preparations for storming the city. Towers of wood were constructed, to move on wheels, each capable of holding one hundred men. They were furnished with ladders, to be thrown from their summits to the tops of the walls; and within those ladders others were incased, to be let down for the descent of the troops into the city. There were gallipagos, or tortoises, also; being great wooden shields covered with hides, to protect the assailants, and those who undermined the walls.

Secret mines were commenced in various places. Some were intended to reach to the foundations of the walls, which were to be propped up with wood, ready to be set on fire; others were to pass under the walls, and remain ready to be broken open so as to give entrance to the besiegers. At these mines the army worked day and night; and during these secret preparations, the ordnance kept up a fire upon the city, to divert the attention of the besieged.

In the mean time, Hamet el Zegri displayed wonderful vigour and ingenuity in defending the city, and in repairing, or fortifying by deep ditches, the breaches made by the enemy. He noted, besides, every place where the camp might be assailed with

advantage; and gave the besieging army no repose, night or day. While his troops sallied on the land, his floating batteries attacked the besiegers on the sea; so that there was incessant skirmishing. The tents, called the queen's hospital, were crowded with wounded; and the whole army suffered, from constant watchfulness and fatigue. To guard against the sudden assaults of the Moors, the trenches were deepened, and palisades erected in front of the camp; and in that part facing Gibralfaro, where the rocky heights did not admit of such defences, a high rampart of earth was thrown up. The cavaliers Garcilasso de la Vega, Juan de Zuniga, and Diego de Atayde, were appointed to go the rounds, and keep vigilant watch, that these fortifications were maintained in good order.

In a little while, Hamet discovered the mines secretly commenced by the Christians. He immediately ordered counter-mines. The soldiers mutually worked until they met, and fought hand to hand, in these subterranean passages. The Christians were driven out of one of their mines; fire was set to the wooden frame-work, and the mine destroyed. Encouraged by this success, the Moors attempted a general attack upon the mines and the besieging fleet. The battle lasted for six hours, on land and water, above and below ground, on bulwark and in trench and mine. The Moors displayed wonderful intrepidity; but were finally repulsed at all points, and obliged to retire into the city, where they were closely invested, without the means of receiving any assistance from abroad.

The horrors of famine were now added to the other miseries of Malaga. Hamet el Zegri, with the spirit of a man bred up to war, considered every thing as subservient to the wants of the soldier, and ordered all the grain in the city to be gathered and garnered up for the sole use of those who fought. Even this was dealt out sparingly; and each soldier received four ounces of bread in the morning, and two in the evening, for his daily allowance.

The wealthy inhabitants, and all those peacefully inclined, mourned over a resistance, which brought destruction upon their houses, death into their families, and which they saw must end in their ruin and captivity. Still, none of them dared to speak openly of capitulation, or even to manifest their grief, lest they should awaken the wrath of their fierce defenders. They surrounded their civic champion, Ali Dordux, the great and opulent merchant, who had buckled on shield and cuirass, and taken spear in hand for the defence of his native city; and with a large body of the braver citizens, had charge of one of the gates and a considerable portion of the walls. Drawing Ali Dordux aside, they poured forth their griefs to him in secret. "Why," said they, "should we suffer our native city to be made a mere bulwark and fighting place for foreign barbarians and desperate men? They have no families to care for, no property to lose no love for the soil, and no value for their lives. They fight to gratify a thirst for blood, or a desire for re-

venge; and will fight on until Malaga be made a ruin, and its people slaves. Let us think and act for ourselves, our wives, and our children. Let us make private terms with the Christians before it is too late, and so save ourselves from destruction."

The bowels of Ali Dordux yearned towards his fellow-citizens. He bethought him also of the sweet security of peace, and the bloodless, yet gratifying, triumphs of gainful commerce. The idea likewise of a secret negotiation or bargain with the Castilian sovereigns, for the redemption of his native city, was more conformable to his accustomed habits than this violent appeal to arms; for though he had, for a time, assumed the warrior, he had not forgotten the merchant. Ali Dordux communed, therefore, with the citizen-soldiers under his command, and they readily conformed to his opinion. Concerting together, they wrote a proposition to the Castilian sovereigns, offering to admit the army into the part of the city intrusted to their care, on receiving assurance of protection for the lives and property of the inhabitants. This writing they delivered to a trusty emissary, to take to the Christian camp; appointing the hour and place of his return, that they might be ready to admit him unperceived.

The Moor made his way in safety to the camp, and was admitted to the presence of the sovereigns. Eager to gain the city without further cost of blood or treasure, they gave a written promise to grant the conditions; and the Moor set out joyfully on his return. As he approached the walls where Ali Dordux and his confederates were waiting to receive him, he was descried by a patrolling band of Gomeres, and considered a spy coming from the camp of the besiegers. They issued forth, and seized him, in sight of his employers, who gave themselves up for lost. The Gomeres had conducted him nearly to the gate, when he escaped from their grasp, and fled. They endeavoured to overtake him, but were encumbered with armour; he was lightly clad, and he fled for his life. One of the Gomeres paused, and, levelling his crossbow, let fly a bolt, which pierced the fugitive between the shoulders: he fell, and was nearly within their grasp; but rose again, and, with a desperate effort, attained the Christian camp. The Gomeres gave over the pursuit, and the citizens returned thanks to Allah for their deliverance from this fearful peril. As to the faithful messenger, he died of his wound, shortly after reaching the camp, consoled with the idea, that he had preserved the secret and the lives of his employers.

#### CHAPTER LVIII.

##### SUFFERINGS OF THE PEOPLE OF MALAGA.

THE sufferings of Malaga spread sorrow and anxiety among the Moors; and they dreaded lest this beautiful city, once the bulwark of the kingdom, should fall

into the hands of the unbelievers. The old warrior king, Abdalla el Zagal, was still sheltered in Guadix, where he was slowly gathering together his shattered forces. When the people of Guadix heard of the danger and distress of Malaga, they urged to be led to its relief; and the alfaquis admonished el Zagal not to desert so righteous and loyal a city in its extremity. His own warlike nature made him feel a sympathy for a place that made so gallant a resistance; and he despatched as powerful a reinforcement as he could spare, under conduct of a chosen captain, with orders to throw themselves into the city.

Intelligence of this reinforcement reached Boabdil el Chico, in his royal palace of the Alhambra. Filled with hostility against his uncle, and desirous of proving his loyalty to the Castilian sovereigns, he immediately sent forth a superior force of horse and foot, to intercept the detachment. A sharp conflict ensued; the troops of El Zagal were routed with great loss, and fled back in confusion to Guadix.

Boabdil, not being accustomed to victories, was flushed with this melancholy triumph. He sent tidings of it to the Castilian sovereigns, accompanied with rich silks, boxes of Arabian perfume, a cup of gold richly wrought, and a female captive of Reheda, as presents to the queen; and four Arabian steeds, magnificently caparisoned, a sword and dagger richly mounted, and several albornozes and other robes, sumptuously embroidered, for the king. He entreated them, at the same time, always to look upon him with favour, as their devoted vassal.

Boabdil was fated to be unfortunate even in his victories. His defeat of the forces of his uncle, destined to the relief of unhappy Malaga, shocked the feelings, and cooled the loyalty, of many of his best adherents. The mere men of traffic might rejoice in their golden interval of peace, but the chivalrous spirits of Granada spurned a security purchased by such sacrifices of pride and affection. The people at large, having gratified their love of change, began to question, whether they had acted generously by their old fighting monarch. "El Zagal," said they, "was fierce and bloody, but then he was true to his country: he was an usurper, but then he maintained the glory of the crown which he usurped. If his sceptre was a rod of iron to his subjects, it was a sword of steel against their enemies. This Boabdil sacrifices religion, friends, country, every thing, to a mere shadow of royalty, and is content to hold a rush for a sceptre."

These factious murmurs soon reached the ears of Boabdil, and he apprehended another of his customary reverses. He sent in all haste to the Castilian sovereigns, beseeching military aid to keep him on his throne. Ferdinand graciously complied with a request so much in unison with his policy. A detachment of one thousand cavalry, and two thousand infantry, were despatched, under the command of Don Fernandez Gonsalez of Cordova, subsequently renowned as the grand captain. With this succour,

Boabdil expelled from the city all those who were hostile to him, and in favour of his uncle. He felt secure in these troops, from their being distinct, in manners, language, and religion, from his subjects; and compromised with his pride, in thus exhibiting that most unnatural and humiliating of all regal spectacles, a monarch supported on his throne by foreign weapons, and by soldiers hostile to his people.

Nor was Boabdil el Chico the only Moorish sovereign that sought protection from Ferdinand and Isabella. A splendid galley, with lateen sails, and several banks of oars, came one day into the harbour of Malaga, displaying the standard of the crescent, but likewise a white flag in sign of amity. An ambassador landed from it within the Christian lines. He came from the King of Tremezan, and brought presents similar to those of Boabdil, consisting of Arabian coursers, with bits, stirrups, and other furniture of gold, together with costly Moorish mantles: for the queen there were sumptuous shawls, robes, and silken stuffs, ornaments of gold, and exquisite oriental perfumes.

The King of Tremezan had been alarmed at the rapid conquests of the Spanish arms, and startled by the descent of several Spanish cruisers on the coast of Africa. He craved to be considered a vassal to the Castilian sovereigns, and that they would extend such favour and security to his ships and subjects as had been shown to other Moors, who had submitted to their sway. He requested a painting of their arms, that he and his subjects might recognise and respect their standard, whenever they encountered it. At the same time he implored their clemency towards unhappy Malaga, and that its inhabitants might experience the same favour, that had been shown towards the Moors of other captured cities.

This embassy was graciously received by the Castilian sovereigns. They granted the protection required; ordering their commanders to respect the flag of Tremezan, unless it should be found rendering assistance to the enemy. They sent also to the Barbary monarch their royal arms, moulded in escutcheons of gold a hand's-breadth in size.

While thus the chances of assistance from without daily decreased, famine raged in the city. The inhabitants were compelled to eat the flesh of horses, and many died of hunger. What made the sufferings of the citizens the more intolerable was, to behold the sea covered with ships, daily arriving with provisions for the besiegers. Day after day, also, they saw herds of fat cattle and flocks of sheep drawn into the camp. Wheat and flour were piled in large mounds in the centre of the encampments, glaring in the sunshine, and tantalizing the wretched citizens, who, while they and their children were perishing with hunger, beheld prodigal abundance reigning within a bow-shot of their walls.

• Cura de los Palacios. c. 84. Pulgar., part. iii, c. 86.

HOW A MOORISH SANTON UNDERTOOK TO DELIVER THE CITY OF MALAGA FROM THE POWER OF ITS ENEMIES.

THERE lived at this time, in a hamlet in the neighbourhood of Guadix, an ancient Moor, of the name of Abraham Algerbi. He was a native of Guerba, in the kingdom of Tunis, and had for several years led the life of a santon or hermit. The hot sun of Africa had dried his blood, and rendered him of an exalted yet melancholy temperament. He passed most of his time in meditation, prayer, and rigorous abstinence, until his body was wasted, and his mind bewildered, and he fancied himself favoured with divine revelations. The Moors, who have a great reverence for all enthusiasts of the kind, looked upon him as inspired, listened to all his ravings as veritable prophecies, and denominated him El Santo, or "the saint."

The woes of the kingdom of Granada had long exasperated the gloomy spirit of this man; and he had beheld with indignation this beautiful country wrested from the dominion of the faithful, and becoming a prey to the unbelievers. He had implored the blessing of Allah on the troops which issued forth from Guadix for the relief of Malaga; but when he saw them return, routed and scattered by their own countrymen, he retired to his cell, shut himself up from the world, and was plunged for a time in the blackest gloom.

On a sudden he made his appearance again in the streets of Guadix; his face haggard, his form emaciated, but his eye beaming with fire. He said, that Allah had sent an angel to him, in the solitude of his cell, revealing to him a mode of delivering Malaga from its perils, and striking horror and confusion into the camp of the unbelievers. The Moors listened with eager credulity to his words: four hundred of them offered to follow him even to the death, and to obey implicitly his commands. Of this number many were Gomerés, anxious to relieve their countrymen, who formed part of the garrison of Malaga.

They traversed the kingdom by the wild and lonely passes of the mountains, concealing themselves in the day, and travelling only in the night, to elude the Christian scouts. At length they arrived at the mountains which tower above Malaga; and, looking down, beheld the city completely invested, a chain of encampments extending round it from shore to shore, and a line of ships blockading it by sea, while the continual thunder of artillery, and the smoke rising in various parts, showed, that the siege was pressed with great activity. The hermit scanned the encampments warily from his lofty height. He saw, that the part of the encampment of the Marquis of Cadiz, which was at the foot of the height, and on the margin of the sea, was the most assailable, the rocky soil not admitting ditches or palisadoes. Re-

maintaining concealed all day, he descended with his followers at night to the sea-coast, and approached silently to the out-works. He had given them their instructions: they were to rush suddenly upon the camp, fight their way through, and throw themselves into the city.

It was just at the grey of the dawning, when objects are obscurely visible, that they made this desperate attempt. Some sprang suddenly upon the sentinels; others rushed into the sea, and got round the works; others clambered over the breast-works. There was sharp skirmishing; a great part of the Moors were cut to pieces, but about two hundred succeeded in getting into the gates of Malaga.

The santon took no part in the conflict, nor did he endeavour to enter the city. His plans were of a different nature. Drawing apart from the battle, he threw himself on his knees, on a rising ground, and, lifting his hands to Heaven, appeared to be absorbed in prayer. The Christians, as they were searching for fugitives in the clefts of the rocks, found him at his devotions. He stirred not at their approach, but remained fixed as a statue, without changing colour, or moving a muscle. Filled with surprise not unmixed with awe, they took him to the Marquis of Cadiz. He was wrapped in a coarse albornoz, or Moorish mantle; his beard was long and grizzled, and there was something wild and melancholy in his look, that inspired curiosity.

On being examined, he gave himself out as a saint, to whom Allah had revealed the events that were to take place in that siege. The marquis demanded when and how Malaga was to be taken. He replied, that he knew full well; but he was forbidden to reveal those important secrets, except to the king and queen. The good marquis was not more given to superstitious fancies than other commanders of his time; yet there seemed something singular and mysterious about this man: he might have some important intelligence to communicate; so he was persuaded to send him to the king and queen. He was conducted to the royal tent, surrounded by a curious multitude, exclaiming, "El Moro Santo!" for the news had spread through the camp, that they had taken a Moorish prophet.

The king, having dined, was taking his siesta, or afternoon's sleep, in his tent; and the queen, though curious to see this singular being, yet, from a natural delicacy and reserve, delayed until the king should be present. He was taken, therefore, to an adjoining tent, in which were Doña Beatrix de Bovadilla, Marchioness of Moya, and Don Alvaro of Portugal, son of the Duke of Braganza, with two or three attendants. The Moor, ignorant of the Spanish tongue, had not understood the conversation of the guards, and supposed, from the magnificence of the furniture, and the silken hangings, that this was the royal tent. From the respect paid by the attendants to Don Alvaro and the marchioness, he concluded that they were the king and queen.

He now asked for a draught of water. A jar was brought to him, and the guard released his arm, to enable him to drink. The marchioness perceived a sudden change in his countenance, and something sinister in the expression of his eye, and shifted her position to a more remote part of the tent. Pretending to raise the water to his lips, the Moor unfolded his albornoz so as to grasp a cimeter, which he wore concealed beneath; then, dashing down the jar, he drew his weapon, and gave Don Alvaro a blow on the head, that struck him to the earth, and nearly deprived him of life. Turning upon the marchioness, he then made a violent blow at her, but in his eagerness and agitation, his cimeter caught in the drapery of the tent; the force of the blow was broken, and the weapon struck harmless upon some golden ornaments of her head-dress.

Ruy Lopez de Toledo, treasurer to the queen, and Juan de Belalcazar, a sturdy friar, who were present, grappled and struggled with the desperado; and immediately the guards who had conducted him from the Marquis of Cadiz fell upon him, and cut him to pieces.

The king and queen, brought out of their tents by the noise, were filled with horror when they learned the imminent peril from which they had escaped. The mangled body of the Moor was taken by the people of the camp, and thrown into the city from a catapult. The Gomeres gathered up the body, with deep reverence, as the remains of a saint; they washed and perfumed it, and buried it with great honour and loud lamentations. In revenge of his death, they slew one of their principal Christian captives; and, having tied his body upon an ass, they drove the animal forth into the camp.

From this time there was appointed an additional guard around the tents of the king and queen, composed of twelve hundred cavaliers of rank of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. No person was admitted to the royal presence armed. No Moor was allowed to enter the camp without a previous knowledge of his character and business; and on no account was any Moor to be introduced into the presence of the sovereigns.

An act of treachery of such a ferocious nature gave rise to a train of gloomy apprehensions. There were many cabins and sheds about the camp, constructed of branches of trees, which had become dry and combustible; and fears were entertained, that they might be set on fire by the Mudixares, or Moorish vassals, who visited the army. Some even dreaded, that attempts might be made to poison the wells and fountains. To quiet these dismal alarms, all Mudixares were ordered to leave the camp; and all loose idle loiterers, who could not give a good account of themselves, were taken into custody.

• Pietro Martyr, epist. 62.  
• Cura de los Palacios.



## CHAPTER LX.

HOW HAMET EL ZEGRI WAS HARDENED IN HIS OBSTINACY  
BY THE ARTS OF A MOORISH ASTROLOGER.

AMONG those followers of the santon that had effected their entrance into the city was a dark African, of the tribe of Gomeres, who was likewise a hermit, or dervise, and passed among the Moors for a holy and inspired man. No sooner were the mangled remains of his predecessor buried with the honours of martyrdom, than this dervise elevated himself in his place, and professed to be gifted with the spirit of prophecy. He displayed a white banner, which he assured the Moors was sacred; that he had retained it for twenty years, for some signal purpose; and that Allah had revealed to him, that under that banner the inhabitants of Malaga should sally forth upon the camp of the unbelievers, put it to utter rout, and banquet upon the provisions in which it abounded. The hungry and credulous Moors were elated at this prediction, and cried out to be led forth at once to the attack; but the dervise told them the time was not yet arrived, for every event had its allotted day in the decrees of fate; they must wait patiently, therefore, until the appointed time should be revealed to him by Heaven. Hamet el Zegri listened to the dervise with profound reverence, and his example had great effect in increasing the awe and deference of his followers. He took the holy man up into his stronghold of Gibralfaro, consulted him on all occasions, and hung out his white banner on the loftiest tower, as a signal of encouragement to the people of the city.

In the mean time, the prime chivalry of Spain was gradually assembling before the walls of Malaga. The army which had commenced the siege had been worn out by extreme hardships, having had to construct immense works, to dig trenches and mines, to mount guard by sea and land, to patrol the mountains, and to sustain incessant conflicts. The sovereigns were obliged therefore to call upon various distant cities, for reinforcements of horse and foot. Many nobles, also, assembled their vassals, and repaired, of their own accord, to the royal camp.

Every little while, some stately galley or gallant caravel would stand into the harbour, displaying the well-known banner of some Spanish cavalier, and thundering from its artillery a salutation to the sovereigns, and a defiance to the Moors. On the land side also reinforcements would be seen, winding down the mountains to the sound of drum and trumpet, and marching into the camp with glistening arms, as yet unsullied by the toils of war.

One morning the whole sea was whitened by the sails, and vexed by the oars of ships and galleys bearing towards the port. One hundred vessels, of various kinds and sizes, arrived; some armed for warlike service, others deep-freighted with provisions.

<sup>1</sup> *Cura de los Palacios.*

At the same time, the clangour of drum and trumpet bespoke the arrival of a powerful force by land, which came pouring in lengthening columns into the camp.

This mighty reinforcement was furnished by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who reigned like a petty monarch over his vast possessions. He came with this princely force a volunteer to the royal standard, not having been summoned by the sovereigns, and he brought moreover a loan of twenty thousand doblas of gold.

When the camp was thus powerfully reinforced, Isabella advised, that new offers of an indulgent kind should be made to the inhabitants; for she was anxious to prevent the miseries of a protracted siege, or the effusion of blood that must attend a general attack. A fresh summons was therefore sent for the city to surrender, with a promise of life, liberty and property in case of immediate compliance, but denouncing all the horrors of war, if the defence were obstinately continued.

Hamet el Zegri again rejected the offer with scorn. His main fortifications as yet were but little impaired, and were capable of holding out much longer; he trusted to the thousand evils and accidents that beset a besieging army, and to the inclemencies of the approaching season; and it is said he, as well as his followers, had an infatuated belief in the predictions of the dervise.

The worthy Fray Antonio Agapida does not scruple to affirm, that the pretended prophet of the city was an arch necromancer, or Moorish magician; "of which there be countless many," says he, "in the filthy sect of Mahomet;" and that he was leagued with the prince of the powers of the air, to endeavour to work the confusion and defeat of the Christian army. The worthy father asserts also, that Hamet employed him in a high tower of the Gibralfaro, which commanded a wide view over sea and land, where he wrought spells and incantations, with astro-labes and other diabolical instruments, to defeat the Christian ships and forces, whenever they were engaged with the Moors.

To the potent spells of this sorcerer he ascribes the perils and losses sustained by a party of cavaliers of the royal household, in a desperate combat to gain two towers of the suburb, near the gate of the city called La Puerta de Granada. The Christians, led on by Ruy Lopez de Toledo, the valiant treasurer of the queen, took, and lost, and retook the towers, which were finally set on fire by the Moors, and abandoned to the flames by both parties. To the same malignant influence he attributes the damage done to the Christian fleet, which was so vigorously assailed by the albatozas, or floating-batteries, of the Moors, that one ship of the Duke of Medina Sidonia was sunk, and the rest were obliged to retire.

"Hamet el Zegri," says Fray Antonio Agapida, "stood on the top of the high tower of Gibralfaro, and beheld this injury wrought upon the Christian force; and his proud heart was puffed up. And the

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Moorish necromancer stood beside him. And he pointed out to him the Christian host below, encamped on every eminence around the city, and covering its fertile valley, and the many ships floating upon the tranquil sea; and he bade him be strong of heart, for that, in a few days, all this mighty fleet would be scattered by the winds of Heaven; and that he should sally forth, under guidance of the sacred banner, and attack this host, and utterly defeat it, and make spoil of those sumptuous tents; and Malaga should be triumphantly revenged upon her assailants. So the heart of Hamet was hardened like that of Pharaoh, and he persisted in setting at defiance the catholic sovereigns, and their army of saintly warriors."

## CHAPTER LXI.

SIEGE OF MALAGA CONTINUED. DESTRUCTION OF A TOWER BY FRANCISCO RAMIREZ DE MADRID.

SEEING the infatuated obstinacy of the besieged, the Christians now approached their works to the walls, gaining one position after another, preparatory to a general assault. Near the barrier of the city was a bridge with four arches, defended at each end by a strong and lofty tower, by which a part of the army would have to pass in making a general attack. The commander in chief of the artillery, Francisco Ramirez de Madrid, was ordered to take possession of this bridge. The approach to it was perilous in the extreme, from the exposed situation of the assailants, and the numbers of Moors that garrisoned the towers. Francisco Ramirez, therefore, secretly excavated a mine leading beneath the first tower, and placed a piece of ordnance, with its mouth upwards, immediately under the foundation, with a train of powder to produce an explosion at the necessary moment.

When this was arranged he advanced slowly with his forces in face of the towers, erecting bulwarks at every step, and gradually gaining ground, until he arrived near to the bridge. He then planted several pieces of artillery in his works, and began to batter the tower. The Moors replied bravely from their battlements; but in the heat of the combat the piece of ordnance under the foundation was discharged. The earth was rent open, a part of the tower overthrown, and several of the Moors torn to pieces: the rest took to flight, overwhelmed with terror at this thundering explosion bursting beneath their feet, and at beholding the earth vomiting flames and smoke; for never before had they witnessed such a stratagem in warfare. The Christians rushed forward and took possession of the abandoned post, and immediately commenced an attack upon the other tower, at the opposite end of the bridge, to which the Moors had retired. An incessant fire of cross-bows and arquebuses was kept up between the rival towers, volleys of stones were discharged, and no one dared to venture upon the intermediate bridge.

Francisco de Ramirez at length renewed his former mode of approach, making bulwarks as he advanced, while the Moors at the other end swept the bridge with their artillery. The combat was long and bloody, ferocious on the part of the Moors, patient and persevering on the part of the Christians. By slow degrees they accomplished their progress across the bridge, drove the enemy before them, and remained masters of this important pass.

For this valiant and skilful achievement, King Ferdinand, after the surrender of the city, conferred the dignity of knighthood upon Francisco Ramirez, in the tower which he had so gloriously gained. The worthy padre, Fray Antonio Agapida, indulges in more than a page of extravagant eulogy, upon this invention of blowing up the foundation of the tower by a piece of ordnance, which he affirms to be the first instance on record of gunpowder being used in a mine.

## CHAPTER LXII.

HOW THE PEOPLE OF MALAGA EXPOSTULATED WITH HAMET EL ZEGRI.

WHILE the dervise was deluding the garrison of Malaga with vain hopes, the famine increased to a terrible degree. The Gomeres ranged about the city as though it had been a conquered place; taking by force whatever they found eatable in the houses of the peaceful citizens, and breaking open vaults and cellars, and demolishing walls, wherever they thought provisions might be concealed.

The wretched inhabitants had no longer bread to eat; the horse-flesh also now failed them; and they were fain to devour skins and hides toasted at the fire, and to assuage the hunger of their children with vine-leaves, out up and fried in oil. Many perished of famine or of the unwholesome food with which they endeavoured to relieve it; and many took refuge in the Christian camp, preferring captivity to the horrors which surrounded them.

At length the sufferings of the inhabitants became so great, as to conquer even their fears of Hamet and his Gomeres. They assembled before the house of Ali Dordux, the wealthy merchant, whose stately mansion was at the foot of the hill of the alcazaba; and they urged him to stand forth as their leader, and to intercede with Hamet el Zegri for a surrender. Ali Dordux was a man of courage as well as policy; he perceived also that hunger was giving boldness to the citizens, while he trusted it was subduing the fierceness of the soldiery. He armed himself therefore, cap-a-pie, and undertook this dangerous parley with the alcaide. He associated with him an alfaqui, named Abrahen Alharis, and an important inhabitant, named Amar ben Amar; and they ascended to the fortress of Gibralfaro, followed by several of the trembling merchants.

• Pulgar, part iii. cap. 91.

They found Hamet el Zegri, not, as before, surrounded by ferocious guards, and all the implements of war; but in a chamber of one of the lofty towers, at a table of stone, covered with scrolls, and traced with strange characters and mystic diagrams; while instruments of singular and unknown form lay about the room. Beside Hamet el Zegri stood the prophetic dervise, who appeared to have been explaining to him the mysterious inscriptions of the scrolls. His presence filled the citizens with awe; for even Ali Dordux considered him a man inspired.

The alfaqui, Abrahen Alharis, whose sacred character gave him boldness to speak, now lifted up his voice, and addressed Hamet el Zegri. "We implore you," said he solemnly, "in the name of the most powerful God, no longer to persist in a vain resistance, which must end in our destruction; but deliver up the city, while clemency is yet to be obtained. Think how many of our warriors have fallen by the sword; do not suffer those who survive to perish by famine. Our wives and children cry to us for bread, and we have none to give them. We see them expire in lingering agony before our eyes, while the enemy mocks our misery by displaying the abundance of his camp. Of what avail is our defence? Are our walls, peradventure, more strong than the walls of Ronda? Are our warriors more brave than the defenders of Loxa? The walls of Ronda were thrown down, and the warriors of Loxa had to surrender. Do we hope for succour? From whence are we to receive it? The time for hope is gone by. Granada has lost its power: it no longer possesses chivalry, commanders, or a king. Boabdil sits a vassal in the degraded walls of the Alhambra: El Zagal is a fugitive, shut up within the walls of Guadix. The kingdom is divided against itself: its strength is gone, its pride fallen, its very existence at an end. In the name of Allah, we conjure thee, who art our captain, be not our direst enemy; but surrender these ruins of our once happy Malaga, and deliver us from these overwhelming horrors."

Such was the supplication forced from the inhabitants by the extremity of their sufferings. Hamet el Zegri listened to the alfaqui without anger; for he respected the sanctity of his office. His heart, too, was at that moment lifted up with a vain confidence. "Yet a few days of patience," said he, "and all these evils will suddenly have an end. I have been conferring with this holy man, and find that the time of our deliverance is at hand. The decrees of fate are inevitable: it is written in the book of destiny, that we shall sally forth, and destroy the camp of the unbelievers, and banquet upon those mountains of grain, which are piled up in the midst of it. So Allah hath promised, by the mouth of this his prophet. Allah achbar! God is great! Let no man oppose the decrees of Heaven."

The citizens heard with profound reverence; for no true Moslem pretends to struggle against whatever is written in the book of fate. Ali Dordux, who had

come prepared to champion the city, and to brave the ire of Hamet, humbled himself before this holy man, and gave faith to his prophecies as the revelations of Allah. So the deputies returned to the citizens, and exhorted them to be of good cheer. "A few days longer," said they, "and our sufferings are to terminate. When the white banner is removed from the tower, then look out for deliverance; for the hour of sallying forth will have arrived." The people retired to their houses with sorrowful hearts. They tried in vain to quiet the cries of their famishing children; and day by day, and hour by hour, their anxious eyes were turned to the sacred banner, which still continued to wave on the tower of Gibralfaro.

#### CHAPTER LXIII.

HOW HAMET EL ZEGRI SALLIED FORTH, WITH THE SACRED BANNER, TO ATTACK THE CHRISTIAN CAMP.

"THE Moorish necromancer," observes the worthy Fray Antonio Agapida, "remained shut up in the tower of the Gibralfaro, devising devilish means to work mischief and discomfiture upon the Christians. He was daily consulted by Hamet el Zegri, who had great faith in those black and magic arts, which he had brought with him from the bosom of heathen Africa."

From the account given of this dervise and his incantations by the worthy father, it would appear, that he was an astrologer, and was studying the stars, and endeavouring to calculate the day and hour, when a successful attack might be made upon the Christian camp.

Famine had now increased to such a degree as to distress even the garrison of Gibralfaro; although the Gomeris had seized upon all the provisions they could find in the city. Their passions were sharpened by hunger; and they became restless and turbulent, and impatient for action.

Hamet el Zegri was one day in council with his captains, perplexed by the pressure of events, when the dervise entered among them. "The hour of victory," exclaimed he, "is at hand! Allah has commanded, that to-morrow morning ye shall sally forth to the fight. I will bear before you the sacred banner, and deliver your enemies into your hands. Remember, however, that ye are but instruments in the hands of Allah, to take vengeance on the enemies of the faith. Go into battle, therefore, with pure hearts, forgiving each other all past offences; for those, who are charitable towards each other, will be victorious over the foe."

The words of the dervise were received with rapture. All Gibralfaro and the alcabaza resounded immediately with the din of arms; and Hamet sent throughout the towers and fortifications of the city, and selected the choicest troops and most distinguished captains for this eventful combat.

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In the morning early, the rumour went through-  
out the city, that the sacred banner had disappeared  
from the tower of Gibralfaro, and all Malaga was  
roused to witness the sally that was to destroy the  
unbelievers. Hamet descended from his stronghold,  
accompanied by his principal captain, Abrahen Ze-  
nete, and followed by his Gomeres. The dervise led  
the way, displaying the white banner, the sacred  
pledge of victory. The multitude shouted, "Allah  
achbar!" and prostrated themselves before the banner  
as it passed. Even the dreaded Hamet was hailed  
with praises; for, in their hope of speedy relief,  
through the prowess of his arm, the populace forgot  
every thing but his bravery. Every bosom in Malaga  
was agitated by hope and fear; the old men, the wo-  
men, and children, and all who went not forth to  
battle, mounted on tower, and battlement, and roof,  
to watch a combat that was to decide their fate.

Before sallying forth from the city, the dervise ad-  
dressed the troops; reminding them of the holy nature  
of this enterprise, and warning them not to forget the  
protection of the sacred banner by any unworthy act.  
They were to press forward, fighting valiantly, and  
granting no quarter. The gate was then thrown  
open, and the dervise issued forth, followed by the  
army. They directed their assault upon the encamp-  
ments of the master of Santiago and the master of  
Calatrava, and came upon them so suddenly, that  
they killed and wounded several of the guards.  
Abrahen Zenete made his way into one of the tents,  
where he beheld several Christian striplings, just  
starting from their slumber. The heart of the Moor  
was suddenly touched with pity for their youth, or,  
perhaps, he scorned the weakness of the foe. He  
smote them with the flat, instead of the edge, of his  
sword. "Away, imps," cried he, "away to your  
mothers!" The fanatic dervise reproached him with  
his clemency. "I did not kill them," replied Zenete,  
"because I saw no beads!"

The alarm was given in the camp, and the Christians  
rushed from all quarters to defend the gates of the  
bulwarks. Don Pedro Puerto Carrero, senior of Mo-  
guer, and his brother, Don Alonso Pacheco, planted  
themselves, with their followers, in the gateway of  
the encampment of the master of Santiago, and bore  
the whole brunt of the battle until they were rein-  
forced. The gate of the encampment of the master  
of Calatrava was, in like manner, defended by Lo-  
renzo Saurez de Mendoza. Hamet el Zegri was  
surprised at being thus checked, where he had expected  
a miraculous victory. He led his troops repeatedly  
to the attack, hoping to force the gates before succour  
should arrive. They fought with vehement ardour,  
but were as often repulsed; and every time they  
returned to the assault, they found their enemies  
doubled in number. The Christians opened a cross-  
fire of all kinds of missiles from their bulwarks; the  
Moors could effect but little damage upon a foe thus

protected behind their works, while they themselves  
were exposed from head to foot. The Christians  
singled out the most conspicuous cavaliers, the  
greater part of whom were either slain or wounded.  
Still the Moors, infatuated by the predictions of the  
prophet, fought desperately and devotedly; and they  
were furious to revenge the slaughter of their leaders.  
They rushed upon certain death, endeavouring madly  
to scale the bulwarks, or force the gates; and fell  
amidst showers of darts and lances, filling the ditches  
with their mangled bodies.

Hamet el Zegri raged along the front of the bul-  
warks, seeking an opening for attack. He gnashed  
his teeth with fury, as he saw so many of his chosen  
warriors slain around him. He seemed to have a  
charmed life; for, though constantly in the hottest of  
the fight, amidst showers of missiles, he still escaped  
uninjured. Blindly confiding in the prophecy of  
victory, he continued to urge on his devoted troops.  
The dervise, too, ran like a maniac through the ranks,  
waving his white banner, and inciting the Moors, by  
howlings rather than by shouts. In the midst of his  
frenzy, a stone from a catapult struck him on the  
head, and dashed out his bewildered brains.

When the Moors beheld their prophet slain, and  
his banner in the dust, they were seized with despair,  
and fled in confusion to the city. Hamet el Zegri  
made some effort to rally them, but was himself con-  
founded by the fall of the dervise. He covered the  
flight of his broken forces, turning repeatedly upon  
their pursuers, and slowly making his retreat into the  
city.

The inhabitants of Malaga witnessed from their  
walls, with trembling anxiety, the whole of this dis-  
astrous conflict. At the first onset, on seeing the  
guards of the camp put to flight, they exclaimed,  
"Allah has given us the victory!" and they sent up  
shouts of triumph. Their exultation, however, was  
turned into doubt, when they beheld their troops re-  
pulsed in repeated attacks. They could perceive,  
from time to time, some distinguished warrior laid  
low, and others brought back bleeding to the city.  
When, at length, the sacred banner fell, and the  
routed troops came flying to the gates, pursued and  
cut down by the foe, horror and despair seized upon  
the populace.

As Hamet el Zegri entered the gates, he was  
greeted with loud lamentations. Mothers, whose  
sons had been slain, shrieked curses after him as he  
passed. Some, in the anguish of their hearts, threw  
down their famishing babes before him, exclaiming,  
"Trample on them with thy horse's feet, for we have  
no food to give them, and we cannot endure their  
cries!" All heaped execrations on his head, as the  
cause of the woes of Malaga.

The warlike part of the citizens, also, and many  
warriors, who, with their wives and children, had  
taken refuge in Malaga from the mountain fortresses,

1 Cura de los Palacios, c. 84.

2 Garibay, lib. xviii, c. 53.



now joined in the popular clamour; for their hearts were overcome by the sufferings of their families.

Hamet el Zegri found it impossible to withstand this torrent of lamentations, curses, and reproaches. His military ascendancy was at an end; for most of his officers, and the prime warriors of his African band, had fallen in this disastrous sally. Turning his back, therefore, upon the city, and abandoning it to its own councils, he retired, with the remnant of his Gomerés, to his stronghold in the Gibralfaro.

#### CHAPTER LXIV.

##### HOW THE CITY OF MALAGA CAPITULATED.

THE people of Malaga, being no longer overawed by Hamet el Zegri and his Gomerés, turned to Ali Dordux, the magnanimous merchant, and put the fate of the city into his hands. He had already gained the alcaides of the castle of the Genoese and of the citadel into his party; and, in the late confusion, had gained the sway over these important fortresses. He now associated himself with the alfaqui, Abrahén Alhariz, and four of the principal inhabitants; and, forming a provisional junta, they sent heralds to the Christian sovereigns, offering to surrender the city on certain terms, protecting the persons and property of the inhabitants, permitting them to reside as Mudixares, or tributary vassals, either in Malaga or elsewhere.

When these heralds arrived at the camp, and made known their mission, the anger of Ferdinand was kindled. "Return to your fellow-citizens," said he, "and tell them, that the day of grace is gone by. They have persisted in a fruitless defence, until they are driven by necessity to capitulate: they must surrender unconditionally, and abide the fate of the vanquished. Those who merit death shall suffer death; those who merit captivity shall be made captives."

This stern reply spread consternation among the people of Malaga; but Ali Dordux comforted them, and undertook to go in person, and pray for favourable terms. When the people beheld this great merchant, who was so eminent in their city, departing with his associates on this mission, they plucked up heart, for they said, "Surely the Christian king will not turn a deaf ear to such a man as Ali Dordux!"

Ferdinand, however, would not even admit the ambassadors to his presence. "Send them to the devil," said he, in a great passion, to the commander of Leon. "I will not see them. Let them get back to their city. They shall all surrender to my mercy as vanquished enemies."

To give emphasis to this reply, he ordered a general discharge from all the artillery and batteries, and there was a great shout throughout the camp,

and all the lombards and catapultas, and other engines, thundered furiously upon the city, doing great damage.

Ali Dordux and his companions returned with downcast countenances, and could scarce make the reply of the Christian sovereign he heard, for the roaring of the artillery, the tumbling of the walls, and the cries of women and children. The citizens were greatly astonished and dismayed, when they found the little respect paid to their most eminent man; but the warriors who were in the city exclaimed, "What has this merchant to do with questions between men of battle? Let us not address the enemy as abject suppliants, who have no power to injure; but as valiant men, who have weapons in their hands."

So they despatched another message to the Christian sovereigns, offering to yield up the city, and all their effects, on condition of being secured in their personal liberty. Should this be denied, they declared, that they would hang from the battlements fifteen hundred Christian captives, male and female; that they would put all their old men, their women and children, into the citadel, set fire to the city, and sally forth sword in hand, to fight until the last gasp. "In this way," said they, "the Spanish sovereigns shall gain a bloody victory, and the fall of Malaga be renewed while the world endures."

Various debates now took place in the Christian camp. Many of the cavaliers were exasperated against Malaga for its long resistance, which had caused the death of many of their relations and favourite companions. It had long been a stronghold for Moorish depredators, and the mart where most of the warriors captured in the Axarquia had been exposed in triumph, and sold to slavery. They represented, moreover, that there were many Moorish cities yet to be besieged; and that an example ought to be made of Malaga, to prevent all obstinate resistance hereafter. They advised, therefore, that all the inhabitants should be put to the sword!

The humane heart of Isabella revolted at such sanguinary councils. She insisted, that their triumph should not be disgraced by cruelty. Ferdinand, however, was inflexible in refusing to grant any preliminary terms; insisting on an unconditional surrender. The people of Malaga now abandoned themselves to paroxysms of despair. On the one side, they saw famine and death; on the other, slavery and chains. The mere men of the sword, who had no families to protect, were loud for signalling their fall by some illustrious action. "Let us sacrifice our Christian captives, and then destroy ourselves!" cried some. "Let us put all the women and children to death, set fire to the city, fall on the Christian camp, and die sword in hand!" cried others.

Ali Dordux gradually made his voice be heard amidst the general clamour. He addressed him-

• Cura de los Palacios, cap. 84.

• Pulgar.

catapults, and other engines upon the city, doing great

companions returned with and could scarce make the sovereign be heard, for the tumbling of the walls, and children. The citizens and dismayed, when they paid to their most eminent who were in the city as merchant to do with question? Let us not address the kings, who have no power to men, who have weapons in

another message to the Christian to yield up the city, and all on of being secured in their old this be denied, they determined hang from the battlements in captives, male and female; their old men, their women, the citadel, set fire to the city, and fled, to fight until the last gasp. They, "the Spanish sovereigns," and the fall of Malaga be world endures."

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Isabella revolted at such sacrifice insisted, that their triumph was by cruelty. Ferdinand refused in refusing to grant any thing on an unconditional surrender. Malaga now abandoned themselves in despair. On the one side, death; on the other, slavery. The men of the sword, who had been loud for signalising their action. "Let us sacrifice ourselves, then destroy ourselves!" cried all the women and children to the Christian camp. "Let us die!" cried others. He made his voice be heard in honour. He addressed himself

to the principal inhabitants, and to those who had children. "Let those who live by the sword die by the sword," cried he; "but let us not follow their desperate counsels. Who knows what sparks of pity may be awakened in the bosoms of the Christian sovereigns, when they behold our unoffending wives and daughters, and our helpless little ones! The Christian queen, they say, is full of mercy."

At these words the hearts of the unhappy people of Malaga yearned over their families; and they empowered Ali Dordux to deliver up the city to the mercy of the Castilian sovereigns.

The merchant now went to and fro, and had several communications with Ferdinand and Isabella; and interested several principal cavaliers in his cause. And he sent rich presents to the king and queen, of oriental merchandises, silks, and stuffs of gold, and jewels, and precious stones, and spices, and perfumes, and many other rare and sumptuous things, which he had accumulated in his great tradings with the East; and he gradually found favour in the eyes of the sovereigns. Finding that there was nothing to be obtained for the city, he now, like a prudent man and able merchant, began to negotiate for himself and his immediate friends.

He represented, that, from the first, they had been desirous of yielding up the city; but had been prevented by warlike and high-handed men, who had threatened their lives. He entreated, therefore, that mercy might be extended to them, and that they might not be confounded with the guilty.

The sovereigns had accepted the presents of Ali Dordux: how could they turn a deaf ear to his petition? So they granted a pardon to him, and to forty families which he named; and it was agreed, that they should be protected in their lives and property, and permitted to reside in Malaga as Mudixares or Moslem vassals; and to follow their customary pursuits. All this being arranged, Ali Dordux delivered up twenty of the principal inhabitants, to remain as hostages until the whole city should be placed in the possession of the Christians.

Don Gutiere de Cardenas, senior commander of Leon, now entered the city, armed cap-a-pié, on horseback, and took possession, in the name of the Castilian sovereigns. He was followed by his retainers, and by the captains and cavaliers of the army; and in a little while the standards of the cross, and of the blessed Santiago, and of the catholic sovereigns, were elevated on the principal tower of the alcazaba. When these standards were beheld from the camp, the queen, and the princess, and the ladies of the court, and all the royal retinue, knelt down, and gave thanks and praises to the holy Virgin, and to Santiago, for this great triumph of the faith; and the bishops, and other clergy who were present, and the choristers of the royal chapel, chanted *Te Deum laudamus*, and *Gloria in excelsis*.

\* MS. Chron. of Valera.

\* Cura de los Palacios,

## CHAPTER LXV.

FULFILMENT OF THE PROPHECY OF THE DERVISE. FATE OF HAMET EL ZEGRI.

No sooner was the city delivered up, than the wretched inhabitants implored permission to purchase bread for themselves and their children, from the heaps of grain, which they had so often gazed at wistfully from their walls. Their prayer was granted; and they issued forth, with the famished eagerness of starving men. It was piteous to behold the struggles of these unhappy people, as they contended who first should have their necessities relieved.

"Thus," says the pious Fray Antonio Agapida, "thus are the predictions of false prophets sometimes permitted to be verified; but always to the confusion of those who trust in them; for the words of the Moorish necromancer came to pass, that they should eat of those heaps of bread: but they ate of them in humiliation and defeat, and with sorrow and bitterness of heart."

Dark and fierce were the feelings of Hamet el Zegri, as he looked down from the castle of Gibralfaro, and beheld the Christian legions pouring into the city, and the standard of the cross supplanting the crescent on the citadel. "The people of Malaga," said he, "have trusted to a man of trade, and he has trafficked them away; but let us not suffer ourselves to be bound, hand and foot, and delivered up as part of his bargain. We have yet strong walls around us, and trusty weapons in our hands. Let us fight until buried beneath the last tumbling tower of Gibralfaro; or, rushing down from among its ruins, carry havoc among the unbelievers, as they throng the streets of Malaga!"

The fierceness of the Gomerés, however, was broken. They could have died in the breach, had their castle been assailed; but the slow advances of famine subdued their strength without rousing their passions, and sapped the force both of soul and body. They were almost unanimous for a surrender.

It was a hard struggle for the proud spirit of Hamet, to bow itself to ask for terms. Still he trusted, that the valour of his defence would gain him respect in the eyes of a chivalrous foe. "Ali," said he, "has negotiated like a merchant: I will capitulate as a soldier." He sent a herald, therefore, to Ferdinand, offering to yield up his castle, but demanding a separate treaty. The Castilian sovereign sent a laconic and stern reply: "He shall receive no terms, but such as have been granted to the community of Malaga."

For two days Hamet el Zegri remained brooding in his castle, after the city was in possession of the Christians. At length, the clamours of his followers compelled him to surrender. When the broken remnant of this fierce African garrison descended from their cragged fortress, they were so worn by watchfulness, famine, and battle, yet carried such a

lurking fury in their eyes, that they looked more like fiends than men. They were all condemned to slavery, excepting Abrahén Zenete. The instance of clemency which he had shown, in refraining to harm the Spanish striplings on the last sally from Malaga, won him favourable terms. It was cited as a unanimous act by the Spanish cavaliers; and all admitted, that, though a Moor in blood, he possessed the Christian heart of a Castilian hidalgo.

As to Hamet el Zegri, on being asked, what moved him to such hardened obstinacy, he replied, "When I undertook my command I pledged myself to fight, in defence of my faith, my city, and my sovereign, until slain or made prisoner; and depend upon it, had I had men to stand by me, I should have died fighting, instead of thus tamely surrendering myself, without a weapon in my hand."

"Such," says the pious Fray Antonio Agapida, "were the diabolical hatred, and stiff-necked opposition, of this infidel to our holy cause. But he was justly served by our most catholic and high-minded sovereign, for his pertinacious defence of the city; for Ferdinand ordered, that he should be loaded with chains, and thrown into a dungeon."

#### CHAPTER LXVI.

HOW THE CASTILIAN SOVEREIGNS TOOK POSSESSION OF THE CITY OF MALAGA, AND HOW KING FERDINAND SIGNALIZED HIMSELF BY HIS SKILL IN BARGAINING WITH THE INHABITANTS FOR THEIR RANSOM.

ONE of the first cares of the conquerors, on entering Malaga, was to search for Christian captives. Nearly sixteen hundred, men and women, were found, and among them were persons of distinction. Some of them had been ten, fifteen, and twenty years in captivity. Many had been servants to the Moors, or labourers on public works, and some had passed their time in chains and dungeons. Preparations were made to celebrate their deliverance as a Christian triumph. A tent was erected, not far from the city, and furnished with an altar, and all the solemn decorations of a chapel. Here the king and queen waited to receive the Christian captives. They were assembled in the city, and marshalled forth in piteous procession. Many of them had still the chains and shackles on their legs. They were wasted with famine, their hair and beards overgrown and matted, and their faces pale and haggard from long confinement. When they beheld themselves restored to liberty and surrounded by their countrymen, some stared wildly about, as if in a dream, others gave way to frantic transports, but most of them wept for joy. All present were moved to tears by so touching a spectacle. When the procession arrived at what is called the Gate of Granada, it was met by a great concourse from the camp, with

crosses and pennons, who turned and followed the captives, singing hymns of praise and thanksgiving. When they came in presence of the king and queen, they threw themselves on their knees, and would have kissed their feet, as their saviours and deliverers; but the sovereigns prevented such humiliation, and graciously extended to them their hands. They then prostrated themselves before the altar, and all present joined them in giving thanks to God, for their liberation from this cruel bondage. By orders of the king and queen, their chains were then taken off, and they were clad in decent raiment, and food was set before them. After they had ate and drank, and were refreshed and invigorated, they were provided with money, and all things necessary for their journey, and sent joyfully to their homes.

While the old chroniclers dwell with becoming enthusiasm on this pure and affecting triumph of humanity, they go on, in a strain of equal eulogy, to describe a spectacle of a different nature. It so happened, that there were found in the city twelve of those renegade Christians, who had deserted to the Moors, and conveyed false intelligence during the siege. A barbarous species of punishment was inflicted upon them, borrowed, it is said, from the Moors, and peculiar to these wars. They were tied to stakes, in a public place, and horsemen exercised their skill in transpiercing them with pointed reeds, hurled at them while careering at full speed, until the miserable victims expired beneath their wounds. Several apostate Moors, also, who, having embraced christianity, had afterwards relapsed into their early faith, and had taken refuge in Malaga from the vengeance of the inquisition, were publicly burnt. "These," says an old jesuit historian exultingly, "these were the tilts of reeds, and the illuminations most pleasing for this victorious festival, and for the catholic piety of our sovereigns!"

When the city was cleansed from the impurities and offensive odours which had collected during the siege, the bishops, and other clergy who accompanied the court, and the choir of the royal chapel, walked in procession to the principal mosque, which was consecrated, and entitled Santa Maria de la Incarnacion. This done the king and queen entered the city, accompanied by the grand cardinal of Spain, and the principal nobles and cavaliers of the army, and heard a solemn mass. The church was then elevated into a cathedral, and Malaga was made a bishopric, and many of the neighbouring towns were comprehended in its diocese. The queen took up her residence in the alcazaba, in the apartments of her valiant treasurer Ruy Lopez, whence she had a view of the whole city; but the king established his quarters in the warrior castle of Gibralfaro.

And now came to be considered the disposition of

\* Los renegados fueron acanavareados, y los conversos quemados: y estas fueron las cañas y luminarias mas alegres por la fiesta de la victoria, para la piedad catholica de nuestros reyes. Abarca. Anales de Aragon, tom. ii, rey 50, c. 5.

1 Cura de los Palacios, c. 84.

2 Pulgar. Crónica.

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praise and thanksgiving.  
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ey 30, c. 5.

the Moorish prisoners. All those who were strangers  
in the city, and had either taken refuge there, or had  
entered to defend it, were at once considered slaves.  
They were divided into three lots. One was set  
apart for the service of God, in redeeming captives  
from bondage, either in the kingdom of Granada, or  
in Africa; the second lot was divided among those  
who had aided, either in field or cabinet, in the pre-  
sent siege, according to their rank; the third was  
appropriated to defray, by their sale, the great ex-  
penses incurred in the reduction of the place. A  
hundred of the Gomerers were sent as presents to  
Pope Innocent VIII, and were led in triumph through  
the streets of Rome, and afterwards converted to  
Christianity. Fifty Moorish maidens were sent to  
the Queen Joanna of Naples, sister to King Ferdi-  
nand, and thirty to the Queen of Portugal. Isabella  
made presents of others to the ladies of her house-  
hold, and of the noble families of Spain.

Among the inhabitants of Malaga were four hun-  
dred and fifty Moorish Jews, for the most part wo-  
men, speaking the Arabic language, and dressed in  
the Moorish fashion. These were ransomed by a  
wealthy Jew of Castile, farmer-general of the royal  
revenues derived from the Jews of Spain. He agreed  
to make up, within a certain time, the sum of twenty  
thousand doblas or pistoles of gold; all money and  
jewels of the captives being taken in payment. They  
were sent to Castile in two armed galleys.

As to the great mass of Moorish inhabitants, they  
implored that they might not be scattered and sold  
into captivity, but might be permitted to ransom  
themselves by an amount paid within a certain time.  
Upon this King Ferdinand took the advice of certain  
of his ablest counsellors. They said to him, if you  
hold out a prospect of hopeless captivity, the infidels  
will throw all their gold and jewels into wells and  
pits, and you will lose the greater part of the spoil;  
but if you fix a general rate of ransom, and receive  
their money and jewels in payment, nothing will be  
destroyed. The king relished greatly this advice;  
and it was arranged, that all the inhabitants should  
be ransomed at the general rate of thirty doblas or  
pistoles in gold for each individual, male or female,  
large or small; that all their gold, jewels, and other  
valuables, should be received immediately, in part  
payment of the general amount; and that the residue  
should be paid within eight months; that, if any of  
the number actually living should die in the interim,  
their ransom should nevertheless be claimed. If,  
however, the whole of the amount were not dis-  
charged at the expiration of the eight months, they  
should all be considered and treated as slaves.

The unfortunate Moors were eager to catch at the  
least hope of future liberty, and consented to these  
hard conditions. The most rigorous precautions were  
taken to exact them to the uttermost. The inhabi-  
tants were numbered by houses and families, and  
their names taken down. Their most precious effects  
were made up into parcels, and sealed and inscribed

with their names; and they were ordered to repair  
with them to certain large corrales or enclosures, ad-  
joining the alcazaba, which were surrounded by high  
walls, and overlooked by watch-towers; to which  
places the cavalgadas of Christian captives had usually  
been driven, to be confined until the time of sale,  
like cattle in a market. The Moors were obliged to  
leave their houses, one by one: all their money, neck-  
laces, bracelets and anklets of gold, pearl, coral, and  
precious stones, were taken from them at the thresh-  
old, and their persons so rigorously searched, that  
they carried off nothing concealed.

Then might be seen old men, and helpless women,  
and tender maidens, some of high birth and gentle  
condition, passing through the streets, heavily bur-  
dened, towards the alcazaba. As they left their  
homes, they smote their breasts, and wrung their  
hands, and raised their weeping eyes to Heaven in  
anguish; and this is recorded as their plaint: "Oh,  
Malaga! city renowned and beautiful! where now is  
the strength of thy castles! where the grandeur of  
thy towers! of what avail have been thy mighty walls  
for the protection of thy children! Behold them  
driven from thy pleasant abodes, doomed to drag out  
a life of bondage in a foreign land, and to die far from  
the home of their infancy! What will become of thy  
old men and matrons when their grey hairs shall be  
no longer revered! what will become of thy maid-  
ens, so delicately reared, and tenderly cherished,  
when reduced to hard and menial servitude! Behold,  
thy once happy families are scattered asunder, never  
again to be united! Sons are separated from their  
fathers, husbands from their wives, and tender chil-  
dren from their mothers. They will bewail each  
other in foreign lands; but their lamentations will be  
the scoff of the stranger. Oh, Malaga! city of our  
birth! who can behold thy desolation, and not shed  
tears of bitterness!"

When Malaga was completely secured, a detach-  
ment was sent against two fortresses near the sea,  
called Mexas and Osuna; which had frequently har-  
assed the Christian camp. The inhabitants were  
threatened with the sword, unless they instantly sur-  
rendered. They claimed the same terms that had  
been granted to Malaga; imagining them to be, free-  
dom of person, and security of property. Their  
claim was granted. They were transported to Malaga  
with all their riches; and, on arriving there, were  
overwhelmed with consternation at finding them-  
selves captives. "Ferdinand," observes Fray An-  
tonio Agapida, "was a man of his word: they were  
shut up in the alcazaba, with the people of Malaga,  
and shared their fate."

The unhappy captives remained thus crowded in  
the court-yards of the alcazaba, like sheep in a fold,  
until they could be sent by sea and land to Seville.  
They were then distributed about in city and coun-  
try, each Christian family having one or more to



feed and maintain as a servant, until the term fixed for the payment of the residue of the ransom should expire. The captives had obtained permission, that several of their number should go about among the Moorish towns of the kingdom of Granada, collecting contributions to aid in the purchase of their liberties; but these towns were too much impoverished by the war, and engrossed by their own distresses, to lend a listening ear. So the time expired, without the residue of the ransom being paid; and all the captives of Malaga, to the number, as some say, of eleven, and others, of fifteen thousand, became slaves! "Never," exclaims the worthy Fray Antonio Agapida, in one of his usual bursts of zeal and loyalty, "never has there been recorded a more adroit and sagacious arrangement than this made by the catholic monarch, by which he not only secured all the property, and half of the ransom, of these infidels, but finally got possession of their persons into the bargain. This truly may be considered one of the greatest triumphs of the pious and politic Ferdinand, and as raising him above the generality of conquerors, who have merely the valour to gain victories, but lack the prudence and management necessary to turn them to account."

#### CHAPTER LXVII.

HOW KING FERDINAND PREPARED TO CARRY THE WAR INTO A DIFFERENT PART OF THE TERRITORIES OF THE MOORS.

THE western part of the kingdom of Granada had now been conquered by the Christian arms. The sea-port of Malaga was captured; the fierce and warlike inhabitants of the Serrania de Ronda, and the other mountain-holds of the frontier, were all disarmed, and reduced to peaceful and laborious vassalage. Their haughty fortresses, which had so long overawed the valleys of Andalusia, now displayed the standard of Castile and Aragon; the watch-towers, which crowned every height, and from which the infidels had kept a vulture eye on the Christian territories, were now either dismantled, or garrisoned with catholic troops. "What signalized and sanctified this great triumph," adds the worthy Fray Antonio Agapida, "were the emblems of ecclesiastical domination which every where appeared. In every direction arose stately convents and monasteries, those fortresses of the faith, garrisoned by its spiritual soldiery of monks and friars. The sacred melody of Christian bells was again heard among the mountains, calling to early matins, or sounding the angelus at the solemn hour of evening."

While this part of the kingdom was thus reduced by the Christian sword, the central part, round the city of Granada, forming the heart of the Moorish territory, was held in vassalage of the Castilian monarch, by Boabdil, surnamed El Chico.

That unfortunate prince lost no occasion, by acts of

homage, and by professions that must have been foreign to his heart, to propitiate the conquerors of his country. No sooner had he heard of the capture of Malaga, than he sent congratulations to the catholic sovereigns, accompanied with presents of horses, richly caparisoned, for the king; and precious cloth of gold, and oriental perfumes, for the queen. His congratulations, and his presents, were received with the utmost graciousness; and the short-sighted prince, lulled by the temporary and politic forbearance of Ferdinand, flattered himself that he was securing the lasting friendship of that monarch.

The policy of Boabdil had its transient and superficial advantages. The portion of Moorish territory under his immediate sway had a respite from the calamities of war. The husbandmen cultivated their luxuriant fields in security, and the vega of Granada once more blossomed like the rose. The merchants again carried on a gainful traffic, and the gates of the city were thronged with beasts of burden, bringing the rich products of every clime. Yet, while the people of Granada rejoiced in their teeming fields and crowded marts, they secretly despised the policy which had procured them these advantages, and held Boabdil for little better than an apostate and an unbeliever.

Muley Abdalla el Zagal was now the hope of the unconquered part of the kingdom; and every Moor, whose spirit was not quite subdued with his fortunes, lauded the valour of the old monarch, and his fidelity to the faith, and wished success to his standard.

El Zagal, though he no longer sat enthroned in the Alhambra, yet reigned over more considerable domains than his nephew. His territories extended from the frontier of Jaen, along the borders of Murcia, to the Mediterranean, and reached into the centre of the kingdom. On the north-east he held the cities of Baza and Guadix, situate in the midst of fertile regions. He had the important sea-port of Almeria, also, which at one time rivalled Granada itself in wealth and population. Besides these, his territories included a great part of the Alpuzarra mountains, which extend across the kingdom, and shoot out branches towards the sea-coast. This mountainous region was a stronghold of wealth and power. Its stern and rocky heights, rising to the clouds, seemed to set invasion at defiance; yet within their rugged embraces were sheltered delightful valleys, of the happiest temperature and richest fertility. The cool springs, and limpid rills, which gushed out in all parts of the mountains, and the abundant streams, which, for a great part of the year, were supplied by the Sierra Nevada, spread a perpetual verdure over the skirts and slopes of the hills, and, collecting in silver rivers in the valleys, wound along among plantations of mulberry-trees, and groves of oranges and citrons, of almonds, figs, and pomegranates. Here was produced the finest silk of Spain, which gave employment to thousands of manufacturers. The sunburnt sides of the hills, also, were covered with

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vineyards. The abundant herbage of the mountain  
ravines, and the rich pasturage of the valleys, fed vast  
flocks and herds; and even the arid and rocky ho-  
soms of the heights teemed with wealth, from the  
mines of various metals, with which they were im-  
pregnated. In a word, the Alpuxarra mountains had  
ever been the great source of revenue to the mo-  
narchs of Granada. Their inhabitants, also, were  
hardy and warlike; and a sudden summons from  
the Moorish king could at any time call forth fifty  
thousand fighting men from their rocky fortresses.

Such was the rich, but rugged, fragment of an  
empire, which remained under the sway of the old  
warrior monarch, El Zagal. The mountain barriers  
by which it was locked up had protected it from most  
of the ravages of war, and El Zagal prepared himself,  
by strengthening every fortress, to battle fiercely for  
its maintenance.

The catholic sovereigns saw, that fresh troubles  
and toils awaited them. The war had to be carried  
into a new quarter, demanding immense expendi-  
tures; and new ways and means must be devised,  
to replenish their exhausted coffers. "As this was  
a holy war, however," says Fray Antonio Agapida,  
"and peculiarly redounded to the prosperity of the  
church, the clergy were full of zeal, and contributed  
vast sums of money and large bodies of troops. A  
pious fund was also produced from the first-fruits of  
that glorious institution, the inquisition.

"It so happened, that, about this time, there were  
many families of wealth and dignity in the kingdoms  
of Aragon and Valencia, and the principality of Cata-  
lonia, whose forefathers had been Jews, but had been  
converted to christianity. Notwithstanding the out-  
ward piety of these families, it was surmised, and  
soon came to be strongly suspected that many of them  
had a secret hankering after Judaism; and it was  
even whispered, that some of them practised Jewish  
rites in private.

"The catholic monarch," continues Agapida,  
"had a righteous abhorrence of all kinds of heresy,  
and a fervent zeal for the faith. He ordered, there-  
fore, a strict investigation of the conduct of these  
pseudo-Christians. Inquisitors were sent into these  
provinces for the purpose, who proceeded with their  
accustomed zeal. The consequence was that many  
families were convicted of apostasy from the Chris-  
tian faith, and of the private practice of Judaism.  
Some, who had grace and policy sufficient to reform in  
time, were again received into the Christian fold, after  
being severely mulcted, and condemned to heavy  
penance; others were burnt at *auto de fe's*, for the  
edification of the public; and their property was con-  
fiscated for the good of the state.

"As these Hebrews were of great wealth, and had  
an hereditary passion for jewelry, there was found  
abundant store in their possession of gold and silver,  
of rings, and necklaces, and strings of pearl, and  
coral, and precious stones: treasures easy of trans-  
portation, and wonderfully adapted for the emergen-

cies of war. In this way," concludes the pious  
Agapida, "these backsliders, by the all-seeing con-  
trivances of Providence, were made to serve the  
righteous cause which they had so treacherously de-  
serted; and their apostate wealth was sanctified by  
being devoted to the service of Heaven and the crown,  
in this holy crusade against the infidels."

It must be added, however, that these pious fi-  
nancial expedients received some check from the  
interference of Queen Isabella. Her penetrating eyes  
discovered, that many enormities had been commit-  
ted under colour of religious zeal, and many innocent  
persons accused by false witnesses of apostasy, either  
through malice, or a hope of obtaining their wealth.  
She caused strict investigation, therefore, into the  
proceedings which had been held; many of which  
were reversed, and suborners punished in proportion  
to their guilt.

## CHAPTER LXVIII.

HOW KING FERDINAND INVADÉD THE EASTERN SIDE OF THE  
KINGDOM OF GRANADA; AND HOW HE WAS RECEIVED BY EL  
ZAGAL.

"MULEY Abdalla el Zagal," says the venerable  
jesuit father, Pedro Abarca, "was the most venom-  
ous Mahometan in all Morisma;" and the worthy  
Fray Antonio Agapida most devoutly echoes his  
opinion. "Certainly," adds the latter, "none ever  
opposed a more heathenish and diabolical obstinacy  
to the holy inroads of the cross and sword."

El Zagal felt that it was necessary to do something  
to quicken his popularity with the people; and that  
nothing was more effectual than a successful inroad.  
The Moors loved the stirring call to arms, and a wild  
foray among the mountains; and delighted more in  
a hasty spoil, wrested with hard fighting from the  
Christians, than in all the steady and certain gains  
secured by peaceful traffic.

There reigned at this time a careless security along  
the frontier of Jaen. The alcaydes of the Christian  
fortresses were confident of the friendship of Boabdil  
el Chico; and they fancied his uncle too distant, and  
too much engrossed by his own perplexities, to think  
of molesting them. On a sudden, El Zagal issued out  
of Guadix with a chosen band, passed rapidly through  
the mountains which extend behind Granada, and  
fell, like a thunderbolt, upon the territories in the  
neighbourhood of Alcala la Real.

Before the alarm could be spread, and the frontier  
roused, he had made a wide career of destruction  
through the country; sacking and burning villages,  
sweeping off flocks and herds, and carrying away  
captives. The warriors of the frontier assembled; but  
El Zagal was already far on his return through the  
mountains; and he re-entered the gates of Guadix  
in triumph, his army laden with Christian spoil, and

conducting an immense cavalgada. Such was one of the fierce El Zagal's preparations for the expected invasion of the Christian king: exciting the warlike spirit of his people, and gaining for himself a transient popularity.

King Ferdinand assembled his army at Murcia in the spring of 1488. He left that city on the fifth of June, with a flying camp of four thousand horse, and fourteen thousand foot. The Marquis of Cadiz led the van, followed by the adelantado of Murcia. The army entered the Moorish frontier by the sea-coast, spreading terror through the land; wherever it appeared, the towns surrendered without a blow, so great was the dread of experiencing the woes which had desolated the opposite frontier. In this way Vera, Velez el Rubico, Velez el Blanco, and many towns of inferior note, to the number of sixty, yielded at the first summons.

It was not until it approached Almeria, that the army met with resistance. This important city was commanded by the Prince Zelin, a relation of El Zagal. He led forth his Moors bravely to the encounter, and skirmished fiercely with the advance guard in the gardens near the city. King Ferdinand came up with the main body of the army, and called off his troops from the skirmish. He saw, that to attack the place with his present force was fruitless: having reconnoitred the city and its environs, therefore, against a future campaign, he retired with his army and marched towards Baza.

The old warrior, El Zagal, was himself drawn up in the city of Baza, with a powerful garrison. He felt confidence in the strength of the place, and rejoiced when he heard that the Christian king was approaching.

In the valley in front of Baza there extended a great tract of gardens, like a continued grove, and intersected by canals and water-courses. In this he stationed a powerful ambuscade of arquebusiers, and crossbow-men. The vanguard of the Christian army came marching gaily up the valley, with great sound of drum and trumpet, and led on by the Marquis of Cadiz, and the adelantado of Murcia. As they drew near, El Zagal sallied forth with horse and foot, and attacked them, for a time, with great spirit. Gradually falling back, as if pressed by their superior valour, he drew the exulting Christians among the gardens. Suddenly the Moors in ambuscade burst from their concealment, and opened such a terrible fire in flank and rear, that many of the Christians were slain, and the rest thrown into confusion. King Ferdinand arrived in time to see the disastrous situation of his troops, and gave signal to the vanguard to retire.

El Zagal did not permit the foe to draw off unmo-  
lest. Ordering out fresh squadrons, he fell upon the rear of the retreating troops with loud and triumphant shouts, driving them before him with dreadful havoc. The old war-cry of "El Zagal! El Zagal!" was again vociferated by the Moors, and

was re-echoed with transport from the walls of the city. The Christians were for a time in imminent peril of a complete route; when fortunately the adelantado of Murcia threw himself, with a large body of horse and foot, between the pursuers and the pursued, covering the retreat of the latter, and giving them time to rally. The Moors were now attacked so vigorously in turn that they gave over the unequal contest, and drew back slowly into the city. Many valiant cavaliers were slain in the skirmish; among the number of whom was Don Philip of Aragon, master of the chivalry of Saint George of Montesor. He was illegitimate son of the king's illegitimate brother Don Carlos, and his death was greatly bewailed by Ferdinand. He had formerly been archbishop of Palermo; but had doffed the cassock for the cuirass; and had thus, according to Fray Antonio Agapida, gained a glorious crown of martyrdom by falling in this holy war.

The warm reception of his advance guard, by the old warrior El Zagal, brought King Ferdinand to a pause. He encamped on the banks of the neighbouring river Guadalentin, and began to consider, whether he had acted wisely in undertaking this campaign with his present force. His late successes had probably rendered him over confident. El Zagal had again schooled him into his characteristic caution. He saw that the old warrior was too formidably ensconced in Baza, to be dislodged by any thing except a powerful army, and battering artillery; and he feared, that, should he persist in his invasion, some disaster might befall his army, either from the enterprise of the foe, or from a pestilence which prevailed in various parts of the country.

Ferdinand retired therefore from before Baza, as he had on a former occasion from before Loxa, all the wiser for a wholesome lesson in warfare, but by no means grateful to those who had given it; and with a solemn determination to have his revenge upon his teachers.

He now took measures for the security of the places gained in this campaign, placing in them strong garrisons, well armed and supplied, charging their alcajdes to be vigilant in their posts, and to give no rest to the enemy. The whole of the frontier was placed under the command of the brave Luis Fernandez Puerto Carrero. As it was evident, from the warlike character of El Zagal, that there would be abundance of active service and hard fighting, many hidalgos and young cavaliers, eager for distinction, remained with Puerto Carrero.

All these dispositions being made, King Ferdinand closed the dubious campaign of this year; not, as usual, by returning in triumph, at the head of his army, to some important city of his dominions; but by disbanding the troops, and repairing to pray at the cross of Caravaca.

## CHAPTER LXIX.

HOW THE MOORS MADE VARIOUS ENTERPRISES AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS.

"WHILE the pious King Ferdinand," observes Fray Antonio Agapida, "was humbling himself before the cross, and devoutly praying for the destruction of his enemies, that fierce pagan, El Zagal, depending merely on his arm of flesh and his sword of steel, pursued his diabolical outrages upon the Christians." No sooner was the invading army disbanded, than El Zagal sallied forth from his stronghold, and carried fire and sword into all those parts that had submitted to the Spanish yoke. The castle of Nixar, being carelessly guarded, was taken by surprise, and its garrison put to the sword. The old warrior raged with sanguinary fury about the whole frontier, attacking convoys, slaying, wounding, and making prisoners, and coming by surprise upon the Christians, wherever they were off their guard.

The alcayde of the fortress of Callar, confiding in the strength of its walls and towers, and on its difficult situation, being built on the summit of a lofty hill, and surrounded by precipices, ventured to absent himself from his post. The vigilant El Zagal was suddenly before it with a powerful force. He stormed the town, sword in hand, fought the Christians from street to street, and drove them, with great slaughter, to the citadel. Here a veteran captain, by the name of Juan de Avalos, a grey-headed warrior, scarred in many a battle, assumed the command, and made an obstinate defence. Neither the multitude of the enemy, nor the vehemence of their attacks, though led on by the terrible El Zagal himself, had power to shake the fortitude of this doughty old soldier.

The Moors undermined the outer walls, and one of the towers of the fortress, and made their way into the exterior court. The alcayde manned the tops of his towers; pouring down melted pitch, and showering darts, arrows, stones, and all kinds of missiles, upon the assailants. The Moors were driven out of the court; but, being reinforced with fresh troops, returned repeatedly to the assault. For five days the combat was kept up. The Christians were nearly exhausted; but they were sustained by the cheerings of their staunch old alcayde; and they feared death from the cruel El Zagal, should they surrender. At length the approach of a powerful force, under Puerto Carrero, relieved them from this fearful peril. El Zagal abandoned the assault, and retired to the town in his rage and disappointment, and retired to his stronghold of Guadix.

The example of El Zagal roused his adherents to action. Two bold Moorish alcaydes, Ali Atar and Zaza Atar, commanding the fortresses of Alhended and Salobrenna, laid waste the country of the subjects of Boabdil, and the places which had recently submitted to the Christians. They swept off the

cattle, carried off captives, and harassed the whole of the newly conquered frontier.

The Moors, also, of Almeria, and Tavernas, and Pulchena, made inroads into Murcia, and carried fire and sword into its most fertile regions; while on the opposite frontier, among the wild valleys and rugged recesses of the Sierra Bermeja, or Red Mountains, many of the Moors, who had lately submitted, again flew to arms. The Marquis of Cadiz suppressed, by timely vigilance, the rebellion of the mountain town of Gausen, situate on a high peak, almost among the clouds; but others of the Moors fortified themselves in rock-built towers and castles, inhabited solely by warriors, whence they carried on a continual war of forage and depredation; sweeping suddenly down into the valleys, and carrying off flocks, and herds, and all kinds of booty, to these eagle nests, to which it was perilous and fruitless to pursue them.

The worthy Fray Antonio Agapida closes his story of this chequered year in quite a different strain from those triumphant periods, with which he is accustomed to wind up the victorious campaigns of the sovereigns. "Great and mighty," says this venerable chronicler, "were the floods and tempests, which prevailed throughout the kingdom of Castile and Aragon about this time. It seemed as though the windows of heaven were again opened, and a second deluge overwhelming the face of nature. The clouds burst, as it were, in cataracts upon the earth; torrents rushed down from the mountains, overflowing the valleys. Brooks were swelled into raging rivers; houses were undermined; mills were swept away by their own streams; the affrighted shepherds saw their flocks drowned in the midst of the pasture, and were fain to take refuge for their lives in towers and high places. The Guadalquivir, for a time, became a roaring and tumultuous sea; inundating the immense plain of the Tablada, and filling the fair city of Seville with affright.

"A vast black cloud moved over the land accompanied by a hurricane and a trembling of the earth. Houses were unroofed, the walls and battlements of fortresses shaken, and lofty towers rocked to their foundations. Ships, riding at anchor, were either stranded or swallowed up. Others, under sail, were tossed to and fro upon mountain waves, and cast upon the land; where the whirlwind rent them in pieces, and scattered their fragments in the air. Doleful was the ruin, and great the terror, where this baleful cloud passed by; and it left a long track of desolation over sea and land. Some of the faint-hearted," adds Antonio Agapida, "looked upon this tumult of the elements as a prodigious event, out of the course of nature. In the weakness of their fears, they connected it with those troubles which occurred in various places; considering it a portent of some great calamity, about to be wrought by the violence of the bloody-handed El Zagal and his fierce adherents."



## CHAPTER LXX.

HOW KING FERDINAND PREPARED TO BESIEGE THE CITY OF BAZA; AND HOW THE CITY PREPARED FOR DEFENCE.

THE stormy winter had passed away, and the spring of 1489 was advancing; yet the heavy rains had broken up the roads; the mountain brooks were swollen to raging torrents; and the late shallow and peaceful rivers were deep, turbulent, and dangerous. The Christian troops had been summoned to assemble, in early spring, on the frontiers of Jaen; but were slow in arriving at the appointed place. They were entangled in the miry defiles of the mountains, or fretted impatiently on the banks of impassable floods. It was late in the month of May before they assembled in sufficient force to attempt the proposed invasion; when, at length, a valiant army, of thirteen thousand horse and forty thousand foot, marched merrily over the border. The queen remained at the city of Jaen, with the prince-royal and the princesses, her children; accompanied and supported by the venerable Cardinal of Spain, and those reverend prelates who assisted in her councils throughout this holy war. The plan of King Ferdinand was to lay siege to the city of Baza, the key of the remaining possessions of the Moor. That important fortress taken, Guadix and Almeria must soon follow; and then the power of El Zagal would be at an end. As the catholic king advanced, he had first to secure various castles and strongholds in the vicinity of Baza, which might otherwise harass his army. Some of these made obstinate resistance; especially the town of Cuxar. The Christians assailed the walls with various machines, to sap them and batter them down. The brave alcaide, Hubeç Adalgar, opposed force to force, and engine to engine. He manned his towers with his bravest warriors, who rained down an iron shower upon the enemy; and he linked caldrons together by strong chains, and cast fire from them, consuming the wooden engines of their assailants, and those who managed them. The siege was protracted for several days. The bravery of the alcaide could not save his fortress from an overwhelming foe, but it gained him honourable terms. Ferdinand permitted the garrison and the inhabitants to repair with their effects to Baza; and the valiant Hubeç Adalgar marched forth with the remnant of his force, and took the way to that devoted city.

The delays, which had been caused to the invading army by these various circumstances, had been diligently improved by the old Moorish El Zagal; who felt, that he was now making his last stand for empire; and that this campaign would decide, whether he should continue a king, or sink into a vassal.

El Zagal was but a few leagues from Baza, at the city of Guadix. This last was the most important point of his remaining territories, being a kind of bulwark between them and the hostile city of Gra-

nada, the seat of his nephew's power. Though he heard of the tide of war, therefore, that was collecting, and rolling towards the city of Baza, he dared not go in person to its assistance. He dreaded that, should he leave Guadix, Boabdil would attack him in rear, while the Christian army was battling with him in front. El Zagal trusted in the great strength of Baza, to defy any violent assaults; and he profited by the delays of the Christian army, to supply it with all possible means of defence. He sent thither all the troops he could spare from his garrison of Guadix, and despatched missives throughout his territories, calling upon all true Moslems to hasten to Baza, to make a devoted stand in defence of their homes, their liberties, and their religion. The cities of Tavernas and Purchena, and the surrounding heights and valleys, responded to his orders, and sent forth their fighting men to the field. The rocky fastnesses of the Alpuxarras resounded with the din of arms. Troops of horse and bodies of foot-soldiers were seen winding down the rugged cliffs and defiles of those marble mountains, and hastening towards Baza. Many brave cavaliers of Granada, also, spurning the quiet and security of Christian vassalage, secretly left the city, and hastened to join their fighting countrymen. The great dependence of El Zagal, however, was upon the valour and loyalty of his cousin and brother-in-law, Cidi Yahye Alnazar Aben Zelim, who was alcaide of Almeria; a cavalier experienced in warfare, and redoubtable in the field. He wrote to him, to leave Almeria, and repair, with all speed, at the head of his troops, to Baza. Cidi Yahye departed immediately, with ten thousand of the bravest Moors in the kingdom. These were, for the most part, hardy mountaineers, tempered to sun and storm, and tried in many a combat. None equalled them for a sally or a skirmish. They were adroit in executing a thousand stratagems, ambuscades, and evolutions. Impetuous in their assaults, yet governed in their utmost fury by a word or sign from their commander, at the sound of a trumpet they would check themselves in the midst of their career, and wheel off and disperse; and, at another sound of a trumpet, they would as suddenly re-assemble, and return to the attack. They were upon the enemy when least expected, coming like a rushing blast, spreading havoc and consternation, and then passing away in an instant; so that, when one recovered from the shock, and looked around, behold, nothing was to be seen or heard of this tempest of war, but a cloud of dust, and the clatter of retreating troops!

When Cidi Yahye led his train of ten thousand valiant warriors into the gates of Baza, the city rang with acclamations; and for a time the inhabitants thought themselves secure. El Zagal also felt a glow of confidence, notwithstanding his own absence from the city. "Cidi Yahye," said he, "is my cousin and my brother-in-law, related to me by blood and marriage: he is a second self: happy is that monarch who has his kinsmen to command his armies!" While

all these reinforcements, the garrison of Baza amounted to above twenty thousand men. There were at this time three principal leaders in the city; Mohammed ben Hassan, surnamed the Veteran, who was military governor, or alcaide, an old Moor of great experience and discretion. The second was Hamet Abu Ali, who was captain of the troops stationed in the place; and the third was Hubeck Adalgar, the valiant alcaide of Cuxar, who had repaired hither with the remains of his garrison. Over all these Cidi Yahye exercised a supreme command, in consequence of his being of the blood royal, and in the special confidence of Muley Abdalla el Zagal. He was eloquent and ardent in council, and fond of striking and splendid achievements; but he was a little prone to be carried away by the excitement of the moment, and the warmth of his imagination. The councils of war of these commanders, therefore, were more frequently controlled by the opinions of the old alcaide, Mohammed ben Hassan, for whose shrewdness, caution, and experience, Cidi Yahye himself felt the greatest deference.

The city of Baza was situated in a spacious valley, eight leagues in length and three in breadth, called the Hoya or basin of Baza. It was surrounded by a range of mountains, called the Sierra of Xabalcohol; the streams of which, collecting themselves into two rivers, watered and fertilized the country. The city was built in the plain; but one part of it was protected by the rocky precipices of the mountain, and by a powerful citadel; the other part was defended by massive walls, studded with immense towers. It had suburbs towards the plain, imperfectly fortified by earthen walls. In front of these suburbs extended a tract of orchards and gardens, nearly a league in length, so thickly planted as to resemble a continued forest. Here every citizen, who could afford it, had his little plantation, and his garden of fruit, and flowers, and vegetables; watered by canals and rivulets, and dominated by a small tower, to serve for recreation or defence. This wilderness of groves and gardens, intersected in all parts by canals and runs of water, and studded by above a thousand small towers, formed a kind of protection to this side of the city; rendering all approach extremely difficult and perplexed, and affording covert to the defenders. While the Christian army had been detained before the frontier posts, the city of Baza had been a scene of hurried and unremitting preparation. All the grain of the surrounding valley, though yet unripe, was hastily reaped, and borne into the city, to prevent it from yielding sustenance to the enemy. The country was drained of all its supplies. Flocks and herds were driven, bleating and bellowing, into the cities. Long trains of beasts of burden, some laden with food, others with lances, darts, and arms of all kinds, kept pouring into the place. Already there were munitions collected sufficient for a siege of fifteen months; yet still the eager and hasty preparations were going on, when the army of Ferdinand came

in sight. On one side might be seen scattered parties of foot and horse, spurring to the gates; and muleteers, hurrying forward their burdened animals; all anxious to get under shelter before the gathering storm. On the other side, the cloud of war came sweeping down the valley; the roll of drum, or clang of trumpet, resounding occasionally from its deep bosom, or the bright glance of arms flashing forth like vivid lightning from its columns. King Ferdinand pitched his tents in the valley, beyond the green labyrinth of gardens. He sent his heralds to summon the city to surrender, promising the most favourable terms, in case of immediate compliance; and avowing, in the most solemn terms, his resolution never to abandon the siege, until he had possession of the place.

Upon receiving this summons, the Moorish commanders held a council of war. The prince Cidi Yahye, indignant at the menace of the king, was for retorting by a declaration, that the garrison never would surrender, but would fight until buried under the ruins of the walls. "Of what avail," said the veteran Mohammed, "is a declaration of the kind, which we may falsify by our deeds? Let us threaten what we know we can perform; and let us endeavour to perform more than we threaten." In conformity to the advice of Mohammed ben Hassan, therefore, a laconic reply was sent to the Christian monarch, thanking him for his offer of favourable terms, but informing him, that they were placed in the city to defend, not to surrender it.

## CHAPTER LXXI.

## THE BATTLE OF THE GARDENS BEFORE BAZA.

WHEN the reply of the Moorish commanders was brought to King Ferdinand, he prepared to press the siege with the utmost vigour. Finding the camp too far from the city, and that the intervening orchards afforded shelter for the sallies of the Moors, he determined to advance it beyond the gardens, in the space between them and the suburbs, where his batteries would have full play upon the city walls. A detachment was sent in advance, to take possession of the gardens, and to keep a check upon the suburbs, opposing any sally, while the encampment should be formed and fortified. The various commanders entered the orchards at different points. The young cavaliers marched fearlessly forward, but the experienced veterans foresaw infinite peril in the mazes of this verdant labyrinth. The master of St Jago, as he led his troops into the centre of the gardens, exhorted them to keep by one another, and to press forward, in defiance of all difficulty or danger; assuring them, that God would give them the victory, if they attacked hardily and persisted resolutely. Scarcely had they entered the verge of the orchards,

when a din of drums and trumpets, mingled with war-cries, was heard from the suburbs, and a legion of Moorish warriors on foot poured forth. They were led on by the Prince Cidî Yahye. He saw the imminent danger of the city, should the Christians gain possession of the orchards. "Soldiers," he cried, "we fight for life and liberty, for our families, our country, our religion: nothing is left for us to depend upon but the strength of our hands, the courage of our hearts, and the almighty protection of Allah!" The Moors answered him with shouts of war, and rushed to the encounter. The two hosts met in the middle of the gardens. A chance-medley combat ensued, with lances, arquebuses, cross-bows, and cimeters. The perplexed nature of the ground, cut up and intersected by canals and streams, the closeness of the trees, the multiplicity of towers and petty edifices, gave greater advantages to the Moors, who were on foot, than to the Christians, who were on horseback. The Moors, too, knew the ground, all its alleys and passes; and were thus enabled to lurk, to sally forth, to attack and retreat, almost without injury.

The Christian commanders, seeing this, ordered many of the horsemen to dismount, and fight on foot. The battle then became fierce and deadly, each disregarding his own life, provided he could slay his enemy. It was not so much a general battle, as a multitude of petty actions; for every orchard and garden had its distinct contest. No one could see farther than the little scene of fury and bloodshed around him, or knew how the general battle fared. In vain the captains exerted their voices; in vain the trumpets brayed forth signals and commands: all was confounded and unheard in the universal din and uproar; no one kept to his standard, but fought as his own fury or fear dictated.

In some places, the Christians had the advantage; in others, the Moors. Often a victorious party, pursuing the vanquished, came upon a superior and triumphant force of the enemy, and the fugitives turned back upon them in an overwhelming wave. Some broken remnants, in their terror and confusion, fled from their own countrymen, and sought refuge among their enemies, not knowing friend from foe in the obscurity of the groves. The Moors were more adroit in these wild skirmishings, from their flexibility, lightness, and agility, and the rapidity with which they would disperse, rally, and return again to the charge.

The hardest fighting was about the small garden towers and pavilions, which served as so many petty fortresses. Each party by turns gained them, defended them fiercely, and were driven out. Many of the towers were set on fire, and increased the horrors of the fight, by the wreaths of smoke and flame in which they wrapped the groves, and by the shrieks of those who were burning.

\* "Illi [ Mauri ] pro fortuna, pro libertate, pro laribus patriciis, pro vitâ denique certabant."—Petri Martyr. Epist. 70.

• Mariana, lib. xxv, cap. 45.

Several of the Christian cavaliers, bewildered by the uproar and confusion, and stocked at the carnage which prevailed, would have led their men out of the action; but they were entangled in a labyrinth, and knew not which way to retreat. While in this perplexity, the standard-bearer of one of the squadrons of the grand cardinal had his arm carried off by a cannon-ball; the standard was well nigh falling into the hands of the enemy, when Rodrigo de Mendoza, an intrepid youth, natural son of the grand cardinal, rushed to its rescue, through a shower of balls, lances, and arrows; and, bearing it aloft, dashed forward with it into the hottest of the combat, followed by his shouting soldiers. King Ferdinand, who remained in the skirts of the orchard, was in extreme anxiety. It was impossible to see much of the action, for the multiplicity of trees, and towers, and wreaths of smoke; and those who were driven out defeated, or came out wounded and exhausted, gave different accounts, according to the fate of the partial conflicts in which they had been engaged. Ferdinand exerted himself to the utmost, to animate and encourage his troops to this blind encounter, sending reinforcements of horse and foot to those points where the battle was most sanguinary and doubtful. Among those that were brought forth mortally wounded was Don Juan de Lara, a youth of uncommon merit, greatly prized by the king, beloved by the army, and recently married to Doña Catalina de Urrea, a young lady of distinguished beauty. They laid him at the foot of a tree, and endeavoured to stanch and bind up his wounds with a scarf which his bride had wrought for him: but his life-blood flowed too profusely; and while a holy friar was yet administering to him the last sacred offices of the church, he expired, almost at the feet of his sovereign.

On the other hand, the veteran alcaide, Mohammed ben Hassan, surrounded by a little band of chieftains, kept an anxious eye upon the scene of combat, from the walls of the city. For nearly twelve hours the battle had raged without intermission. The thickness of the foliage hid all the particulars from their sight; but they could see the flash of swords, and glance of helmets, among the trees. Columns of smoke rose in every direction, while the clash of arms, the thundering of ribadoquines and arquebuses, the shouts and cries of the combatants, and the groans and supplications of the wounded, bespoke the deadly conflict that was waging in the bosom of the groves. They were harassed too by the shrieks and lamentations of the Moorish women and children, as their wounded relatives were brought bleeding from the scene of action, and were stunned by a general outcry of woe, that part of the combatants, as the body of Redo Zalfarga, a renegade Christian, and one of the bravest of their generals, was borne breathless into the

At length the din of battle approached nearer to the skirts of the orchards. They beheld their warr

• Mariana. P. Martyr. Zurita.

cavaliers, bewildered by the carnage led their men out of the labyrinth, and retreat. While in this period of one of the squadrons his arm carried off by a was well nigh falling into when Rodrigo de Mendoza, son of the grand cardinal, with a shower of balls, lanes, it aloft, dashed forward the combat, followed by his Ferdinand, who remained, was in extreme anxiety, much of the action, for the towers, and wreaths of were driven out defeated, or exhausted, gave different state of the partial conflicts engaged. Ferdinand exerted animate and encourage his enter, sending reinforcements points where the battle was doubtful. Among those that ally wounded was Don Juan common merit, greatly prized the army, and recently married Urrea, a young lady of they laid him at the foot of a to stanch and bind up his which his bride had wrought had flowed too profusely; and yet administering to him the church, he expired, almost

The veteran alcaide, Mohammed, led by a little band of chieftains, upon the scene of combat, from For nearly twelve hours the at intermission. The thickness of particulars from their slight flash of swords, and glance of es. Columns of smoke rose in the clash of arms, the thunder and arquebuses, the shouts and, and the groans and supplics bespoke the deadly conflict throughout of the groves. They were shrieks and lamentations of the children, as their wounded were bleeding from the scene of and by a general outcry of warriors, as the body of Rodrigo Christian, and one of the brave borne breathless into the charge battle approached nearer to them. They beheld their warriors

driven out from among the groves, by fresh squadrons of the enemy; and, after disputing the ground inch by inch, obliged to retire to a place between the orchards and the suburbs, which was fortified with palisadoes.

The Christians immediately planted opposing palisadoes, and established strong out-posts near to the retreat of the Moors; while, at the same time, King Ferdinand ordered that his encampment should be pitched within the hard-won orchards.

Mohammed ben Hassan sallied forth to the aid of the Prince Cidi Yahye, and made a desperate attempt to dislodge the enemy from this formidable position; but the night had closed, and the darkness rendered it impossible to make any impression. The Moors, however, kept up constant assaults and alarms throughout the night, and the weary Christians, exhausted by the toils and sufferings of the day, were not allowed a moment of repose.

## CHAPTER LXXII.

## SIEGE OF BAZA. EMBARRASSMENT OF THE ARMY.

THE morning sun rose upon a piteous scene before the walls of Baza. The Christian out-posts, harassed throughout the night, were pale and haggard; while the multitude of slain, which lay before their palisadoes, showed the fierce attacks they had sustained, and the bravery of their defence.

Beyond them lay the groves and gardens of Baza; once the favourite resorts for recreation and delight, now a scene of horror and desolation. The towers and pavilions were smoking ruins; the canals and water-courses were discoloured with blood, and choked with the bodies of the slain. Here and there the ground, deep-dinted with the tramp of man and steel, and splashed and slippery with gore, showed where there had been some fierce and mortal conflict; while the bodies of Moors and Christians, ghastly in death, lay half concealed among the matted and trampled shrubs, and flowers, and herbage.

Amidst these sanguinary scenes arose the Christian tents, which had been hastily pitched among the gardens in the preceding evening. The experience of the night, however, and the forlorn aspect of every thing in the morning, convinced King Ferdinand of the perils and hardships to which his camp must be exposed, in its present situation; and, after a consultation with his principal cavaliers, he resolved to abandon the orchards.

It was a dangerous movement to extricate his army from so entangled a situation, in the face of so alert and daring an enemy. A bold front was therefore kept up towards the city. Additional troops were ordered to the advanced posts, and works begun, as

if for a settled encampment. Not a tent was struck in the gardens; but in the mean time the most active and unremitting exertions were made to remove back all the baggage and furniture of the camp to the original station.

All day the Moors beheld a formidable show of war maintained in front of the gardens; while in the rear, the tops of the Christian tents, and the pennons of the different commanders, were seen rising above the groves. Suddenly, towards evening, the tents sunk and disappeared; the out-posts broke up their stations, and withdrew; and the whole shadow of an encampment was fast vanishing from their eyes.

The Moor saw, too late, the subtle manœuvre of King Ferdinand. Cidi Yahye again sallied forth, with a large force of horse and foot, and pressed furiously upon the Christians. The latter, however, experienced in Moorish attack, retired in close order: sometimes turning upon the enemy, and driving them to their barricadoes, and then pursuing their retreat. In this way the army was extricated, without much further loss, from the perilous labyrinth of the gardens. The camp was now out of danger, but it was, also, too distant from the city to do mischief; while the Moors could sally forth, and return, without hindrance. The king called a council of war, to consider in what manner to proceed. The Marquis of Cadiz was for abandoning the siege for the present; the place being too strong, too well garrisoned and provided, and too extensive, to be either carried by assault, reduced by famine, or invested by their limited forces: while, in lingering before it, the army would be exposed to the usual maladies and sufferings of besieging enemies; and, when the rainy season came on, would be shut up by the swelling of the two rivers. He recommended instead, that the king should throw garrisons of horse and foot into all the towns captured in the neighbourhood; and leave them to keep up a predatory war upon Baza, while he should overrun and ravage all the country; so that, in the following year, Almeria and Guadix, having all their subject towns and territories taken from them, might be starved into submission.

Don Gutiere de Cardenas, senior commander of Lara, on the other hand, maintained, that to abandon the siege would be construed by the enemy into a sign of weakness and irresolution. It would give new spirits to the partisans of El Zagal; and would gain to his standard many of the wavering subjects of Boabdil, if it did not encourage the fickle populace of Granada to open rebellion. He advised, therefore, that the siege should be prosecuted with vigour.

The pride of Ferdinand pleaded in favour of the last opinion: for it would be doubly humiliating again to return from a campaign in this part of the Moorish kingdom, without striking a blow. But when he reflected on all that his army had suffered, and on all that they must still suffer, should the siege continue, especially from the difficulty of obtaining a regular supply of provisions for so numerous a host,

<sup>1</sup> Pulgar, part iii, cap. 106, 107. Cura de los Palacios, cap. 92. Zurita, lib. xx, cap. 81.



across a great extent of rugged and mountainous country, he determined to consult the safety of his people, and to adopt the advice of the Marquis of Cadiz.

When the soldiery heard, that the king was about to raise the siege, in mere consideration for their sufferings, they were filled with generous enthusiasm; and entreated, as with one voice, that the siege might never be abandoned until the city surrendered.

Perplexed by conflicting counsels, the king despatched messengers to the queen, at Jaen, requesting her advice. Posts had been stationed between them in such manner, that missives from the camp could reach the queen within ten hours. Isabella sent instantly her reply. She left the policy of raising, or continuing, the siege, to the decision of the king and his captains; but, should they determine to persevere, she pledged herself, with the aid of God, to forward them men, money, provisions, and all other supplies, until the city should be taken.

The reply of the queen determined Ferdinand to persevere; and when his determination was made known to the army, it was hailed with as much joy as if it had been tidings of a victory.

#### CHAPTER LXXIII.

SIEGE OF BAZA CONTINUED. HOW KING FERDINAND COMPLETELY INVESTED THE CITY.

THE Moorish prince, Cidi Yahye, had received intelligence of the doubts and discussions in the Christian camp, and flattered himself with hopes, that the besieging army would soon retire in despair; though the veteran alcaide, Mohammed, shook his head with incredulity at the suggestion. A sudden movement next morning in the Christian camp seemed to confirm the sanguine hopes of the prince. The tents were struck, the artillery and baggage were conveyed away, and bodies of soldiers began to march along the valley. The momentary gleam of triumph was soon dispelled. The catholic king had merely divided his host into two camps, the more effectually to distress the city. One, consisting of four thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, with all the artillery and battering engines, took post on the side of the city towards the mountain. This was commanded by the valiant Marquis of Cadiz, with whom were Don Alonso de Aguilar, Luis Fernandez Puerto Carrero, and many other distinguished cavaliers.

The other camp was commanded by the king; having six thousand horse, and a great host of foot-soldiers, the hardy mountaineers of Biscay, Guipuscoa, Galicia, and the Asturias. Among the cavaliers who were with the king, were the brave Count de Tendilla, Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, and Don Alonso de Cardenas, master of Santiago. The two camps were wide asunder, on opposite sides of the city; and be-

tween them lay the thick wilderness of orchards. Both camps were therefore fortified by great trenches, breast-works, and palisadoes. The veteran Mohammed, as he saw these two formidable camps, glittering on each side of the city, and noted the well known pennons of renowned commanders fluttering above them, still comforted his companions. "These camps," said he, "are too far removed from each other for mutual succour and co-operation; and the forest of orchards is as a gulf between them." This consolation was but of short continuance. Scarcely were the Christian camps fortified, when the ears of the Moorish garrison were startled by the sound of innumerable axes, and the crash of falling trees. They looked with anxiety from their highest towers; and, behold, their favourite groves were sinking beneath the blows of the Christian pioneers! The Moors sallied forth with fiery zeal to protect their beloved gardens, and the orchards in which they so much delighted. The Christians, however, were too well supported to be driven from their work. Day after day, the gardens became the scene of incessant and bloody skirmishings. Still the devastation of the groves went on; for King Ferdinand was too well aware of the necessity of clearing away this screen of woods, not to bend all his forces to the undertaking. It was a work, however, of gigantic toil and patience. The trees were of such magnitude, and so closely set together, and spread over so wide an extent, that, notwithstanding four thousand men were employed, they could scarcely clear a strip of land ten paces broad, within a day: and such were the interruptions, from the incessant assaults of the Moors, that it was full forty days before the orchards were completely levelled.

The devoted city of Baza now lay stripped of its beautiful covering of groves and gardens, at once its ornament, its delight, and its protection. The besiegers went on slowly and surely, with almost incredible labours, to invest and isolate the city. They connected their camps by a deep trench across the plain, a league in length, into which they diverted the waters of the mountain streams. They protected this trench by palisadoes, fortified by fifteen castles, at regular distances. They dug a deep trench also, two leagues in length, across the mountain, in the rear of the city, reaching from camp to camp, and fortified it on each side with walls of earth and stone and wood. Thus the Moors were enclosed on all sides by trenches, palisadoes, walls, and castles; so that it was impossible for them to sally beyond the great line of circumvallation, nor could any force enter to their succour. Ferdinand made an attempt likewise to cut off the supply of water from the city. "for water," observes the worthy Agapida, "is more necessary to these infidels than bread; as they make use of it in repeated daily ablutions, enjoined by the damnable religion, and employ it in baths, and in thousand other idle and extravagant modes, of which we Spaniards and Christians make but little account.

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There was a noble fountain of pure water, which  
 gushed out at the foot of the hill Albohacin, just behind  
 the city. The Moors had almost a superstitious fond-  
 ness for this fountain, and daily depended upon it for  
 their supplies. Receiving intimation from some de-  
 serters of the plan of King Ferdinand to get possession  
 of this precious fountain, they sallied forth at night,  
 and threw up such powerful works upon the impend-  
 ing hill, as to set all attempts of the Christian assailants  
 at defiance.

## CHAPTER LXXIV.

EXPLOIT OF HERNANDO PEREZ DEL PULGAR, AND OTHER  
CAVALIERS.

The siege of Baza, while it displayed the skill and  
 science of the Christian commanders, gave but little  
 scope for the adventurous spirit and fiery valour of  
 the young Spanish cavaliers. They repined at the  
 tedious monotony and dull security of their fortified  
 camp; and longed for some soul-stirring exploit of  
 difficulty and danger. Two of the most spirited of  
 these youthful cavaliers were Francisco de Bazan,  
 and Antonio de Cueva, the latter of whom was son to  
 the Duke of Albuquerque. As they were one day  
 seated on the ramparts of the camp, and venting  
 their impatience at this life of inaction, they were  
 overheard by a veteran adalid, one of those scouts, or  
 guides, who are acquainted with all parts of the  
 country. "Señores," said he, "if you wish for a ser-  
 vice of peril and profit, if you are willing to pluck the  
 fiery old Moor by the beard, I can lead you to where  
 you may put your mettle to the proof. Hard by the  
 city of Guadix are certain hamlets, rich in booty: I  
 can conduct you by a way in which you may come  
 upon them by surprise; and, if you are as cool in  
 the head as you are hot in the spur, you may bear off  
 your spoils from under the very eyes of old El Zagal."  
 The idea of thus making booty at the very gates of  
 Guadix pleased the hot-spirited youths. These pre-  
 datory excursions were frequent about this time; and  
 the Moors of Padul, Allenden, and other towns of  
 the Alpuxarras, had recently harassed the Christian  
 territories by expeditions of the kind. Francisco de  
 Bazan and Antonio de Cueva soon found other young  
 cavaliers of their age ready to join them in the adven-  
 ture; and, in a little while, they had nearly three  
 hundred horse and two hundred foot, ready equipped,  
 and eager for the foray.

Keeping their destination secret, they sallied out of  
 the camp, on the edge of an evening, and, guided by  
 the adalid, made their way by starlight through the  
 most secret roads of the mountains. In this way  
 they pressed on rapidly day and night, until, early one  
 morning before cock-crowing, they fell suddenly upon  
 the hamlets, made prisoners of the inhabitants, sack-  
 ed the houses, ravaged the fields, and, sweeping  
 through the meadows, gathered together all the flocks

and herds. Without giving themselves time to rest,  
 they set out upon their return, making with all speed  
 for the mountains, before the alarm should be given,  
 and the country roused.

Several of the herdsmen, however, had fled to  
 Guadix, and carried tidings of the ravage to El Zagal.  
 The beard of old Muley trembled with rage. He  
 immediately sent out six hundred of his choicest  
 horse and foot, with orders to recover the booty,  
 and to bring those insolent marauders captive to  
 Guadix.

The Christian cavaliers were urging their caval-  
 gada of cattle and sheep up a mountain as fast as  
 their own weariness would permit; when, looking  
 back, they beheld a great cloud of dust, and pre-  
 sently descried the turbaned host hot upon their  
 traces.

They saw that the Moors were superior in number;  
 they were fresh also, both man and steed: whereas  
 both they and their horses were fatigued by two  
 days and two nights of hard marching. Several of  
 the horsemen, therefore, gathered round the com-  
 manders, and proposed, that they should relinquish  
 their spoil, and save themselves by flight. The cap-  
 tains, Francisco de Bazan, and Antonio de Cueva,  
 spurned at such craven counsel. "What!" cried  
 they, "abandon our prey without striking a blow!  
 Leave our foot-soldiers too in the lurch, to be over-  
 whelmed by the enemy? If any one gives such  
 counsel through fear, he mistakes the course of  
 safety; for there is less danger in presenting a bold  
 front to the foe, than in turning a dastard back; and  
 fewer men are killed in a brave advance, than in a  
 cowardly retreat."

Some of the cavaliers were touched by these words,  
 and declared, that they would stand by the foot-sol-  
 diers, like true companions in arms. The great mass  
 of the party, however, were volunteers, brought to-  
 gether by chance, who received no pay, nor had any  
 common tie to keep them together in time of danger.  
 The pleasure of the expedition being over, each  
 thought but of his own safety, regardless of his com-  
 panions. As the enemy approached, the tumult of  
 opinions increased; and every thing was in confu-  
 sion. The captains, to put an end to the dispute,  
 ordered the standard-bearer to advance against the  
 Moors; well knowing, that no true cavalier would  
 hesitate to follow and defend his banner. The stan-  
 dard-bearer hesitated; the troops were on the point  
 of taking to flight. Upon this, a cavalier of the royal  
 guards, named Hernando Perez del Pulgar, alcaide  
 of the fortress of Salar, rode to the front. He took off  
 a handkerchief which he wore round his head, after  
 the Andalusian fashion, and, tying it to the end of his  
 lance, elevated it in the air. "Cavaliers," cried he,  
 "why do you take weapons in your hands, if you  
 depend upon your feet for safety? This day will  
 determine who is the brave man, and who the coward.  
 He who is disposed to fight shall not want a stan-  
 dard; let him follow this handkerchief!" So say-

ing, he waved his banner, and spurred bravely against the Moors. His example shamed some, and filled others with generous emulation. All turned with one accord, and, following the valiant Pulgar, rushed with shouts upon the enemy.

The Moors scarcely waited to receive the shock of their encounter. Seized with a sudden panic, they took to flight, and were pursued for a great distance with great slaughter. Three hundred of their dead strewed the road, and were stripped and despoiled by the conquerors; many were taken prisoners; and the Christian cavaliers returned in triumph to the camp, with a long cavalcade of sheep and cattle, and mules laden with booty, and bearing before them the singular standard, which had conducted them to victory.

When King Ferdinand was informed of the gallant action of Hernando Perez del Pulgar, he immediately conferred on him the honour of knighthood; and ordered, that, in memory of his achievements, he should bear for arms a lance with a handkerchief, together with a castle, and twelve lions. This is but one of many hardy and heroic deeds, done by that brave cavalier, in the wars against the Moors; by which he gained great renown, and the distinguished appellation of "El de las hazañas," or, "he of the exploits."

#### CHAPTER LXXV.

##### CONTINUATION OF THE SIEGE OF BAZA.

THE old Moorish king El Zagal mounted a tower, and looked out eagerly, to enjoy the sight of the Christian marauders, brought captive into the gates of Guadix; but his spirits fell, when he beheld his own troops stealing back in the dusk of the evening, in broken, dejected parties.

The fortune of war bore hard against the old monarch. His mind was harassed by the disastrous tidings brought each day from Baza, of the sufferings of the inhabitants, and the numbers of the garrison slain in the frequent skirmishes. He dared not go in person to the relief of the place; for his presence was necessary in Guadix, to keep a check upon his nephew in Granada. He made efforts to send reinforcements and supplies; but they were intercepted, and either captured or driven back. Still his situation was, in some respects, preferable to that of his nephew Boabdil. The old monarch was battling like a warrior on the last step of his throne. El Chico remained, a kind of pensioned vassal, in the luxurious abode of the Alhambra. The chivalrous part of the inhabitants of Granada could not but compare the generous stand made by the warriors of Baza, for

<sup>1</sup> Hernando del Pulgar, the historian, secretary to Queen Isabella, is confounded with this cavalier by some writers. He was also present at the siege of Baza, and recounted this transaction in his "Chronicle of the Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella."

their country and their faith, with their own time-serving submission to the yoke of an unbeliever. Every account they received of the wars of Baza wrung their hearts with agony; every account of the exploits of its devoted defenders brought blushes to their cheeks. Many stole forth secretly with their weapons, and hastened to join the besieged; and the partisans of El Zagal wrought upon the patriotism and passions of the remainder, until another of those conspiracies was formed, that were continually menacing the unsteady throne of Granada. It was concerted by the conspirators, to assail the Alhambra on a sudden; to slay Boabdil; to assemble all the troops, and march to Guadix; where, being reinforced by the garrison of that place, and led on by the old warrior monarch, they might fall, with overwhelming power, upon the Christian army before Baza.

Fortunately for Boabdil, he discovered the conspiracy in time, and had the heads of the leaders struck off, and placed upon the walls of the Alhambra: an act of severity, unusual with this mild and wavering monarch, which struck terror into the disaffected, and produced a kind of mute tranquillity throughout the city.

King Ferdinand had full information of all these movements and measures for the relief of Baza, and took timely precautions to prevent them. Bodies of horsemen held watch in the mountain passes, to prevent all supplies, and to intercept any generous volunteers from Granada; and watch-towers were erected, or scouts placed, on any commanding height, to give the alarm, at the least sign of a hostile turban.

The Prince Cidi Yahye and his brave companions in arms were thus gradually walled up, as it were, from the rest of the world. A line of towers, the battlements of which bristled with troops, girdled their city; and behind the intervening bulwarks and palisades passed and repassed continual bodies of troops. Week after week, and month after month, glided away; but Ferdinand waited in vain for the garrison to be either terrified or starved into surrender. Every day they sallied forth with the spirit and alacrity of troops high fed, and flushed with confidence. "The Christian monarch," said the veteran Mohammed ben Hlassan, "builds his hopes upon our growing faint and desponding: we must manifest unusual cheerfulness and vigour. What would be rashness in other service, becomes prudence with us." The Prince Cidi Yahye agreed with him in opinion; and sallied forth, with his troops, upon all kinds of hare-brained exploits. They laid ambushes, concerted surprises, and made the most desperate assaults. The great extent of the Christian works rendered them weak in many parts. Against these the Moors directed their attacks; suddenly breaking into them, making a hasty ravage, and bearing off their booty, in triumph, to the city. Sometimes they would sally forth, by the passes and clefts of the mountain in the rear of the city, which it was difficult to guard; and, hurrying down into the plain,

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would sweep off all cattle and sheep that were graz- ing near the suburbs, and all stragglers from the camp.

These partisan sallies brought on many sharp and bloody encounters; in some of which, Don Alonso de Aguilar and the alcaide de los Donzeles distinguished themselves greatly. During one of these hot skirmishes, which happened on the skirts of the mountain about twilight, a valiant cavalier, named Martin Galindo, beheld a powerful Moor dealing deadly blows about him, and making great havoc among the Christians. Galindo pressed forward, and challenged him to single combat. The Moor, who was of the valiant tribe of the Abencerrages, was not slow in answering the call. Couching their lances, they rushed furiously upon each other. At the first shock, the Moor was wounded in the face, and borne out of his saddle. Before Galindo could check his steed, and turn from his career, the Moor sprang upon his feet, recovered his lance, and, rushing upon him, wounded him in the head and the arm. Though Galindo was on horseback, and the Moor on foot, yet such was the prowess and address of the latter, that the Christian knight, being disabled in the arm, was in the utmost peril, when his comrades hastened to his assistance. At their approach, the valiant pagan retreated slowly up the rocks, keeping them at bay, until he found himself among his companions.

Several of the young Spanish cavaliers, stung by the triumph of this Moslem knight, would have challenged others of the Moors to single combat; but King Ferdinand prohibited all vaunting encounters of the kind. He forbade his troops, also, to provoke skirmishes; well knowing, that the Moors were more dexterous than most people in this irregular mode of fighting, and were better acquainted with the ground.

#### CHAPTER LXXVI.

HOW TWO FRIARS ARRIVED AT THE CAMP; AND HOW THEY CAME FROM THE HOLY LAND.

"WHILE the holy Christian army," says Fray Antonio Agapida, "was thus beleaguering this infidel city of Baza, there rode into the camp, one day, two reverend friars of the order of Saint Francis. One was of portly person, and authoritative air. He bestrode a goodly steed, well conditioned, and well caparisoned; while his companion rode behind him, upon a humble hack, poorly accoutred; and, as he rode, he scarcely raised his eyes from the ground, but maintained a meek and lowly air.

The arrival of two friars in the camp was not a matter of much note; for, in these holy wars, the church militant continually mingled in the affray, and helmet and cowl were always seen together; but it was soon discovered, that these worthy saints errant were from a f. country, and on a mission of great import. They were, in truth, just arrived from the

Holy Land; being two of the saintly men who kept vigil over the sepulchre of our blessed Lord at Jerusalem. He, of the tall and portly form, and commanding presence, was Fray Antonio Millan, prior of the Franciscan convent in the Holy City. He had a full and florid countenance, a sonorous voice, and was round, and swelling, and copious, in his periods, like one accustomed to harangue, and to be listened to with deference. His companion was small and spare in form, pale of visage, and soft, and silken, and almost whispering, in speech. "He had a humble and lowly way," says Agapida; "evermore bowing the head, as became one of his calling. Yet he was one of the most active, zealous, and effective brothers of the convent; and, when he raised his small black eye from the earth, there was a keen glance out of the corner, which showed, that, though harmless as a dove, he was, nevertheless, as wise as a serpent."

These holy men had come, on a momentous embassy, from the Grand Soldan of Egypt; or, as Agapida terms him, in the language of the day, the Soldan of Babylon. The league, which had been made between that potentate and his arch foe, the Grand Turk, Bajazet II, to unite in arms for the salvation of Granada, as has been mentioned in a previous chapter of this chronicle, had come to nought. The infidel princes had again taken up arms against each other, and had relapsed into their ancient hostility. Still the Grand Soldan, as head of the whole Moslem sect, considered himself bound to preserve the kingdom of Granada from the grasp of unbelievers. He despatched, therefore, these two holy friars, with letters to the Castilian sovereigns, as well as to the pope, and to the King of Naples; remonstrating against the evils done to the Moors of the kingdom of Granada, who were of his faith and kindred: whereas, it was well known, that great numbers of Christians were indulged and protected in the full enjoyment of their property, their liberty, and their faith, in his dominions. He insisted, therefore, that this war should cease; that the Moors of Granada should be reinstated in the territory of which they had been dispossessed: otherwise, he threatened to put to death all the Christians beneath his sway, to demolish their convents and temples, and to destroy the Holy Sepulchre.

This fearful menace had spread consternation among the Christians of Palestine; and when the intrepid Fray Antonio Millan and his lowly companion departed on their mission, they were accompanied far from the gates of Jerusalem by an anxious throng of brethren and disciples, who remained watching them with tearful eyes, as they journeyed over the plains of Judea.

These holy ambassadors were received with great distinction by King Ferdinand; for men of their cloth had ever high honour and consideration in his court. He had long and frequent conversations with them, about the Holy Land, the state of the Christian church in the dominions of the Grand Soldan,



and of the policy and conduct of that arch infidel towards it. The portly prior of the Franciscan convent was full, and round, and oratorical in his replies, and the king expressed himself much pleased with the eloquence of his periods : but the politic monarch was observed to lend a close and attentive ear to the whispering voice of the lowly companion ; " whose discourse," adds Agapida, " though modest and low, was clear and fluent, and full of subtle wisdom."

These holy friars had visited Rome in their journeying, where they had delivered the letter of the Soldan to the sovereign pontiff. His holiness had written by them to the Castilian sovereigns, requesting to know what reply they had to offer to this demand of the oriental potentate.

The King of Naples also wrote to them on the subject, but in wary terms. He inquired into the course of this war with the Moors of Granada, and expressed great marvel at its events ; " as if," says Agapida, " both were not notorious throughout all the Christian world. Nay," adds the worthy friar, with becoming indignation, " he uttered opinions savouring of little better than damnable heresy ; for he observed, that although the Moors were of a different sect, they ought not to be maltreated without just cause ; and hinted, that, if the Castilian sovereigns did not suffer any crying injury from the Moors, it would be improper to do any thing which might draw great damage upon the Christians : as if, when once the sword of the faith was drawn, it ought ever to be sheathed, until this scum of heathendom were utterly destroyed, or driven from the land. But this monarch," he continues, " was more kindly disposed towards the infidels, than was honest and lawful in a Christian prince, and was at that very time in league with the Soldan, against their common enemy, the Grand Turk."

These pious sentiments of the truly catholic Agapida are echoed by Padre Mariana, in his history ; but the worthy chronicler, Pedro Abarca, attributes the interference of the King of Naples, not to lack of orthodoxy in religion, but to an excess of worldly policy ; he being apprehensive, that, should Ferdinand conquer the Moors of Granada, he might have time and means to assert a claim of the house of Aragon to the crown of Naples.

" King Ferdinand," continues the worthy father Pedro Abarca, " was no less master of dissimulation than his cousin of Naples ; so he replied to him with the utmost suavity of manner ; going into a minute and patient vindication of the war, and taking great apparent pains to inform him of those things, which all the world knew, but of which the other pretended to be ignorant." At the same time, he soothed his solicitude about the fate of the Christians in the empire of the Grand Soldan ; assuring him that the great revenue extorted from them in rents and tributes,

would be a certain protection against the threatened violence.

To the pope, he made the usual vindication of the war ; that it was for the recovery of ancient territory usurped by the Moors, for the punishment of wars and violences inflicted upon the Christians ; and, finally, that it was a holy crusade, for the glory and advancement of the church.

" It was a truly edifying sight," says Agapida, " to behold these friars, after they had had their audience of the king, moving about the camp, always surrounded by nobles and cavaliers of high and martial renown. These were insatiable in their questions about the Holy Land, the state of the sepulchre of our Lord, and the sufferings of the devoted brethren who guarded it, and the pious pilgrims who resorted there to pay their vows. The portly prior of the convent would stand, with lofty and shining countenance, in the midst of these iron warriors, and declaim with resounding eloquence on the history of the sepulchre ; but the humble brother would ever and anon sigh deeply, and, in low tones, utter some tale of suffering and outrage, at which his steel-clad hearers would grasp the hilts of their swords, and mutter between their clenched teeth prayers for another crusade."

The pious friars, having finished their mission to the king, and been treated with all due distinction, took their leave, and wended their way to Jaen, to visit the most catholic of queens. Isabella, whose heart was the seat of piety, received them as sacred men, invested with more than human dignity. During their residence at Jaen, they were continually in the royal presence ; the respectable prior of the convent moved and melted the ladies of the court by his florid rhetoric ; but his lowly companion was observed to have continual access to the royal ear. " That saintly and soft-spoken messenger," says Agapida, " received the reward of his humility ; for the queen, moved by his frequent representations, made in all modesty and lowliness of spirit, granted a yearly sum in perpetuity of one thousand ducats in gold for the support of the monks of the convents of the Holy Sepulchre."

Moreover, on the departure of these holy ambassadors, the excellent and most catholic queen delivered to them a veil devoutly embroidered with her own royal hands, to be placed over the Holy Sepulchre. A precious and inestimable present, which called forth a most eloquent tribute of thanks from the portly prior, but which brought tears into the eyes of his lowly companion.\*

\* La Reyna dió á los frailes mil ducados de renta cada año para el sustento de los religiosos del Santo Sepulcro, que es la mejor limosna y sustento que hasta nuestros dias ha quedado á estos religiosos de Jerusalem : para donde les dió la Reyna un velo labrado por sus manos, para poner encima de la santa sepultura del Señor. Garibay, Comp. Hist. lib. xviii, cap. 36.

† It is proper to mention the result of this mission of the two friars, and which the worthy Agapida has neglected to record. At a subsequent period, the catholic sovereigns sent the distinguished

\* Mariana, lib. xxv, cap. 43.

† Abarca, Anales de Aragon, rey. xxx, cap. 3.

## CHAPTER LXXVII.

## HOW QUEEN ISABELLA DEvised MEANS TO SUPPLY THE ARMY WITH PROVISIONS.

It has been the custom to laud the conduct and address of King Ferdinand in this most arduous and protracted war; but the sage Agapida is more disposed to give credit to the counsels and measures of the queen, who, he observes, though less ostensible in action, was in truth the very soul, the vital principle, of this great enterprise. While King Ferdinand was busting in his camp, and making a glittering display with his gallant chivalry; she, surrounded by her saintly counsellors, in the episcopal palace of Jaen, was devising ways and means to keep the king and his army in existence. She had pledged herself to provide a supply of men and money, and provisions, until the city should be taken. The hardships of the siege caused a fearful waste of life; but the supply of men was the least difficult part of her undertaking. So beloved was the queen by the chivalry of Spain, that, on her calling on them for assistance, not a grandee or cavalier, that yet lingered at home, but either repaired in person or sent forces to the camp; the ancient and warlike families vied with each other, in marshalling forth their vassals; and thus the besieged Moors beheld each day fresh troops arriving before their city, and new ensigns and pennons displayed, emblazoned with arms well known to the veteran warriors.

But the most arduous task was to keep up a regular supply of provisions. It was not the army alone that had to be supported, but also the captured towns and their garrisons; for the whole country around them had been ravaged, and the conquerors were in danger of starving in the midst of the land they had desolated. To transport what was daily required for such immense numbers was a gigantic undertaking, in a country where there was neither water-conveyance, nor roads for carriages. Every thing had to be borne by beasts of burden, over rugged and broken paths of the mountains, and through dangerous defiles, exposed to the attacks and plunderings of the Moors.

The wary and calculating merchants accustomed to supply the army, shrunk from engaging, at their own risk, in so hazardous an undertaking. The queen therefore hired fourteen thousand beasts of burden, and ordered all the wheat and barley to be brought up in Andalusia, and in the domains of the knights of Santiago and Calatrava. She distributed

to Pietro Martyr of Angleria, as ambassador to the Grand Soldan. That able man made such representations as were perfectly satisfactory to the oriental potentate. He also obtained from him the remission of many exactions and extortions heretofore practised upon Christian pilgrims visiting the Holy Sepulchre, which, it is presumed, had been gently, but cogently, detailed to the monarch by the lowly friar. Pietro Martyr wrote an account of his embassy to the Grand Soldan; a work greatly esteemed by the learned, and containing much curious information. It is entitled "De Legatione Babilonica."

the administration of these supplies among able and confidential persons. Some were employed to collect the grain, others to take it to the mills, others to superintend the grinding and delivery, and others to convey it to the camp. To every two hundred animals a muleteer was allotted, to take charge of them on the route. Thus great lines of convoys were in constant movement, traversing the mountains to and fro, guarded by large bodies of troops, to defend them from hovering parties of the Moors. Not a single day's intermission was allowed; for the army depended upon the constant arrival of these supplies for daily food. The grain, when brought into the camp, was deposited in an immense granary, and sold to the army at a fixed price, which was never either raised or lowered.

Incredible were the expenses incurred in this business; but the queen had ghostly advisers, thoroughly versed in the art of getting at the resources of the country. Many worthy prelates opened the deep purses of the church, and furnished loans from the revenues of their dioceses and convents; and their pious contributions were eventually rewarded by Providence a hundredfold. Merchants and other wealthy individuals, confident of the punctual faith of the queen, advanced large sums on the security of her word: many noble families lent their plate without waiting to be asked. The queen, also, sold certain annual rents in inheritance, at great sacrifices, assigning the revenues of towns and cities for the payment. Finding all this insufficient to satisfy the enormous expenditure, she sent her gold and plate, and all her jewels to the cities of Valencia and Barcelona, where they were pledged for a great amount of money; which was immediately appropriated to keep up the supplies of the army.

Thus, through the wonderful activity, judgment, and enterprise of this heroic and magnanimous woman, a great host, encamped in the heart of a warlike country, accessible only over mountain roads, was maintained in continual abundance: nor was it supplied merely with the necessaries and comforts of life. The powerful escorts drew merchants and artificers from all parts, to repair, as if in caravans, to this great military market. In a little while the camp abounded with tradesmen and artists of all kinds, to administer to the luxury and ostentation of the youthful chivalry. Here might be seen cunning artificers in steel, and accomplished armourers, achieving those rare and sumptuous helmets and cuirasses richly gilt, inlaid, and embossed, in which the Spanish cavaliers delighted; saddlers, and harness-makers, and horse-milliners also, whose tents glittered with gorgeous housings and caparisons. The merchants spread forth their sumptuous silks, cloths, brocades, fine linen, and tapestry. The tents of the nobility were prodigally decorated with all kinds of the richest stuffs, and dazzled the eye with their magnificence: nor could the grave looks and grave speeches of King Ferdinand prevent his youthful

cavaliers from vying with each other in the splendour of their dresses and caparisons, on all occasions of parade and ceremony.

## CHAPTER LXXVIII.

## OF THE DISASTERS WHICH BEFELL THE CAMP.

WHILE the Christian camp, thus gay and gorgeous, spread itself out like a holiday pageant before the walls of Baza; while a long line of beasts of burden, laden with provisions and luxuries, were seen descending the valley from morning till night, and pouring into the camp a continued stream of abundance, the unfortunate garrison found their resources rapidly wasting away, and famine already began to pinch the peaceful part of the community.

Cidi Yahye had acted with great spirit and valour, as long as there was any prospect of success; but he began to lose his usual fire and animation, and was observed to pace the walls of Baza with a pensive air, casting many a wistful look towards the Christian camp, and sinking into profound reveries and cogitations. The veteran alcaide, Mohammed ben Hassan, noticed these desponding moods, and endeavoured to rally the spirits of the prince. "The rainy season is at hand," would he cry: "the floods will soon pour down from the mountains; the rivers will overflow their banks, and inundate the valleys. The Christian king already begins to waver; he dare not linger, and encounter such a season, in a plain cut up by canals and rivulets. A single wintry storm from our mountains would wash away his canvas city, and sweep off those gay pavilions, like wreaths of snow before the blast."

The Prince Cidi Yahye took heart at these words, and counted the days as they passed, until the stormy season should commence. As he watched the Christian camp, he beheld it one morning in universal commotion. There was an unusual sound of hammers in every part, as if some new engines of war were constructing. At length, to his astonishment, the walls and roofs of houses began to appear above the bulwarks. In a little while there were above a thousand edifices of wood and plaster erected, covered with tiles, taken from the demolished towers of the orchards, and bearing the pennons of various commanders and cavaliers; while the common soldiery constructed huts of clay and branches of trees, and thatched them with straw. Thus, to the dismay of the Moors, within four days the light tents and gay pavilions, which had whitened their hills and plains, passed away like summer clouds; and the unsubstantial camp assumed the solid appearance of a city laid out into streets and squares. In the centre rose a large edifice, which overlooked the whole, and the royal standard of Aragon and Castile, proud-

ly floating above it, showed it to be the palace of the king.

Ferdinand had taken the sudden resolution thus to turn his camp into a city, partly to provide against the approaching season, and partly to convince the Moors of his fixed determination to continue the siege. In their haste to erect their dwellings, however, the Spanish cavaliers had not properly considered the nature of the climate. For the greater part of the year there scarcely falls a drop of rain on the thirsty soil of Andalusia: the ramblas, or dry channels of the torrents, remain deep and arid gashes and clefts in the sides of the mountains. The perennial streams shrink up to mere threads of water, which tinkling down the bottoms of the deep barrancas or ravines, scarcely feed and keep alive the rivers of the valleys. The rivers, almost lost in their wide and naked bed, seem like thirsty rills, winding in serpentine mazes through deserts of sand and stones; and so shallow and tranquil in their course, as to be forded in safety in almost every part. One autumnal tempest of rain, however, changes the whole face of nature. The clouds break in deluges among the vast congregation of mountains. The ramblas are suddenly filled with raging floods, the tinkling rivulets swell to thundering torrents, that come roaring down from the mountains, precipitating great masses of rocks in their career. The late meandering river spreads over its once naked bed, lashes its surges against the banks, and rushes, like a wide and foaming inundation, through the valley.

Scarcely had the Christians finished their slightly built edifices, when an autumnal tempest of the kind came scouring from the mountains. The camp was immediately overflowed. Many of the houses, undermined by the floods or beaten by the rain, crumbled away, and fell to the earth, burying man and beast beneath their ruins. Several valuable lives were lost, and great numbers of horses and other animals perished. To add to the distress and confusion of the camp, the daily supply of provisions suddenly ceased; for the rain had broken up the roads, and rendered the rivers impassable. A panic seized upon the army, for the cessation of a single day's supply produced a scarcity of bread and provender. Fortunately the rain was but transient. The torrents rushed by, and ceased; the rivers shrunk back again to their narrow channels; and the convoys, that had been detained on their banks, arrived safely in the camp.

No sooner did Queen Isabella hear of this interruption of her supplies, than, with her usual vigilance and activity, she provided against its recurrence. She despatched six thousand foot soldiers, under the command of experienced officers, to repair the roads and to make causeways and bridges, for the distance of seven Spanish leagues. The troops, also, who had been stationed in the mountains by the king, to guard

\* Cura de los Palacios. Pulgar, etc.

the defiles, made two paths, one for the convoys going to the camp, and the other for those returning, that they might not meet and impede each other. The edifices, which had been demolished by the late floods, were rebuilt in a firmer manner, and precautions were taken to protect the camp from future inundations.

## CHAPTER LXXIX.

ENCOUNTER BETWEEN THE CHRISTIANS AND MOORS BEFORE BAZA; AND THE DEVOTION OF THE INHABITANTS TO THE DEFENCE OF THE CITY.

WHEN King Ferdinand beheld the ravage and confusion produced by a single autumnal storm, and behought him of all the maladies to which a besieging camp is exposed, in inclement seasons, he began to feel his compassion kindling for the suffering people of Baza, and an inclination to grant them more favourable terms. He sent, therefore, several messages to the alcaide, Mohammed ben Hassan, offering liberty of person and security of property for the inhabitants, and large rewards for himself, if he would surrender the city. The veteran Mohammed was not to be dazzled by the splendid offers of the monarch. He had received exaggerated accounts of the damage done to the Christian camp by the late storm, and of the sufferings and discontents of the army, in consequence of the transient interruption of supplies. He considered the overtures of Ferdinand as proofs of the desperate state of his affairs. "A little more patience," said the shrewd old warrior, "and we shall see this crowd of Christian locusts driven away before the winter storms. When they once turn their backs, it will be our lot to strike; and, with the help of Allah, the blow shall be decisive." He sent a firm though courteous refusal to the Christian monarch; and, in the mean time, animated his companions to sally forth, with more spirit than ever, to attack the Spanish out-posts, and those labouring in the trenches. The consequence was a daily occurrence of the most daring and bloody skirmishes, that cost the lives of many of the bravest and most adventurous cavaliers of either army.

In one of these sallies, near three hundred horse and two thousand foot mounted the heights behind the city, to capture the Christians who were employed upon the works. They came by surprise upon a body of guards, esquires of the Count de Ureña; killed some, put the rest to flight, and pursued them down the mountain, until they came in sight of a small force under the Count de Tendilla and Gonzalvo of Cordova. The Moors came rushing down with such fury, that many of the men of the Count de Tendilla took themselves to flight. The brave Count considered it less dangerous to fight than to flee. Bracing his buckler, therefore, and grasping his trusty weapon, he stood his ground with his ac-

customed prowess. Gonzalvo of Cordova ranged himself by his side; and marshalling the troops which remained with them, a valiant front was made to the Moors.

The infidels pressed them hard, and were gaining the advantage, when Alonso de Aguilar, hearing of the danger of his brother Gonzalvo, flew to his assistance, accompanied by the Count of Ureña and a body of their troops. A hot contest ensued, from cliff to cliff and glen to glen. The Moors were fewer in number; but they excelled in the dexterity and lightness requisite for these scrambling skirmishes. They were at length driven from their vantage ground, and pursued by Alonso de Aguilar and his brother Gonzalvo to the very suburbs of the city; leaving many of the bravest of their men upon the field.

Such was one of innumerable rough encounters, which were daily taking place; in which many brave cavaliers were slain, without any apparent benefit to either party. The Moors, notwithstanding repeated defeats and losses, continued to sally forth daily with astonishing spirit and vigour; and the obstinacy of their defence seemed to increase with their sufferings.

The Prince Cidi Yahye was ever foremost in these sallies; but he grew daily more despairing of success. All the money in the military chest was expended, and there was no longer wherewithal to pay the hired troops. Still the veteran Mohammed ben Hassan undertook to provide for this emergency. Summoning the principal inhabitants, he represented the necessity of some exertion and sacrifice on their part, to maintain the defence of the city. "The enemy," said he, "dreads the approach of winter, and our perseverance drives him to despair. A little longer, and he will leave you in quiet enjoyment of your towers and families. But our troops must be paid, to keep them in good heart. Our money is exhausted, and all our supplies are cut off. It is impossible to continue our defence without your aid."

Upon this the citizens consulted together; and they collected all their vessels of gold and silver, and brought them to Mohammed ben Hassan. "Take these," said they, "and coin them, or sell them, or pledge them for money, wherewith to pay the troops." The women of Baza, also, were seized with generous emulation. "Shall we deck ourselves with gorgeous apparel," said they, "when our country is desolate, and its defenders in want of bread?" So they took their collars, and bracelets, and anklets, and other ornaments of gold, and all their jewels, and placed them in the hands of the veteran alcaide. "Take these spoils of our vanity," said they; "and let them contribute to the defence of our homes and families. If Baza be delivered, we need no jewels to grace our rejoicing; and if Baza falls, of what avail are ornaments to the captive?"

By these contributions was Mohammed enabled to pay the soldiery, and to carry on the defence of the city with unabated spirit. Tidings were speedily

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the Palacios. Pintgar, etc.



conveyed to King Ferdinand of this generous devotion on the part of the people of Baza, and the hopes which the Moorish commanders gave them, that the Christian army would soon abandon the siege in despair. "They shall have a convincing proof of the fallacy of such hopes," said the politic monarch. So he wrote forthwith to Queen Isabella, praying her to come to the camp in state, with all her train and retinue; and publicly to take up her residence there for the winter. By these means, the Moors would be convinced of the settled determination of the sovereigns to persist in the siege until the city should surrender; and he trusted they would be brought to speedy capitulation.

## CHAPTER LXXX.

HOW QUEEN ISABELLA ARRIVES AT THE CAMP; AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF HER ARRIVAL.

MOHAMMED BEN HASSAN still encouraged his companions, with hopes that the royal army would soon relinquish the siege; when they heard one day shouts of joy from the Christian camp, and thundering salvos of artillery. Word was brought at the same time, from the sentinels on the watch-towers, that a Christian army was approaching down the valley. Mohammed and his fellow commanders ascended one of the highest towers of the walls, and beheld in truth a numerous force, in shining array, descending the hills; and heard the distant clangour of the trumpets, and the faint swell of the triumphant music. As the host drew nearer, they descried a stately dame, magnificently attired, whom they soon discovered to be the queen. She was riding on a mule; the sumptuous trappings of which were resplendent with gold, and reached to the ground. On her right hand rode her daughter, the Princess Isabella, equally splendid in her array: on her left, the venerable grand cardinal of Spain. A noble train of ladies and cavaliers followed her, together with pages and esquires, and a numerous guard of hidalgos of high rank, arrayed in superb armour. When the veteran Mohammed ben Hassan beheld that this was the Queen Isabella, arriving in state to take up her residence in the camp, his heart failed him. He shook his head mournfully, and, turning to his captains, "Cavaliers," said he, "the fate of Baza is decided!"

The Moorish commanders remained gazing, with a mingled feeling of grief and admiration, at this magnificent pageant, which foreboded the fall of their city. Some of the troops would have sallied forth in one of their desperate skirmishes, to attack the royal guard; but the Prince Cidi Yahye forbade them: nor would he allow any artillery to be discharged, or any molestation or insult to be offered: for the character of Isabella was venerated even by the Moors; and

most of the commanders possessed that high and chivalrous courtesy, which belongs to heroic spirits; for they were among the noblest and bravest cavaliers of the Moorish nation.

The inhabitants of Baza, when they learned, that the Christian queen was approaching the camp, eagerly sought every eminence that could command a view of the plain; and every battlement, and tower, and mosque, was covered with turbaned heads, gazing at the glorious spectacle. They beheld King Ferdinand issue forth in royal state, attended by the Marquis of Cadiz, the master of Santiago, the Duke of Alva, the admiral of Castile, and many other nobles of renown; while the whole chivalry of the camp, sumptuously arrayed, followed in his train, and the populace rent the air with acclamations at the sight of the patriot queen.

When the sovereigns had met and embraced each other, the two hosts mingled together, and entered the camp in martial pomp; and the eyes of the infidel beholders were dazzled by the flash of armour, the splendour of golden caparisons, the gorgeous display of silks, and brocades, and velvets, of tossing plumes and fluttering banners. There was at the same time a triumphant sound of drums and trumpets, clarions and sackbuts, mingled with the sweet melody of the dulcimer, which came swelling in bursts of harmony, that seemed to rise up to the heavens.\*

"On the arrival of the queen," says the historian Hernando del Pulgar, who was present at the time, "it was marvellous to behold how, all at once, the rigour and turbulence of war was softened, and the storm of passions sunk into a calm. The sword was sheathed, the cross-bow no longer launched its deadly shafts, and the artillery, which had hitherto kept up an incessant uproar, now ceased its thundering. On both sides there was still a vigilant guard kept up, the sentinels bristled the walls of Baza with their lances, and the guards patrolled the Christian camp; but there was no sallying forth to skirmish, nor any wanton violence or carnage.

Prince Cidi Yahye saw, by the arrival of the queen, that the Christians were determined to continue the siege; and he knew that the city would have to capitulate. He had been prodigal of the lives of his soldiers, as long as he thought a military good was to be gained by the sacrifice; but he was sparing of their blood in a hopeless cause, and wary of exasperating the enemy by an obstinate, hopeless defence.

At the request of Prince Cidi Yahye, a parley was granted, and the master commander of Leon, Don Gutiere de Cardenas, was appointed to confer with the valiant alcaide Mohammed. They met at an appointed place, within view of both camp and city, honourably attended by cavaliers of either army. Their meeting was highly courteous; for they had learned from rough encounters in the field, to ad-

\* *Cura de los Palacios.*

admire each other's prowess. The commander of Leon, in an earnest speech, pointed out the hopelessness of any further defence, and warned Mohammed of the ills which Malaga had incurred by its obstinacy. "I promise, in the name of my sovereign," said he, "that, if you surrender immediately, the inhabitants shall be treated as subjects, and protected in property, liberty, and religion. If you refuse, you, who are now renowned as an able and judicious commander, will be chargeable with the confiscations, captivities, and deaths, which may be suffered by the people of Baza."

The commander ceased, and Mohammed returned to the city, to consult with his companions. It was evident, that all further resistance was hopeless; but the Moorish commanders felt, that a cloud might rest upon their names, should they, of their own discretion, surrender so important a place, without its having sustained an assault. Prince Cidi Yahye requested permission, therefore, to send an envoy to Guadix, with a letter to the old monarch, El Zagal, treating of the surrender. The request was granted; a safe-conduct assured to the envoy, and the veteran alcaide, Mohammed ben Hassan, departed upon this momentous mission.

## CHAPTER LXXXI.

## SURRENDER OF BAZA.

THE old warrior king was seated in an inner chamber of the castle of Guadix, much cast down in spirit, and ruminating on his gloomy fortunes, when an envoy from Baza was announced, and the veteran alcaide Mohammed stood before him. El Zagal saw disastrous tidings written in his countenance. "How fares it with Baza?" said he, summoning up his spirits to the question. "Let this inform thee," replied Mohammed; and he delivered into his hands the letter from the Prince Cidi Yahye. This letter spoke of the desperate situation of Baza, the impossibility of holding out longer, without assistance from El Zagal, and the favourable terms offered by the Castilian sovereigns. Had it been written by any other person, El Zagal might have received it with distrust and indignation; but he confided in Cidi Yahye as in a second self; and the words of his letter sunk deep in his heart. When he had finished reading it, he sighed deeply, and remained for some time lost in thought, with his head drooping upon his bosom. Recovering himself at length, he called together the alfaquis, and the old men of Guadix; and, communicating the tidings from Baza, solicited their advice. It was a sign of sore trouble of mind and dejection of heart, when El Zagal sought the advice of others; but his fierce courage was tampered, for he saw the end of his power approaching. The alfaquis and the old men did but increase the

distractedness of his mind by a variety of counsels, none of which appeared of any avail; for, unless Baza were succoured, it was impossible that it should hold out, and every attempt to succour it had proved ineffectual.

El Zagal dismissed his council in despair, and summoned the veteran Mohammed before him. "Allah achbar!" exclaimed he, "God is great; there is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet! Return to my cousin, Cidi Yahye: tell him, it is out of my power to aid him; he must do as seems to him for the best. The people of Baza have performed deeds worthy of immortal fame: I cannot ask them to encounter further ills and perils, in maintaining a hopeless defence."

The reply of El Zagal determined the fate of the city. Cidi Yahye and his fellow commanders immediately capitulated, and were granted the most favourable terms. The cavaliers and soldiers, who had come from other parts to the defence of the place, were permitted to depart freely, with their arms, horses, and effects. The inhabitants had their choice, either to depart with their property, or to dwell in the suburbs, in the enjoyment of their religion and laws; taking an oath of fealty to the sovereigns, and paying the same tribute they had paid to the Moorish kings. The city and citadel were to be delivered up in six days; within which period the inhabitants were to remove all their effects; and, in the mean time, they were to place, as hostages, fifteen Moorish youths, sons of the principal inhabitants, in the hands of the commander of Leon. When Cidi Yahye and the alcaide Mohammed came to deliver up the hostages, among whom were the sons of the latter, they paid homage to the king and queen; who received them with the utmost courtesy and kindness, and ordered magnificent presents to be given to them, and likewise to the other Moorish cavaliers; consisting of money, robes, horses, and other things of great value.

The Prince Cidi Yahye was so captivated by the grace, the dignity, and generosity of Isabella, and the princely courtesy of Ferdinand, that he vowed never again to draw his sword against such magnanimous sovereigns.

The queen, charmed with his gallant bearing and his animated profession of devotion, assured him, that having him on her side, she already considered the war terminated, which had desolated the kingdom of Granada.

Mighty and irresistible are words of praise from the lips of sovereigns. Cidi Yahye was entirely subdued by this fair speech from the illustrious Isabella. His heart burned with a sudden flame of loyalty towards the sovereigns. He begged to be enrolled amongst the most devoted of their subjects; and, in the fervour of his sudden zeal, engaged, not merely to dedicate his sword to their service, but to exert all his influence, which was great, in persuading his cousin, Muley Abdalla el Zagal, to surrender the cities of Guadix and Almeria, and to give up all further hos-

titles. Nay, so powerful was the effect produced upon his mind by his conversations with the sovereigns, that it extended even to his religion; for he became immediately enlightened as to the heathenish abominations of the vile sect of Mahomet, and struck with the truths of christianity, as illustrated by such powerful monarchs. He consented, therefore, to be baptized, and to be gathered into the fold of the church. The pious Agapida indulges in a triumphant strain of exultation, on the sudden and surprising conversion of this princely infidel. He considers it one of the greatest achievements of the catholic sovereigns; and, indeed, one of the marvellous occurrences of this holy war. "But it is given to saints and pious monarchs," says he, "to work miracles in the cause of the faith; and such did the most catholic Ferdinand in the conversion of the Prince Cidi Yahye."

Some of the Arabian writers have sought to lessen the wonder of this miracle, by alluding to great revenues, granted to the prince and his heirs by the Castilian monarchs; together with a territory in Marchena, with towns, lands, and vassals. "But in this," says Agapida, "we only see a wise precaution of King Ferdinand, to clinch and secure the conversion of his proselyte." The policy of the catholic monarch was at all times equal to his piety. Instead also of vaunting of this great conversion, and making a public parade of the entry of the prince into the Church, King Ferdinand ordered that the baptism should be performed in private, and kept a profound secret. He feared, that Cidi Yahye might otherwise be denounced as an apostate, and abhorred and abandoned by the Moors; and thus his influence destroyed in bringing the war to a speedy termination.

The veteran Mohammed ben Hassan was likewise won by the magnanimity and munificence of the Castilian sovereigns, and entreated to be received into their service; and his example was followed by many other Moorish cavaliers, whose services were graciously accepted and munificently rewarded.

Thus, after a siege of six months and twenty days, the city of Baza surrendered, on the 4th of December, 1489, the festival of the glorious Santa Barbara; who is said, in the catholic calendar, to preside over thunder and lightning, fire and gunpowder, and all kinds of combustible explosions. The king and queen made their solemn and triumphal entry on the following day; and the public joy was heightened by the sight of upwards of five hundred Christian captives, men, women, and children, delivered from the Moorish dungeons.

The loss of the Christians, in this siege, amounted to twenty thousand men; of whom seventeen thousand died of disease, and not a few of mere cold; "a kind of death," says the historian Mariana, "peculiarly uncomfortable. But," adds the venerable Jesuit, "as these latter were chiefly people of ignoble rank, baggage-carriers and such like, the loss was not of great importance."

• Conde, tom. iii, cap. 40.

The surrender of Baza was followed by that of Almuñecar, Tavernas, and most of the fortresses of the Alpujarra mountains. The inhabitants hoped, by prompt and voluntary submission, to secure equally favourable terms with those granted to the captured city; and the alcajdes, to receive similar rewards: to those lavished on its commanders; nor were either of them disappointed. The inhabitants were permitted to remain as Mudixares, in the quiet enjoyment of their property and religion; and as to the alcajdes, when they came to the camp to render up their charges, they were received by Ferdinand with distinguished favour, and rewarded with presents of money, in proportion to the importance of the places they had commanded. Care was taken by the politic monarch, however, not to wound their pride, or shock their delicacy: so these sums were paid, under colour of arrears due to them, for their services to the former government. Ferdinand had conquered by dint of sword, in the earlier part of the war; but he found gold as potent as steel in this campaign of Baza.

With several of these mercenary chieftains came one, named Ali Ben Fahar; a seasoned warrior, who had held many important commands. He was a Moor of a lofty, stern, and melancholy aspect; and stood silent and apart, while his companions surrendered their several fortresses, and retired laden with treasure. When it came to his turn to speak, he addressed the sovereigns with the frankness of a soldier, but with a tone of dejection and despair. "I am a Moor," said he, "and of Moorish lineage; and an alcajde of the fair towns and castles of Purchena and Paterna. These were intrusted to me to defend; but those, that should have stood by me, have lost all strength and courage, and seek only for security. These fortresses, therefore, most potent sovereigns, are yours, whenever you will send to take possession of them."

Large sums of money in gold were immediately ordered by Ferdinand to be delivered to the alcajde, as a recompense for so important a surrender. The Moor, however, put back the gift with a firm and haughty demeanour. "I come not," said he, "to sell what is not mine, but to yield what fortune has made yours; and your majesties may rest assured, that, had I been properly seconded, death would have been the price at which I would have sold my fortresses, and not the gold you offer me."

The Castilian monarchs were struck with the lofty and loyal spirit of the Moor, and desired to engage a man of such fidelity in their service; but the proud Moslem could not be induced to serve the enemies of his nation and his faith.

"Is there nothing, then," said Queen Isabella, "that we can do to gratify thee, and to prove to thee our regard?" "Yes," replied the Moor; "I have left behind me, in the towns and valleys which I have surrendered, many of my unhappy countrymen, with their wives and children, who cannot tear themselves from their native abodes. Give me your royal word

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"then," said Queen Isabella, atify thee, and to prove to thee," replied the Moor; "I have towns and valleys which I have my unhappy countrymen, will en, who cannot tear themselves. Give me your royal word

that they shall be protected in the peaceable enjoyment of their religion and their homes." "We promise it," said Isabella, "they shall dwell in peace and security. But for thyself; what dost thou ask for thyself?" "Nothing," replied Ali, "but permission to pass unmolested, with horses and effects, into Africa."

The Castilian monarchs would fain have forced upon him gold and silver, and superb horses richly caparisoned; not as rewards, but as marks of personal esteem: but Ali Aben Fahar declined all presents and distinctions, as if he thought it criminal to flourish individually, during a time of public distress; and disdained all prosperity, that seemed to grow out of the ruins of his country.

Having received a royal passport, he gathered together his horses and servants, his armour and weapons, and all his warlike effects, bade adieu to his weeping countrymen, with a brow stamped with anguish, but without shedding a tear, and, mounting his Barbary steed, turned his back upon the delightful valleys of his conquered country; departing on his lonely way, to seek a soldier's fortune amidst the burning sands of Africa.

## CHAPTER LXXXII.

## SUBMISSION OF EL ZAGAL TO THE CASTILIAN SOVEREIGNS.

EVIL tidings never fail by the way through lack of messengers. They are wafted on the wings of the wind; and it is as if the very birds of the air would bear them to the ear of the unfortunate. The old king, El Zagal, buried himself in the recesses of his castle, to hide himself from the light of day, which no longer shone prosperously upon him; but every hour brought omens, thundering at the gate with the tale of some new disaster. Fortress after fortress had laid its keys at the feet of the Christian sovereigns. Strip by strip of warrior mountain and green fruitful valley was torn from his domains, and added to the territories of the conquerors. Scarcely a remnant remained to him, except a tract of the Alpuxarras, and the noble cities of Guadix and Almeria. No one any longer stood in awe of the fierce old monarch: the terror of his frown had declined with his power. He had arrived at that stage of adversity, when a man's friends feel emboldened to tell him hard truths, and to give him unpalatable advice, and when his spirit is bowed down to listen quietly, if not meekly.

El Zagal was seated on his divan, his whole spirit absorbed in rumination on the transitory nature of human glory, when his kinsman and brother-in-law, the Prince Cidi Yahye, was announced. That illus- trious convert to the true faith, and the interest of the conquerors of his country, had hastened to Gua- dix with all the fervour of a new proselyte, eager to

prove his zeal in the service of Heaven and the Cas- tilian sovereigns, by persuading the old monarch to abjure his faith, and surrender his possessions.

Cidi Yahye still bore the guise of a Moslem; for his conversion was as yet a secret. The stern heart of El Za- gal softened at beholding the face of a kinsman, in this hour of adversity. He folded his cousin to his bosom, and gave thanks to Allah, that, amidst all his troubles, he had still a friend and counsellor, on whom he might rely. Cidi Yahye soon entered upon the real purpose of his mission. He represented to El Zagal the desperate state of affairs, and the irretrievable decline of Moorish power in the kingdom of Granada. "Fate," said he, "is against our arms; our ruin is written in the heavens: remember the prediction of the astrologers, at the birth of your nephew Boabdil. We had hoped, that their prediction was accomplish- ed by his capture at Lucena; but it is now evident, that the stars portended, not a temporary and passing reverse of the kingdom, but a final overthrow. The constant succession of disasters, which have attended our efforts, show, that the acceptre of Granada is doomed to pass into the hands of the Christian mo- narchs. Such," concluded the prince, emphatically, and with a pious reverence, "such is the almighty will of God!"

El Zagal listened to these words in mute attention, without so much as moving a muscle of his face, or winking an eyelid. When the prince had concluded, he remained for a long time silent and pensive. At length, heaving a profound sigh from the very bottom of his heart, "Alahuma subahana hu!" exclaimed he, "the will of God be done! Yes, my cousin, it is but too evident, that such is the will of Allah; and what he wills, he fails not to accomplish. Had he not decreed the fall of Granada, this arm, and this cim- eter, would have maintained it."

"What then remains," said Cidi Yahye, "but to draw the most advantage from the wreck of empire that is left you? To persist in a war, is to bring complete desolation upon the land, and ruin and death upon its faithful inhabitants. Are you dispos- ed to yield up your remaining towns to your nephew, El Chico, that they may augment his power, and derive protection from his alliance with the Christian sovereigns?"

The eye of El Zagal flashed fire at this suggestion. He grasped the hilt of his cimete, and gnashed his teeth in fury. "Never," cried he, "will I make terms with that recreant and slave! Sooner would I see the banners of the Christian monarchs floating above my walls, than they should add to the posses- sions of the vassal Boabdil."

Cidi Yahye immediately seized upon this idea, and urged El Zagal to make a frank and entire surrender. "Trust," said he, "to the magnanimity of the Cas- tilian sovereigns. They will doubtless grant you high and honourable terms. It is better to yield to them as friends, what they must infallibly and before

<sup>1</sup> Pulgar. Garibay, lib. xl. cap. 40. Cura de los Palacios.

<sup>2</sup> Conde, t. iii. c. 40.



long wrest from you as enemies: for such, my cousin, is the almighty will of God!" "Alahuma subahana hu!" repeated El Zagal, "the will of God be done!" So the old monarch bowed his haughty neck, and agreed to surrender his territories to the enemies of his faith, rather than suffer them to augment the Moslem power, under the sway of his nephew.

Cidi Yahye now returned to Baza, empowered by El Zagal to treat, on his behalf, with the Christian sovereigns. The prince felt a species of exultation, as he expatiated on the rich relics of empire which he was authorized to cede. There was a great part of that line of mountains, which extends from the metropolis to the Mediterranean Sea, with its series of beautiful green valleys, like precious emeralds set in a golden chain. Above all these were Guadix and Almeria, two of the most inestimable jewels in the crown of Granada.

In return for these possessions, and for the claim of El Zagal to the rest of the kingdom, the sovereigns received him into their friendship and alliance, and gave him, in perpetual inheritance, the territory of Alhamin, in the Alpuxarras, with half of the salinas, or salt-pits, of Maleha. He was to enjoy the title of King of Andaraxa, with two thousand Mudixares, or conquered Moors, for subjects; and his revenues were to be made up to the sum of four millions of maravedis: all these he was to hold as a vassal of the Castilian crown.

These arrangements being made, Cidi Yahye returned with them to Muley Abdalla; and it was concerted, that the ceremony of surrender and homage should take place at the city of Almeria.

On the 17th of December, King Ferdinand departed from Baza, with a part of his army, and the queen soon followed with the remainder. Ferdinand passed in triumph by several of the newly-acquired towns, exulting in these trophies of his policy rather than his valour. As he drew near to Almeria, the Moorish king came forth to meet him, accompanied by the Prince Cidi Yahye, and a number of the principal inhabitants on horseback. The fierce brow of El Zagal was clouded with a kind of forced humility; but there was an impatient curl of the lip, with now and then a swelling of the bosom, and an indignant breathing from the distended nostril. It was evident he considered himself conquered, not by the power of man, but by the hand of Heaven; and while he bowed to the decrees of fate, it galled his proud spirit to have to humble himself before its mortal agent. As he approached the Christian king, he alighted from his horse, and advanced to kiss his hand, in token of homage. Ferdinand, however, respected the royal title which the Moor had held; and would not permit the ceremony; but, bending from his saddle, graciously embraced him, and requested him to remount his steed.\* Several courteous speeches

passed between them, and the fortress and city of Almeria, and all the remaining territories of El Zagal, were delivered up in form. When all was accomplished, the old warrior Moor retired to the mountains, with a handful of adherents, to seek his petty territory of Andaraxa, to bury his humiliation from the world, and to console himself with the shadowy title of a king.

#### CHAPTER LXXXIII.

##### EVENTS AT GRANADA SUBSEQUENT TO THE SUBMISSION OF EL ZAGAL.

Who can tell when to rejoice in this fluctuating world? Every wave of prosperity has its reacting surge, and we are often overwhelmed by the very billow, on which we thought to be wafted into the haven of our hopes. When Josef Aben Commix, the vizier of Boabdil, surnamed El Chico, entered the royal saloon of the Alhambra, and announced the capitulation of El Zagal, the heart of the youthful monarch leaped for joy. His great wish was accomplished; his uncle was defeated and dethroned; and he reigned without a rival, sole monarch of Granada. At length he was about to enjoy the fruits of his humiliation and vassalage. He beheld his throne fortified by the friendship and alliance of the Castilian monarch; there could be no question, therefore, of its stability. "Allah achbar!" exclaimed he, "God is great! Rejoice with me, O Josef, the stars have ceased their persecution! Henceforth let no man call me El Zogoybi!"

In the first moment of his exultation, Boabdil would have ordered public rejoicings; but the shrewd Josef shook his head. "The tempest has ceased," said he, "from one point of the heavens, but it may begin to rage from another. A troubled sea is beneath us, and we are surrounded by rocks and quicksands: let my lord the king defer rejoicings until all has settled into a calm." El Chico, however, could not remain tranquil in this day of exultation. He ordered his steed to be sumptuously caparisoned, and issuing out of the gate of the Alhambra, descended with a glittering retinue along the avenue of trees and fountains into the city, to receive the acclamations of the populace. As he entered the great square of the vivarrambla, he beheld crowds of people in violent agitation; but, as he approached, what was his surprise to hear groans and murmurs, and bursts of execration! The tidings had spread through Granada, that Muley Abdalla Zagal had been driven to capitulate, and that all his territories had fallen into the hands of the Christians. No one had inquired into the particulars, but all Granada had been thrown into a ferment of grief and indignation. In the heat of the moment, old Muley was extolled to the skies as a patriot prince, who had fought to the last for the salvation of his country;

\* Cura de los Palacios, cap. 94.

† Cura de los Palacios, cap. 95.

and the fortress and city of the adjoining territories of El Zagal, &c. When all was accomplished, the Moor retired to the mountains, to seek his petty revenge, and to bury his humiliation from himself with the shadow

ER LXXXIII.

QUEST TO THE SUBMISSION OF EL ZAGAL.

to rejoice in this fluctuating of prosperity has its reacting effect overwhelmed by the very thought to be wafted into the air. When Jusef Aben Cominia, surnamed El Chico, entered the Alhambra, and announced the capture, the heart of the youthful monarch. His great wish was accomplished; he was defeated and dethroned; and he, the sole monarch of Granada, was about to enjoy the fruits of his conquest. He beheld his throne, and the alliance of the Castilian monarch, "O Jusef, the stars have fallen!" exclaimed he, "Henceforth let no man call

me the king of Granada." He beheld his public rejoicings; but the tempest had not yet subsided from one point of the heavens, to rage from another. A troubled sea, and we are surrounded by rocks, my lord the king defer rejoiced into a calm." El Chico remained tranquil in this day of triumph, and his steed to be sumptuously riding out of the gate of the Alhambra with a glittering retinue along the fountains into the city, the lions of the populace. As he was about to depart, he beheld the vivarrambra, he beheld in violent agitation; but, to his surprise, he heard groans and shrieks of execration! The citizens of Granada, that Muley Abdalla had capitulated, and that all was to be handed to the Christians, were into the particulars, but all was turned into a ferment of grief and heat of the moment, old Muley was as a patriot prince, who had the salvation of his country;

a mirror of monarchs, scornful to compromise the dignity of his crown by any act of vassalage. Boabdil, on the contrary, had looked on exultingly at the hopeless yet heroic struggle of his uncle; he had rejoiced in the defeat of the faithful, and the triumph of unbelievers. He had aided in the dismemberment and downfall of the empire. When they beheld him riding forth in gorgeous state, in what they considered a day of humiliation for all true Moslems, they could not contain their rage, and, amidst the clamours that prevailed, Boabdil more than once heard his name coupled with the epithets of traitor and renegade.

Shocked and discomfited, the youthful monarch returned in confusion to the Alhambra. He shut himself up within its innermost courts, and remained a kind of voluntary prisoner, until the first burst of popular feeling should subside. He trusted that it would soon pass away; that the people would be too sensible of the sweets of peace to repine at the price at which it was obtained; at any rate, he trusted to the strong friendship of the Christian sovereigns to secure him even against the factions of his subjects. The first missives from the politic Ferdinand showed Boabdil the value of his friendship.

The catholic monarch reminded him of a treaty which he had made, when captured in the city of Loja. By this he had engaged, that, in case the catholic sovereigns should capture the cities of Guadix, Baza, and Almeria, he would surrender Granada into their hands within a limited time, and accept in exchange certain Moorish towns, to be held by him as their vassal. Ferdinand now informed him that Guadix, Baza, and Almeria, had fallen; he called upon him, therefore, to fulfil his engagement. The unfortunate Boabdil had possessed the will, he had not the power, to comply with this demand. He was shut up in the Alhambra, while a tempest of popular fury raged without. Granada was thronged with refugees from the captured towns, many of them abandoned soldiers; others broken-down citizens, mangled and desperate by ruin; all railed at Boabdil as the real cause of their misfortunes. How was he to venture forth in such a storm? above all, how was he to talk to such men of surrender? In his reply to Ferdinand, he represented the difficulty of his situation; and that, so far from having control over his subjects, his very life was in danger from their turbulence. He entreated the king, therefore, to be most satisfied for the present with his recent conquests, promising him that, should he be able to regain the empire over his capital and its inhabitants, it should be but to rule over them as vassal to the Castilian crown.

Ferdinand was not to be satisfied with such a reply. The time was come to bring his game of policy to a close, and to consummate his conquest, by seating himself on the throne of the Alhambra. Professing to consider Boabdil as a faithless ally, who had broken his pledged word, he discarded him from his friendship, and addressed a second letter, not to that mo-

narch, but to the commanders and council of the city. He demanded a complete surrender of the place, with all the arms in the possession either of the citizens, or of others who had recently taken refuge within its walls. If the inhabitants should comply with this summons, he promised them the indulgent terms which had been granted to Baza, Guadix, and Almeria: if they should refuse, he threatened them with the fate of Malaga.

The message of the catholic monarch produced the greatest commotion in the city. The inhabitants of the alcaceria, that busy hive of traffic, and all others who had tasted the sweets of gainful commerce during the late cessation of hostilities, were for securing their golden advantages by timely submission: others, who had wives and children, looked on them with tenderness and solicitude, and dreaded, by resistance, to bring upon them the horrors of slavery. But, on the other hand, Granada was crowded with men from all parts, ruined by the war, exasperated by their sufferings, and eager only for revenge; with others, who had been reared amidst hostilities, who had lived by the sword, and whom a return of peace would leave without home or hope. There were others, too, no less fiery and warlike in disposition, but animated by a loftier spirit: valiant and haughty cavaliers of the old chivalrous lineages, who had inherited a deadly hatred to the Christians from a long line of warrior ancestors, and to whom the idea was worse than death, that Granada, illustrious Granada, for ages the seat of Moorish grandeur and delight, should become the abode of unbelievers. Among these cavaliers, the most eminent was Muza ben Abil Gazan. He was of royal lineage, of a proud and generous nature, and a form combining manly strength and beauty. None could excel him in the management of the horse, and dexterous use of all kinds of weapons. His gracefulness and skill in the tourney was the theme of praise among the Moorish dames; and his prowess in the field had made him the terror of the enemy. He had long repined at the timid policy of Boabdil, and had endeavoured to counteract its enervating effects, and to keep alive the martial spirit of Granada. For this reason, he had promoted jousts, and tiltings with the reed, and all those other public games which bear the semblance of war. He endeavoured, also, to inculcate into his companions in arms those high chivalrous sentiments, which lead to valiant and magnanimous deeds, but which are apt to decline with the independence of a nation. The generous efforts of Muza had been in a great measure successful: he was the idol of the youthful cavaliers; they regarded him as a mirror of chivalry, and endeavoured to imitate his lofty and heroic virtues.

When Muza heard the demand of Ferdinand, that they should deliver up their arms, his eye flashed fire. "Does the Christian king think that we are old men," said he, "and that staffs will suffice us? or that we

\* Cura de los Palacios, cap. 96.

are women, and can be contented with distaffs? Let him know, that a Moor is born to the spear and the cimeter; to career the steed, bend the bow, and launch the javelin: deprive him of these, and you deprive him of his nature. If the Christian king desire our arms, let him come and win them; but let him win them dearly. For my part, sweeter were a grave beneath the walls of Granada, on the spot I have died to defend, than the richest couch within her palaces, earned by submission to the unbeliever."

The words of Muza were received with enthusiastic shouts by the warlike part of the populace. Granada once more awoke as a warrior shaking off a disgraceful lethargy. The commanders and council partook of the public excitement, and despatched a reply to the Christian sovereigns, declaring, that they would suffer death rather than surrender their city.

#### CHAPTER LXXXIV.

##### HOW KING FERDINAND TURNED HIS HOSTILITIES AGAINST THE CITY OF GRANADA.

WHEN King Ferdinand received the defiance of the Moors, he made preparations for bitter hostilities. The winter season did not admit of an immediate campaign: he contented himself, therefore, with throwing strong garrisons into all his towns and fortresses in the neighbourhood of Granada, and gave the command of all the frontier of Jaen to Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, Count of Tendilla, who had shown such consummate vigilance and address in maintaining the dangerous post of Allama. This renowned veteran established his head-quarters in the mountain city of Alcala la Real, within eight leagues of the city of Granada, and commanding the most important passes of that rugged frontier.

In the mean time, the city of Granada resounded with the stir of war. The chivalry of the nation had again control of its councils; and the populace, having once more resumed their weapons, were anxious to wipe out the disgrace of their late passive submission, by signal and daring exploits.

Muza ben Abil Gazan was the soul of action. He commanded the cavalry, which he had disciplined with uncommon skill. He was surrounded by the noblest youth of Granada, who had caught his own generous and martial fire, and panted for the field; while the common soldiers, devoted to his person, were ready to follow him in the most desperate enterprises. He did not allow their courage to cool for want of action. The gates of Granada once more poured forth legions of light scouring cavalry, which skimmed the country up to the very gates of the Christian fortresses; sweeping off flocks and herds. The name of Muza became formidable throughout the frontier. He had many encounters with the enemy, in the rough passes of the mountains; in which the

superior lightness and dexterity of his cavalry gave him the advantage. The sight of his glistening legion, returning across the vega with long cavalgadas of booty, was hailed by the Moors as a revival of their ancient triumphs; but when they beheld Christian banners, borne into their gates as trophies, the exultation of the light-minded populace was beyond all bounds. The winter passed away, the spring advanced; yet Ferdinand delayed to take the field. He knew the city of Granada to be too strong and populous to be taken by assault, and too full of provisions to be speedily reduced by siege. "We must have patience and perseverance," said the politic monarch. "By ravaging the country this year, we shall produce a scarcity the next; and then the city may be invested with effect."

An interval of peace, aided by the quick vegetation of a prolific soil and happy climate, had restored the vega to all its luxuriance and beauty. The green pastures on the borders of the Xenil were covered with flocks and herds. The blooming orchards gave promise of abundant fruit; and the open plain was waving with ripening corn. The time was at hand to put in the sickle and reap the golden harvest; when, suddenly, a torrent of war came sweeping down from the mountains; and Ferdinand, with an army of five thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, appeared before the walls of Granada. He left the queen and princess at the fortress of Moclin, and came, attended by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Marquis of Cadiz, the Marquis de Villena, the Counts of Ureña and Cabras, Don Alonso de Aguilar, and other renowned cavaliers. On this occasion King Ferdinand, for the first time, led his son, Prince Juan, into the field; and bestowed upon him the dignity of knighthood. As if to stimulate him to grand achievements, the ceremony took place on the banks of the grand canal, almost beneath the embattled walls of that warlike city, the object of such daring enterprises; and in the midst of that famous vega, which had been the field of so many chivalrous exploits. High above them shone resplendent the towers of the Alhambra, rising from amidst delicate groves; with the standard of Mahomet waving defiance to the Christian arms.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the valiant Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, Marquis of Cadiz, were severely wounded on the occasion. The prince, after he had been knighted, bestowed the same honour on several youthful cavaliers of high rank, just entering, like him, on the career of arms.

Ferdinand did not loiter in carrying his desolating plans into execution. He detached parties in every direction, to scour the country. Villages were burnt, and destroyed; and the lovely vega of morc was laid waste with fire and sword. The ravage was carried so close to Granada, that the city was wrapped in the smoke of its hamlets and groves. The dismal cloud rolled up the hill, and hung

exterity of his cavalry gave sight of his glistening le-vega with long cavaledas the Moors as a revival of their when they beheld Christian gates as trophies, the exulted populace was beyond all passed away, the spring delayed to take the field. He la to be too strong and popul-ull, and too full of provisions by siege. "We must have ce," said the politic monarch. ntry this year, we shall pro-xt; and then the city may be

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the towers of the Alhambra; where the unfortunate Boabdil still remained, shut up from the indignation of his subjects. The hapless monarch smote his breast, as he looked down from his mountain palace on the desolation effected by his late ally. He dared not even show himself in arms among the populace; for they cursed him, as the cause of the miseries brought anew to their doors. The Moors, however, did not suffer the Christians to carry on their ravages as unmolested as in former years. Muza incited them to incessant sallies. He divided his cavalry into small squadrons, each led by a daring commander. They were taught to hover round the Christian camp; to harass it from various and opposite quarters, cutting off convoys and straggling detachments; to waylay the army in its ravaging expeditions, lurking among rocks and passes of the mountains, or in hollows and thickets of the plain; and practising a thousand stratagems and surprises.

The Christian army had one day spread itself out, rather unguardedly, in its foraging about the vega. As the troops commanded by the Marquis de Villena approached the skirts of the mountains, they beheld a number of Moorish peasants, hastily driving a herd of cattle into a narrow glen. The soldiers, eager for booty, pressed in pursuit of them. Scarcely had they entered the glen, when shouts arose from every side, and they were furiously attacked by an ambuscade of horse and foot. Some of the Christians took to flight; others stood their ground, and fought valiantly. The Moors had the vantage ground. Some showered darts and arrows from the clefts of the rocks; others fought hand to hand, on the plain; while their cavalry, rapid as lightning in their movements, carried havoc into the midst of the Christian forces. The Marquis de Villena, with his brother, Don Alonso de Pacheco, at the first onset of the Moors, spurred into the hottest of the fight. They had scarce entered, when Don Alonso was struck lifeless from his horse, before the eyes of his brother. Estevan de Suzon, a gallant captain, fell, fighting bravely by the side of the marquis; who remained with his chamberlain Solier, and a handful of knights, surrounded by the enemy. Several cavaliers, from other parts of the army, hastened to their assistance; when King Ferdinand, seeing that the Moors had the vantage ground, and that the Christians were suffering severely, gave signal for retreat. The marquis obeyed slowly and reluctantly; for his heart was full of grief and rage at the death of his brother. As he was retreating, he beheld his faithful chamberlain, Solier, defending himself bravely against six Moors. The marquis turned, and rushed to his rescue. He killed two of the enemy with his own hand, and put the rest to flight. One of the Moors, however, in retreating, rose in his stirrups, and, hurling his lance at the marquis, wounded him in the right arm, and crippled him for life.

In consequence of this wound, the marquis was never after obliged to write his signature with his left

hand, though capable of managing his lance with his right. The queen demanded one day of him, why he had adventured his life for that of a domestic. "Does not your majesty think," replied he, "that I ought to risk one life for him, who would have adventured three for me, had he possessed them?" The queen was charmed with the magnanimity of the reply; and often quoted the marquis, as setting an heroic example to the chivalry of the age.

Such was one of the many ambuscades concerted by Muza; nor did he hesitate, at times, to present a bold front to the Christian forces, and defy them in the open field. King Ferdinand soon perceived, however, that the Moors seldom provoked a battle without having the advantage of ground; and that, though the Christians generally appeared to have the victory, they suffered the greatest loss; for retreating was a part of the Moorish system, by which they would draw their pursuers into confusion, and then turn upon them with a more violent and fatal attack. He commanded his captains, therefore, to decline all challenges to skirmish, and to pursue a secure system of destruction; ravaging the country, and doing all possible injury to the enemy, with slight risk to themselves.

## CHAPTER LXXXV.

## THE FATE OF THE CASTLE OF ROMA.

ABOUT two leagues from Granada, on an eminence commanding an extensive view of the vega, stood the strong Moorish castle of Roma; a great place of refuge and security. Hither the neighbouring peasantry drove their flocks and herds, and hurried with their most precious effects, on the irruption of a Christian force; and any foraging or skirmishing party from Granada, on being intercepted in their return, threw themselves into Roma, manned its embattled towers, and set the enemy at defiance. The garrison were accustomed to these sudden claims upon their protection; to have parties of Moors clattering up to their gates, so hotly pursued, that there was barely time to throw open the portal, receive them within, and shut out their pursuers: while the Christian cavaliers had many a time reined in their panting steeds at the very entrance of the barbican, and retired, cursing the strong walls of Roma, that robbed them of their prey.

The late ravages of Ferdinand, and the continual skirmishings in the vega, had roused the vigilance of the castle. One morning early, as the sentinels kept watch upon the battlements, they beheld a cloud of dust advancing rapidly from a distance. Turbans and Moorish weapons soon caught their eyes; and as the whole approached, they descried a drove of cattle, urged on in great haste, and conveyed by one hundred and forty Moors, who led with them two Christian captives in chains.



When the cavalgada had arrived near to the castle, a Moorish cavalier of noble and commanding mien, and splendid attire, rode up to the foot of the tower, and entreated admittance. He stated, that they were returning with rich booty, from a foray into the lands of the Christians; but that the enemy was on their traces, and they feared to be overtaken before they could reach Granada. The sentinels descended in all haste, and flung open the gates. The long cavalgada defiled into the courts of the castle, which were soon filled with lowing and bleating flocks and herds, with neighing and stamping steeds, and with fierce-looking Moors from the mountains. The cavalier who had asked admission, was the chief of the party; he was somewhat advanced in life, of a lofty and gallant bearing, and had with him a son, a young man of great fire and spirit. Close by them followed the two Christian captives, with looks cast down and disconsolate.

The soldiers of the garrison had roused themselves from their sleep, and were busily occupied attending to the cattle, which crowded the courts; while the foraging party distributed themselves about the castle, to seek refreshment or repose. Suddenly a shout arose, that was echoed from court-yard, and hall, and battlements. The garrison, astonished and bewildered, would have rushed to their arms, but found themselves, almost before they could make resistance, completely in the power of an enemy.

The pretended foraging party consisted of Muxixares, Moors tributary to the Christians; and the commanders were the Prince Cidi Yahye, and his son, Alnayer. They had hastened from the mountains, with this small force, to aid the catholic sovereigns during the summer's campaign; and they had concerted to surprise that important castle, and present it to King Ferdinand, as a gage of their faith, and the first-fruits of their devotion.

The politic monarch overwhelmed his new converts and allies with favours and distinctions, in return for this important acquisition; but he took care to despatch a strong force of veterans, and genuine Christian troops, to man the fortress.

As to the Moors who had composed the garrison, Cidi Yahye remembered that they were his countrymen, and could not prevail upon himself to deliver them into Christian bondage. He set them at liberty, and permitted them to repair to Granada; "a proof," says the pious Agapida, "that his conversion was not entirely consummated, but that there were still some lingerings of the infidel in his heart." His lenity was far from procuring him indulgence in the opinions of his countrymen: on the contrary, the inhabitants of Granada, when they learned from the liberated garrison the stratagem by which Roma had been captured, cursed Cidi Yahye for a traitor, and the garrison joined in the malediction.

But the indignation of the people of Granada was destined to be aroused to tenfold violence. The old warrior, Muley Abdalla el Zagal, had retired to his

little mountain territory, and for a short time endeavoured to console himself, with his petty title of King of Andaraxa. He soon grew impatient, however, of the quiet and inaction of his mimic kingdom. His fierce spirit was exasperated by being shut up within such narrow limits; and his hatred rose to downright fury against Boabdil, whom he considered as the cause of his downfall. When tidings were brought him, that King Ferdinand was laying waste the vega, he took a sudden resolution: assembling the whole disposable force of his kingdom, which amounted but to two hundred men, he descended from the Alpuxarras, and sought the Christian camp; content to serve as vassal to the enemy of his faith and his nation, so that he might see Granada wrested from the sway of his nephew.

In his blind passion, the old wrathful monarch injured his own cause, and strengthened that of his adversary. The Moors of Granada had been clamorous in his praise, extolling him as a victim to his patriotism, and had refused to believe all reports of his treaty with the Christians; but when they beheld from the walls of the city his banner mingling with the banners of the unbelievers, and arrayed against his late people, and the capital he had commanded, they broke forth into curses and revilings, and heaped all kinds of stigmas upon his name.

Their next emotion was in favour of Boabdil. They gathered under the walls of the Alhambra, and hailed him as their only hope, as the sole dependence of the country. Boabdil could scarcely believe his senses, when he heard his name mingled with praises, and greeted with acclamations. Encouraged by this unexpected gleam of popularity, he ventured forth from his retreat, and was received with rapture. All his past errors were attributed to the hardships of his fortune, and the usurpation of his tyrant uncle; and whatever breath the populace could spare from uttering curses on El Zagal was expended in shouts in honour of El Chico.

#### CHAPTER LXXXVI.

HOW BOABDIL EL CHICO TOOK THE FIELD; AND HIS EXPEDITION AGAINST ALHENDIN.

FOR thirty days had the vega been overrun by the Christian forces, and that vast plain, lately so luxuriant and beautiful, was become a wide scene of desolation. The destroying army having accomplished its task, passed over the bridge of Pinos, and wound up into the mountains, on the way to Cordova; bearing away the spoils of towns and villages, and driving off flocks and herds, in long dusty columns. The sound of the last Christian trumpet died away along the side of the mountain of Elvira, and not a hostile squadron was seen glistening in the mournful fields of the vega.

The eyes of Boabdil el Chico were at length open

to the real policy of King Ferdinand; and he saw, that he had no longer any thing to depend upon than the valour of his arm. No time was to be lost, in hastening to counteract the effect of the late Christian ravage, and in opening the channel for distant supplies to Granada.

Scarcely had the retiring squadron of Ferdinand disappeared among the mountains, than Boabdil buckled on his armour, sallied forth from the Alhambra, and prepared to take the field. When the populace beheld him actually in arms against his late ally, both parties thronged with zeal to his standard. The hardy inhabitants also of the Sierra Nevada, or chain of snow-capped mountains, which rise above Granada, descended from their heights, and hastened into the city gates, to proffer their devotion to their youthful king. The great square of the vivar-rambla shone with the proud array of legions of cavalry, decked with the colours and devices of the most ancient Moorish families, and marshalled forth by the patriot Muza to follow the king to battle.

It was on the 15th of June that Boabdil once more issued out from the gates of Granada on a martial enterprise. A few leagues from the city, within full view of it, and at the entrance of the Alpuxarra mountains, stood the powerful castle of Alhendin. It was built on an eminence, rising from the midst of a small town, and commanding a great part of the vega, and the main road to the rich valleys of the Alpuxarras. The castle was commanded by a valiant Christian cavalier, named Mendo de Quexada, and garrisoned by two hundred and fifty men, all seasoned and experienced warriors. It was a continual thorn in the side of Granada. The labourers of the vega were swept from their fields by its hardy soldiers, convoys were cut off on the passes of the mountains; and, as the garrison commanded a full view of the gates of the city, no band of merchants could venture forth on their needful journeys, without being swooped up by the war-hawks of Alhendin.

It was against this important fortress that Boabdil first led his troops. For six days and nights the fortress was closely besieged. The alcaide and his veteran garrison defended themselves valiantly; but they were exhausted by fatigue and constant watchfulness: for the Moors, being continually relieved by fresh troops from Granada, kept up an unremitted and vigorous attack. Twice the barbican was forced, and twice the assailants were driven forth headlong with excessive loss. The garrison, however, was diminished in number by the killed and wounded: there were no longer soldiers sufficient to man the walls and gateway. The brave alcaide was compelled to retire, with his surviving force, to the keep of the castle, in which he continued to make a desperate resistance.

The Moors now approached the foot of the tower, under shelter of wooden screens, covered with wet hides, to ward off missiles and combustibles. They went to work vigorously to undermine the tower,

placing props of wood under the foundations, to be afterwards set on fire, so as to give the besiegers time to escape before the edifice should fall. Some of the Moors plied their cross-bows and arquebuses to defend the workmen, and to drive the Christians from the wall, while the latter showered down stones and darts, and melted pitch, and flaming combustibles, on the miners.

The brave Mendo de Quexada had cast many an anxious eye across the vega, in hopes of seeing some Christian force hastening to his assistance. Not a gleam of spear or helm was to be descried; for no one had dreamed of this sudden irruption of the Moors. The alcaide saw his bravest men dead or wounded around him, while the remainder were sinking with watchfulness and fatigue. In defiance of all opposition, the Moors had accomplished their mine; the fire was brought before the walls, that was to be applied to the stanchions, in case the garrison persisted in defence; and in a little while the tower would crumble beneath him, and be rent and hurled in ruins to the plain. At the very last moment, and not till then, the brave alcaide made the signal of surrender. He marched forth with the remnant of this veteran garrison, who were all made prisoners. Immediately Boabdil ordered the walls of the fortress to be razed, and fire to be applied to the stanchions, that the place might never again become a stronghold to the Christians, and a scourge to Granada. The alcaide and his fellow captives were passing in dejected convoy across the vega, when they heard a tremendous crash behind them. Turning to look upon their late fortress, they beheld nothing but a heap of tumbling ruins, and a vast column of smoke and dust, where once had stood the lofty tower of Alhendin.

## CHAPTER LXXXVII.

## EXPLOIT OF THE COUNT DE TENDILLA.

BOABDIL el Chico followed up his success by capturing the two fortresses of Marchena and Bulday; he sent his alfaquis in every direction to proclaim a holy war, and to summon all true Moslems, of town or castle, mountain or valley, to saddle steed, and buckle on armour, and hasten to the standard of the faith. The tidings spread far and wide, that Boabdil el Chico was once more in the field, and victorious. The Moors of various places, dazzled by this gleam of success, hastened to throw off their sworn allegiance to the Castilian crown, and to elevate the standard of Boabdil; and the youthful monarch flattered himself, that the whole kingdom was on the point of returning to its allegiance.

The fiery cavaliers of Granada were eager to renew those forays into the Christian lands, in which they had formerly delighted. A number of them, therefore, concerted an irruption to the north into the ter-

ritory of Jaen, to harass the country about Quezada. They had heard of a rich convoy of merchants and wealthy travellers on the way to the city of Baeza; and they anticipated a glorious conclusion to their foray in capturing this convoy.

Assembling a number of horsemen, lightly armed, and fleetly mounted, and one hundred foot-soldiers, these hardy cavaliers issued forth by night from Granada, made their way in silence through the defiles of the mountains, crossed the frontier without opposition, and suddenly appeared, as if fallen from the clouds, in the very heart of the Christian country.

The mountainous frontier, which separates Granada from Jaen, was at this time under the Count de Tendilla, the same veteran who had distinguished himself by his vigilance and sagacity, when commanding the fortress of Albama. He held his head-quarters at the city of Alcala la Real, in its impregnable fortress, perched high among the mountains, about six leagues from Granada, and predominating over all the frontier. From this cloud-capt hold among the rocks, he kept an eagle eye upon Granada, and had his scouts and spies in all directions; so that a crow could not fly over the border without his knowledge.

His fortress was a place of refuge for the Christian captives, who escaped by night from the Moorish dungeons of Granada. Often, however, they missed their way in the defiles of the mountains; and, wandering about bewildered, either repaired by mistake to some Moorish town, or were discovered and retaken at daylight by the enemy. To prevent these accidents, the count had a tower built at his own expense, on the top of one of the heights near Alcala, which commanded a view of the vega, and the country around. Here he kept a light blazing throughout the night, as a beacon for all Christian fugitives, to guide them to a place of safety.

The count was aroused one night from his repose by shouts and cries, which came up from the town, and approached the castle walls. "To arms! to arms! the Moor is over the border!" was the cry. A Christian soldier, pale and emaciated, and who still bore traces of the Moorish chains, was brought before the count. He had been taken as guide by the Moorish cavaliers, who had sallied from Granada, but had escaped from them among the mountains; and after much wandering, had found his way to Alcala by the signal fire.

Notwithstanding the bustle and agitation of the moment, the Count de Tendilla listened calmly and attentively to the account of the fugitive, and questioned him minutely as to the time of departure of the Moors, and the direction and rapidity of their march. He saw, that it was too late to prevent their incursion and ravage; but he determined to await them, and give them a warm reception on their return. His soldiers were always on the alert, and ready to take the field at a moment's warning. Chusing one hundred and fifty lancers, hardy and valiant men, well disciplined, and well seasoned, as indeed

were all his troops, he issued forth quietly before break of day, and, descending through the defiles of the mountains, stationed his little force in ambush in a deep barranca, or dry channel of a torrent, near Barzina, three leagues only from Granada, on the road by which the marauders would have to return. In the mean time, he sent scouts, to post themselves upon different heights, and look out for the approach of the enemy.

All day they remained concealed in the ravine, and for a great part of the following night; not a turban, however, was to be seen, excepting now and then a peasant returning from his labour, or a solitary muleteer hastening towards Granada. The cavaliers of the count began to grow restless and impatient: they feared, that the enemy might have taken some other route, or might have received intelligence of their ambushade; and they urged him to abandon the enterprise, and return to Alcala. "We are here," said they, "almost at the gates of the Moorish capital; our movements may have been descried, and, before we are aware, Granada may pour forth its legions of swift cavalry, and crush us with an overwhelming force." The Count de Tendilla, however, persisted in remaining until his scouts should come in. About two hours before day-break there were signal-fires on certain Moorish watch-towers of the mountains. While they were regarding these with anxiety, the scouts came hurrying into the ravine. "The Moors are approaching," said they; "we have reconnoitred them near at hand. They are between one and two hundred strong, but encumbered with many prisoners and much booty." The Christian cavaliers laid their ears to the ground, and heard the distant tramp of horses, and the tread of foot-soldiers. They mounted their horses, braced their shields, couched their lances, and drew near to the entrance of the ravine where it opened upon the road.

The Moors had succeeded in waylaying and surprising the Christian convoy on its way to Baeza. They had captured a great number of prisoners, male and female, with great store of gold and jewels, and sumpter-mules, laden with rich merchandise. With these they had made a forced march over the dangerous parts of the mountains; but now, being so near to Granada, they fancied themselves in perfect security. They loitered along the road, therefore, irregularly and slowly, some singing, others laughing and exulting at having eluded the boasted vigilance of the Count de Tendilla; while ever and anon was heard the plaint of some female captive, bewailing the jeopardy of her honour; and the heavy sighing of the merchant, at beholding his property in the grasp of ruthless spoilers.

The Count de Tendilla waited until some of the escort had passed the ravine; then, giving the signal for assault, his cavaliers set up loud shouts and cries, and charged furiously into the centre of the foe. The obscurity of the place, and the hour, added to the terrors of the surprise. The Moors were thrown into

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confusion. Some rallied, fought desperately, and fell,  
 covered with wounds. Thirty-six were killed, and  
 fifty-five were made prisoners; the rest, under cover  
 of the darkness, made their escape to the rocks and  
 defiles of the mountains. The good count unbound  
 the prisoners, gladdening the hearts of the merchants,  
 by restoring to them their merchandise; the female  
 captives, also, regained the jewels of which they had  
 been despoiled, excepting such as had been lost  
 beyond recovery. Forty-five saddle-horses, of the  
 choice Barbary breed, remained, as captured spoils of  
 the Moors, together with costly armour, and booty of  
 various kinds. Having collected every thing in haste,  
 and arranged his cavalgada, the count urged his way  
 with all speed for Alcala la Real, lest he should be  
 pursued and overtaken by the Moors of Granada.  
 As he wound up the steep ascent to his mountain  
 city, the inhabitants poured forth to meet him with  
 shouts of joy. This triumph was doubly enhanced  
 by being received at the gates of the city by his wife,  
 the daughter of the Marquis of Villena, a lady of dis-  
 tinguished merit, whom he had not seen for two years  
 that he had been separated from his home by the ar-  
 duous duties of these iron wars.

#### CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

EXPEDITION OF BOABDIL EL CHICO AGAINST SALOBREÑA.  
 EXPLOIT OF FERNANDO PEREZ DEL PULGAR.

KING Boabdil found, that his diminished territory  
 was too closely overlooked by Christian fortresses,  
 like Alcala la Real, and too strictly watched by vigi-  
 lant alcajdes, like the Count of Tendilla, to be able  
 to maintain itself by internal resources. His forag-  
 ing expeditions were liable to be intercepted and de-  
 feated; while the ravage of the vega had swept off  
 every thing on which the city depended for future  
 sustenance. He felt the want of a sea-port, through  
 which, as formerly, he might keep open a commu-  
 nication with Africa, and obtain reinforcements and  
 supplies from beyond the seas. All the ports and  
 harbours were in the hands of the Christians; and  
 Granada and its remnant of dependent territory were  
 completely landlocked.

In this emergency, the attention of Boabdil was  
 called by circumstances to the sea-port of Salobreña.  
 This redoubtable town has already been mentioned  
 in this chronicle, as a place deemed impregnable  
 by the Moors; inasmuch that their kings were accus-  
 tomed, in time of peril, to keep their treasures in its ci-  
 tadel. It was situate on a high rocky hill; dividing  
 one of those rich little vegas or plains, which lie open  
 to the Mediterranean, but run, like deep green bays,  
 into the stern bosoms of the mountains. The vega  
 was covered with beautiful vegetation; with rice and  
 cotton, with groves of oranges, citrons, figs, and  
 mulberries, and with gardens enclosed by hedges

of reeds, of aloes, and the Indian fig. Running  
 streams of cool water, from the springs and snows of  
 the Sierra Nevada, kept this delightful valley conti-  
 nually fresh and verdant; while it was almost locked  
 up by mountain barriers and lofty promontories, that  
 stretched far into the sea.

Through the centre of this rich vega the rock of  
 Salobreña reared its rugged back, nearly dividing the  
 plain, and advancing to the margin of the sea; with  
 just a strip of sandy beach at its foot, laved by the  
 blue waves of the Mediterranean.

The town covered the ridge and sides of the rocky  
 hill, and was fortified by strong walls and towers;  
 while on the highest and most precipitous part stood  
 the citadel, a huge castle, that seemed to form a  
 part of the living rock; the massive ruins of which,  
 at the present day, attract the gaze of the traveller,  
 as he winds his way far below, along the road which  
 passes through the vega.

This important fortress had been intrusted to the  
 command of Don Francisco Ramirez de Madrid, cap-  
 tain-general of the artillery, and the most scientific  
 of all the Spanish leaders. That experienced veteran,  
 however, was with the king at Cordova, having left  
 a valiant cavalier as alcajde of the place.

Boabdil el Chico had full information of the state  
 of the garrison, and the absence of its commander.  
 Putting himself at the head of a powerful force, there-  
 fore, he departed from Granada, and made a rapid  
 march through the mountains; hoping, by this sudden  
 movement, to seize upon Salobreña, before King Fer-  
 dinand could come to its assistance.

The inhabitants of Salobreña were Mudixares, or  
 Moors who had sworn allegiance to the Christians.  
 Still, when they heard the sound of the Moorish drums  
 and trumpets, and beheld the squadrons of their coun-  
 trymen advancing across the vega, their hearts yearned  
 towards the standard of their nation and their  
 faith. A tumult arose in the place. The populace  
 shouted the name of Boabdil el Chico, and, throwing  
 open the gates, admitted him within the walls.

The Christian garrison was too few in number to  
 contend for the possession of the town. They re-  
 treated to the citadel, and shut themselves up within  
 its massive walls, which were considered impreg-  
 nable. Here they maintained a desperate defence,  
 hoping to hold out until succour should arrive from  
 the neighbouring fortresses.

The tidings, that Salobreña was invested by the  
 Moorish king, spread along the sea-coast, and filled  
 the Christians with alarm. Don Francisco Enriquez,  
 uncle of the king, commanded the city of Velez Ma-  
 laga, about twelve leagues distant, but separated by  
 ranges of those vast rocky mountains, which are piled  
 along the Mediterranean, and tower in steep promon-  
 tories and precipices above its waves.

Don Francisco summoned the alcajdes of his dis-  
 trict, to hasten with him to the relief of this im-  
 portant fortress. A number of cavaliers and their  
 retainers answered to his call; among whom was



Fernando Perez del Pulgar, surnamed El de las Hazañas (he of the exploits); the same who had signalized himself in a foray, by elevating a handkerchief on a lance for a banner, and leading on his disheartened comrades to victory. As soon as Don Francisco beheld a little band collected round him, he set out with all speed for Salobreña. The march was rugged and severe; climbing and descending immense mountains, and sometimes winding along the edge of giddy precipices, with the surges of the sea raging far below. When Don Francisco arrived with his followers at the lofty promontory, that stretches along one side of the little vega of Salobreña, he looked down with sorrow and anxiety upon a Moorish army of great force, encamped at the foot of the fortress; while Moorish banners, on various parts of the walls, showed, that the town was already in possession of the infidels. A solitary Christian standard alone floated on the top of the castle keep, indicating that the brave garrison were hemmed up in their rock-built citadel.

Don Francisco found it impossible, with his small force, to make any impression on the camp of the Moors, or to get to the relief of the castle. He stationed his little band upon a rocky height near the sea, where they were safe from the assaults of the enemy. The sight of his friendly banner, waving in their neighbourhood, cheered the hearts of the garrison; and he conveyed to them assurance of speedy succour from the king. In the mean time, Fernando Perez del Pulgar, who always burned to distinguish himself by bold and striking exploits, in the course of a prowling expedition along the borders of the Moorish camp, remarked a postern-gate of the castle opening upon the steep part of the rocky hill, which looked towards the mountains. A sudden thought flashed upon the daring mind of Pulgar. "Who will follow my banner," said he, "and make a dash for yonder postern?" A bold proposition, in time of warfare, never wants for bold spirits to accept it. Seventy resolute men immediately stepped forward. Pulgar put himself at their head. They cut their way suddenly through a weak part of the camp, fought up to the gate, which was eagerly thrown open to receive them, and succeeded in effecting their entrance into the fortress, before the alarm of their attempt had spread through the Moorish army.

The garrison was roused to new spirit by this unlooked-for reinforcement, and were enabled to make a more vigorous resistance. The Moors had intelligence, however, that there was a great scarcity of water in the castle; and they exulted in the idea, that this additional number of warriors would soon exhaust the cisterns, and compel them to surrender. When Pulgar heard of this hope entertained by the enemy, he caused a bucket of water to be lowered from the battlements, and threw a silver cup in bravado to the Moors.

The situation of the garrison, however, was daily growing more and more critical. They suffered

greatly from thirst; while, to tantalize them in their sufferings, they beheld limpid streams winding in abundance through the green plain below them. They began to fear, that all succour would arrive too late; when one day they beheld a little squadron of vessels far at sea, but standing towards the shore. There was some doubt at first, whether it might not be a hostile armament from Africa; but as it approached, they descried, to their great joy, the banner of Castile.

It was a reinforcement, brought in all haste by the governor of the fortress, Don Francisco Ramirez. The squadron anchored at a steep rocky island, which rises from the very margin of the smooth sandy beach, directly in front of the rock of Salobreña, and stretches out into the sea. On this island Ramirez landed his men, and was as strongly posted as if in a fortress. His force was too scanty to attempt a battle; but he assisted to harass and distract the besiegers. Whenever King Boabdil made an attack upon the fortress, his camp was assailed on one side by the troops of Ramirez, who landed from their island, and, on another, by those of Don Francisco Enriquez, who swept down from their rock; while Fernando del Pulgar kept up a fierce defence from every tower and battlement of the castle. The attention of the Moorish king was diverted, also, for a time, by an ineffectual attempt to relieve the little port of Adra, that had recently declared in his favour, but had been re-captured for the Christians by Cidi Yahye and his son Alnayer. Thus the unlucky Boabdil, bewildered on every hand, lost all the advantage that he had gained by his rapid march from Granada. While he was yet besieging the obstinate citadel, tidings were brought him, that King Ferdinand was in full march, with a powerful host, to its assistance. There was no time for further delay. He made a furious attack, with all his forces, upon the castle, but was again repulsed by Pulgar and his coadjutors; when, abandoning the siege in despair, he retreated with his army, lest King Ferdinand should get between him and his capital. On his way back to Granada, however, he in some sort consoled himself for his late disappointment, by overrunning a part of the territories and possessions lately assigned to his uncle El Zagal, and to Cidi Yahye. He defeated their alcaides, destroyed several of their fortresses, burnt their villages; and, leaving the country behind him reeking and smoking with his vengeance, returned, with considerable booty, to repose himself within the walls of the Alhambra.

## CHAPTER LXXXIX.

HOW KING FERDINAND TREATED THE PEOPLE OF GUADIX, AND  
HOW EL ZAGAL FINISHED HIS ROYAL CAREER.

SCARCELY had Boabdil ensconced himself in his capital, when King Ferdinand, at the head of seven thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, again appeared in the vega. He had set out in all haste from Cordova, to the relief of Salobreña; but hearing on his march that the siege was raised, he turned with his army, to make a second ravage round the walls of devoted Granada. His present forage lasted fifteen days, in the course of which every thing that had escaped his former desolating visit was so completely destroyed, that scarcely a green thing, or a living animal was left on the face of the land. The Moors sallied frequently, and fought desperately in defence of their fields; but the work of destruction was accomplished, and Granada, once the queen of gardens, was left surrounded by a desert.

From hence Ferdinand marched to crush a conspiracy, which had lately manifested itself in the cities of Guadix, Baza, and Almeria. These recently conquered places had entered into secret correspondence with King Boabdil, inviting him to march to their gates, promising to rise upon the Christian garrisons, seize upon the citadels, and surrender themselves into his power. The Marquis of Villena had received notice of the conspiracy, and suddenly thrown himself, with a large force, into Guadix. Under pretence of making a review of the inhabitants, he made them sally forth into the fields before the city. When the whole Moorish population, capable of bearing arms, was thus without the walls, he ordered the gates to be closed. He then permitted to enter two by two, and three by three, and to take forth their wives and children, and effects. The houseless Moors were fain to make themselves temporary hovels, in the gardens and orchards about the city. They were clamorous in their complaints at being thus excluded from their homes; but were told, they must wait with patience, until the charges against them could be investigated, and the pleasure of the king be known.<sup>1</sup>

When Ferdinand arrived at Guadix, he found the unhappy Moors in their cabins, among the orchards. They complained bitterly of the deception that had been practised upon them, and implored permission to return into the city, and live peaceably in their dwellings, as had been promised them in their articles of capitulation.

King Ferdinand listened graciously to their complaints. "My friends," said he in reply, "I am informed, that there has been a conspiracy among you, to kill my alcaide and garrison, and to take part with my enemy, the King of Granada. I shall make a thorough investigation of this conspiracy.

Those among you, who shall be proved innocent, shall be restored to their dwellings; but the guilty shall incur the penalty of their offences. As I wish, however, to proceed with mercy as well as justice, I now give you your choice, either to depart at once, without further question, going wherever you please, and taking with you your families and effects, under an assurance of safety, or to deliver up those who are guilty; not one of whom, I give you my word, shall escape punishment."

When the people of Guadix heard this, they communed among themselves, "and, as most of them," says the worthy Agapida, "were either culpable, or feared to be considered so, they accepted the alternative, and departed sorrowfully, they, and their wives, and their little ones." "Thus," in the words of that excellent and contemporary historian, Andres Bernaldes, commonly called the Curate of Los Palacios, "thus did the king deliver Guadix from the hands of the enemies of our holy faith, after seven hundred and seventy years, that it had been in their possession, even since the time of Roderick the Goth; and this was one of the mysteries of our Lord, who would not consent that the city should remain longer in the power of the Moors." A pious and sage remark, which is quoted with peculiar approbation by the worthy Agapida.

King Ferdinand offered similar alternatives to the Moors of Baza, Almeria, and other cities, accused of participation in this conspiracy; who generally preferred to abandon their homes, rather than incur the risk of an investigation. Most of them relinquished Spain, as a country where they could no longer live in security and independence, and departed with their families for Africa; such as remained were suffered to live in villages and hamlets, and other unwall'd places.<sup>2</sup>

While Ferdinand was thus occupied at Guadix, dispensing justice and mercy, and receiving cities in exchange, the old monarch, Muley Abdalla, surnamed El Zagal, appeared before him. He was haggard with care, and almost crazed with passion. He had found his little territory of Andaraxa, and his two thousand subjects, as difficult to govern as had been the distracted kingdom of Granada. The charm, which had bound the Moors to him, was broken, when he appeared in arms under the banner of Ferdinand. He had returned from his inglorious campaign, with his petty army of two hundred men, followed by the execrations of the people of Granada, and the secret repining of those he had led into the field. No sooner had his subjects heard of the successes of Boabdil el Chico, than they seized their arms, assembled tumultuously, declared for the young monarch, threatening the life of El Zagal. The unfortunate old king had with difficulty evaded their fury; and this last lesson seemed entirely to have cured him of his passion for sovereignty. He now entreated Ferdinand to purchase the towns

<sup>1</sup> Zurita, l. xv, c. 83. Cura de los Palacios, c. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Garibay, lib. xiii, cap. 59. Pulgar, l. iii, c. 152.  
<sup>3</sup> Cura de los Palacios, c. 97.

and castles, and other possessions, which had been granted to him; offering them at a low rate, and begging safe passage, for himself and his followers, to Africa. King Ferdinand graciously complied with his wishes. He purchased of him three-and-twenty towns and villages, in the valleys of Andaraxa and Alhaurea, for which he gave him five millions of maravedis. El Zagal relinquished his right to one half of the salinas, or salt-pits, of Maleha, in favour of his brother-in-law, Cidi Yahye. Having thus disposed of his petty empire and possessions, he packed up all his treasure, of which he had a great amount, and, followed by many Moorish families, passed over to Africa.'

And here let us cast an eye beyond the present period of our chronicle, and trace the remaining career of El Zagal. His short and turbulent reign, and disastrous end, would afford a wholesome lesson to unprincipled ambition, were not all ambition of the kind fated to be blind to precept and example. When he arrived in Africa, instead of meeting with kindness and sympathy, he was seized and thrown in prison by the king of Fez, as though he had been his vassal. He was accused of being the cause of the dissensions and downfall of the kingdom of Granada; and the accusation being proved to the satisfaction of the king of Fez, he condemned the unhappy El Zagal to perpetual darkness. A basin of glowing copper was passed before his eyes, which effectually destroyed his sight. His wealth, which had probably been the secret cause of these cruel measures, was confiscated and seized upon by his oppressor, and El Zagal was thrust forth, blind, helpless, and destitute, upon the world. In this wretched condition, the late Moorish monarch groped his way through the regions of Tingitania, until he reached the city of Velez de Gomeria. The king of Velez had formerly been his ally, and felt some movement of compassion at his present altered and abject state. He gave him food and raiment, and suffered him to remain unmolested in his dominions. Death, which so often hurries off the prosperous and happy from the midst of untasted pleasures, spares, on the other hand, the miserable, to drain the last drop of his cup of bitterness. El Zagal dragged out a wretched existence of many years, in the city of Velez. He wandered about, blind and disconsolate, an object of mingled scorn and pity, and bearing above his raiment a parchment, on which was written in Arabic, "This is the unfortunate king of Andalusia."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Conde, part iv. cap. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Marmot de Rebellione Maur., lib. 1, cap. 46. Pedraza, Hist. Granat., p. iii, c. 4. Suarez, Hist. de Obispados de Guadiz y Baza, c. 10.

## CHAPTER XC.

## PREPARATIONS OF GRANADA FOR A DESPERATE DEFENCE.

"How is thy strength departed, O Granada! how is thy beauty withered and despoiled, O city of groves and fountains! The commerce, that once thronged thy streets, is at an end; the merchant no longer hastens to thy gates, with the luxuries of foreign lands. The cities, which once paid thee tribute, are wrested from thy sway; the chivalry, which filled thy vivar-rambla with the sumptuous pageantry of war, have fallen in many battles. The Alhambra still rears its ruddy towers from the midst of groves; but melancholy reigns in its marble halls, and the monarch looks down from his lofty balconies upon a naked waste, where once had extended the blooming glories of the vega!"

Such is the lament of the Moorish writers, over the lamentable state of Granada, which remained a mere phantom of its former greatness. The two ravages of the vega, following so closely upon each other, had swept off all the produce of the year, and the husbandman had no longer the heart to till the field, seeing that the ripening harvest only brought the spoiler to his door.

During the winter season, King Ferdinand made diligent preparations for the last campaign, that was to decide the fate of Granada. As this war was waged purely for the promotion of the Christian faith, he thought it meet its enemies should bear the expenses. He levied, therefore, a general contribution upon all the Jews throughout his kingdom, by synagogues and districts, and obliged them to render in the proceeds at the city of Seville.'

On the 14th of April, Ferdinand and Isabella departed for the Moorish frontier, with the solemn determination to lay close siege to Granada, and never to quit its walls until they had planted the standard of the faith on the towers of the Alhambra. Many of the nobles of the kingdom, particularly those from the parts remote from the scene of action, wearied by the toils of war, and foreseeing that this would be a tedious siege, requiring patience and vigilance, rather than hardy deeds of arms, were contented with sending their vassals, while they staid at home themselves, to attend to their domains. Many cities furnished soldiers at their cost, and the king took the field with an army of forty thousand infantry, and ten thousand horse. The principal captains, who followed him in this campaign, were Roderigo Ponce de Leon, the Marquis of Cadiz, the master of Santiago, the Marquis of Villena, the Counts of Tendilla, Cifuentes, Cabra, and Ureña, and Don Alonso de Aguilar.

Queen Isabella, accompanied by her son, the Prince Juan, and by the princesses Juana, Maria, and Catalina, her daughters, proceeded to Alcala la Real, the mountain fortress and stronghold of the Count

<sup>1</sup> Garibay, lib. viii. cap. 59.

ER XC.

FOR A DESPERATE DEFENCE.

departed, O Granada! how despoiled, O city of groves and meadows, that once thronged with the merchant no longer the luxuries of foreign lands. And these tribute, are wrestled from the living, which filled thy vivacious pageantry of war, have the Alhambra still rears its midst of groves; but melancholy halls, and the monarch's balcony upon a naked extended the blooming glories

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panied by her son, the Prince- cesses Juana, Maria, and Ca- proceeded to Alcala la Real, and stronghold of the Count y, lib. viii. cap. 59.

de Tendilla. Here she remained, to forward supplies to the army, and to be ready to repair to the camp, whenever her presence might be required.

The army of Ferdinand poured into the vega, by various defiles of the mountains, and on the 23d of April, the royal tent was pitched at a village called Los Ojos de Huescar, about a league and a half from Granada. At the approach of this formidable force, the harassed inhabitants turned pale, and even many of the warriors trembled, for they felt that the last desperate struggle was at hand.

Boabdil el Chico assembled his council in the Alhambra, from the windows of which they could behold the Christian squadrons, glistening through clouds of dust, as they poured along the vega. The utmost confusion and consternation reigned in the council. Many of the members, terrified with the horrors impending over their families, advised Boabdil to throw himself upon the generosity of the Christian monarch; even several of the bravest suggested the possibility of obtaining honourable terms.

The wazir of the city, Abul Casim Abdelmelia, was called upon to report the state of the public means, for sustenance and defence. There were sufficient provisions, he said, for a few months' supply, independent of what might exist in the possession of merchants, and other rich inhabitants. "But of what avail," said he, "is a temporary provision against the sieges of the Castilian monarch, which are interminable?"

He produced, also, the lists of men, capable of bearing arms. "The number," said he, "is great; but what can be expected from mere citizen soldiers? They vaunt and menace in time of safety. None are so arrogant when the enemy is at a distance; but when the din of war thunders at their gates, they hide themselves in terror."

When Muza heard these words, he rose with generous warmth. "What reason have we," said he, "to despair? The blood of those illustrious Moors, the ancient conquerors of Spain, still flows in our veins. Let us be true to ourselves, and fortune will again be with us. We have a veteran force, both horse and foot, the flower of our chivalry; seasoned in war, and scarred in a thousand battles. As to the multitude of our citizens, spoken of so slightly, why should we doubt their valour? There are twenty thousand young men, in the fire of youth, for whom I will engage, that, in the defence of their homes, they will rival the most hardy veterans. Do we want provisions? Our horses are fleet, and our horsemen daring in foray. Let them scour and scourge the country of those apostate Moslems, who have surrendered to the Christians. Let them make roads into the lands of our enemies. We shall soon see them returning with cavalgadas to our gates; and to a soldier, there is no morsel so sweet as that wrested with hard fighting from the foe."

Boabdil el Chico, though he wanted firm and durable courage, was readily excited to sudden emotions

of bravery. He caught a glow of resolution from the noble ardour of Muza. "Do what is needful," said he to his commanders: "into your hands I confide the common safety. You are the protectors of the kingdom; and, with the aid of Allah, will revenge the insults of our religion, the deaths of our friends and relations, and the sorrows and sufferings heaped upon our land."

To every one was now assigned his separate duty. The wazir had charge of the arms and provisions, and the enrolling of the people. Muza was to command the cavalry, to defend the gates, and to take the lead in all sallies and skirmishes. Nain Reduan and Mohammed Aben Zayda were his adjutants; Abbel Kerim Zegri, and the other captains, were to guard the walls; and the alcaydes of the alcazaba, and of the red towers, had command of the fortresses.

Nothing now was heard but the din of arms, and the bustle of preparation. The Moorish spirit, quick to catch fire, was immediately in a flame; and the populace, in the excitement of the moment, set at nought the power of the Christians. Muza was in all parts of the city, infusing his own generous zeal into the bosoms of the soldiery. The young cavaliers rallied round him as their model; the veteran warriors regarded him with a soldier's admiration; the vulgar throng followed him with shouts; and the helpless part of the inhabitants, the old men and the women, hailed him with blessings as their protector.

On the first appearance of the Christian army, the principal gates of the city had been closed, and secured with bars, and bolts, and heavy chains. Muza now ordered them to be thrown open. "To me and my cavaliers," said he, "is intrusted the defence of the gates: our bodies shall be their barriers." He stationed at each gate a strong guard, chosen from his bravest men. His horsemen were always completely armed, and ready to mount at a moment's warning. Their steeds stood saddled and caparisoned in the stables, with lance and buckler beside them. On the least approach of the enemy, a squadron of horse gathered within the gate, ready to dart forth like the bolt from the thunder-cloud. Muza made no empty bravado, or haughty threat: he was more terrible in deeds than in words; and executed daring exploits, beyond even the vaunt of the vain-glorious. Such was the present champion of the Moors. Had they possessed many such warriors, or had Muza risen to power at an earlier period of the war, the fate of Granada might have been deferred, and the Moor, for a long time, have maintained his throne within the walls of the Alhambra.

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## CHAPTER XCI.

HOW KING FERDINAND CONDUCTED THE SIEGE CAUTIOUSLY,  
AND HOW QUEEN ISABELLA ARRIVED AT THE CAMP.

THOUGH Granada was shorn of its glories, and nearly cut off from all external aid, still its mighty castles and massive bulwarks seemed to set all attack at defiance. Being the last retreat of Moorish power, it had assembled within its walls the remnants of the armies that had contended, step by step, with the invaders, in their gradual conquest of the land. All that remained of high-born and high-bred chivalry was here. All that was loyal and patriotic was roused to activity by the common danger; and Granada, that had so long been lulled into inaction by vain hopes of security, now assumed a formidable aspect in the hour of its despair.

Ferdinand saw, that any attempt to subdue the city by main force would be perilous and bloody. Cautious in his policy, and fond of conquests gained by art rather than by valour, he resorted to the plan, which had been so successful with Baza, and determined to reduce the place by famine. For this purpose, his armies penetrated into the very heart of the Alpuxarras; and ravaged the valleys, and sacked and burned the towns upon which the city depended for its supplies. Scouring parties, also, ranged the mountains behind Granada, and captured every casual convoy of provisions. The Moors became more daring as their situation became more hopeless. Never had Ferdinand experienced such vigorous sallies and assaults. Muza, at the head of his cavalry, harassed the borders of the camp, and even penetrated into the interior, making sudden spoil and ravage, and leaving his course to be traced by the wounded and slain. To protect his camp from these assaults, Ferdinand fortified it with deep trenches and strong bulwarks. It was of a quadrangular form, divided into streets, like a city, the troops being quartered in tents, and in booths, constructed of bushes and branches of trees. When it was completed, Queen Isabella came in state, with all her court, and the prince and princesses, to be present at the siege. This was intended, as on former occasions, to reduce the besieged to despair, by showing the determination of the sovereigns to reside in the camp until the city should surrender. Immediately after her arrival, the queen rode forth, to survey the camp and its environs. Wherever she went, she was attended by a splendid retinue; and all the commanders vied with each other in the pomp and ceremony with which they received her. Nothing was heard, from morning until night, but shouts and acclamations, and bursts of martial music; so that it appeared to the Moors as if a continual festival and triumph reigned in the Christian camp.

The arrival of the queen, however, and the unyielding obstinacy of the siege, had no effect in dampening the fire of the Moorish chivalry. Muza inspired

the youthful warriors with the most devoted heroism. "We have nothing left to fight for," said he, "but the ground we stand on: when this is lost, we cease to have a country and a name."

Finding the Christian king forbore to make an attack, Muza incited his cavaliers to challenge the youthful chivalry of the Christian army to single combat, or partial skirmishes. Scarcely a day passed without gallant conflicts of the kind, in sight of the city and the camp. The combatants rivalled each other in the splendour of their armour and array, as well as in the prowess of their deeds. Their contests were more like the stately ceremonials of tilts and tournaments, than the rude combats of the field. Ferdinand soon perceived, that they animated the fiery Moors with fresh zeal and courage, while they cost the lives of many of his bravest cavaliers: he again, therefore, forbade the acceptance of any individual challenges; and ordered, that all partial encounters should be avoided. The cool and stern policy of the catholic sovereign bore hard upon the generous spirits of either army; but roused the indignation of the Moors, when they found they were to be subdued in this inglorious manner. "Of what avail," said they, "is chivalry and heroic valour? the crafty monarch of the Christians has no magnanimity in warfare: he seeks to subdue us through the weakness of our bodies, but shuns to encounter the courage of our souls!"

## CHAPTER XCII.

OF THE INSOLENT DEFIANCE OF TARFE, THE MOOR, AND THE  
DARING EXPLOIT OF FERNANDO PEREZ DEL PULGAR.

WHEN the Moorish knights beheld, that all courteous challenges were unavailing, they sought various means to provoke the Christian warriors to the field. Sometimes a body of them, fleetly mounted, would gallop up to the skirts of the camp, and try who should hurl his lances farthest within the barriers; leaving his name inscribed on it, or a label affixed to it, containing some taunting defiance. These bravadoes caused great irritation; but still the Spanish warriors were restrained by the prohibition of the king.

Among the Moorish cavaliers was one named Tarfe, renowned for his great strength and daring spirit; but whose courage partook of fierce audacity rather than chivalric heroism. In one of these sallies, when they were skirting the Christian camp, this arrogant Moor outstripped his companions, overleaped the barriers, and, galloping close to the royal quarters, launched his lance so far within, that it remained quivering in the earth, close by the pavilions of the sovereigns. The royal guards rushed forth in pursuit; but the Moorish horsemen were already beyond the camp, and scouring in a cloud of dust for the city. Upon wresting the lance from the earth, a label was found upon it, importing that it was intended for the queen.

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Nothing could equal the indignation of the Chris- tian warriors at the insolence of the bravado, when they heard to whom the discourteous insult was of- fered. Fernando Perez del Pulgar surnamed "he of the exploits," was present, and resolved not to be out-braved by this daring infidel. "Who will stand by me," said he, "in an enterprise of desperate peril?" The Christian cavaliers well knew the hare-brained valour of del Pulgar; yet not one hesitated to step forward. He chose fifteen companions, all men of powerful arm and dauntless heart. In the dead of the night he led them forth from the camp, and ap- proached the city cautiously, until he arrived at a postern-gate, which opened upon the Darro, and was guarded by foot-soldiers. The guards, little think- ing of such an unwonted and partial attack, were for the most part asleep. The gate was forced, and a confused and chance-medley skirmish ensued. Fer- nando del Pulgar stopped not to take part in the affray. Putting spurs to his horse, he galloped furiously through the streets, striking fire out of the stones at every bound. Arrived at the principal mosque, he sprang from his horse, and, kneeling at the portal, took possession of the edifice as a Christian chapel, dedicating it to the blessed Virgin. In testimony of the ceremony, he took a tablet, which he had brought with him, on which was inscribed in large letters, "AVE MARIA," and nailed it to the door of the mosque with his dagger. This done, he remounted his steed and galloped back to the gate. The alarm had been given; the city was in an uproar; soldiers were gathering from every direction. They were as- tonished at seeing a Christian warrior speeding from the interior of the city. Fernando del Pulgar, over- turning some, and cutting down others, rejoined his companions, who still maintained possession of the gate, by dint of hard fighting, and they all made good their retreat to the camp. The Moors were at a loss to conjecture the meaning of this wild and apparently fruitless assault; but great was their exasperation, when, on the following day, they discovered the tro- phy of hardihood and prowess, the AVE MARIA, thus elevated in the very centre of the city. The mosque, thus boldly sanctified by Fernando del Pulgar, was eventually, after the capture of Granada, converted into a cathedral.

#### CHAPTER XCIII.

HOW QUEEN ISABELLA TOOK A VIEW OF THE CITY OF GRANADA; AND HOW HER CURIOSITY COST THE LIVES OF MANY CHRISTIANS AND MOORS.

THE royal encampment lay at such a distance from Granada, that the general aspect of the city only

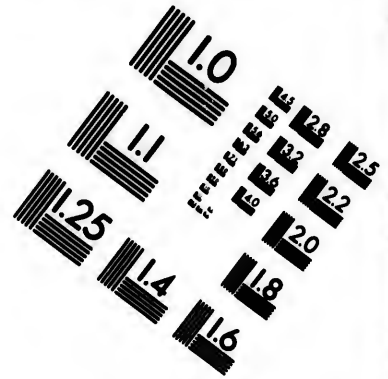
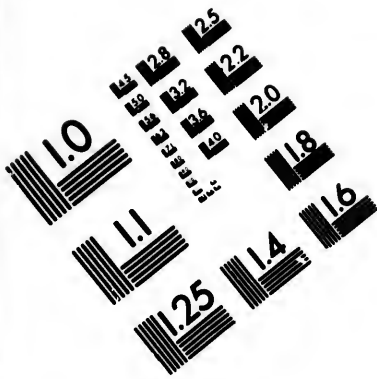
In commemoration of this daring feat, the Emperor Charles V. after years, conferred on Pulgar and his descendants the right sepulture in that church, and the privilege of sitting in the choir during high mass. This Fernando Perez del Pulgar was a man

could be seen, as it rose gracefully from the vega, covering the sides of the hills with palaces and towers. Queen Isabella had expressed an earnest desire to be- hold, nearer at hand, a place, the beauty of which was so renowned throughout the world; and the Marquis of Cadiz, with his accustomed courtesy, pre- pared a great military escort and guard, to protect her and the ladies of the court, while they enjoyed this perilous gratification.

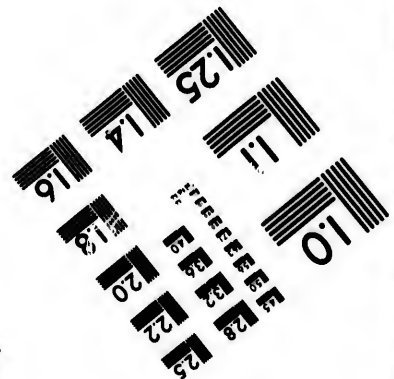
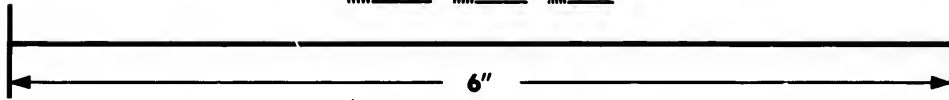
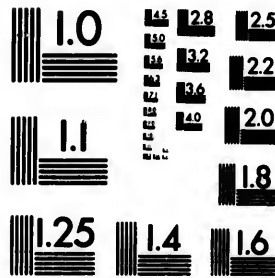
It was on the morning after the event recorded in the preceding chapter, that a magnificent and power- ful train issued forth from the Christian camp. The advance guard was composed of legions of cavalry, heavily armed, that looked like moving masses of polished steel. Then came the king and queen, with the prince and princesses, and the ladies of the court, surrounded by the royal body-guard, sumptuously arrayed, composed of the sons of the most illustrious houses of Spain. After these was the rear-guard, composed of a powerful force of horse and foot; for the flower of the army sallied forth that day. The Moors gazed with fearful admiration at this glorious pageant, wherein the pomp of the court was mingled with the terrors of the camp. It moved along in a radiant line across the vega, to the melodious thun- ders of martial music; while banner, and plume, and silken scarf, and rich brocade, gave a gay and gorge- ous relief to the grim visage of iron war that lurked beneath.

The army moved towards the hamlet of Zubia, built on the skirts of the mountains, to the left of Granada, and commanding a view of the Alhambra, and the most beautiful quarter of the city. As they approached the hamlet, the Marquis of Villena, the Count Ureña, and Don Alonso de Aguilar, filed off with their battalions, and were soon seen glittering along the side of the mountain above the village. In the mean time, the Marquis of Cadiz, the Count de Tendilla, the Count de Cabra, and Don Alonso Fer- nandez, senior of Alcantrete and Montemayor, drew up their forces in battle array on the plain below the hamlet, presenting a living barrier of loyal chivalry, between the sovereigns and the city. Thus securely guarded, the royal party alighted, and entering one of the houses of the hamlet, which had been prepared for their reception, enjoyed a full view of the city from its terraced roof. The ladies of the court gazed with delight at the red towers of the Alhambra, rising from amidst shady groves, anticipating the time when the Catholic sovereigns should be enthroned within its walls, and its courts shine with the splendour of Spanish chivalry. "The reverend prelates and holy friars, who always surrounded the queen, looked with serene satisfaction," says Fray Antonio Agapida, "at this modern Babylon; enjoying the triumph that of letters, as well as arms; and inscribed to Charles V a summary of the achievements of Gonsalvo of Cordova, surnamed the Great Captain, who had been one of his comrades in arms. He is often confounded with Fernando del Pulgar, historian and secretary to Queen Isabella. See note to Pulgar's Chron. of the Catholic Sovereigns, part iii, c. 5, edit. Valencia, 1760.





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
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awaited them, when those mosques and minarets should be converted into churches, and goodly priests and bishops should succeed to the infidel alfaquis."

When the Moors beheld the Christians thus drawn forth in full array in the plain, they supposed it was to offer them battle, and they hesitated not to accept it. In a little while the queen beheld a body of Moorish cavalry pouring into the vega, the riders managing their fleet and fiery steeds with admirable address. They were richly armed, and clothed in the most brilliant colours, and the caparisons of their steeds flamed with gold and embroidery. This was the favourite squadron of Muza, composed of the flower of the youthful cavaliers of Granada: others succeeded; some heavily armed, some *à la gineta*, with lance and buckler, and lastly came the legions of foot-soldiers, with arquebuse and cross-bow and spear and cimeter.

When the queen saw the army issuing from the city, she sent to the Marquis of Cadiz and forbade any attack upon the enemy, or the acceptance of any challenge to a skirmish; for she was loth that her curiosity should cost the life of a single human being.

The marquis promised to obey, though sorely against his will; and it grieved the spirit of the Spanish cavaliers to be obliged to remain with sheathed swords, while hearded by the foe. The Moors could not comprehend the meaning of this inaction of the Christians, after having apparently invited a battle. They sallied several times from their ranks, and approached near enough to discharge their arrows, but the Christians were immovable. Many of the Moorish horsemen galloped close to the Christian ranks, brandishing their lances and cimeters, and defying various cavaliers to single combat: but King Ferdinand had rigorously prohibited all duels of the kind, and they dared not transgress his orders under his very eye.

While this grim and reluctant tranquillity prevailed along the Christian line, there rose a mingled shout and sound of laughter, near the gate of the city. A Moorish horseman, armed at all points, issued forth, followed by a rabble, who drew back as he approached the scene of danger. The Moor was more robust and brawny than was common with his countrymen. His visor was closed; he bore a large buckler and ponderous lance; his cimeter was of a Damascus blade, and his richly ornamented dagger was wrought by an artificer of Fez. He was known by his device to be Tarfe, the most insolent, yet valiant, of the Moslem warriors; the same who had hurled into the royal camp his lance, inscribed to the queen. As he rode slowly along in front of the army, his very steed, prancing with fiery eye and distended nostril, seemed to breathe defiance to the Christians. But what were the feelings of the Spanish cavaliers, when they beheld tied to the tail of his steed, and dragged in the dust, the very inscription, *Ave Maria*, which Fernando Perez del Pulgar had affixed to the door of the mosque! A burst of horror and indignation broke

forth from the army. Fernando del Pulgar was not at hand to maintain his previous achievement, but one of his young companions in arms, Garcilasso de la Vega by name, putting spurs to his horse, galloped to the hamlet of Zubia, threw himself on his knees before the king, and besought permission to accept the defiance of this insolent infidel, and to revenge the insult offered to our blessed Lady. The request was too pious to be refused: Garcilasso remounted his steed; he closed his helmet, graced by four sable plumes; grasped his buckler, of Flemish workmanship, and his lance, of matchless temper, and defied the haughty Moor in the midst of his career. A combat took place, in view of the two armies, and of the Castilian court. The Moor was powerful in wielding his weapons, and dexterous in managing his steed. He was of larger frame than Garcilasso, and more completely armed; and the Christians trembled for their champion. The shock of their encounter was dreadful; their lances were shivered, and sent up splinters in the air. Garcilasso was thrown back in his saddle, and his horse made a wide career before he could recover his position, gather up the reins, and return to the conflict. They now encountered each other with swords. The Moor circled round his opponent as a hawk circles when about to make a swoop; his Arabian steed obeyed his rider with matchless quickness; at every attack of the infidel, it seemed as if the Christian knight must sink beneath his flashing cimeter. But if Garcilasso were inferior to him in power, he was superior in agility; many of his blows he parried, others he received on his Flemish buckler, which was proof against the Damascus blade. The blood streamed from numerous wounds, received by either warrior. The Moor, seeing his antagonist exhausted, availed himself of his superior force; and, grappling, endeavoured to wrest him from his saddle. They both fell to earth; the Moor placed his knee on the breast of his victim, and, brandishing his dagger, aimed a blow at his throat. A cry of despair was uttered by the Christian warriors, when suddenly they beheld the Moor rolling lifeless in the dust! Garcilasso had shortened his sword, and, as his adversary raised his arm to strike, had pierced him to the heart. "It was a singular and miraculous victory," said Fray Antonio Agapida; "but the Christian knight was armed by the sacred nature of his cause, and the holy Virgin gave him strength, like another David, to slay this gigantic champion of the Gentiles."

The laws of chivalry were observed throughout the combat; no one interfered on either side. Garcilasso now despoiled his adversary; then, rescinding the holy inscription of "AVE MARIA" from his sword, and bore it off as a signal of triumph, amid the rapturous shouts of the Christian army.

The sun had now reached the meridian, and the hot blood of the Moors was inflamed by its rays, and by the sight of the defeat of their champion. Many

## CHAPTER XCIV.

## CONFLORATION OF THE CHRISTIAN CAMP.

Fernando del Pulgar was not his previous achievement, but his companions in arms, Garcilasso de la Vega, galloping on his steed, and throwing spurs to his horse, galloped forward, and threw himself on his knees, besought permission to accept of insolent infidel, and to revenge upon his blessed Lady. The request was refused: Garcilasso remounted his helmet, graced by four sable buckler, of Flemish workmanship, in the midst of his career. A view of the two armies, and the Moor was powerful in arms, and dexterous in managing of larger frame than Garcilasso, and the Christians were well armed; and the Christians were in a confusion. The shock of their lances; their lances were shivered, and the Christians were in a confusion. Garcilasso was on his horse, and his horse made a leap, and he could recover his position, and return to the conflict. They met each other with swords. The Moor's opponent as a hawk circles the air; his Arabian steed had matchless quickness; at every step, it seemed as if the Christian were beneath his flashing cimeter. But inferior to him in power, he was many of his blows he parried, on his Flemish buckler, which was the Damascus blade. The blood of the Moor's wounds, received by either seeing his antagonist exhausted, his superior force; and, grappling, he wrested him from his saddle. They met the Moor placed his knee on the Moor's neck, and, brandishing his dagger, he struck at his throat. A cry of despair was uttered by the warriors, when suddenly they fell lifeless in the dust! Garcilasso drew his sword, and, as his adversary's sword, had pierced him to the heart, and a miraculous victory," said the Moor; "but the Christian knight, by the sacred nature of his cause, and his strength, like another David, was the champion of the Gentiles." The Moor was observed throughout the battle, and interfered on either side. Garcilasso's adversary; then, rescuing the image of "AVE MARIA" from its place, he elevated it on the point of his lance, and off as a signal of triumph, amidst the shouts of the Christian army. As the sun reached the meridian, and the Moor's camp was inflamed by its rays, and the defeat of their champion. Muza

ordered two pieces of ordnance to open a fire upon the Christians. A confusion was produced in one part of their ranks. Muza called the chiefs of the army: "Let us waste no more time in empty challenges, let us charge upon the enemy: he who assaults has always an advantage in the combat." So saying, he rushed forward, followed by a large body of horse and foot, and charged so furiously upon the advance guard of the Christians, that he drove it in upon the battalion of the Marquis of Cadiz. The gallant marquis now considered himself absolved from all further obedience to the queen's commands. He gave the signal to attack. "Santiago!" was shouted along the line, and he pressed forward to the encounter, with his battalion of twelve hundred lances. The other cavaliers followed his example, and the battle instantly became general.

When the king and queen beheld the armies thus rushing to the combat, they threw themselves on their knees, and implored the Holy Virgin to protect her faithful warriors. The prince and princesses, the ladies of the court, and the prelates and friars who were present, did the same; and the effect of the prayers of these illustrious and saintly persons was immediately apparent. The fierceness with which the Moors had rushed to the attack was suddenly cooled; they were bold and adroit for a skirmish, but unequal to the veteran Spaniards in the open field. A panic seized upon the foot-soldiers; they turned, and took to flight. Muza and his cavaliers in vain endeavoured to rally them. Some sought refuge in the mountains; but the greater part fled to the city, in such confusion, that they overturned and trampled upon each other. The Christians pursued them to the very gates. Upwards of two thousand were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, and the two pieces of ordnance were brought off, as trophies of the victory. Not a Christian lance but was bathed that day in the blood of an infidel.

Such was the brief but sanguinary action, which was known among the Christian warriors by the name of the Queen's Skirmish; for when the Marquis of Cadiz waited upon her majesty, to apologize for seeking her commands, he attributed the victory entirely to her presence. The queen, however, insisted, that all was owing to her troops being led on by so valiant a commander. Her majesty had not recovered from her agitation at beholding so terrible a scene of bloodshed; though certain veterans present pronounced it as gay and gentle a fight as they had ever witnessed.

To commemorate this victory, the queen afterwards erected a monastery in the village of Zubia, dedicated to St Francisco; which still exists, and in the garden is a laurel planted by the hands of her majesty.

## Casa de los Palacios.

The house, from whence the king and queen contemplated the battle, is likewise to be seen at the present day. It is in the street, to the right, on entering the village from the vega, and

THE ravages of war had as yet spared a little portion of the vega of Granada. A green belt of gardens and orchards still flourished round the city, extending along the banks of the Xenil and the Darro. They had been the solace and delight of the inhabitants in their happier days, and contributed to their sustenance in this time of scarcity. Ferdinand determined to make a final and exterminating ravage to the very walls of the city, so that there should not remain a single green thing for the sustenance of man or beast. The evening of a hot July day shone splendidly upon the Christian camp, which was in a bustle of preparation for the next day's service; for desperate resistance was expected from the Moors. The camp made a glorious appearance in the setting sun. The warriors' tents of the royal family and the attendant nobles were adorned with rich hangings, having sumptuous devices, and with costly furniture; forming, as it were, a little city of silk and brocade, where the pinnacles of pavilions of various gay colours, surmounted with waving standards and fluttering pennons, might vie with the domes and minarets of the capital they were besieging.

In the midst of this gaudy metropolis, the lofty tent of the queen domineered over the rest like a stately palace. The Marquis of Cadiz had courteously surrendered his own tent to the queen. It was the most complete and splendid in Christendom, and had been carried about with him throughout the war. In the centre rose a stately alfaneque, or pavilion, in oriental taste, the rich hangings being supported by columns of lances, ornamented with martial devices. This centre pavilion, or silken tower, was surrounded by other compartments, some of painted linen, lined with silk, and all separated from each other by curtains. It was one of those camp palaces, which are raised and demolished in an instant, like the city of canvas that surrounds them.

As the evening advanced, the bustle in the camp subsided. Every one sought repose, preparatory to the next day's toil. The king retired early, that he might be up with the crowing of the cock, to head the destroying army in person. All stir of military preparation was hushed in the royal quarters; the very sound of minstrelsy was mute; and not the tinkling of a guitar was to be heard from the tents of the fair ladies of the court.

The queen had retired to the innermost part of her pavilion, where she was performing her orisons before a private altar. Perhaps the peril, to which the king might be exposed in the next day's foray,

the royal arms are painted on the ceilings. It is inhabited by a worthy farmer, Francisco Garcia, who, in showing the house, refuses all compensation, with true Spanish pride; offering, on the contrary, the hospitalities of his mansion to the stranger. His children are versed in the old Spanish ballads about the exploits of Fernando Perez del Pulgar and Garcilasso de la Vega.

inspired her with more than usual devotion. While thus at her prayers, she was suddenly aroused by a glare of light, and wreaths of suffocating smoke. In an instant, the whole tent was in a blaze: there was a high gusty wind, which whirled the light flames from tent to tent, and speedily wrapped them all in one conflagration.

Isabella had barely time to save herself by instant flight. Her first thought, on being extricated from her tent, was for the safety of the king. She rushed to his tent; but the vigilant Ferdinand was already at the entrance of it. Starting from bed on the first alarm, and fancying it an assault of the enemy, he had seized his sword and buckler, and sallied forth undressed, with his cuirass upon his arm.

The late so gorgeous camp was now a scene of wild confusion. The flames kept spreading from one pavilion to another, glaring upon the rich armour and golden and silver vessels, which seemed melting in the fervent heat. Many of the soldiery had erected booths and bowers of branches, which, being dry, crackled and blazed, and added to the rapid conflagration. The ladies of the court fled shrieking and half-dressed, from their tents. There was an alarm of drum and trumpet, and a distracted hurry about the camp, of men half armed.

The Prince Juan had been snatched out of bed by an attendant, and conveyed to the quarters of the Count de Cabra, which were at the entrance of the camp. The loyal count immediately summoned his people, and those of his cousin, Don Alonso de Montemayor, and formed a guard round the tent in which the prince was sheltered.

The idea, that this was a stratagem of the Moors, soon subsided; but it was feared, that they might take advantage of it to commence an assault. The Marquis of Cadiz, therefore, sallied forth with three thousand horse, to check any advance from the city. As they passed along it was one entire scene of hurry and consternation; some hastening to their posts at the call of drum and trumpet, some attempting to save rich effects and glittering armour, others dragging along terrified and restive horses.

When they emerged from the camp, they found the whole firmament illumined. The flames whirled up in long light spires; and the air was filled with sparks and cinders. A bright glare was thrown upon the city, revealing every battlement and tower. Turbaned heads were seen gazing from every roof, and armour gleamed along the walls; yet not a single warrior sallied from the gates. The Moors suspected some stratagem on the part of the Christians, and kept quietly within their walls. By degrees the flames expired, the city faded from sight, all again became dark and quiet, and the Marquis of Cadiz returned with his cavalry to the camp.

## CHAPTER XCV.

## THE LAST BAVAGE BEFORE GRANADA.

WHEN the day dawned on the Christian camp, nothing remained of that beautiful assemblage of stately pavilions, but heaps of smouldering rubbish, with helms, and corslets, and other furniture of war, and masses of melted gold and silver glittering among the ashes. The wardrobe of the queen was entirely destroyed; and there was an immense loss in plate, jewels, costly stuffs, and sumptuous armour of the luxurious nobles. The fire at first had been attributed to treachery, but, on investigation, it was proved to be entirely accidental. The queen, on retiring to her prayers, had ordered her lady in attendance to remove a light, burning near her couch, lest it should prevent her sleeping. Through heedlessness, the taper was placed in another part of the tent, near the hangings, which, being blown against it by a gust of wind, immediately took fire.

The wary Ferdinand knew the sanguine temperament of the Moors, and hastened to prevent their deriving confidence from the night's disaster. At break of day, the drums and trumpets sounded to arms; and the Christian army issued from among the smoking ruins of their camp in shining squadrons with flaunting banners, and bursts of martial melodies, as though the preceding night had been a time of high festivity, instead of terror.

The Moors had beheld the conflagration with wonder and perplexity. When the day broke, and they looked towards the Christian camp, they saw nothing but a dark smoking mass. Their scouts came in with the joyful intelligence, that the whole camp was a scene of ruin. Scarce had the tidings spread throughout the city, than they beheld the Christian army advancing towards the walls. They considered it a feint to cover their desperate situation, and prepared for a retreat. Boabdil el Chico had one of those impulses of valour; he determined to take the field in person, and to follow up this signal blow, which Allah had inflicted on the enemy.

The Christian army approached close to the city, and were laying waste gardens and orchards, when Boabdil sallied forth, surrounded by all that was left of the flower and chivalry of Granada. There is a place, where even the coward becomes brave; the sacred spot called home. What, then, must have been the valour of the Moors, a people always fiery spirit, when the war was thus brought to the thresholds? They fought among the scenes of their loves and pleasures, the scenes of their infancy, the haunts of their domestic life. They fought under the eyes of their wives and children, their old men and their maidens, of all that was helpless and that was dear to them; for all Granada crowded tower and battlement, watching with trembling hearts the fate of this eventful day.

It was not so much one battle as a variety of

TER XCV.

AGE BEFORE GRANADA.

owned on the Christian camp, that beautiful assemblage of heaps of smouldering rubbish, gold and silver glittering among the spoils, and other furniture of war, the robe of the queen was entirely covered with an immense loss in plate, and sumptuous armour of the fire at first had been attributed to the investigation, it was proved to be the queen, on retiring to her lady in attendance lying near her couch, lest it should be blown against it by a gust of fire.

and knew the sanguine temper and hastened to prevent them from the night's disaster. As drums and trumpets sounded the Christian army issued from among their camp in shining squadrons, and bursts of martial melody preceding night had been a time of terror.

beheld the conflagration with anxiety. When the day broke, and as the Christian camp, they saw a smoking mass. Their scouts came with intelligence, that the whole camp

Scarce had the tidings spread, than they beheld the Christians towards the walls. They considered their desperate situation, and Boabdil el Chico had one of the determined to take the field to blow up this signal blow, while on the enemy.

any approached close to the city, the gardens and orchards, when Boabdil was surrounded by all that was left of the cavalry of Granada. There is the coward becomes brave; the home. What, then, must have of the Moors, a people always the war was thus brought to the fought among the scenes of the scenes of their infancy, and domestic life. They fought wives and children, their old men of all that was helpless and them; for all Granada crowded together, watching with trembling as eventful day.

each one battle as a variety of

ties. Every garden and orchard became a scene of deadly contest; every inch of ground was disputed by the Moors with an agony of grief and valour. Every inch of ground that the Christians advanced, they valiantly maintained; but never did they advance with severer fighting, or greater loss of blood.

The cavalry of Muza was in every part of the field. Wherever it came, it gave fresh ardour to the fight. The Moorish soldier, fainting with heat, fatigue, and wounds, was roused to new life at the approach of Muza; and even he, who lay gasping in the agonies of death, turned his face towards him, and faintly uttered cheers and blessings as he passed.

The Christians had by this time gained possession of various towers near the city, from whence they had been annoyed by cross-bows and arquebuses. The Moors, scattered in various actions, were severely pressed. Boabdil, at the head of the cavaliers of his guard, displayed the utmost valour; mingling in the fight, in various parts of the field, and endeavouring to inspire the foot-soldiers to the combat. But the Moorish infantry was never to be depended upon. In the heat of the action a panic seized upon them. They fled; leaving their sovereign exposed, with his handful of cavaliers, to an overwhelming force. Boabdil was on the point of falling into the hands of the Christians; when, wheeling round, with his followers, they all threw the reins on the necks of their fleet steeds, and took refuge, by dint of hoof, within the walls of the city.

Muza endeavoured to retrieve the fortune of the field. He threw himself before the retreating infantry; calling upon them to turn, and fight for their homes, their families, for every thing that was sacred and dear to them. It was all in vain. They were totally broken and dismayed, and fled tumultuously before the gates. Muza would fain have kept the field with his cavalry; but this devoted band, having stood the brunt of war throughout this desperate campaign, was fearfully reduced in number, and many of the survivors were crippled and enfeebled by their wounds. Slowly and reluctantly he retreated to the city, his bosom swelling with indignation and despair. When he entered the gates, he ordered them to be closed, and secured with bolts and bars; for he refused to place any further confidence in the archers and arquebusiers, who were stationed to defend them; and he vowed never more to sally forth with foot-soldiers in the field.

In the mean time, the artillery thundered from the walls, and checked all further advances of the Christians. King Ferdinand, therefore, called off his troops, and returned in triumph to the ruins of the camp; leaving the beautiful city of Granada, wrapped in the smoke of her fields and gardens, and surrounded by the bodies of her slaughtered children.

Such was the last sally, made by the Moors, in defence of their favourite city. The French ambassador,

who witnessed it, was filled with wonder at the prowess, the dexterity, and daring, of the Moslems. In truth, this whole war was an instance, memorable in history, of the most persevering resolution. For nearly ten years had the war endured, exhibiting an almost uninterrupted series of disasters to the Moorish arms. Their towns had been taken one after another, and their brethren slain, or led into captivity. Yet they disputed every city, and town, and fortress, and castle; nay, every rock itself, as if they had been inspired by victories. Wherever they could plant foot to fight, or find wall or cliff from whence to launch an arrow, they disputed their beloved country; and now, when their capital was cut off from all relief, and had a whole nation thundering at its gates, they still maintained defence, as if they hoped some miracle to interpose in their behalf. "Their obstinate resistance," says an ancient chronicler, "shows the grief with which the Moors yielded up the vega, which was to them a paradise and heaven. Exerting all the strength of their arms, they embraced, as it were, that most beloved soil, from which neither wounds, nor defeats, nor death itself, could part them. They stood firm, battling for it with the united force of love and grief; never drawing back the foot, while they had hands to fight, or fortune to befriend them."

## CHAPTER XCVI.

BUILDING OF THE CITY OF SANTA FÉ. DESPAIR OF THE MOORS.

THE Moors now shut themselves up gloomily within their walls. There were no longer any daring sallies from their gates; and even the martial clangour of the drum and trumpet, which had continually resounded within that warrior city, was now seldom heard from its battlements. For a time they flattered themselves with hopes, that the late conflagration of the camp would discourage the besiegers; that, as in former years, their invasion would end with the summer, and that they would again withdraw before the autumnal rains. The measures of Ferdinand and Isabella soon crushed these hopes. They gave orders to build a regular city upon the site of their camp, to convince the Moors, that the siege was to endure until the surrender of Granada. Nine of the principal cities of Spain were charged with this stupendous undertaking, and they emulated each other with a zeal worthy of the cause. "It verily seemed," says Fray Antonio Agapida, "as though some miracle operated to aid this pious work, so rapidly did arise a formidable city, with solid edifices, and powerful walls, and mighty towers, where lately had been seen nothing but tents and light pavilions. The city was traversed by two principal streets, in form of a cross; terminating in four gates, facing the four winds; and in the centre was a vast square, where the whole army might be assembled.

Zurita, lib. xx, c. 88.

Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, rey xxx, c. 3.



To this city it was proposed to give the name of Isabella, so dear to the army and the nation; but that pious princess," adds Antonio Agapida, "calling to mind the holy cause in which it was erected, gave it the name of Santa Fé, or the city of the Holy Faith; and it remains to this day, a monument of the piety and glory of the catholic sovereigns."

Hither the merchants soon resorted from all points. Long trains of mules were seen every day entering and departing from its gates; the streets were crowded with magazines filled with all kinds of costly and luxurious merchandise; a scene of bustling commerce and prosperity took place, while unhappy Granada remained shut up and desolate.

In the mean time the besieged city began to suffer the distress of famine. Its supplies were all cut off. A cavalcade of flocks and herds, and mules laden with money, coming to the relief of the city from the mountains of the Alpuxarras, was taken by the Marquis of Cadiz, and led in triumph to the camp, in sight of the suffering Moors. Autumn arrived; but the harvests had been swept from the face of the country; a rigorous winter was approaching, and the city was almost destitute of provisions. The people sank into deep despondency. They called to mind all that had been predicted by astrologers, at the birth of their ill-starred sovereign, and all that had been foretold of the fate of Granada, at the time of the capture of Zahara.

Boabdil was alarmed by the gathering dangers from without, and by the clamours of his starving people. He summoned a council, composed of the principal officers of the army, the alcaydes of the fortresses, the xeques, or sages of the city, and the alfaquis, or doctors of the faith. They assembled in the great hall of audience of the Alhambra, and despair was painted in their countenances. Boabdil demanded of them what was to be done in their present extremity; and their answer was, "Surrender." The venerable Abal Cazim Abdelmelic, governor of the city, represented its unhappy state. "Our granaries are nearly exhausted, and no further supplies are to be expected. The provender for the war-horses is required as sustenance for the soldiery; the very horses themselves are killed for food. Of seven thousand steeds, which once could be sent into the field, three hundred only remain. Our city contains two hundred thousand inhabitants, old and young, with each a mouth that calls piteously for bread."

The xeques and principal citizens declared, that the people could no longer sustain the labours and sufferings of a defence: "And of what avail is our defence," said they, "when the enemy is determined to persist in the siege? what alternative remains, but to surrender, or to die?"

The heart of Boabdil was touched by this appeal, and he maintained a gloomy silence. He had cherished some faint hope of relief from the Soldan of Egypt, or the Barbary powers; but it was now at an end. Even if such assistance were to be sent, he had

no longer a sea-port where it might debark. The counsellors saw, that the resolution of the king was shaken, and they united their voices in urging him to capitulate.

The valiant Muza alone arose in opposition. "It is yet too early," said he, "to talk of a surrender. Our means are not exhausted; we have yet one source of strength remaining, terrible in its effects, and which often has achieved the most signal victory. It is our despair. Let us rouse the mass of the people; let us put weapons in their hands; let us fight the enemy to the very utmost, until we rush upon the points of their lances. I am ready to lead the way into the thickest of their squadrons; and much rather would I be numbered among those who fell in the defence of Granada, than of those who survived to capitulate for her surrender!"

The words of Muza were without effect, for they were addressed to broken-spirited and heartless men, or men perhaps to whom sad experience had taught discretion. They were arrived at that state of public depression, when heroes and heroisms are no longer regarded, and when old men and their counsels rise into importance. Boabdil el Chico yielded to the general voice. It was determined to capitulate with the Christian sovereigns, and the venerable Abal Cazim Abdelmelic was sent forth to the camp, empowered to treat for terms.

## CHAPTER XCVII.

### CAPITULATION OF GRANADA.

THE old governor, Abal Cazim Abdelmelic, was received with great distinction by Ferdinand and Isabella, who appointed Gonsalvo of Cordova, and Fernando de Zafra, secretary to the king, to confer with him. All Granada awaited in trembling anxiety the result of his negotiations. After repeated conferences, he at length returned with the ultimate terms of the catholic sovereigns. They agreed to suspend all attack for seventy days, at the end of which time, if no succour should have arrived to the Moorish king, the city of Granada was to be surrendered.

All Christian captives were to be liberated without ransom.

Boabdil and his principal cavaliers were to take oath of fealty to the Castilian crown; and certain valuable territories in the Alpuxarras mountains were to be assigned to the Moorish monarch for his maintenance.

The Moors of Granada were to become subjects of the Spanish sovereigns, retaining their possessions, their arms, and horses, and yielding up nothing of their artillery. They were to be protected in the exercise of their religion, and governed by their laws, administered by cadis of their own faith, and

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Granada were to become subjects gns, retaining their possession es, and yielding up nothing ey were to be protected in the gion, and governed by their oy cadis of their own faith, and

governors appointed by the sovereigns. They were to be exempted from tribute for three years, after which term the pay was to be the same as they had been accustomed to render to their native monarchs.

Those who chose to depart for Africa, within three years, were to be provided with a passage for themselves and their effects, free of charge, from whatever port they should prefer.

For the fulfilment of these articles, four hundred hostages from the principal families were required, previous to the surrender, to be subsequently restored. The son of the King of Granada, and all other hostages in possession of the Castilian sovereigns, were to be given up at the same time.

Such were the conditions that the wazir, Abal Cazim, laid before the council of Granada, as the best that could be obtained from the besieging foe.

When the members of the council found, that the awful moment had arrived, in which they were to sign and seal the perdition of their empire, and blot themselves out as a nation, all firmness deserted them, and many gave way to tears. Muza alone retained an unaltered mien. "Leave, seniors," cried he, "this idle lamentation to helpless women and children. We are men; we have hearts, not to shed tender tears, but drops of blood. I see the spirit of the people so cast down, that it is impossible to save the kingdom. Yet, there still remains an alternative for noble minds—a glorious death! Let us die defending our liberty, and avenging the woes of Granada! Our mother Earth will receive her children into her bosom, safe from the chains and oppressions of the conqueror; or, should any fail of a sepulchre to hide his remains, he will not want a sky to cover him: Allah forbid it should be said, the nobles of Granada feared to die in her defence!"

Muza ceased to speak, and a dead silence reigned in the assembly. Boabdil el Chico looked anxiously round, and scanned every face; but he read in them all the anxiety of care-worn men; in whose hearts enthusiasm was dead, and who had grown callous to every chivalrous appeal. "Allah achbar! God is great!" exclaimed he: "there is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet! It is in vain to struggle against the will of Heaven. Too surely was it written in the book of fate, that I should be unfortunate, and the kingdom expire under my rule!"

"Allah achbar! God is great!" echoed the viziers and alfaquis: "the will of God be done!" So they all accorded with the king, that these evils were pre-ordained; that it was hopeless to contend with them; and that the terms offered by the Castilian monarchs were as favourable as could be expected. When Muza saw, that they were about to sign the treaty of surrender, he rose, in violent indignation. "Do not deceive yourselves," cried he, "nor think the Christians will be faithful to their promises, or their king is magnanimous in conquest, as he has been victorious in war. Death is the least we have to fear: it is the plundering and sacking of our city, the pro-

fanation of our mosques, the ruin of our homes, the violation of our wives and daughters; cruel oppression, bigoted intolerance, whips and chains; the dungeon, the faggot, and the stake: such are the miseries and indignities we shall see and suffer; at least those grovelling souls will see them, who now shrink from an honourable death. For my part, by Allah, I will never witness them!" With these words he left the council-chamber, and strode gloomily through the court of lions, and the outer halls of the Alhambra, without deigning to speak to the obsequious courtiers, who attended in them. He repaired to his dwelling, armed himself at all points, mounted his favourite war-horse, and, issuing forth from the city by the gate of Elvira, was never seen or heard of more.

Such is the account given by Arabian historians of the exit of Muza ben Abel Gazan: but the venerable Fray Antonio Agapida endeavours to clear up the mystery of his fate. That very evening, a party of Andalusian cavaliers, somewhat more than half a score of lances, were riding along the banks of the Xenil, where it winds through the vega. They beheld in the twilight a Moorish warrior approaching, closely locked up from head to foot in proof. His visor was closed, his lance in rest, his powerful charger barbed, like himself, in steel. The Christians were lightly armed, with corset, helm, and target; for, during the truce, they apprehended no attack. Seeing, however, the unknown warrior approach in this hostile guise, they challenged him to stand and declare himself.

The Moslem answered not; but, charging into the midst of them, transfixing one knight with his lance, and bore him out of his saddle to the earth. Wheeling round, he attacked the others with his cimier. His blows were furious and deadly: he seemed regardless what wounds he received, so he could but slay. He was evidently fighting, not for glory, but revenge; eager to inflict death, but careless of surviving to enjoy victory. Nearly one half of the cavaliers fell beneath his sword, before he received a dangerous wound, so completely was he cased in armour of proof. At length he was desperately wounded; and his steed, being pierced by a lance, fell to the ground. The Christians, admiring the valour of the Moor, would have spared his life; but he continued to fight upon his knees, brandishing a keen dagger of Fez. Finding at length he could no longer battle, and determined not to be taken prisoner, he threw himself, with an expiring exertion, into the Xenil; and his armour sank him to the bottom of the stream.

This unknown warrior the venerable Agapida pronounces to have been Muza ben Abel Gazan; and says, his horse was recognised by certain converted Moors of the Christian camp: the fact, however, has always remained in doubt.

## CHAPTER XCVIII.

## COMMOTIONS IN GRANADA.

THE capitulation for the surrender of Granada was signed on the 25th of November, 1491, and produced a sudden cessation of those hostilities, which had raged for so many years. Christian and Moor might now be seen mingling courteously on the banks of the Xenil and the Darro, where to have met a few days previous would have produced a scene of sanguinary contest. Still, as the Moors might be suddenly aroused to defence, if, within the allotted term of seventy days, succours should arrive from abroad; and as they were at all times a rash, inflammable people, the wary Ferdinand maintained a vigilant watch upon the city, and permitted no supplies of any kind to enter. His garrisons in the sea-ports, and his cruisers in the Straits of Gibraltar, were ordered likewise to guard against any relief from the Grand Soldan of Egypt, or the princes of Barbary.

There was no need of such precautions. Those powers were either too much engrossed by their own wars, or too much daunted by the success of the Spanish arms, to interfere in a desperate cause; and the unfortunate Moors of Granada were abandoned to their fate.

The month of December had nearly passed away; the famine became extreme; and there was no hope of any favourable event within the term specified in the capitulation. Boabdil saw, that to hold out to the end of the allotted time would only be to protract the miseries of his people. With the consent of his council, he determined to surrender the city on the 6th of January. On the 30th of December, he sent his grand vizier, Jusef Aben Comixa, with the four hundred hostages, to King Ferdinand, to make known his intention; bearing him, at the same time, a present of a magnificent cimeter, and two Arabian steeds, superbly caparisoned.

The unfortunate Boabdil was doomed to meet with trouble to the end of his career. The very next day, the santon, or dervise, Hamet Aben Zarrax, the same who had uttered prophecies and excited commotions on former occasions, suddenly made his appearance. Whence he came, no one knew: it was rumoured, that he had been in the mountains of the Alpuxarras, and on the coast of Barbary, endeavouring to rouse the Moslems to the relief of Granada. He was reduced to a skeleton. His eyes glowed in their sockets like coals, and his speech was little better than frantic raving. He harangued the populace in the streets and squares; inveighed against the capitulation; denounced the king and nobles as Moslems only in name; and called upon the people to sally forth against the unbelievers, for that Allah had decreed them a signal victory.

Upwards of twenty thousand of the populace seized their arms, and paraded the streets with shouts and outcries. The shops and houses were shut up; the

king himself did not dare to venture forth, but remained a kind of prisoner in the Alhambra.

The turbulent multitude continued running, and shouting, and howling about the city, during the day and a part of the night. Hunger and a wintry tempest tamed their frenzy; and, when morning came, the enthusiast who had led them on had disappeared. Whether he had been disposed of by the emissaries of the king, or by the leading men of the city, is not known; his disappearance remaining a mystery.

The Moorish king now issued from the Alhambra, attended by his principal nobles, and harangued the populace. He set forth the necessity of complying with the capitulation, from the famine that reigned in the city, the futility of defence, and from the hostages having already been delivered into the hands of the besiegers.

In the dejection of his spirits, the unfortunate Boabdil attributed to himself the miseries of the country. "It was my crime, in ascending the throne in rebellion against my father," said he, mournfully, "which has brought these woes upon the kingdom; but Allah has grievously visited my sins upon my head! For your sake, my people, I have now made this treaty, to protect you from the sword, your little ones from famine, your wives and daughters from the outrages of war, and to secure you in the enjoyment of your properties, your liberties, your laws, and your religion, under a sovereign of happier destinies than the ill-starred Boabdil!" The versatile populace were touched by the humility of their sovereign: they agreed to adhere to the capitulation; there was even a faint shout of "Long live Boabdil the unfortunate!" and they all returned to their homes in perfect tranquillity.

Boabdil immediately sent missives to King Ferdinand, apprising him of these events, and of his fears lest further delay should produce new tumults. He proposed, therefore, to surrender the city on the following day. The Castilian sovereigns assented with great satisfaction; and preparations were made, both in city and camp, for this great event, that was to seal the fate of Granada.

It was a night of doleful lamentings within the walls of the Alhambra; for the household of Boabdil were preparing to take a last farewell of that delightful abode. All the royal treasures, and the most precious effects of the Alhambra, were hastily packed upon mules; the beautiful apartments were despoiled, with tears and wailings, by their own inhabitants. Before the dawn of day, a mournful cavalcade moved obscurely out of a postern-gate of the Alhambra, and departed through one of the most retired quarters of the city. It was composed of the family of the unfortunate Boabdil, whom he sent thus privately, that they might not be exposed to the eyes of scoffers, or the exultation of the enemy. The mother of Boabdil, the sultana Aysa la Horra, no

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on in silence, with dejected yet dignified demean-  
our; but his wife Zorayma, and all the females of  
his household, gave way to loud lamentations, as  
they gave a last look to their favourite abode, now  
a mass of gloomy towers behind them. They were  
attended by the ancient domestics of the household,  
and by a small guard of veteran Moors, loyally at-  
tached to the fallen monarch, and who would have  
sold their lives dearly in defence of his family. The  
city was yet buried in sleep, as they passed through  
its silent streets. The guards at the gate shed tears  
as they opened it for their departure. They tarried  
not, but proceeded along the banks of the Xenil, on  
the road that leads to the Alpuxarras, until they ar-  
rived at a hamlet, at some distance from the city,  
where they halted, and waited until they should be  
joined by King Boabdil.

## CHAPTER XCIX.

### SURRENDER OF GRANADA.

THE sun had scarcely begun to shed his beams  
upon the summits of the snowy mountains which  
rise above Granada, when the Christian camp was in  
motion. A detachment of horse and foot, led by dis-  
tinguished cavaliers, and accompanied by Hernando  
de Talavera, bishop of Avila, proceeded to take pos-  
session of the Alhambra and the towers. It had  
been stipulated in the capitulation, that the detach-  
ment sent for this purpose should not enter by the  
streets of the city. A road had, therefore, been  
opened outside of the walls, leading by the Puerta de  
los Molinos (or the Gate of the Mills) to the summit  
of the Hill of Martyrs, and across the hill to a postern-  
gate of the Alhambra.

When the detachment arrived at the summit of  
the hill, the Moorish king came forth from the gate,  
attended by a handful of cavaliers, leaving his vizier,  
Musef Aben Comixa, to deliver up the palace. "Go,  
senior," said he, to the commander of the detach-  
ment; "go, and take possession of those fortresses,  
which Allah has bestowed upon your powerful lord,  
in punishment of the sins of the Moors!" He said  
no more, but passed mournfully on, along the same  
road by which the Spanish cavaliers had come; de-  
scending to the vega, to meet the catholic sovereigns.  
The troops entered the Alhambra, the gates of which  
were wide open, and all its splendid courts and halls  
silent and deserted. In the mean time, the Chris-  
tian court and army poured out of the city of Santa  
Fé, and advanced across the vega. The king and  
queen, with the prince and princesses, and the dig-  
nitaris and ladies of the court, took the lead; ac-  
companied by the different orders of monks and  
friars, and surrounded by the royal guards, splendidly  
arrayed. The procession moved slowly forward, and  
ceased at the village of Armilla, at the distance of  
half a league from the city.

The sovereigns waited here with impatience, their  
eyes fixed on the lofty tower of the Alhambra, watch-  
ing for the appointed signal of possession. The time,  
that had elapsed since the departure of the detach-  
ment, seemed to them more than necessary for the  
purpose; and the anxious mind of Ferdinand began  
to entertain doubts of some commotion in the city.  
At length they saw the silver cross, the great stand-  
ard of this crusade, elevated on the Torre de la Vela,  
or great watch-tower, and sparkling in the sunbeams.  
This was done by Hernando de Talavera, bishop of  
Avila. Beside it was planted the pennon of the glo-  
rious apostle St James; and a great shout of "San-  
tiago! Santiago!" rose throughout the army. Lastly  
was reared the royal standard, by the king of arms;  
with the shout of "Castile! Castile! For King Fer-  
dinand and Queen Isabella!" The words were echoed  
by the whole army, with acclamations that resound-  
ed across the vega. At sight of these signals of pos-  
session, the sovereigns fell upon their knees, giving  
thanks to God for this great triumph. The whole  
assembled host followed their example; and the cho-  
risters of the royal chapel broke forth into the solemn  
anthem of *Te Deum laudamus!*

The procession now resumed its march, with joy-  
ful alacrity, to the sound of triumphant music, until  
they came to a small mosque, near the banks of the  
Xenil, and not far from the foot of the Hill of Mar-  
tyrs, which edifice remains to the present day con-  
secrated as the hermitage of St Sebastian. Here the  
sovereigns were met by the unfortunate Boabdil, ac-  
companied by about fifty cavaliers and domestics.  
As he drew near, he would have dismounted, in  
token of homage; but Ferdinand prevented him. He  
then proffered to kiss the king's hand, but this sign of  
vassalage was likewise declined: whereupon, not to  
be outdone in magnanimity, he leaned forward, and  
saluted the right arm of Ferdinand. Queen Isabella,  
also, refused to receive this ceremonial of homage;  
and, to console him under his adversity, delivered to  
him his son, who had remained as hostage ever since  
Boabdil's liberation from captivity. The Moorish  
monarch pressed his child to his bosom with tender  
emotion, and they seemed mutually endeared to each  
other by their misfortunes.

He then delivered the keys of the city to King Fer-  
dinand, with an air of mingled melancholy and res-  
ignation. "These keys," said he, "are the last  
relics of the Arabian empire in Spain. Thine, O  
king, are our trophies, our kingdom, and our person!  
Such is the will of God! Receive them with the  
clemency thou hast promised, and which we look for  
at thy hands!"

King Ferdinand restrained his exultation into an  
air of serene magnanimity. "Doubt not our pro-  
mises," replied he; "or, that thou shalt regain from  
our friendship the prosperity of which the fortune of  
war has deprived thee."

• Zurita, Anales de Aragon.

• Mbarca, Anales de Aragon, rey xxx, c. 5.



On receiving the keys, King Ferdinand handed them to the queen. She, in her turn, presented them to her son, Prince Juan, who delivered them to the Count de Tendilla; that brave and loyal cavalier being appointed alcaide of the city, and captain-general of the kingdom of Granada.

Having surrendered the last symbol of power, the unfortunate Boabdil continued on towards the Alpuxarras, that he might not behold the entrance of the Christians into his capital. His devoted band of cavaliers followed him in gloomy silence; but heavy sighs burst from their bosoms, as shouts of joy and strains of triumphant music were borne on the breeze from the victorious army.

Having rejoined his family, Boabdil set forward with a heavy heart for his allotted residence, in the valley of Porchena. At two leagues distance, the cavalcade, winding into the skirts of the Alpuxarras, ascended an eminence commanding the last view of Granada. As they arrived at this spot, the Moors paused involuntarily, to take a farewell gaze at their beloved city, which a few steps more would shut from their sight for ever. Never had it appeared so lovely in their eyes. The sunshine, so bright in that transparent climate, lighted up each tower and minaret, and rested gloriously upon the crowning battlements of the Alhambra; while the vega spread its enamelled bosom of verdure below, glistening with the silver windings of the Xenil. The Moorish cavaliers gazed with a silent agony of tenderness and grief, upon that delicious abode, the scene of their loves and pleasures. While they yet looked, a light cloud of smoke burst forth from the citadel; and, presently, a peal of artillery, faintly heard, told, that the city was taken possession of, and the throne of the Moslem kings was lost for ever. The heart of Boabdil, softened by misfortunes and overcharged with grief, could no longer contain itself. "Allah achbar! God is great!" said he; but the words of resignation died upon his lips, and he burst into a flood of tears.

His mother, the intrepid sultana Ayxa la Horra, was indignant at his weakness. "You do well," said she, "to weep like a woman, for what you failed to defend like a man!"

The vizier Aben Comixa endeavoured to console his royal master. "Consider, sire," said he, "that the most signal misfortunes often render men as renowned as the most prosperous achievements, provided they sustain them with magnanimity." The unhappy monarch, however, was not to be consoled. His tears continued to flow. "Allah achbar!" exclaimed he, "when did misfortunes ever equal mine!"

From this circumstance, the hill, which is not far from Padul, took the name of Fez Allah Achbar; but the point of view commanding the last prospect of Granada is known among the Spaniards by the name of *el último suspiro del Moro*, or "the last sigh of the Moor."

## CHAPTER C.

## NOW THE CASTILIAN SOVEREIGNS TOOK POSSESSION OF GRANADA.

WHEN the Castilian sovereigns had received the keys of Granada, from the hands of Boabdil el Chico, the royal army resumed its triumphal march. As it approached the gates of the city, in all the pomp of courtly and chivalrous array, a procession of a different kind came forth to meet it. This was composed of more than five hundred Christian captives, many of whom had languished for years in Moorish dungeons. Pale and emaciated, they came clanking their chains in triumph, and shedding tears of joy. They were received with tenderness by the sovereigns. The king hailed them as good Spaniards; as men loyal and brave; as martyrs to the holy cause. The queen distributed liberal relief among them with her own hands, and they passed on before the squadrons of the army, singing hymns of jubilee.

The sovereigns did not enter the city on this day of its surrender; but waited until it should be fully occupied by their troops, and public tranquillity ensured. The Marquis de Villena, and the Count de Tendilla, with three thousand cavalry, and as many infantry, marched in, and took possession, accompanied by the proselyte prince, Cidi Yahye, now known by the Christian appellation of Don Pedro de Granada, who was appointed chief alguazil of the city, and had charge of the Moorish inhabitants; and by his son, the late Prince Almayor, now Don Alonso de Granada, who was appointed admiral of the fleets. In a little while every battlement glistened with Christian helms and lances, the standard of the faith and of the realm floated from every tower, and the thundering salvos of the ordnance told, that the subjugation of the city was complete.

The grandees and cavaliers now knelt, and kissed the hands of the king and queen, and the Prince Juan and congratulated them on the acquisition of so great a kingdom; after which the royal procession returned in state to Santa Fé.

It was on the 6th of January, the day of Kings, and festival of the Epiphany, that the sovereigns made their triumphal entry. "The king and queen," says the worthy Fray Antonio Agapida, "looked on this occasion as more than mortal. The venerable ecclesiastics, to whose advice and zeal this glorious conquest ought in a great measure to be attributed, moved along, with hearts swelling with holy exaltation, but with chastened and downcast looks of edifying humility; while the hardy warriors, in costly plumes and shining steel, seemed elevated with stern joy, at finding themselves in possession of the object of so many toils and perils. As the streets resounded with the tramp of steed, and swelling peal of music, the Moors buried themselves in the deep recesses of their dwellings. There they bewailed

• Abarca, ubi supra. Zurita, etc.



secret the fallen glory of their race; but suppressed their groans, lest they should be heard by their enemies, and increase their triumph."

The royal procession advanced to the principal mosque, which had been consecrated as a cathedral. Here the sovereigns offered up prayers and thanksgivings, and the choir of the royal chapel chanted a triumphant anthem, in which they were joined by all the courtiers and cavaliers. "Nothing," says Fray Antonio Agapida, "could exceed the thankfulness to God of the pious King Ferdinand, for having enabled him to eradicate from Spain the empire and name of that accursed heathen race, and for the elevation of the cross in that city, wherein the impious doctrines of Mahomet had so long been cherished. In the fervour of his spirit, he supplicated from Heaven a continuance of its grace, and that this glorious triumph might be perpetuated." The prayer of the pious monarch was responded by the people, and even his enemies were for once convinced of his sincerity.

When the religious ceremonies were concluded, the court ascended to the stately palace of the Alhambra, and entered by the great gate of justice. The halls, lately occupied by turbaned infidels, now rustled with stately dames and Christian courtiers, who wandered with eager curiosity over this far-famed palace, admiring its verdant courts and gushing fountains, its halls decorated with elegant arabesques, and storied with inscriptions, and the splendour of its gilded and brilliantly painted ceilings.

It had been a last request of the unfortunate Boabdil, and one which showed how deeply he felt the transition of his fate, that no person might be permitted to enter or depart by the gate of the Alhambra through which he had sallied forth to surrender his capital. His request was granted: the portal was closed up, and remains so to the present day; a mute memorial of that event.\*

The Spanish sovereigns fixed their throne in the presence-chamber of the palace, so long the seat of

\* The words of Fray Antonio Agapida are little more than an echo of those of the worthy Jesuit, Father Marlana, (l. xxv, c. 18.) \* Caribay. Compend. Hist., l. xl, c. 42.

The existence of this gateway, and the story connected with it, are perhaps known to few, but were identified in the researches made to verify this history. The gateway is at the bottom of a great tower, at some distance from the main body of the Alhambra. The tower has been rent and ruined by gunpowder at the time when the fortress was evacuated by the French. Great masses lie around, half covered by vines and fig-trees. A poor man, by the name of Mateo Ximenes, who lives in one of the huts among the ruins of the Alhambra, where his family has lived for many generations, pointed out the gateway, still closed up with stones. He remembered to have heard his father and grandfather say, that it had always been stopped up, and that out of King Boabdil had gone, when he surrendered Granada. The route of the unfortunate king may be traced from thence across the garden of the convent of Los Martyres, and down a ravine beyond, through a street of gipsy caves and hovels, by the gate of San Molinos, and so on to the Hermitage of St Sebastian. None but an antiquarian, however, will be able to trace it, unless aided by the humble historian of the place, Mateo Ximenes.

Moorish royalty. Hither the principal inhabitants of Granada repaired, to pay them homage, and kiss their hands, in token of vassalage; and their example was followed by deputies from all the towns and fortresses of the Alpujarra, which had not hitherto submitted.

Thus terminated the war of Granada, after ten years of incessant fighting; "equalling," says Fray Antonio Agapida, "the far-famed siege of Troy in duration, and ending, like that, in the capture of the city." Thus ended, also, the dominion of the Moors in Spain, after having endured seven hundred and seventy-eight years from the memorable defeat of Roderick, the last of the Goths, on the banks of the Guadalete. The authentic Agapida is uncommonly particular in fixing the epoch of this event. "This great triumph of our holy catholic faith," according to his computation, "took place in the beginning of January, in the year of our Lord 1492; being 5655 years from the population of Spain by the patriarch Tubal; 3797 from the general deluge; 5455 from the creation of the world, according to Hebrew calculation; and in the month Rabi, in the 897th year of the Hegira, or flight of Mahomet: whom may God confound!" saith the pious Agapida.

## APPENDIX.

### FATE OF BOABDIL EL CHICO.

THE Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada is finished: but the reader may be desirous of knowing the subsequent fortunes of some of the principal personages. The unfortunate Boabdil retired to the valley of Porchena, where a small but fertile territory had been allotted him; comprising several towns, with all their rights and revenues. Great estates had likewise been bestowed on his vizier, Jusef Ben Conixa, and his valiant relation and friend Jusef Venegas, both of whom resided near him. Were it in the heart of man, in the enjoyment of present competence, to forget past splendour, Boabdil might at length have been happy. Dwelling in the bosom of a delightful valley, surrounded by obedient vassals, devoted friends, and a loving family, he might have looked back upon his past career as upon a troubled and terrific dream; and might have thanked his stars, that he had at length awaked to sweet and tranquil security. But the dethroned prince could never forget, that he had once been a monarch; and the remembrance of the regal splendours of Granada made all present comforts contemptible in his eyes. No exertions were spared by Ferdinand and Isabella, to induce him to embrace the catholic religion: but he remained true to the faith of his fathers; and it

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ENS TOOK POSSESSION OF GRANADA

sovereigns had received the hands of Boabdil el Chico, its triumphal march. As it the city, in all the pomp of array, a procession of a ditto to meet it. This was com- hundred Christian captives, quished for years in Moorish emaciated, they came clanking and shedding tears of joy. tenderness by the sovereigns. as good Spaniards; as men martyrs to the holy cause. The relief among them with her passed on before the squadrons ymns of jubilee.'

not enter the city on this day of until it should be fully ps, and public tranquillity de- de Villena, and the Count de thousand cavalry, and as many and took possession, accom- te prince, Cidi Yahye, now an appellation of Don Pedro de appointed chief alguazil of the e of the Moorish inhabitants; late Prince Alnayer, now Don who was appointed admiral of while every battlement glistened and lances, the standard of the n floated from every tower, and e of the ordnance told, that the y was complete.

cavaliers now knelt, and kissed and queen, and the Prince Juan em on the acquisition of so great which the royal procession re- ata Fé.

f January, the day of Kings, and many, that the sovereigns made. "The king and queen," says Antonio Agapida, "looked on the mortal. The venerable eccle- vice and zeal this glorious con- great measure to be attributed hearts swelling with holy exulta- ned and downcast looks of ed steel, seemed elevated with themselves in possession of the ils and perils. As the streets rump of steel, and swelling pe- buried themselves in the deep ellings. There they bewailed

uhi supra. Zurita. etc.

adled not a little to his humiliation, to live a vassal under Christian sovereigns.

It is probable, that his residence in the kingdom was equally irksome to the politic Ferdinand; who could not feel perfectly secure in his newly-conquered territories, while there was one within their bounds, who might revive pretensions to the throne. A private bargain was therefore made, in the year 1406, between Ferdinand and Jusef Aben Comixa; in which the latter, as vizier of Boabdil, undertook to dispose of his master's scanty territory for eighty thousand ducats of gold. This, it is affirmed, was done without the consent or knowledge of Boabdil; but the vizier probably thought he was acting for the best. The shrewd Ferdinand does not appear to have made any question about the right of the vizier to make the sale; but paid the money with secret exultation. Jusef Aben Comixa loaded the treasure upon mules, and departed joyfully for the Alpuxarras. He spread the money in triumph before Boabdil. "Señor," said he, "I have observed, that, as long as you live here, you are exposed to constant peril. The Moors are rash and irritable. They may make some sudden insurrection, elevate your standard as a pretext, and thus overwhelm you and your friends with utter ruin. I have observed, also, that you pine away with grief; being continually reminded in this country, that you were once its sovereign, but never more must hope to reign. I have put an end to these evils. Your territory is sold. Behold the price of it. With this gold, you may buy far greater possessions in Africa, where you may live in honour and security."

When Boabdil heard these words, he burst into a sudden transport of rage; and, drawing his cimeter, would have sacrificed the officious Jusef on the spot, had not the attendants interfered, and hurried the vizier from his presence.

Boabdil was not of a vindictive spirit, and his anger soon passed away. He saw, that the evil was done; and he knew the spirit of the politic Ferdinand too well, to hope that he would retract the bargain. Gathering together the money, therefore, and all his jewels and precious effects, he departed with his family and household for a port, where a vessel had been carefully provided by the Castilian king to transport them to Africa.

A crowd of his former subjects witnessed his embarkation. As the sails were unfurled, and swelled to the breeze, and the vessel parted from the land, the spectators would fain have given him a parting cheering; but the humble state of their once proud sovereign forced itself upon their minds, and the ominous surname of his youth rose involuntarily to their tongues. "Farewell, Boabdil! Allah preserve thee, El Zogoybi!" burst spontaneously from their lips. The unlucky appellation sank into the heart of the expatriated monarch; and tears dimmed his eyes, as the snowy summits of the mountains of Granada gradually faded from his view.

He was received with welcome at the court of his relation, Muley Ahmed, King of Fez; and resided for many years in his territories. How he passed his life, whether repining or resigned, history does not mention. The last we find recorded of him is in the year 1520, thirty-four years after the surrender of Granada; when he followed the King of Fez to the field to quell the rebellion of two brothers, named Xerifes. The armies came in sight of each other on the banks of the Guadisweil, at the ford of Bacuba. The river was deep; the banks were high and broken. For three days the armies remained firing at each other across the stream, neither party venturing to attempt the dangerous ford.

At length the King of Fez divided his army into three battalions; the first led on by his son and by Boabdil el Chico. They boldly dashed across the ford, scrambled up the opposite bank, and attempted to keep the enemy employed, until the other battalions should have time to cross. The rebel army, however, attacked them with such fury, that the son of the King of Fez and several of the bravest alcaides were slain upon the spot, and multitudes driven back into the river, which was already crowded with passing troops. A dreadful confusion took place; the horse trampled upon the foot; the enemy pressed on them with fearful slaughter; those who escaped the sword perished by the stream. The river was choked by the dead bodies of men and horses, and by the scattered baggage of the army. In this scene of horrible carnage fell Boabdil, truly called El Zogoybi, or the unlucky: "an instance," says the ancient chronicler, "of the scornful caprice of fortune; dying in defence of the kingdom of another, after wanting spirit to die in defence of his own."

*Note.* — A portrait of Boabdil El Chico is to be seen in the picture-gallery of the Generalife. He is represented with a mild, handsome face, a fair complexion, and yellow hair. His dress is of yellow brocade, relieved with black velvet, and he has a black velvet cap, surmounted with a crown. In the armoury of Madrid are two suits of armour, said to have belonged to him, one of solid steel, with very little ornament; the morion closed. From the proportions of these suits of armour, he must have been of full stature and vigorous form.

#### DEATH OF THE MARQUIS OF CADIZ.

THE renowned Roderigo Ponce de Leon, Marquis Duke of Cadiz, was unquestionably the most distinguished among the cavaliers of Spain, for his enterprise, and heroism, in the great crusade of Granada. He began the war by the capture of Alhama; he was engaged in almost every inroad and siege.

<sup>1</sup> Marmol, *Descrip. de Africa*, p. 1. l. ii. c. 40. Mem. Hist. Reb. de los Moros, t. 1. c. 21.

welcome at the court of his King of Fez; and resided in the territories. How he passed his life or resigned, history does not record of him is in the years after the surrender of Granada to the King of Fez to the alliance of two brothers, named Boabdil and Isabella, came in sight of each other on the banks of the river of Bacuba. The banks were high and broken. The armies remained firing at each other, neither party venturing to ford.

Boabdil of Fez divided his army into two parts. The first led on by his son and by his daughter, they boldly dashed across the river on the opposite bank, and attempted to ford. They were opposed, and a battle was fought, until the other battalions crossed the river. The rebel army, however, with such fury, that the son of Boabdil, and several of the bravest alcaides were slain, and multitudes driven back into the river. The river was already crowded with passengers, and a fearful confusion took place; the water rose to the foot; the enemy pressed on the banks, and those who escaped the river were choked with the blood of men and horses, and by the death of the army. In this scene of carnage, Boabdil, truly called El Zogoybi, in an instance," says the ancient chronicler, "dying of a capricious and cruel fortune; dying of a kingdom of another, after wanting to be of his own."

Boabdil El Chico is the son of the Generalife. He is a handsome man, a fair complexion, and a fair hair. His dress is of yellow silk, with black velvet, and he is mounted with a crown. In the arms he wears two suits of armour, said to be the best, one of solid steel, with very strong morion closed. From the pressure of armour, he must have been in a vigorous form.

### THE MARQUIS OF CADIZ.

Roderigo Ponce de Leon, Marquis of Cadiz, unquestionably the most distinguished cavaliers of Spain, for his real merit, in the great crusade of Granada, was by the capture of Alhambra, and almost every inroad and siege in the Africa, p. 1. 1. ii, c. 40. Idem, Hist. 21.

importance during its continuance; and he was present at the surrender of the capital, which was the closing scene of the conquest. The renown he thus acquired was sealed by his death, in the forty-eighth year of his age, which happened almost immediately after the close of his triumphs, and before a leaf of his laurels had time to wither. He died at his palace, in the city of Seville, on the twenty-seventh day of August, 1492, but a few months after the surrender of Granada, and of an illness caused by the exposure and fatigues he had undergone in this memorable war. That honest chronicler, Andres Bernaldes, the curate of Los Palacios, who was a contemporary of the marquis, draws his portrait from actual knowledge and observation. "He was universally cited," says he, "as the most perfect model of chivalrous virtue of the age. He was temperate, chaste, and rigidly devout; a benignant commander, a valiant defender of his vassals, a great lover of justice, and an enemy to all flatterers, liars, robbers, traitors, and polluters. His ambition was of a lofty kind; he sought to distinguish himself and his family by heroic and resounding deeds, and to increase the patrimony of his ancestors by the acquisition of castles, domains, vassals, and other princely possessions. His recreations were all of a warlike nature: he delighted in geometry, as applied to fortifications, and spent much time and treasure in erecting and repairing fortresses. He relished music, but of a military kind; the sound of clarions and sackbuts, of drums and trumpets. Like a true cavalier, he was a protector of the sex on all occasions, and an injured woman never applied to him in vain for redress. His prowess was so well known, and his courtesy to the fair, that the ladies of the court, when they accompanied the queen to the wars, rejoiced to find themselves under his protection; for, wherever his banner was displayed, the Moors dreaded to adventure. He was a faithful and devoted friend, but a formidable enemy; for he was slow to forgive, and his vengeance was persevering and terrible.

The death of this good cavalier spread grief and lamentation throughout all ranks; for he was universally honoured and beloved. His relations, dependents, and companions in arms, put on mourning for his loss; and so numerous were they, that half of Seville was clad in black. None, however, deplored his death more deeply and sincerely than his friend and chosen companion, Don Alonso de Aguilar.

The funeral ceremonies were of the most solemn and sumptuous kind. The body of the marquis was arrayed in a costly shirt, a doublet of brocade, a sayo, or long robe of black velvet, a marlota, or Moorish tunic of brocade, that reached to the feet, and scarlet stockings. His sword, superbly gilt, was girded to his side, as he used to wear it when in the field. Thus magnificently attired, the body was enclosed in a coffin, which was covered with black velvet, and decorated with a cross of white damask. It was

then placed on a sumptuous bier, in the centre of the great hall of the palace.

Here the duchess made great lamentation over the body of her lord, in which she was joined by her train of damsels and attendants, as well as by the pages and esquires, and innumerable vassals of the marquis.

In the close of the evening, just before the "Ave Maria," the funeral train issued from the palace. Ten banners were borne around the bier, the particular trophies of the marquis, won from the Moors by his valour in individual enterprises, before King Ferdinand had commenced the war of Granada. The procession was swelled by an immense train of bishops, priests, and friars of different orders, together with the civil and military authorities, and all the chivalry of Seville; headed by the Count of Cifuentes, at that time intendente, or commander of the city. It moved slowly and solemnly through the streets, stopping occasionally, and chanting *litanies* and responses. Two hundred and forty waxen tapers shed a light like the day about the bier. The balconies and windows were crowded with ladies, who shed tears as the funeral train passed by; while the women of the lower classes were loud in their lamentations, as if bewailing the loss of a father or a brother. On approaching the convent of St Augustine, the monks came forth with the cross and tapers, and eight censers, and conducted the body into the church, where it lay in state, until all the vigils were performed by the different orders, after which it was deposited in the family-tomb of the Ponces in the same church, and the ten banners were suspended over the sepulchre.

His tomb, with the banners mouldering above it, remained for ages, an object of veneration with all who had read or heard of his virtues and achievements. In the year 1810, however, the chapel was sacked by the French, its altars overturned, and the sepulchres of the family of the Ponces shattered to pieces. The present Duchess of Benavente, the worthy descendant of this illustrious and heroic line, has since piously collected the ashes of her ancestors, restored the altar, and repaired the chapel. The sepulchres, however, were utterly destroyed, and an inscription of gold letters, on the wall of the chapel, to the right of the altar, is now all that denotes the place of sepulture of the brave Roderigo Ponce de Leon.

### THE LEGEND OF THE DEATH OF

### DON ALONSO DE AGUILAR.

To such as feel an interest in the fortunes of the valiant Don Alonso de Aguilar, the chosen friend and companion in arms of Ponce de Leon, Marquis of

Curra de los Palacios, c. 101

Cadiz, and one of the most distinguished heroes of the war of Granada, a few particulars of his remarkable fate will not be unacceptable. They are found among the manuscripts of the worthy Padre Fray Antonio Agapida, and appear to have been appended to his chronicle.

For several years after the conquest of Granada, the country remained feverish and unquiet. The zealous efforts of the catholic clergy to effect the conversion of the infidels, and the pious coercion used for that purpose by government, exasperated the stubborn Moors of the mountains. Several zealous missionaries were maltreated, and, in the town of Dayrin, two of them were seized, and exhorted, with many menaces, to embrace the Moslem faith. On their resolutely refusing they were killed with staffs and stones, by the Moorish women and children, and their bodies burnt to ashes.

Upon this event, a body of Christian cavaliers assembled in Andalusia, to the number of eight hundred; and, without waiting for orders from the king, revenged the death of these martyrs, by plundering and laying waste the Moorish towns and villages. The Moors fled to the mountains, and their cause was espoused by many of their nation, who inhabited those rugged regions. The storm of rebellion began to gather, and mutter its thunders in the Alpuxarras. They were echoed from the Serrania of Ronda, ever ready for rebellion; but the strongest hold of the insurgents was in the Sierra Vermeja, or chain of red mountains, lying near the sea, the savage rocks and precipices of which may be seen from Gibraltar.

When King Ferdinand heard of these tumults, he issued a proclamation, ordering all the Moors of the insurgent regions to leave them within ten days, and repair to Castile; giving secret instructions, however, that those, who should voluntarily embrace the Christian faith, might be permitted to remain. At the same time he ordered Don Alonso de Aguilar, and the Counts of Ureña and Cifuentes, to march against the rebels.

Don Alonso de Aguilar was at Cordova when he received the commands of the king. "What force is allotted us for this expedition?" said he. On being told, he perceived, that the number of troops was far from adequate. "When a man is dead," said he, "we send four men into his house, to bring forth the body. We are now sent to chastise those Moors, who are alive, vigorous, in open rebellion, and ensconced in their castles; and they do not give us man to man." These words of the brave Alonso de Aguilar were afterwards frequently repeated; but, though he saw the desperate nature of the enterprise, he did not hesitate to undertake it.

Don Alonso was, at that time, in the fifty-first year of his age. He was a veteran warrior, in whom the fire of youth was yet unquenched, though tempered by experience. The greater part of his life had been

passed in the camp and in the field, until danger was as his natural element. His muscular frame had acquired the firmness of iron, without the rigidity of age. His armour and weapons seemed to have become a part of his nature; and he sat like a man of steel on his powerful war-horse.

He took with him, on this expedition, his son, Don Pedro de Cordova; a youth of bold and generous spirit, in the freshness of his days, and armed and arrayed with all the bravery of a young Spanish cavalier. When the populace of Cordova beheld the veteran father, the warrior of a thousand battles, leading forth his youthful son to the field, they thought themselves of the family appellation. "Behold," cried they, "the eagle teaching his young to fly! Long live the valiant line of Aguilar!"

The prowess of Don Alonso and of his companions in arms was renowned throughout the Moorish towns. At their approach, therefore, numbers of the Moors submitted, and hastened to Ronda to embrace Christianity. Among the mountaineers, however, there were many of the Gandules, a fierce tribe from Africa, too proud of spirit to bend their necks to the yoke. At their head was a Moor, named El Feri de Ben Estepar, renowned for strength and courage. At his instigations, his followers gathered together their families and most precious effects; placed them on mules, and, driving before them their flocks and herds, abandoned their valleys, and retired up the craggy passes of the Sierra Vermeja. On the summit was a fertile plain, surrounded by rocks and precipices, which formed a natural fortress. Here El Feri placed the women and children, and all the property. By his orders, his followers rolled great stones on the rocks and cliffs, which commanded the defiles and the steep side of the mountain, and prepared to defend every pass that led to this place of refuge.

The Christian commanders arrived, and pitched their camp before the town of Monardo; a strong place, curiously fortified, and situated at the foot of the highest part of the Sierra Vermeja. Here they remained for several days, unable to compel a surrender. They were separated from the skirt of the mountain by a deep barranca or ravine, at the bottom of which flowed a small stream. The Moors, commanded by El Feri, drew down from their mountain height, and remained on the opposite side of the brook, to defend a pass which led up to their strong hold.

One afternoon, a number of Christian soldiers, in mere bravado, seized a banner, crossed the brook, and, scrambling up the opposite bank, attacked the Moors. They were followed by numbers of the companions; some in aid, some in emulation, and most in hope of booty. A sharp action ensued on the mountain side. The Moors were greatly superior in number, and had the vantage-ground. When the Counts of Ureña and Cifuentes beheld



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this skirmish, they asked Don Alonso de Aguilar his  
opinion. "My opinion," said he, "was given at  
Cordova, and remains the same. This is a desperate  
enterprise. However, the Moors are at hand; and  
if they suspect weakness in us, it will increase their  
courage and our peril. Forward then to the attack,  
and I trust in God we shall gain a victory!" So  
saying, he led his troops into the battle.

On the skirts of the mountains were several level  
places, like terraces. Here the Christians pressed  
valiantly upon the Moors, and had the advantage;  
but the latter retreated to the steep and craggy heights,  
from whence they hurled darts and rocks upon their  
assailants. They defended their passes and defiles  
with ferocious valour; but were driven from height  
to height, until they reached the plain on the summit  
of the mountain, where their wives and children  
were sheltered. Here they would have made a stand;  
but Alonso de Aguilar, with his son Don Pedro,  
charged upon them at the head of three hundred  
men, and put them to flight, with dreadful carnage.  
While they were pursuing the flying enemy, the rest  
of the army, thinking the victory achieved, dispersed  
themselves over the little plain in search of plunder.  
They pursued the shrieking females, tearing off their  
necklaces, bracelets, and anklets of gold; and they  
found so much treasure of various kinds collected  
in this spot, that they threw by their armour and  
weapons, to load themselves with booty.

Evening was closing: the Christians, intent upon  
spoil, had ceased to pursue the Moors, and the latter  
were arrested in their flight by the cries of their wives  
and children. Their fierce leader, El Feri, threw  
himself before them. "Friends, soldiers," cried he,  
"whether do you fly? whether can you seek refuge,  
where the enemy cannot follow you? Your wives,  
your children, are behind you; turn and defend them:  
you have no chance for safety but from the weapons  
in your hands!"

The Moors turned at his words. They beheld the  
Christians scattered about the plain, many of them  
without armour, and all encumbered with spoil.  
Now is the time," shouted El Feri; "charge upon  
them while laden with your plunder! I will open a  
path for you!" He rushed to the attack, followed  
by his Moors, with shouts and cries, that echoed  
through the mountains. The scattered Christians  
were seized with a panic, and, throwing down their  
booty, began to fly in all directions. Don Alonso de  
Aguilar advanced his banner, and endeavoured to  
 rally them. Finding his horse of no avail in these  
 rocky heights, he dismounted, and caused his men  
 to do the same. He had a small band of tried follow-  
 ers, with which he opposed a bold front to the Moors,  
 calling on the scattered troops to rally in the rear.  
 Night had completely closed. It prevented the  
 Moors from seeing the smallness of the force with  
 which they were contending; and Don Alonso and  
 his cavaliers dealt their blows so vigorously, that,

aided by the darkness, they seemed multiplied to ten  
times their number. Unfortunately, a small cask of  
gunpowder blew up near to the scene of action. It  
shed a momentary but brilliant light over all the plain,  
and on every rock and cliff. The Moors beheld with  
surprise, that they were opposed by a mere handful  
of men, and that the greater part of the Christians  
were flying from the field. They put up loud shouts  
of triumph. While some continued the conflict with  
redoubled ardour, others pursued the fugitives, hurl-  
ing after them stones and darts, and discharging  
showers of arrows. Many of the Christians, in their  
terror, and their ignorance of the mountains, rushed  
headlong from the brinks of precipices, and were  
dashed in pieces.

Don Alonso de Aguilar still maintained his ground;  
but while a party of the Moors assailed him in front,  
others galled him with all kinds of missiles from the  
impending cliffs. Some of the cavaliers, seeing the  
hopeless nature of the conflict, proposed, that they  
should abandon the height, and retreat down the  
mountain. "No," said Don Alonso, proudly; "never  
did the banner of the house of Aguilar retreat one foot  
in the field of battle." He had scarcely uttered these  
words, when his son Don Pedro was stretched at his  
feet. A stone hurled from a cliff had struck out two  
of his teeth, and a lance passed quivering through his  
thigh. The youth attempted to rise, and, with one  
knee on the ground, to fight by the side of his father.  
Don Alonso, finding him wounded, urged him to quit  
the field. "Fly, my son," said he. "Let us not  
put every thing at venture upon one hazard: conduct  
thyself as a good Christian, and live to comfort and  
honour thy mother."

Don Pedro still refused to quit him; whereupon  
Don Alonso ordered several of his followers to bear  
him off by force. His friend, Don Francisco Alvarez  
of Cordova, taking him in his arms, conveyed him to  
the quarters of the Count of Ureña, who had halted  
on the heights, at some distance from the scene of  
battle, for the purpose of rallying and succouring the  
fugitives. Almost at the same moment, the count  
beheld his own son, Don Pedro Giron, brought in  
grievously wounded.

In the mean time, Don Alonso, with two hundred  
cavaliers, maintained the unequal contest. Surround-  
ed by foes, they fell, one after another, like so many  
noble stags encircled by the hunters. Don Alonso  
was the last survivor. He was without horse, and  
almost without armour; his corslet unlaced, and his  
bosom gashed with wounds. Still he kept a brave  
front towards the enemy, and, retiring between two  
rocks, defended himself with such valour, that the  
slain lay in a heap before him.

He was assailed in this retreat by a Moor of sur-  
passing strength and fierceness. The contest was for  
some time doubtful; but Don Alonso received a wound  
in the head, and another in the breast, that made him  
stagger. Closing and grappling with his foe, they  
had a desperate struggle, until the Christian cavalier,



exhausted by his wounds, fell upon his back. He still retained his grasp upon his enemy. "Think not," cried he, "thou hast an easy prize: know, that I am Don Alonso, he of Aguilar!" "If thou art Don Alonso," replied the Moor, "know, that I am El Feri, of Ben Estepar!" They continued their deadly struggle, and both drew their daggers: but Don Alonso was exhausted by seven ghastly wounds. While he was yet struggling, his heroic soul departed from his body, and he expired in the grasp of the Moor.

Thus fell Alonso de Aguilar, the mirror of Andalusian chivalry; one of the most powerful grandees of Spain, for person, blood, estate, and office. For forty years he had waged successful wars upon the Moors: in childhood, by his household and retainers; in manhood, by the prowess of his arm, and the wisdom and valour of his spirit. His pennon had always been foremost in danger; he had been general of armies, viceroy of Andalusia, and the author of glorious enterprises, in which kings were vanquished, and mighty alcaides and warriors laid low. He had slain many Moslem chiefs with his own arm, and, among others, the renowned Ali Atar, of Loxa, fighting foot to foot, on the banks of the Xenil. His judgment, discretion, magnanimity, and justice, vied with his prowess. He was the fifth lord of his warlike house, that fell in battle with the Moors. "His soul," observes Padre Abarca, "it is believed, ascended to heaven, to receive the reward of so Christian a captain: for that very day he had armed himself with the sacraments of confession and communion."

The Moors, elated with their success, pursued the fugitive Christians down the defiles and sides of the mountains. It was with the utmost difficulty that the Count de Ureña could bring off a remnant of his forces from that disastrous height. Fortunately, on the lower slope of the mountain they found the rear guard of the army, led by the Count de Cifuentes, who had crossed the brook and the ravine to come to their assistance. As the fugitives came flying in headlong terror down the mountain, it was with difficulty the count kept his own troops from giving way in panic, and retreating in confusion across the brook. He succeeded, however, in maintaining order, in rallying the fugitives and checking the fury of the Moors. Then, taking his station on a rocky eminence, he maintained his post until morning, sometimes sustaining violent attacks, at other times rushing forth, and making assaults upon the enemy. When morning dawned, the Moors ceased to combat, and drew up to the summit of the mountain.

It was then that the Christians had time to breathe, and to ascertain the dreadful loss they had sustained. Among the many valiant cavaliers, who had fallen, was Don Francisco Ramirez of Madrid, who had been captain-general of artillery throughout the war of Granada, and contributed greatly, by his valour and ingenuity, to that renowned conquest. But all other

griefs and cares were forgotten in anxiety for the fate of Don Alonso de Aguilar. His son, Don Pedro de Cordova, had been brought off with great difficulty from the battle; and afterwards lived to be Marquis of Priego. But of Don Alonso nothing was known, except that he was left with a handful of cavaliers, fighting valiantly against an overwhelming force. As the rising sun lighted up the red cliffs of the mountains, the soldiers watched with anxious eyes, if perchance his pennon might be descried, fluttering from any precipice or defile: but nothing of the kind was to be seen. The trumpet call was repeatedly sounded: but empty echoes alone replied. A silence reigned about the mountain summit, which showed that the deadly strife was over. Now and then a wounded warrior came, dragging his feeble steps from among the cliffs and rocks; but, on being questioned, he shook his head mournfully, and could tell nothing of the fate of his commander.

The tidings of this disastrous defeat, and of the perilous situation of the survivors, reached King Ferdinand at Granada. He immediately marched, at the head of all the chivalry of his court, to the mountains of Ronda. His presence, with a powerful force, soon put an end to the rebellion. A part of the Moors were suffered to ransom themselves, and to embark for Africa; others were made to embrace christianity; and those of the town where the Christian missionaries had been massacred were sold as slaves. From the conquered Moors, the mournful but heroic end of Don Alonso de Aguilar was ascertained. On the morning after the battle, when the Moors came to strip and bury the dead, the body of Don Alonso was found among those of more than two hundred of his followers, many of them alcaides and cavaliers of distinction. Though the person of Don Alonso was well known to the Moors, being so distinguished among them, both in peace and war, yet it was so covered and disfigured with wounds, that it could with difficulty be recognised. They preserved it with care, and, on making their submission, delivered it up to King Ferdinand. It was conveyed with great state, to Cordova, amidst the tears and lamentations of all Andalusia. When the funeral train entered Cordova, and the inhabitants saw the coffin, containing the remains of their favourite hero, and the war-horse, led in mournful trappings, which they had so lately seen him sally forth from their gates, there was a general burst of grief throughout the city. The body was interred with great pomp and solemnity in the church of St Ipolito. Many years afterwards, his grand-daughter, Doña Catalina of Aguilar and Cordova, Marchioness of Priego, caused his tomb to be altered. On examining the body, the head of a lance was found among the bones, received without doubt, among the wounds of his last mortal combat. The name of this accomplished and Christian cavalier has ever remained a popular theme to the chronicler and poet; and is endeared to the public memory by many of the historical ballads

<sup>1</sup> Abarca, *Anales de Aragon*, rey xxx. cap. 2.

songs of his country. For a long time the people of Cordova were indignant at the brave Count de Ureña, who, they thought, had abandoned Don Alonso in his extremity; but the Castilian monarch acquitted him of all charge of the kind, and continued him in honour and office. It was proved, that neither he nor his people could succour Don Alonso, or even know of his peril, from the darkness of the night. There is a mournful little Spanish ballad, or romance, which breathes the public grief on this occasion; and

the populace, on the return of the Count de Ureña to Cordova, assailed him with one of its plaintive and reproachful verses :

"Decid, Conde de Ureña,  
Don Alonso donde queda ?"

Count Ureña ! Count Ureña !  
Tell us, where is Don Alonso ?

• Bleda, l. v, c. 26.

END OF THE CHRONICLE OF THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA.

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THE  
**ALHAMBRA,**  
OR  
THE NEW SKETCH BOOK.

By Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.

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TO DAVID WILKIE, ESQ. R.A.

MY DEAR SIR,

You may remember, that in the rambles we once took together about some of the old cities of Spain, particularly Toledo and Seville, we remarked a strong mixture of the Saracenic with the Gothic, remaining from the time of the Moors; and were more than once struck with scenes and incidents in the streets, which reminded us of passages in the "Arabian Nights." You then urged me to write something that should illustrate those peculiarities, "something in the Haroun Alraschid style," that should have a dash of that Arabian spice which pervades every thing in Spain. I call this to your mind, to show you that you are, in some degree, responsible for the present work, in which I have given a few "Arabesque" sketches from the life, and tales founded on popular traditions, which were chiefly struck off during a residence in one of the most Moresco-Spanish places in the Peninsula.

I inscribe these pages to you as a memorial of the pleasant scenes we have witnessed together in that land of adventure, and as a testimonial of an esteem for your worth which is only exceeded by admiration of your talents.

Your friend and fellow-traveller,

THE AUTHOR.

May, 1832.

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THE JOURNEY.

In the spring of 1829, the Author of this Work, whose curiosity had brought into Spain, made a rambling expedition from Seville to Granada, in company with a friend, a member of the Russian Embassy at Madrid. Accident had thrown us together from distant regions of the globe, and a similarity of taste led us to wander together among the romantic

mountains of Andalusia. Should these pages meet his eye, wherever thrown by the duties of his station, whether mingling in the pageantry of courts, or meditating on the truer glories of Nature, may they recall the scenes of our adventurous companionship, and with them the remembrance of one, in whom neither time nor distance will obliterate the remembrance of his gentleness and worth.

And here, before setting forth, let me indulge in a few previous remarks on Spanish scenery and Spanish travelling. Many are apt to picture Spain to their imaginations as a soft southern region, decked out with all the luxuriant charms of voluptuous Italy. On the contrary, though there are exceptions in some of the maritime provinces, yet, for the greater part, it is a stern, melancholy country, with rugged mountains, and long sweeping plains, destitute of trees, and indescribably silent and lonesome, partaking of the savage and solitary character of Africa. What adds to this silence and loneliness, is the absence of singing-birds, a natural consequence of the want of groves and hedges. The vulture and the eagle are seen wheeling about the mountain-cliffs, and soaring over the plains, and groups of shy bustards stalk about the heaths; but the myriads of smaller birds, which animate the whole face of other countries, are met with in but few provinces in Spain, and in those chiefly among the orchards and gardens which surround the habitations of men.

In the interior provinces the traveller occasionally traverses great tracts cultivated with grain as far as the eye can reach, waving at times with verdure, at other times naked and sun-burnt, but he looks round in vain for the hand that has tilled the soil. At length, he perceives some village on a steep hill, or rugged crag, with mouldering battlements and ruined watch-tower; a stronghold, in old times, against civil war, or Moorish inroad; for the custom among the peasantry of congregating together for mutual

protection, is still kept up in most parts of Spain, in consequence of the maraudings of roving freebooters.

But though a great part of Spain is deficient in the garniture of groves and forests, and the softer charms of ornamental cultivation, yet its scenery has something of a high and lofty character to compensate the want. It partakes something of the attributes of its people; and I think that I better understand the proud, hardy, frugal, and abstemious Spaniard, his manly defiance of hardships, and contempt of effeminate indulgences, since I have seen the country he inhabits.

There is something, too, in the sternly simple features of the Spanish landscape, that impresses on the soul a feeling of sublimity. The immense plains of the Castiles and of La Mancha, extending as far as the eye can reach, derive an interest from their very nakedness and immensity, and have something of the solemn grandeur of the ocean. In ranging over these boundless wastes, the eye catches sight here and there of a straggling herd of cattle attended by a lonely herdsman, motionless as a statue, with his long slender pike tapering up like a lance into the air; or, beholds a long train of mules slowly moving along the waste like a train of camels in the desert; or, a single herdsman, armed with blunderbuss and stiletto, and prowling over the plain. Thus the country, the habits, the very looks of the people, have something of the Arabian character. The general insecurity of the country is evinced in the universal use of weapons. The herdsman in the field, the shepherd in the plain, has his musket and his knife. The wealthy villager rarely ventures to the market-town without his trabuco, and, perhaps, a servant on foot with a blunderbuss on his shoulder; and the most petty journey is undertaken with the preparation of a warlike enterprise.

The dangers of the road produce also a mode of travelling, resembling, on a diminutive scale, the caravans of the east. The arrieros, or carriers, congregate in convoys, and set off in large and well-armed trains on appointed days; while additional travellers swell their number, and contribute to their strength. In this primitive way is the commerce of the country carried on. The muleteer is the general medium of traffic, and the legitimate traverser of the land, crossing the peninsula from the Pyrenees and the Asturias to the Alpujarras, the Serrania de Ronda, and even to the gates of Gibraltar. He lives frugally and hardily: his alforjas of coarse cloth hold his scanty stock of provisions; a leathern bottle, hanging at his saddle-bow, contains wine or water, for a supply across barren mountains and thirsty plains. A mule-cloth, spread upon the ground, is his bed at night, and his pack-saddle is his pillow. His low, but clean-limbed and sinewy form betokens strength; his complexion is dark and sunburnt; his eye resolute, but quiet in its expression, except when kindled by sudden emotion; his demeanour is frank, manly,

and courteous, and he never passes you without a grave salutation: "Dios guarde á usted!" "Vaya usted con Dios, Caballero!" "God guard you!" "God be with you, Cavalier!"

As these men have often their whole fortune at stake upon the burden of their mules, they have their weapons at hand, slung to their saddles, and ready to be snatched out for desperate defence. But their united numbers render them secure against petty bands of marauders, and the solitary bandolero, armed to the teeth, and mounted on his Andalusian steed, hovers about them, like a pirate about a merchant convoy, without daring to make an assault.

The Spanish muleteer has an inexhaustible stock of songs and ballads, with which to beguile his incessant wayfaring. The airs are rude and simple, consisting of but few inflexions. These he chants forth with a loud voice, and long, drawling cadence, seated sideways on his mule, who seems to listen with infinite gravity, and to keep time, with his paces, to the tune. The couplets thus chanted, are often old traditional romances about the Moors, or some legend of a saint, or some love-ditty; or what is still more frequent, some ballad about a bold contrabandista, or hardy bandolero, for the smuggler and the robber are poetical heroes among the common people of Spain. Often, the song of the muleteer is composed at the instant, and relates to some local scene, or some incident of the journey. This talent of singing and improvising is frequent in Spain, and is said to have been inherited from the Moors. There is something wildly pleasing in listening to these ditties among the rude and lonely scenes that they illustrate; accompanied, as they are, by the occasional jingle of the mule-bell.

It has a most picturesque effect also to meet a train of muleteers in some mountain-pass. First you hear the bells of the leading mules, breaking with their simple melody the stillness of the airy height; or, perhaps, the voice of the muleteer admonishing some tardy or wandering animal, or chanting, at the full stretch of his lungs, some traditionary ballad. At length you see the mules slowly winding along the craggy defile, sometimes descending precipitous cliffs, so as to present themselves in full relief against the sky, sometimes toiling up the deep arid chasms below you. As they approach, you descry their gay decorations of worsted tufts, tassels, and saddle-cloths, while, as they pass by, the ever-ready trabuco, slung behind the packs and saddles, gives a hint of the insecurity of the road.

The ancient kingdom of Granada, into which we are about to penetrate, is one of the most mountainous regions of Spain. Vast sierras, or chains of mountains destitute of shrub or tree, and mottled with variegated marbles and granites, elevate their sunburnt summits against a deep blue sky; yet in their rugged bosoms lie engulfed the most verdant and fertile valleys, where the desert and the garden strain in mastery, and the very rock is, as it were, compelled



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to yield the fig, the orange, and the citron, and to  
blossom with the myrtle and the rose.

In the wild passes of these mountains the sight of  
walled towns and villages, built like eagles' nests  
among the cliffs, and surrounded by Moorish battle-  
ments, or of ruined watch-towers perched on lofty  
peaks, carries the mind back to the chivalric days of  
Christian and Moslem warfare, and to the romantic  
struggle for the conquest of Granada. In traversing  
these lofty sierras the traveller is often obliged to  
clight and lead his horse up and down the steep and  
ragged ascents and descents, resembling the broken  
steps of a staircase. Sometimes the road winds along  
lizzy precipices, without parapet to guard him from  
the gulfs below, and then will plunge down steep,  
and dark, and dangerous declivities. Sometimes it  
straggles through rugged barrancas, or ravines, worn  
by winter torrents, the obscure path of the contra-  
bandista; while, ever and anon, the ominous cross,  
the monument of robbery and murder, erected on a  
pound of stones at some lonely part of the road, ad-  
monishes the traveller that he is among the haunts  
of banditti, perhaps at that very moment under the  
eye of some lurking bandolero. Sometimes, in wind-  
ing through the narrow valleys, he is startled by a  
coarse bellowing, and beholds above him on some  
green fold of the mountain side a herd of fierce An-  
dalusian bulls destined for the combat of the arena.  
There is something awful in the contemplation of  
these terrific animals, clothed with tremendous  
strength, and ranging their native pastures in untam-  
ed wildness, strangers almost to the face of man:  
they know no one but the solitary herdsman who at-  
tends upon them, and even he at times dares not  
venture to approach them. The low bellowing of  
these bulls, and their menacing aspect as they look  
down from their rocky height, give additional wild-  
ness to the savage scenery around.

I have been betrayed unconsciously into a longer  
acquiescence than I had intended on the general features  
of Spanish travelling; but there is a romance about  
the recollections of the Peninsula that is dear to  
the imagination.

It was on the first of May that my companion and  
myself set forth from Seville on our route to Granada.  
We had made all due preparations for the nature of  
our journey, which lay through mountainous regions,  
where the roads are little better than mere mule-  
paths, and too frequently beset by robbers. The  
most valuable part of our luggage had been forward-  
ed by the arrieros; we retained merely clothing and  
necessaries for the journey, and money for the ex-  
penses of the road, with a sufficient surplus of the  
latter to satisfy the expectations of robbers should we  
be assailed, and to save ourselves from the rough  
treatment that awaits the too wary and empty-handed  
traveller. A couple of stout hired steeds were pro-  
vided for ourselves, and a third for our scanty luggage,  
and for the conveyance of a sturdy Biscayan lad of  
about twenty years of age, who was to guide us

through the perplexed mazes of the mountain roads,  
to take care of the horses, to act occasionally as our  
valet, and at all times as our guard; for he had a  
formidable trabuco or carbine, to defend us from  
rateros, or solitary footpads, about which weapon he  
made much vain-glorious boast, though, to the dis-  
credit of his generalship, I must say that it generally  
hung unloaded behind his saddle. He was, however,  
a faithful, cheery, kind-hearted creature, full of saws  
and proverbs as that miracle of squires the renowned  
Sancho himself, whose name we bestowed upon him;  
and, like a true Spaniard, though treated by us with  
companionable familiarity, he never for a moment,  
in his utmost hilarity, overstepped the bounds of respec-  
tful decorum.

Thus equipped and attended, we set out on our  
journey, with a genuine disposition to be pleased.  
With such a disposition, what a country is Spain for  
a traveller, where the most miserable inn is as full of  
adventure as an enchanted castle, and every meal is  
in itself an achievement! Let others repine at the  
lack of turnpike roads and sumptuous hotels, and all  
the elaborate comforts of a country cultivated into  
tameness and common-place; but give me the rude  
mountain scramble, the roving, hap-hazard wayfar-  
ing, the frank, hospitable, though half-wild manners,  
that give such a true game flavour to romantic Spain!

Our first evening's entertainment had a relish of  
the kind. We arrived after sunset at a little town,  
among the hills, after a fatiguing journey over a wide  
houseless plain, where we had been repeatedly  
drenched with showers. In the inn were a party of  
Miqueletes, who were patrolling the country in pur-  
suit of robbers. The appearance of foreigners like  
ourselves, was unusual in this remote town; mine  
host, with two or three old gossiping comrades in  
brown cloaks, studied our passports in a corner of  
the posada, while an alguazil took notes by the dim  
light of a lamp. The passports were in foreign lan-  
guages and perplexed them, but our Squire Sancho  
assisted them in their studies, and magnified our im-  
portance with the grandiloquence of a Spaniard. In  
the mean time the magnificent distribution of a few  
cigars had won the hearts of all around us; in a little  
while the whole community seemed put in agitation  
to make us welcome. The corregidor himself wait-  
ed upon us, and a great rush-bottomed arm-chair  
was ostentatiously bolstered into our room by our  
landlady, for the accommodation of that important per-  
sonage. The commander of the patrol took supper  
with us; a lively, talking, laughing Andalus, who  
had made a campaign in South America, and re-  
counted his exploits in love and war with much pomp  
of phrase, vehemence of gesticulation, and mysterious  
rolling of the eye. He told us that he had a list of  
all the robbers in the country, and meant to ferret  
out every mother's son of them; he offered us at the  
same time some of his soldiers as an escort. "One  
is enough to protect you, Señores; the robbers know  
me and know my men; the sight of one is enough to

spread terror through a whole sierra." We thanked him for his offer, but assured him in his own strain, that with the protection of our redoubtable Squire, Sancho, we were not afraid of all the ladrones of Andalusia.

While we were supping with our Drawcansir friend, we heard the notes of a guitar, and the click of castanets, and presently a chorus of voices singing a popular air. In fact mine host had gathered together the amateur singers and musicians, and the rustic belles of the neighbourhood, and on going forth, the court-yard of the inn presented a scene of true Spanish festivity. We took our seats with mine host and hostess and the commander of the patrol, under the archway of the court; the guitar passed from hand to hand, but a jovial shoe-maker was the Orpheus of the place. He was a pleasant-looking fellow, with huge black whiskers; his sleeves were rolled up to his elbows, he touched the guitar with masterly skill, and sang little amorous ditties with an expressive leer at the women, with whom he was evidently a favourite. He afterwards danced a fandango with a buxom Andalusian damsel, to the great delight of the spectators. But none of the females present could compare with mine host's pretty daughter, Pepita, who had slipped away and made her toilette for the occasion, and had covered her head with roses; and who distinguished herself in a bolero with a handsome young dragoon. We had ordered our host to let wine and refreshment circulate freely among the company, yet though there was a motley assembly of soldiers, muleteers, and villagers, no one exceeded the bounds of sober enjoyment. The scene was a study for a painter: the picturesque group of dancers, the troopers in their half military dresses, the peasantry wrapped in their brown cloaks; nor must I omit to mention the old meagre alguazil, in a short black cloak, who took no notice of anything going on, but sat in a corner diligently writing by the dim light of a huge copper lamp, that might have figured in the days of Don Quixote.

I am not writing a regular narrative, and do not pretend to give the varied events of several days' rambling, over hill and dale, and moor and mountain. We travelled in true contrabandista style, taking every thing rough and smooth, as we found it, and mingling with all classes and conditions in a kind of vagabond companionship. It is the true way to travel in Spain. Knowing the scanty larders of the inns, and the naked tracts of country which the traveller has often to traverse, we had taken care, on starting, to have the alforjas, or saddle-bags, of our Squire well stocked with cold provisions, and his bota, or leathern bottle, which was of portly dimensions, filled to the neck with choice Valdepeñas wine. As this was a munition for our campaign more important than even his trabuco, we exhorted him to have an eye to it; and I will do him the justice to say that his namesake, the trencher-loving Sancho himself, could not excel him as a provident purveyor. Though the alforjas and

bota were repeatedly and vigorously assailed throughout the journey, they appeared to have a miraculous property of being never empty; for our vigilant Squire took care to sack every thing that remained from our evening repasts at the inns, to supply our next day's luncheon.

What luxurious noontide repasts have we made, on the green sward by the side of a brook or fountain under a shady tree! and then what delicious siestas on our cloaks spread out on the herbage!

We paused one day at noon, for a repast of the kind. It was in a pleasant little green meadow, surrounded by hills covered with olive-trees. Our cloaks were spread on the grass under an elm-tree, by the side of a bubbling rivulet; our horses were tethered where they might crop the herbage; and Sancho produced his alforjas with an air of triumph. They contained the contributions of four days' journeying, but had been signally enriched by the foraging of the previous evening in a plenteous inn at Antequera. Our Squire drew forth the heterogeneous contents one by one, and these seemed to have no end. First came forth a shoulder of roasted kid, very little the worse for wear; then an entire partridge; then a morsel of salted cod-fish wrapped in paper; then the residue of a ham; then the half of a pullet, together with several rolls of bread, and a rabble rout of oranges, figs, raisins, and walnuts. His bota also had been recruited with some excellent wine of Malaga. At every fresh apparition from his larder, he would enjoy our ludicrous surprise, throwing himself back on the grass, and shouting with laughter. Nothing pleased the simple-hearted varlet more than to be compared, for his devotion to the trencher, to the renowned Squire of Don Quixote. He was well versed in the history of the Don, and, like most of the common people of Spain, he firmly believed it to be a true history.

"All that, however, happened a long time ago, señor?" said he to me one day, with an inquiring look.

"A very long time," was the reply.

"I dare say more than a thousand years?" I looked dubiously.

"I dare say, not less."

The Squire was satisfied.

As we were making a repast, above described, diverting ourselves with the simple drollery of the Squire, a solitary beggar approached us, who had almost the look of a pilgrim. He was evidently an old man, with a grey beard, and supported himself on a staff, yet age had not bowed him down; he was upright and erect, and had the wreck of a fine form. He wore a round Andalusian hat, a sheep-skin jacket, leathern breeches, gaiters and sandals. His demeanour though old and patched, was decent, his demeanour manly, and he addressed us with that grave countenance that is to be remarked in the lowest Spaniard. We were in a favourable mood for such a visitor; and a freak of capricious charity, gave him some silver

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seemed to have no end. First  
er of roasted kid, very little than  
n an entire partridge; then a great  
-fish wrapped in paper; then the  
then the half of a pullet, together  
of bread, and a rabble rout of  
s, and walnuts. His bot also had  
h some excellent wine of Malaga,  
arition from his larder, he would  
s surprise, throwing himself back  
shouting with laughter. Nothing  
p-hearted varlet more than to  
levation to the trencher, to the re-  
Don Quixote. He was well versed  
e Don, and, like most of the com-  
n, he firmly believed it to be a tra-

ever, happened a long time ago  
o me one day, with an inquiring

me," was the reply.  
ore than a thousand years?"

t less."  
satisfied.

king a repast, above described, and  
with the simple drollery of a  
beggar approached us, who had  
a pilgrim. He was evidently well  
beard, and supported himself on  
not bowed him down; he was  
the wreck of a fine form. He wore  
ian hat, a sheep-skin jacket, and  
gaiters and sandals. His dress  
atched, was decent, his demeanour  
dressed us with that grave count-  
arked in the lowest Spaniard. In  
ble mood for such a visitor; and  
ns charity, gave him some silver

loaf of fine wheaten bread, and a goblet of our choice  
wine of Malaga. He received them thankfully, but  
without any grovelling tribute of gratitude. Tasting  
the wine, he held it up to the light, with a slight  
beam of surprise in his eye, then quaffing it off at a  
draught; "It is many years," said he, "since I have  
tasted such wine. It is a cordial to an old man's  
heart." Then, looking at the beautiful wheaten loaf,  
"hendito sea tal pan!" "blessed be such bread!"  
So saying, he put it in his wallet. We urged him to  
eat it on the spot. "No, Señores," replied he, "the  
wine I had to drink or leave; but the bread I must  
take home to share with my family."

Our man Sancho sought our eye, and reading per-  
mission there, gave the old man some of the ample  
fragments of our repast, on condition, however, that  
he should sit down and make a meal.

He accordingly took his seat at some little distance  
from us, and began to eat slowly and with a sobriety  
and decorum that would have become a hidalgo.  
There was altogether a measured manner and a quiet  
self-possession about the old man, that made me think  
he had seen better days: his language, too, though  
simple, had occasionally something picturesque and  
almost poetical in the phraseology. I set him down  
for some broken-down cavalier. I was mistaken; it  
was nothing but the innate courtesy of a Spaniard,  
and the poetical turn of thought and language often  
to be found in the lowest classes of this clear-witted  
people. For fifty years, he told us, he had been a  
shepherd, but now he was out of employ, and des-  
tute. "When I was a young man," said he, "no-  
thing could harm or trouble me; I was always well,  
always gay; but now I am seventy-nine years of age,  
and a beggar, and my heart begins to fail me."

Still he was not a regular mendicant: it was not  
until recently that want had driven him to this de-  
gradation; and he gave a touching picture of the  
struggle between hunger and pride, when abject des-  
titude first came upon him. He was returning from  
Malaga without money; he had not tasted food for  
some time, and was crossing one of the great plains  
of Spain, where there were but few habitations.  
When almost dead with hunger, he applied at the  
door of a venta or country inn. "*Perdone usted por  
Dios, hermano!*" (Excuse us, brother, for God's  
sake!) was the reply—the usual mode in Spain of re-  
suing a beggar. "I turned away," said he, "with  
some greater than my hunger, for my heart was  
yet too proud. I came to a river with high banks  
and deep rapid current, and felt tempted to throw  
myself in: 'What should such an old, worthless,  
wretched man as I live for?' But when I was on the  
brink of the current, I thought on the Blessed Virgin,  
and turned away. I travelled on until I saw a coun-  
try seat at a little distance from the road, and entered  
the outer gate of the court-yard. The door was  
shut, but there were two young señoras at a window.  
I approached and begged:—*Perdone usted por Dios,  
hermano!*" (Excuse us, brother, for God's sake!)

and the window closed. I crept out of the court-yard,  
but hunger overcame me, and my heart gave way:  
I thought my hour at hand, so I laid myself down at  
the gate, commended myself to the Holy Virgin, and  
covered my head to die. In a little while afterwards  
the master of the house came home: seeing me lying  
at his gate, he uncovered my head, had pity on my  
grey hairs, took me into his house, and gave me food.  
So, Señores, you see that one should always put con-  
fidence in the protection of the Virgin."

The old man was on his way to his native place,  
Archidona, which was close by, on the summit of a  
steep and rugged mountain. He pointed to the ruins  
of its old Moorish castle: "That castle," he said,  
"was inhabited by a Moorish king at the time of the  
wars of Granada. Queen Isabella invaded it with a  
great army; but the king looked down from his castle  
among the clouds, and laughed her to scorn! Upon  
this the Virgin appeared to the queen, and guided her  
and her army up a mysterious path in the mountains,  
which had never before been known. When the  
Moor saw her coming, he was astonished, and spring-  
ing with his horse from a precipice, was dashed to  
pieces! The marks of his horse's hoofs," said the old  
man, "are to be seen in the margin of the rock to  
this day. And see, Señores, yonder is the road by  
which the queen and her army mounted: you see it  
like a riband up the mountain side; but the miracle  
is, that, though it can be seen at a distance, when  
you come near, it disappears!"

The ideal road to which he pointed was undoubt-  
edly a sandy ravine of the mountain, which looked  
narrow and defined at a distance, but became broad  
and indistinct on an approach.

As the old man's heart warmed with wine and  
wassail, he went on to tell us a story of the buried  
treasure left under the castle by the Moorish king.  
His own house was next to the foundations of the  
castle. The curate and notary dreamed three times  
of the treasure, and went to work at the place pointed  
out in their dreams. His own son-in-law heard the  
sound of their pickaxes and spades at night. What  
they found nobody knows; they became suddenly  
rich, but kept their own secret. Thus the old man  
had once been next door to fortune, but was doomed  
never to get under the same roof.

I have remarked, that the stories of treasure buried  
by the Moors, which prevail throughout Spain, are  
most current among the poorest people. It is thus,  
kind Nature consoles with shadows for the lack of  
substantials. The thirsty man dreams of fountains  
and running-streams; the hungry man of ideal ban-  
quets; and the poor man of heaps of hidden gold:  
nothing certainly is more magnificent than the ima-  
gination of a beggar.

The last travelling sketch I shall give, is an even-  
ing scene at the little city of Loxa. This was a fa-  
mous belligerent frontier post in the time of the Moors,  
and repulsed Ferdinand from its walls. It was the  
stronghold of old Ali Atar, the father-in-law of Boab-

dil, when that fiery veteran sallied forth with his son-in-law on their disastrous inroad, that ended in the death of the chieftain and the capture of the monarch. Loxa is wildly situated in a broken mountain pass, on the banks of the Xenil, among rocks and groves, and meadows and gardens. The people seem still to retain the bold fiery spirit of the olden time. Our inn was suited to the place. It was kept by a young and handsome Andalusian widow, whose trim basquina of black silk, fringed with bugles, set off the play of a graceful form and round pliant limbs. Her step was firm and elastic; her dark eye was full of fire: and the coquetry of her air, and varied ornaments of her person, showed that she was accustomed to be admired.

She was well matched by a brother, nearly about her own age; they were perfect models of the Andalusian Majo and Maja. He was tall, vigorous, and well-formed, with a clear olive-complexion, a dark beaming eye, and curling chestnut whiskers that met under his chin. He was gallantly dressed in a short green velvet jacket, fitted to his shape, profusely decorated with silver buttons, with a white handkerchief in each pocket. He had breeches of the same, with rows of buttons from the hips to the knees; a pink silk handkerchief round his neck, gathered through a ring, on the bosom of a neatly plaited shirt; a sash round the waist to match; bottinas, or spatterdashes, of the finest russet leather, elegantly worked, and open at the calf to show his stocking; and russet-shoes, setting off a well-shaped foot.

As he was standing at the door, a horseman rode up and entered into low and earnest conversation with him. He was dressed in similar style, and almost with equal finery; a man about thirty, square-built, with strong Roman features, handsome, though slightly pitted with the small-pox; with a free, bold, and somewhat daring air. His powerful black horse was decorated with tassels and fanciful trappings, and a couple of broad-mouthed blunderbusses hung behind the saddle. He had the air of one of those contrabandistas that I have seen in the mountains of La Ronda, and evidently had a good understanding with the brother of mine hostess; nay, if I mistake not, he was a favoured admirer of the widow. In fact, the whole inn and its inmates had something of a contrabandista aspect, and the blunderbuss stood in a corner beside the guitar. The horseman I have mentioned, passed his evening in the posada, and sang several bold mountain romances with great spirit. As we were at supper, two poor Asturians put in in distress, begging food and a night's lodging. They had been waylaid by robbers as they came from a fair among the mountains, robbed of a horse, which carried all their stock in trade, stripped of their money and most of their apparel, beaten for having offered resistance, and left almost naked in the road. My companion, with a prompt generosity, natural to him, ordered them a supper and a bed, and gave them a sum of money to help them forward towards their home.

As the evening advanced, the dramatic personage thickened. A large man, about sixty years of age, of powerful frame, came strolling in, to gossip with mine hostess. He was dressed in the ordinary Andalusian costume, but had a huge sabre tucked under his arm, wore large moustaches, and had something of a lofty swaggering air. Every one seemed to regard him with great deference.

Our man Sancho whispered to us that he was Don Ventura Rodriguez, the hero and champion of Loxa, famous for his prowess and the strength of his arm. In the time of the French invasion he surprised the troopers who were asleep: he first secured their horses, then attacked them with his sabre, killed some, and took the rest prisoners. For this exploit the king allows him a peseta (the fifth of a duro, or dollar) per day, and has dignified him with the title of Don.

I was amused to notice his swelling language and demeanour. He was evidently a thorough Andalusian, boastful as he was brave. His sabre was always in his hand or under his arm. He carries it always about with him as a child does her doll, calls it his Santa Teresa, and says that when he draws it, "Tiembale la tierra!"—the earth trembles!

I sat until a late hour listening to the varied themes of this motley group, who mingled together with the unreserve of a Spanish posada. We had contrabandista songs, stories of robbers, guerilla exploits, and Moorish legends. The last were from our handsome landlady, who gave a poetical account of the Infernos, or infernal regions of Loxa—dark caverns in which subterranean streams and waterfalls make a mysterious sound. The common people say that there are money-coiners shut up there from the time of the Moors; and that the Moorish kings kept their treasures in those caverns.

Were it the purport of this work, I could fill many pages with the incidents and scenes of our rambling expedition; but other themes invite me. Journeying in this manner, we at length emerged from the mountains, and entered upon the beautiful Vega of Granada. Here we took our last mid-day's repast under a grove of olive-trees, on the borders of a rivulet, with the old Moorish capital in the distance, and adorned by the ruddy towers of the Alhambra, which far above it, the snowy summits of the Sierra Nevada shone like silver. The day was without a cloud, and the heat of the sun tempered by cool breezes from the mountains; after our repast, we spread our cloths and took our last siesta, lulled by the humming of bees among the flowers, and the notes of ring-doves from the neighbouring olive-trees. When the sun's hours were past, we resumed our journey; and after passing between hedges of aloes and Indian figs, and through a wilderness of gardens, arrived, about sunset, at the gates of Granada.

To the traveller imbued with a feeling for the historical and poetical, the Alhambra of Granada is



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much an object of veneration, as is the Kaaba, or sa-  
cred house of Mecca, to all true Moslem pilgrims.  
How many legends and traditions, true and fabulous;  
how many songs and romances, Spanish and Arabian,  
of love, and war, and chivalry, are associated with  
this romantic pile! The reader may judge, therefore,  
of our delight, when, shortly after our arrival in Gra-  
nada, the Governor of the Alhambra gave us his  
permission to occupy his vacant apartments in the  
Moorish palace. My companion was soon summoned  
away by the duties of his station; but I remained for  
several months, spell-bound in the old enchanted  
pile. The following papers are the result of my re-  
veries and researches during that delicious thraldom.  
If they have the power of imparting any of the witch-  
ing charms of the place to the imagination of the  
reader, he will not repine at lingering with me for  
a season in the legendary halls of the Alhambra.

### GOVERNMENT OF THE ALHAMBRA.

THE Alhambra is an ancient fortress or castellated  
palace of the Moorish kings of Granada, where they  
held dominion over this their boasted terrestrial pa-  
radise, and made their last stand for empire in Spain.  
The palace occupies but a portion of the fortress, the  
walls of which, studded with towers, stretch irregu-  
larly round the whole crest of a lofty hill that over-  
looks the city, and forms a spur of the Sierra Nevada,  
or snowy mountain.

In the time of the Moors, the fortress was capable  
of containing an army of forty thousand men within  
its precincts, and served occasionally as a stronghold  
of the sovereigns against their rebellious subjects.  
After the kingdom had passed into the hands of the  
Christians, the Alhambra continued a royal demesne,  
and was occasionally inhabited by the Castilian mo-  
narchs. The Emperor Charles V began a sumptuous  
palace within its walls, but was deterred from com-  
pleting it by repeated shocks of earthquakes. The  
last royal residents were Philip V, and his beautiful  
queen, Elizabetha of Parma, early in the eighteenth  
century. Great preparations were made for their  
reception. The palace and gardens were placed in a  
state of repair, and a new suite of apartments erected,  
and decorated by artists brought from Italy. The  
sojourn of the sovereigns was transient, and after  
their departure the palace once more became deso-  
late. Still the place was maintained with some mili-  
tary state. The governor held it immediately from  
the crown, its jurisdiction extended down into the  
suburbs of the city, and was independent of the Cap-  
tain-General of Granada. A considerable garrison  
was kept up, the governor had his apartments in the  
front of the old Moorish palace, and never descended  
into Granada without some military parade. The  
fortress in fact was a little town of itself, having se-

veral streets of houses within its walls, together with  
a Franciscan convent and a parochial church.

The desertion of the court, however, was a fatal  
blow to the Alhambra. Its beautiful halls became  
desolate, and some of them fell to ruin; the gardens  
were destroyed, and the fountains ceased to play.  
By degrees the dwellings became filled up with a loose  
and lawless population; contrabandistas, who availed  
themselves of its independent jurisdiction to carry on  
a wide and daring course of smuggling, and thieves  
and rogues of all sorts, who made this their place of  
refuge from whence they might depredate upon Gra-  
nada and its vicinity. The strong arm of govern-  
ment at length interfered: the whole community was  
thoroughly sifted; none were suffered to remain but  
such as were of honest character, and had legitimate  
right to a residence; the greater part of the houses  
were demolished, and a mere hamlet left, with the  
parochial church and the Franciscan convent. Dur-  
ing the recent troubles in Spain, when Granada was  
in the hands of the French, the Alhambra was gar-  
risoned by their troops, and the palace was occa-  
sionally inhabited by the French commander. With  
that enlightened taste which has ever distinguished the  
French nation in their conquests, this monument of  
Moorish elegance and grandeur was rescued from the  
absolute ruin and desolation that were overwhelm-  
ing it. The roofs were repaired, the saloons and gal-  
leries protected from the weather, the gardens cul-  
tivated, the water-courses restored, the fountains once  
more made to throw up their sparkling showers; and  
Spain may thank her invaders for having preserved  
to her the most beautiful and interesting of her histo-  
rical monuments.

On the departure of the French they blew up se-  
veral towers of the outer wall, and left the fortifica-  
tions scarcely tenable. Since that time the military  
importance of the post is at an end. The garrison is  
a handful of invalid soldiers, whose principal duty is  
to guard some of the outer towers, which serve occa-  
sionally as a prison of state; and the governor,  
abandoning the lofty hill of the Alhambra, resides in  
the centre of Granada, for the more convenient dis-  
patch of his official duties. I cannot conclude this  
brief notice of the state of the fortress without bear-  
ing testimony to the honourable exertions of its pre-  
sent commander, Don Francisco de Serna, who is  
tasking all the limited resources at his command to  
put the palace in a state of repair, and, by his judi-  
cious precautions, has for some time arrested its too  
certain decay. Had his predecessors discharged the  
duties of their station with equal fidelity, the Al-  
hambra might yet have remained in almost its pris-  
tine beauty: were government to second him with  
means equal to his zeal, this edifice might still be  
preserved to adorn the land, and to attract the cu-  
rious and enlightened of every clime for many gene-  
rations.



## INTERIOR OF THE ALHAMBRA.

THE Alhambra has been so often and so minutely described by travellers, that a mere sketch will, probably, be sufficient for the reader to refresh his recollection; I will give, therefore, a brief account of our visit to it the morning after our arrival in Granada.

Leaving our posada of La Espada, we traversed the renowned square of the Vivarrambla, once the scene of Moorish jousts and tournaments, now a crowded market-place. From thence we proceeded along the Zacatin, the main street of what, in the time of the Moors, was the Great Bazaar, where the small shops and narrow alleys still retain the Oriental character. Crossing an open place in front of the palace of the Captain-General, we ascended a confined and winding street, the name of which reminded us of the chivalric days of Granada. It is called the Calle, or street of the Gomeres, from a Moorish family famous in chronicle and song. This street led up to a massive gateway of Grecian architecture, built by Charles V, forming the entrance to the domains of the Alhambra.

At the gate were two or three ragged and superannuated soldiers, dozing on a stone bench, the successors of the Zegrís and the Abencerrages; while a tall meagre varlet, whose rusty-brown cloak was evidently intended to conceal the ragged state of his nether garments, was lounging in the sunshine and gossiping with an ancient sentinel on duty. He joined us as we entered the gate, and offered his services to show us the fortress.

I have a traveller's dislike to officious ciceroni, and did not altogether like the garb of the applicant.

"You are well acquainted with the place, I presume?"

"Ninguno mas; pues, Señor, soy hijo de la Alhambra."—(Nobody better; in fact, Sir, I am a son of the Alhambra!)

The common Spaniards have certainly a most poetical way of expressing themselves. "A son of the Alhambra!" the appellation caught me at once; the very tattered garb of my new acquaintance assumed a dignity in my eyes. It was emblematic of the fortunes of the place and belittled the progeny of a ruin.

I put some farther questions to him, and found that his title was legitimate. His family had lived in the fortress from generation to generation ever since the time of the conquest. His name was Mateo Ximenes. "Then, perhaps," said I, "you may be a descendant from the great Cardinal Ximenes?"—"Dios Sabe! God knows, Señor! It may be so. We are the oldest family in the Alhambra,—*Cristianos Viejos*, old Christians, without any taint of Moor or Jew. I know we belong to some great family or other, but I forget whom. My father knows all about it: he has the coat-of-arms hanging up in

his cottage, up in the fortress."—There is not any Spaniard, however poor, but has some claim to high pedigree. The first title of this ragged worthy, however, had completely captivated me, so I gladly accepted the services of the "son of the Alhambra."

We now found ourselves in a deep narrow ravine, filled with beautiful groves, with a steep avenue, and various footpaths winding through it, bordered with stone seats, and ornamented with fountains. To our left, we beheld the towers of the Alhambra beetling above us; to our right, on the opposite side of the ravine, we were equally dominated by rival towers on a rocky eminence. There, we were told, were the *Torres Vermejos*, or vermilion towers, so called from their ruddy hue. No one knows their origin. They are of a date much anterior to the Alhambra: some suppose them to have been built by the Romans; others, by some wandering colony of Phœnicians. Ascending the steep and shady avenue, we arrived at the foot of a huge square Moorish tower, forming a kind of barbican, through which passed the main entrance to the fortress. Within the barbican was another group of veteran invalids, one mounting guard at the portal, while the rest, wrapped in their tattered cloaks, slept on the stone benches. This portal is called the Gate of Justice, from the tribunal held within its porch during the Moslem domination, for the immediate trial of petty causes: a custom common to the Oriental nations, and occasionally alluded to in the Sacred Scriptures.

The great vestibule, or porch of the gate, is formed by an immense Arabian arch, of the horse-shoe form, which springs to half the height of the tower. On the key-stone of this arch is engraven a gigantic hand. Within the vestibule, on the key-stone of the portal, is sculptured, in like manner, a gigantic key. Those who pretend to some knowledge of Malometan symbols, affirm that the hand is the emblem of doctrine, and the key of faith; the latter, they add, was emblazoned on the standard of the Moslems when they subdued Andalusia, in opposition to the Christian emblem of the Cross. A different explanation, however, was given by the legitimate son of the Alhambra, and one more in unison with the notions of the common people, who attach something of mystery and magic to every thing Moorish, and have all kind of superstitions connected with this Moslem fortress.

According to Mateo, it was a tradition handed down from the oldest inhabitants, and which he had from his father and grandfather, that the hand and key were magical devices on which the fate of the Alhambra depended. The Moorish king who built it was a great magician, or, as some believed, had sold himself to the devil, and had laid the whole fortress under a magic spell. By this means it had remained standing for several hundred years, in defiance of storms and earthquakes, while almost all other buildings of the Moors had fallen to ruin, and disappeared. This spell, the tradition went on to say, would be

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until the hand on the outer arch should reach down  
and grasp the key, when the whole pile would tumble  
to pieces, and all the treasures buried beneath it by  
the Moors would be revealed.

Notwithstanding this ominous prediction, we ven-  
tured to pass through the spell-bound gateway, feel-  
ing some little assurance against magic art in the  
protection of the Virgin, a statue of whom we ob-  
served above the portal.

After passing through the barbican, we ascended  
a narrow lane, winding between walls, and came on  
an open esplanade within the fortress, called the  
Plaza de los Algebres, or Place of the Cisterns, from  
great reservoirs which undermine it, cut in the liv-  
ing rock by the Moors for the supply of the fortress.  
Here, also, is a well of immense depth, furnishing  
the purest and coldest of water; another monument  
of the delicate taste of the Moors, who were indefa-  
tigable in their exertions to obtain that element in its  
crystal purity.

In front of this esplanade is the splendid pile com-  
menced by Charles V, intended, it is said, to eclipse  
the residence of the Moslem kings. With all its  
grandeur and architectural merit, it appeared to us  
like an arrogant intrusion, and, passing by it, we  
entered a simple, unostentatious portal, opening into  
the interior of the Moorish palace.

The transition was almost magical: it seemed as  
if we were at once transported into other times and  
another realm, and were treading the scenes of Ara-  
bian story. We found ourselves in a great court,  
paved with white marble, and decorated at each end  
with light Moorish peristyles: it is called the Court  
of the Alberca. In the centre was an immense basin  
or fish-pond, a hundred and thirty feet in length by  
thirty in breadth, stocked with gold-fish, and bor-  
dered by hedges of roses. At the upper end of this  
court rose the great Tower of Comares.

From the lower end we passed through a Moorish  
archway into the renowned Court of Lions. There  
is no part of the edifice that gives us a more complete  
idea of its original beauty and magnificence than  
this, for none has suffered so little from the ravages  
of time. In the centre stands the fountain famous in  
song and story. The alabaster basins still shed their  
diamond drops; and the twelve lions which support  
them, cast forth their crystal streams as in the days  
of Boabdil. The court is laid out in flower-beds,  
and surrounded by light Arabian arcades of open  
filagree-work, supported by slender pillars of white  
marble. The architecture, like that of all the other  
parts of the palace, is characterized by elegance rat-  
her than grandeur; bespeaking a delicate and grace-  
ful taste, and a disposition to indolent enjoyment.  
When one looks upon the fairy tracery of the peri-  
styles, and the apparently fragile fretwork of the  
walls, it is difficult to believe that so much has sur-  
vived the wear and tear of centuries, the shocks of  
earthquakes, the violence of war, and the quiet,  
though no less baneful, pilferings of the tasteful tra-

veller: it is almost sufficient to excuse the popular  
tradition, that the whole is protected by a magic  
charm.

On one side of the court, a portal, richly adorned,  
opens into a lofty hall, paved with white marble, and  
called the Hall of the Two Sisters. A cupola, or  
lantern, admits a tempered light from above, and a  
free circulation of air. The lower part of the walls  
is encrusted with beautiful Moorish tiles, on some of  
which are emblazoned the escutcheons of the Moor-  
ish monarchs: the upper part is faced with the fine  
stucco-work invented at Damascus, consisting of  
large plates, cast in moulds, and artfully joined, so  
as to have the appearance of having been laboriously  
sculptured by the hand into light relievos and fanciful  
arabesques, intermingled with texts of the Koran,  
and poetical inscriptions in Arabian and Cufic char-  
acters. These decorations of the walls and cupolas  
are richly gilded, and the interstices pencilled with  
lapis-lazuli, and other brilliant and enduring colours.  
On each side of the hall are recesses for ottomans  
and couches. Above an inner porch is a balcony,  
which communicated with the women's apartment.  
The latticed 'jalousies' still remain, from whence the  
dark-eyed beauties of the harem might gaze unseen  
upon the entertainments of the hall below.

It is impossible to contemplate this once favourite  
abode of Oriental manners, without feeling the early  
associations of Arabian romance, and almost expect-  
ing to see the white arm of some mysterious princess  
beckoning from the balcony, or some dark eye spark-  
ling through the lattice. The abode of beauty is  
here, as if it had been uninhabited but yesterday; but  
where are the Zoraydas and Lindaraxas!

On the opposite side of the Court of Lions, is the  
Hall of the Abencerrages; so called from the gallant  
cavaliers of that illustrious line who were here perfid-  
iously massacred. There are some who doubt the  
whole truth of this story; but our humble attendant  
Mateo pointed out the very wicket of the portal  
through which they are said to have been introduced,  
one by one, and the white marble fountain in the  
centre of the hall, where they were beheaded. He  
showed us also certain broad ruddy stains in the  
pavement, traces of their blood, which, according to  
popular belief, can never be effaced. Finding we  
listened to him with easy faith, he added, that there  
was often heard at night, in the Court of Lions, a  
low, confused sound, resembling the murmuring of  
a multitude; with now and then a faint tinkling,  
like the distant clank of chains. These noises are  
probably produced by the bubbling currents and  
tinkling falls of water, conducted under the pave-  
ment, through pipes and channels, to supply the  
fountains; but, according to the legend of the son of  
the Alhambra, they are made by the spirits of the  
murdered Abencerrages, who nightly haunt the scene  
of their suffering, and invoke the vengeance of Hea-  
ven on their destroyer.

From the Court of Lions we retraced our steps

through the Court of the Alberca, or Great Fish-pool; crossing which, we proceeded to the Tower of Comares, so called from the name of the Arabian architect. It is of massive strength and lofty height, domineering over the rest of the edifice, and overhanging the steep hill-side, which descends abruptly to the banks of the Darro. A Moorish archway admitted us into a vast and lofty hall, which occupies the interior of the tower, and was the grand audience-chamber of the Moslem monarchs, thence called the Hall of Ambassadors. It still bears the traces of past magnificence. The walls are richly stuccoed and decorated with arabesques; the vaulted ceiling of cedar-wood, almost lost in obscurity, from its height, still gleams with rich gilding, and the brilliant tints of the Arabian pencil. On three sides of the saloon are deep windows cut through the immense thickness of the walls, the balconies of which look down upon the verdant valley of the Darro, the streets and convents of the Albaycin, and command a prospect of the distant Vega.

I might go on to describe minutely the other delightful apartments of this side of the palace; the Tocador, or toilet of the queen, an open belvedere, on the summit of a tower, where the Moorish sultanas enjoyed the pure breezes from the mountain, and the prospect of the surrounding paradise; the secluded little patio, or garden of Lindaraxa, with its alabaster fountain, its thickets of roses and myrtles, of citrons and oranges; the cool halls and grottoes of the baths, where the glare and heat of day are tempered into a soft mysterious light, and a pervading freshness. But I forbear to dwell minutely on those scenes; my object is merely to give the reader a general introduction into an abode, where, if so disposed, he may linger and loiter with me through the remainder of this work, gradually becoming familiar with all its localities.

An abundant supply of water, brought from the mountains by old Moorish aqueducts, circulates throughout the palace, supplying its baths and fish-pools, sparkling in jets within its halls, or murmuring in channels along the marble pavements. When it has paid its tribute to the royal pile, and visited its gardens and pastures, it flows down the long avenue leading to the city, tinkling in rills, gushing in fountains, and maintaining a perpetual verdure in those groves that embower and beautify the whole hill of the Alhambra.

Those only who have sojourned in the ardent climates of the South, can appreciate the delights of an abode, combining the breezy coolness of the mountain, with the freshness and verdure of the valley.

While the city below pants with the noontide heat, and the parched Vega trembles to the eye, the delicate airs from the Sierra Nevada play through these lofty halls, bringing with them the sweetness of the surrounding gardens. Every thing invites to that indolent repose, the bliss of southern climes; and while the half-shut eye looks out from shaded bal-

conies upon the glittering landscape, the ear is lulled by the rustling of groves, and the murmur of running streams.

### THE TOWER OF COMARES.

THE reader has had a sketch of the interior of the Alhambra, and may be desirous of a general idea of its vicinity. The morning is serene and lovely; the sun has not gained sufficient power to destroy the freshness of the night; we will mount to the summit of the Tower of Comares, and take a bird's eye view of Granada and its environs.

Come, then, worthy reader and comrade, follow my steps into this vestibule, ornamented with rich tracery, which opens to the Hall of Ambassadors. We will not enter the hall, however, but turn to the left, to this small door, opening in the wall. Have a care! here are steep winding steps and but scanty light; yet up this narrow, obscure, and winding staircase, the proud monarchs of Granada and their queens have often ascended to the battlements of the Tower, to watch the approach of Christian armies; or to gaze on the battles in the Vega. At length we are on the terraced roof, and may take breath for a moment, while we cast a general eye over the splendid panorama of city and country; of rocky mountain, verdant valley, and fertile plain; of castle, cathedral, Moorish towers, and Gothic domes, crumbling ruins, and blooming groves.

Let us approach the battlements, and cast our eyes immediately below. See, on this side we have the whole plan of the Alhambra laid open to us, and can look down into its courts and gardens. At the foot of the tower is the Court of the Alberca, with its great tank or fish-pool, bordered with flowers; and yonder is the Court of Lions, with its famous fountains, and its light Moorish arcades; and in the centre of the pile is the little garden of Lindaraxa, buried in the heart of the building, with its roses and citrons, and shrubbery of emerald green.

That belt of battlements, studded with square towers, straggling round the whole brow of the hill, is the outer boundary of the fortress. Some of the towers, you may perceive, are in ruins, and their massive fragments are buried among vines, fig-trees, and aloes.

Let us look on this northern side of the tower. It is a giddy height; the very foundations of the tower rise above the groves of the steep hill-side. And see! a long fissure in the massive walls, shows that the tower has been rent by some of the earthquakes, which from time to time have thrown Granada into consternation; and which, sooner or later, must reduce this crumbling pile to a mere mass of ruin. The deep narrow glen below us, which gradually widens as it opens from the mountains, is the valley of the Darro.

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you see the little river winding its way under em-  
powered terraces, and among orchards and flower-  
gardens. It is a stream famous in old times for  
yielding gold, and its sands are still sifted occasionally,  
in search of the precious ore. Some of those white  
pavilions, which here and there gleam from among  
groves and vineyards, were rustic retreats of the  
Moors, to enjoy the refreshment of their gardens.

The airy palace, with its tall white towers and long  
arcades, which breasts yon mountain, among poun-  
ous groves and hanging gardens, is the Generalif.,  
a summer palace of the Moorish kings, to which they  
resorted during the sultry months, to enjoy a still  
more breezy region than that of the Alhambra. The  
naked summit of the height above it, where you  
behold some shapeless ruins, is the Silla del Moro, or  
Seat of the Moor; so called, from having been a  
retreat of the unfortunate Boabdil, during the time  
of an insurrection, where he seated himself, and  
looked down mournfully upon his rebellious city.

A murmuring sound of water now and then rises  
from the valley. It is from the aqueduct of yon  
Moorish mill, nearly at the foot of the hill. The  
avenue of trees beyond is the Alameda, along the  
bank of the Darro, a favourite resort in evenings, and  
a rendezvous of lovers in the summer nights, when  
the guitar may be heard at a late hour from the  
benches along its walks. At present there are but a  
few loitering monks to be seen there, and a group of  
water-carriers from the fountain of Avellanos.

You start! 'tis nothing but a hawk that we have  
frightened from his nest. This old tower is a com-  
plete breeding-place for vagrant birds; the swallow  
and martlet abound in every crink and cranny, and  
trifle about it the whole day long; while at night,  
when all other birds have gone to rest, the moping  
owl comes out of its lurking-place, and utters its  
cooling cry from the battlements. See how the hawk  
we have dislodged sweeps away below us, skimming  
over the tops of the trees, and sailing up to the  
ruins above the Generalife!

Let us leave this side of the tower, and turn our  
eyes to the west. Here you behold in the distance,  
a range of mountains bounding the Vega, the ancient  
barrier between Moslem Granada and the land of the  
Christians. Among their heights you may still discern  
warrior towns, whose grey walls and battlements  
seem of a piece with the rocks on which they are  
built; while here and there is a solitary Atalaya, or  
watch-tower, mounted on some lofty point, and  
looking down, as it were, from the sky, into the  
valleys on either side. It was down the delles of  
these mountains, by the pass of Lope, that the Chris-  
tian armies descended into the Vega. It was round  
the base of yon grey and naked mountain, almost  
insulated from the rest, and stretching its bold rocky  
promontory into the bosom of the plain, that the in-  
vading squadrons would come bursting into view, with  
haunting banners, and the clangour of drums and  
trumpets. How changed is the scene! Instead of the

glittering line of mailed warriors, we behold the pa-  
tient train of the toilful muleteer, slowly moving  
along the skirts of the mountain. Behind that pro-  
montory is the eventful bridge of Pinos, renowned  
for many a bloody strife between Moors and Chris-  
tians; but still more renowned as being the place  
where Columbus was overtaken and called back by  
the messenger of Queen Isabella, just as he was de-  
parting in despair, to carry his project of discovery  
to the court of France.

Behold another place famous in the history of the  
discoverer. Yon line of walls and towers, gleaming  
in the morning sun, in the very centre of the Vega,  
is the city of Santa-Fé, built by the Catholic sove-  
reigns during the siege of Granada, after a conflagra-  
tion had destroyed their camp. It was to these walls  
that Columbus was called back by the heroic queen;  
and within them the treaty was concluded, that led  
to the discovery of the western world.

Here, towards the south, the eye revels on the  
luxuriant beauties of the Vega; a blooming wilder-  
ness of grove and garden, and teeming orchard, with  
the Xenil winding through it in silver links, and  
feeding innumerable rills, conducted through ancient  
Moorish channels, which maintain the landscape in  
perpetual verdure. Here are the beloved bowers and  
gardens and rural retreats, for which the Moors  
fought with such desperate valour. The very farm-  
houses and hovels which are now inhabited by the  
boors, retain traces of arabesques and other tasteful  
decorations, which show them to have been elegant  
residences in the days of the Moslems.

Beyond the embowered region of the Vega, you  
behold to the south a line of arid hills, down which  
a long train of mules is slowly moving. It was  
from the summit of one of those hills that the unfor-  
tunate Boabdil cast back his last look upon Granada,  
and gave vent to the agony of his soul. It is the spot  
famous in song and story, "The last sigh of the Moor."

Now raise your eyes to the snowy summit of yon  
pile of mountains, shining like a white summer cloud  
in the blue sky. It is the Sierra Nevada, the pride  
and delight of Granada; the source of her cooling  
breezes and perpetual verdure, of her gushing foun-  
tains and perennial streams. It is this glorious pile  
of mountains that gives to Granada that combination  
of delights so rare in a southern city; the fresh vege-  
tation and the temperate airs of a northern climate,  
with the vivifying ardour of a tropical sun, and the  
clondless azure of a southern sky. It is this aerial  
treasure of snow, which, melting in proportion to the  
increase of the summer heat, sends down rivulets and  
streams through every Glen and gorge of the Alpuxar-  
ras, diffusing emerald verdure and fertility through-  
out a chain of happy and sequestered valleys.

Those mountains may well be called the glory of  
Granada. They dominate the whole extent of An-  
dalusia, and may be seen from its most distant parts.  
The muleteer hails them, as he views their frosty  
peaks from the sultry level of the plain; and the

Spanish mariner on the deck of his bark, far, far off on the bosom of the blue Mediterranean, watches them with a pensive eye, thinks of delightful Granada, and chants, in low voice, some old romance about the Moors.

But enough—the sun is high above the mountains, and is pouring his full fervour upon our heads. Already the terraced roof of the tower is hot beneath our feet : let us abandon it, and descend and refresh ourselves under the arcades by the Fountain of the Lions.

#### REFLECTIONS

ON THE

#### MOSLEM DOMINATION IN SPAIN.

ONE of my favourite resorts is the balcony of the central window of the Hall of Ambassadors, in the lofty tower of Comares. I have just been seated there, enjoying the close of a long brilliant day. The sun, as he sank behind the purple mountains of Alhama, sent a stream of effulgence up the valley of the Darro, that spread a melancholy pomp over the ruddy towers of the Alhambra; while the Vega, covered with a slight sultry vapour that caught the setting ray, seemed spread out in the distance like a golden sea. Not a breath of air disturbed the stillness of the hour, and though the faint sound of music and merriment now and then arose from the gardens of the Darro, it but rendered more impressive the monumental silence of the pile which overshadowed me. It was one of those hours and scenes in which memory asserts an almost magical power; and, like the evening sun beaming on these mouldering towers, sends back her retrospective rays to light up the glories of the past.

As I sat watching the effect of the declining daylight upon this Moorish pile, I was led into a consideration of the light, elegant, and voluptuous character, prevalent throughout its internal architecture; and to contrast it with the grand but gloomy solemnity of the gothic edifices, reared by the Spanish conquerors. The very architecture thus bespeaks the opposite and irreconcilable natures of the two warlike people who so long battled here for the mastery of the peninsula. By degrees, I fell into a course of musing upon the singular fortunes of the Arabian or Moresco-Spaniards, whose whole existence is as a tale that is told, and certainly forms one of the most anomalous, yet splendid episodes in history. Potent and durable as was their dominion, we scarcely know how to call them. They are a nation, as it were, without a legitimate country or a name. A remote wave of the great Arabian inundation, cast upon the shores of Europe, they seemed to have all the impetus of the first rush of the torrent. Their career of conquest, from the rock of Gibraltar

to the cliffs of the Pyrenees, was as rapid and brilliant as the Moslem victories of Syria and Egypt. Nay had they not been checked on the plains of Tours, France, all Europe, might have been overrun with the same facility as the empires of the East, and the crescent might at this day have glittered on the fane of Paris and of London.

Repelled within the limits of the Pyrenees, the mixed hordes of Asia and Africa, that formed the great eruption, gave up the Moslem principle of conquest, and sought to establish in Spain a peaceful and permanent dominion. As conquerors, their heroism was only equalled by their moderation; and in both for a time, they excelled the nations with whom they contended. Severed from their native homes, they loved the land given them as they supposed by Allah, and strove to embellish it with every thing that could administer to the happiness of man. Laying the foundations of their power in a system of wise and equitable laws, diligently cultivating the arts and sciences, and promoting agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; they gradually formed an empire unrivalled for its prosperity by any of the empires of Christendom; and diligently drawing round them the graces and refinements that marked the Arabian empire in the East, at the time of its greatest civilization, they diffused the light of Oriental knowledge through the Western regions of benighted Europe.

The cities of Arabian Spain became the resort of Christian artisans, to instruct themselves in the useful arts. The Universities of Toledo, Cordova, Seville, and Granada, were sought by the pale student from other lands, to acquaint himself with the sciences of the Arabs, and the treasured lore of antiquity; the lovers of the gay sciences resorted to Cordova and Granada, to imbibe the poetry and music of the East; and the steel-clad warriors of the north hastened thither to accomplish themselves in the graceful exercises and courteous usages of chivalry.

If the Moslem monuments in Spain, in the mosque of Cordova, the alcazar of Seville, and the Alhambra of Granada, still bear inscriptions fondly boasting of the power and permanency of their domination; can the boast be derided as arrogant and vain? Generation after generation, century after century, has passed away, and still they maintained possession of the land. A period had elapsed longer than that which has passed since England was subjugated by the Norman Conqueror, and the descendants of Alfred and Taric might as little anticipate being driven into exile across the same straits, traversed by their triumphant ancestors, as the descendants of Rollo and William, and their veteran peers, may dream of being driven back to the shores of Normandy.

With all this, however, the Moslem empire in Spain was but a brilliant exotic, that took no permanent root in the soil it embellished. Severed from all their neighbours in the West, by impassable barriers of faith and manners, and separated by seas and deserts from their kindred of the East, they were



nees, was as rapid and brilliant as the conquests of Syria and Egypt. Napoleon might have been overruled by the empires of the East, and the day have glittered on the fane of the East.

the limits of the Pyrenees, the Alps, and Africa, that formed the barrier between the Moslem principle of conquest and the Christian principle of empire in Spain a peaceful and happy reign. As conquerors, their heroic deeds and their moderation; and in both respects they were the same. They ruled the nations with whom they came from their native homes, they treated them as they supposed by Allah to be their property. They filled it with every thing that could contribute to the happiness of man. Laying the foundation in a system of wise and equitable laws, they cultivated the arts and sciences, the fine arts, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. They formed an empire unrivalled in the history of the empires of Christendom. They drew round them the great nations, and marked the Arabian empire as the cradle of its greatest civilization, the fountain of its Oriental knowledge through the benighted Europe.

Arabian Spain became the resort of the Moors to instruct themselves in the useful arts and sciences of Toledo, Cordova, Seville, and Granada. It was sought by the pale student from all parts of Europe to acquaint himself with the sciences of the East, and the treasures of antiquity; the sciences of Cordova and Granada were the poetry and music of the East. The Moors and the Arab warriors of the north hastened to the East to accomplish themselves in the graceful and chivalrous usages of chivalry. The monuments in Spain, if the mosque of Cordova, the Alhambra, the Alcazar of Seville, and the Alhambra of Granada, bear inscriptions fondly boasting of the grandeur and permanency of their domination; and as arrogant and vain? Generations, century after century, have passed, and still they maintained possession of the East had elapsed longer than that of Rome, since England was subjugated by the Moors, and the descendants of Mohammed little anticipate being driven into the narrow straits, traversed by their fathers, as the descendants of Rollo and Charlemagne, veteran peers, may dream of being driven into the narrow straits of Normandy.

However, the Moslem empire in Spain was a brilliant exotic, that took no permanent root in the West, by impassable barriers, and separated by seas and mountains from the East, they were

isolated people. Their whole existence was a struggle, though gallant and chivalric struggle, for a foothold in a usurped land.

They were the out-posts and frontiers of Islamism. The peninsula was the great battle-ground where the Gothic conquerors of the North, and the Moslem conquerors of the East, met and strove for mastery; and the fiery courage of the Arab was at length subdued by the obstinate and persevering valour of the Goth. Never was the annihilation of a people more complete than that of the Moresco-Spaniards. Where were they? Ask the shores of Barbary and its desert wastes. The exiled remnant of their once powerful empire disappeared among the barbarians of Africa, and ceased to be a nation. They have not even left a distinct name behind them, though for nearly eight centuries they were a distinct people. The home of their adoption and of their occupation for ages, refuses to acknowledge them, except as invaders and usurpers. A few broken monuments are all that remain to bear witness to their power and dominion, solitary rocks left far in the interior, bear testimony to the extent of some vast inundation. Such are the Alhambra. A Moslem pile, in the midst of a Christian land; an Oriental palace amidst the Gothic edifices of the West; an elegant memento of a brave, intelligent, and graceful people, who conquered, ruled, and passed away.

### THE HOUSEHOLD.

It is time that I give some idea of my domestic arrangements in this singular residence. The Royal Palace of the Alhambra is entrusted to the care of a good old maiden dame, called Doña Antonia Molina; and who, according to Spanish custom, goes by the more neighbourly appellation of Tía Antonia (Aunt Antonia). She maintains the Moorish halls and gardens in order, and shews them to strangers; in consideration of which she is allowed all the perquisites received from visitors, and all the produce of the gardens, excepting, that she is expected to pay an occasional tribute of fruits and flowers to the governor. Her residence is in a corner of the palace; and her family consists of a nephew and niece, the children of two different brothers. The nephew, Manuel Molina, is a young man of sterling worth, and Spanish gravity. He has served in the armies both in Spain and the West Indies; but is now studying medicine, in hopes of one day or other becoming physician to the fortress, a post worth at least a hundred and forty dollars a-year. As to the niece, she is a plump little black-eyed Andalusian damsel, named Doña Juana; but who, from her bright looks and cheerful disposition, merits a merrier name. She is the dearest treasure of all her aunt's possessions, consisting of certain ruinous tenements in the fortress, yielding

a revenue of about one hundred and fifty dollars. I had not been long in the Alhambra, before I discovered that a quiet courtship was going on between the discreet Manuel and his bright-eyed cousin, and that nothing was wanting to enable them to join their hands and expectations, but that he should receive his doctor's diploma, and purchase a dispensation from the Pope, on account of their consanguinity.

With the good dame Antonia I have made a treaty, according to which, she furnishes me with board and lodging; while the merry-hearted little Dolores keeps my apartment in order, and officiates as handmaid at meal-times. I have also at my command a tall, stammering, yellow-haired lad, named Pepe, who works in the gardens, and would fain have acted as valet; but, in this, he was forestalled by Mateo Ximenes, "the son of the Alhambra!" This alert and officious wight has managed, somehow or other, to stick by me ever since I first encountered him at the outer gate of the fortress, and to weave himself into all my plans, until he has fairly appointed and installed himself my valet, cicerone, guide, guard, and historiographic squire; and I have been obliged to improve the state of his wardrobe, that he may not disgrace his various functions; so that he has cast his old brown mantle, as a snake does his skin, and now appears about the fortress with a smart Andalusian hat and jacket, to his infinite satisfaction, and the great astonishment of his comrades. The chief fault of honest Mateo is an over anxiety to be useful. Conscious of having foisted himself into my employ, and that my simple and quiet habits render his situation a sinecure, he is at his wit's ends to devise modes of making himself important to my welfare. I am, in a manner, the victim of his officiousness; I cannot put my foot over the threshold of the palace, to stroll about the fortress, but he is at my elbow, to explain every thing I see; and if I venture to ramble among the surrounding hills, he insists upon attending me as a guard, though I vehemently suspect he would be more apt to trust to the length of his legs than the strength of his arms, in case of an attack. After all, however, the poor fellow is at times an amusing companion; he is simple-minded, and of infinite good humour, with the loquacity and gossip of a village barber, and knows all the small-talk of the place and its environs; but what he chiefly values himself on, is his stock of local information, having the most marvellous stories to relate, of every tower, and vault, and gateway of the fortress, in all of which he places the most implicit faith.

Most of these he has derived, according to his own account, from his grandfather, a little legendary tailor, who lived to the age of nearly a hundred years, during which he made but two migrations beyond the precincts of the fortress. His shop, for the greater part of a century, was the resort of a knot of venerable gossips, where they would pass half the night talking about old times, and the wonderful events and hidden secrets of the place. The whole living,

moving, thinking, and acting, of this historical little tailor, had thus been bounded by the walls of the Alhambra; within them he had been born, within them he lived, breathed, and had his being; within them he died, and was buried. Fortunately for posterity, his traditional lore died not with him. The authentic Mateo, when an urchin, used to be an attentive listener to the narratives of his grandfather, and of the gossip group assembled round the shop-board; and is thus possessed of a stock of valuable knowledge concerning the Alhambra, not to be found in the books, and well worthy the attention of every curious traveller.

Such are the personages that contribute to my domestic comforts in the Alhambra; and I question whether any of the potentates, Moslem or Christian, who have preceded me in the palace, have been waited upon with greater fidelity, or enjoyed a sorer sway.

When I rise in the morning, Pepe, the stuttering lad from the gardens, brings me a tribute of fresh-culled flowers, which are afterwards arranged in vases, by the skilful hand of Dolores, who takes a female pride in the decorations of my chamber. My meals are made wherever caprice dictates; sometimes in one of the Moorish halls, sometimes under the arcades of the Court of Lions, surrounded by flowers and fountains: and when I walk out, I am conducted by the assiduous Mateo, to the most romantic retreats of the mountains, and delicious haunts of the adjacent valleys, not one of which but is the scene of some wonderful tale.

Though fond of passing the greater part of my day alone, yet I occasionally repair in the evenings to the little domestic circle of Doña Antonia. This is generally held in an old Moorish chamber, that serves for kitchen as well as hall, a rude fire-place having been made in one corner, the smoke from which has discoloured the walls, and almost obliterated the ancient arabesques. A window, with a balcony overhanging the valley of the Darro, lets in the cool evening breeze; and here I take my frugal supper of fruit and milk, and mingle with the conversation of the family. There is a natural talent or mother wit, as it is called, about the Spaniards, which renders them intellectual and agreeable companions, whatever may be their condition in life, or however imperfect may have been their education: add to this, they are never vulgar; nature has endowed them with an inherent dignity of spirit. The good Tia Antonia is a woman of strong and intelligent, though uncultivated mind; and the bright-eyed Dolores, though she has read but three or four books in the whole course of her life, has an engaging mixture of naïveté and good sense, and often surprises me by the pungency of her artless sallies. Sometimes the nephew entertains us by reading some old comedy of Calderon or Lope de Vega, to which he is evidently prompted by a desire to improve, as well as amuse his cousin Dolores; though to his great mortification, the little damsel generally falls asleep before the first act is completed. Sometimes Tia Antonia

has a little levee of humble friends and dependents, the inhabitants of the adjacent hamlet, or the wives of the invalid soldiers. These look up to her with great deference, as the custodian of the palace, and pay their court to her by bringing the news of the place, or the rumours that may have straggled up from Granada. In listening to these evening gossipings I have picked up many curious facts, illustrative of the manners of the people and the peculiarities of the neighbourhood. These are simple details of simple pleasures; it is the nature of the place alone that gives them interest and importance. I tread a haunted ground, and am surrounded by romantic associations. From earliest boyhood, when, on the banks of the Hudson, I first pored over the pages of an old Spanish story about the wars of Granada, the city has ever been a subject of my waking dreams, and often have I trod in fancy the romantic halls of the Alhambra. Behold for once a day-dream realized; yet I can scarce credit my senses, or believe that I do indeed inhabit the palace of Boabdil, and look down from its balconies upon chivalric Granada. As I glide through these Oriental chambers, and hear the murmur of fountains and the song of the nightingale; as I inhale the odour of the rose, and feel the influence of the balmy climate, I am almost tempted to fancy myself in the paradise of Mahomet, and that the plump little Dolores is one of the bright-eyed houris destined to administer to the happiness of true believers.

### THE TRUANT.

SINCE noting the foregoing pages, we have had a scene of petty tribulation in the Alhambra, which has thrown a cloud over the sunny countenance of Dolores. This little damsel has a female passion for pets of all kinds, and from the superabundant kindness of her disposition, one of the ruined courts of the Alhambra is thronged with her favourites. A stately peacock and his hen seem to hold regal sway here, over pompous turkeys, querulous guinea-fowls, and a rabble rout of common cocks and hens. The great delight of Dolores, however, has for some time been centred in a youthful pair of pigeons, who have lately entered into the holy state of wedlock, and who have even supplanted a tortoise-shell cat and kitten in her affections.

As a tenement for them wherein to commence housekeeping, she had fitted up a small chamber adjacent to the kitchen, the window of which looked into one of the quiet Moorish courts. Here they lived in happy ignorance of any world beyond the court and its sunny roofs. Never had they aspired to see above the battlements, or to mount to the summit of the towers. Their virtuous union was at length crowned by two spotless and milk-white eggs, to the

amble friends and dependents, adjacent hamlet, or the wife. These look up to her with the custodian of the palace, and r by bringing the news of the s that may have straggled up listening to these evening gos-up many curious facts, illustrating the people and the peculiarities. These are simple details of s the nature of the place alone rest and importance. I tread am surrounded by romantic as earliest boyhood, when, on the I first pored over the pages of about the wars of Granada, that subject of my waking dreams, d in fancy the romantic halls of d for once a day-dream realized. lit my senses, or believe that I d palace of Boabdil, and look down on chivalric Granada. As I loiter tal chambers, and hear the mur d the song of the nightingale; a f the rose, and feel the influence e, I am almost tempted to fancy lise of Mahomet, and that the is one of the bright-eyed houris ter to the happiness of true be

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Never had they aspired to see ts, or to mount to the summit of virtuous union was at lenge otless and milk-white eggs, to the

great joy of their cherishing little mistress. Nothing could be more praiseworthy than the conduct of the young married folks on this interesting occasion. They took turns to sit upon the nest until the eggs were hatched, and while their callow progeny required warmth and shelter; while one thus stayed at home, the other foraged abroad for food, and brought home abundant supplies.

This scene of conjugal felicity has suddenly met with a reverse. Early this morning, as Dolores was feeding the male pigeon, she took a fancy to give him a peep at the great world. Opening a window, therefore, which looks down upon the valley of the Darro, she launched him at once beyond the walls of the Alhambra. For the first time of his life the astonished bird had to try the full vigour of his wings. He swept down into the valley, and then rising upwards with a surge, soared almost to the clouds. Never before had he risen to such a height, or experienced such delight in flying; and, like a young spendthrift just come to his estate, he seemed giddy with excess of liberty, and with the boundless field of action suddenly opened to him. For the whole day he has been circling about in capricious flights, from tower to tower, from tree to tree. Every attempt has been vain to lure him back by scattering grain upon the roofs; he seems to have lost all thought of home, of his tender helpmate and his callow young. To add to the anxiety of Dolores, he has been joined by two *palomas ladrones*, or robber pigeons, whose instinct it is to entice wandering pigeons to their own dovecotes. The fugitive, like many other thoughtless youths on their first launching upon the world, seems quite fascinated with these knowing, but graceless companions, who have undertaken to shew him life, and introduce him to society. He has been soaring with them over all the roofs and steeples of Granada.

A thunder-storm has passed over the city, but he has not sought his home; night has closed in, and still he comes not. To deepen the pathos of the affair, the female pigeon, after remaining several hours on the nest, without being relieved, at length went forth to seek her recreant mate; but stayed away so long that the young ones perished for want of the warmth and shelter of the parent bosom. At a late hour in the evening, word was brought to Dolores, that the truant bird had been seen upon the towers of the Generalife. Now it happens that the *Administrador* of that ancient palace has likewise a dovecote, among the inmates of which are said to be two or three of these inveigling birds, the terror of all neighbouring pigeon-fanciers. Dolores immediately concluded, that the two feathered sharpers who had been seen with her fugitive, were these bloods of the Generalife. A council of war was forthwith held in the chamber of Tia Antonia. The Generalife is a distinct jurisdiction from the Alhambra, and of course some punctilio, if not jealousy, exists between their custodians. It was determined, therefore, to send Pepe, the stuttering lad of the gardens, as ambassador

to the *Administrador*, requesting, that if such fugitive should be found in his dominions, he might be given up as a subject of the Alhambra. Pepe departed accordingly, on his diplomatic expedition, through the moonlight groves and avenues, but returned in an hour with the afflicting intelligence that no such bird was to be found in the dovecote of the Generalife. The *Administrador*, however, pledged his sovereign word that if such vagrant should appear there, even at midnight, he should instantly be arrested, and sent back prisoner to his little black-eyed mistress.

Thus stands the melancholy affair, which has occasioned much distress throughout the palace, and has sent the inconsolable Dolores to a sleepless pillow.

"Sorrow endureth for a night," says the proverb, "but joy cometh in the morning." The first object that met my eyes, on leaving my room this morning, was Dolores, with the truant pigeon in her hands, and her eyes sparkling with joy. He had appeared at an early hour on the battlements, hovering shyly about from roof to roof, but at length entered the window, and surrendered himself prisoner. He gained little credit, however, by his return; for the ravenous manner in which he devoured the food set before him, shewed that, like the prodigal son, he had been driven home by sheer famine. Dolores upbraided him for his faithless conduct, calling him all manner of vagrant names (though, woman like, she fondled him at the same time to her bosom, and covered him with kisses). I observed, however, that she had taken care to clip his wings to prevent all future soarings; a precaution, which I mention for the benefit of all those who have truant lovers or wandering husbands. More than one valuable moral might be drawn from the story of Dolores and her pigeon.

## THE AUTHOR'S CHAMBER.

On taking up my abode in the Alhambra, one end of a suite of empty chambers of modern architecture, intended for the residence of the governor, was fitted up for my reception. It was in front of the palace, looking forth upon the esplanade; the further end communicated with a cluster of little chambers, partly Moorish, partly modern, inhabited by Tia Antonia and her family; these terminated in a large room, which serves the good old dame for parlour, kitchen, and hall of audience. It had boasted of some splendour in the time of the Moors, but a fireplace had been built in one corner, the smoke from which had discoloured the walls, nearly obliterated the ornaments, and spread a sombre tint on the whole. From these gloomy apartments, a narrow blind corridor and a dark winding staircase, led down an angle of the tower of Comares, groping along which, and opening a small door at the bottom,

you were suddenly dazzled by emerging into the brilliant ante-chamber of the Hall of Ambassadors, with the fountain of the court of the Alberca sparkling before you.

I was dissatisfied with being lodged in a modern and frontier apartment of the palace, and longed to ensconce myself in the very heart of the building. As I was rambling one day about the Moorish halls, I found in a remote gallery, a door which I had not before noticed, communicating apparently with an extensive apartment, locked up from the public. Here then was a mystery; here was the haunted wing of the castle. I procured the key, however, without difficulty; the door opened to a range of vacant chambers of European architecture, though built over a Moorish arcade, along the little garden of Lindaraxa. There were two lofty rooms, the ceilings of which were of deep panel work of cedar, richly and skilfully carved with fruits and flowers, intermingled with grotesque masks or faces, but broken in many places. The walls had evidently, in ancient times, been hung with damask, but were now naked, and scrawled over with the insignificant names of aspiring travellers; the windows, which were dismantled and open to wind and weather, looked into the garden of Lindaraxa, and the orange and citron-trees flung their branches into the chamber. Beyond these rooms were two saloons, less lofty, looking also into the garden. In the compartments of the pannelled ceilings, were baskets of fruit and garlands of flowers, painted by no mean hand, and in tolerable preservation. The walls had also been painted in fresco in the Italian style, but the paintings were nearly obliterated; the windows were in the same shattered state as in the other chambers. This fanciful suite of rooms terminated in an open gallery with balustrades, which ran at right angles along another side of the garden. The whole apartment had a delicacy and elegance in its decorations, and there was something so choice and sequestered in its situation, along this retired little garden, that it awakened an interest in its history. I found on enquiry, that it was an apartment fitted up by Italian artists in the early part of the last century, at the time when Philip V and the beautiful Elizabeth of Parma were expected at the Alhambra; and was destined for the queen and the ladies of her train. One of the loftiest chambers had been her sleeping-room; and a narrow staircase leading from it, though now walled up, opened to the delightful belvedere, originally a mirador of the Moorish Sultanas, but fitted up as a boudoir for the fair Elizabeth, and which still retains the name of the *tocador*, or *toilette*, of the Queen. The sleeping-room I have mentioned, commanded from one window a prospect of the Generalife and its embowered terraces: under another window played the alabaster fountain of the garden of Lindaraxa. That garden carried my thoughts still further back to the period of another reign of beauty: to the days of the Moorish Sultanas.

"How beautiful is this garden!" says an Arabic inscription, "where the flowers of the earth vie with the stars of heaven! What can compare with the vase of yon alabaster fountain filled with crystal water? Nothing but the moon in her fulness, shining in the midst of an unclouded sky!"

Centuries had elapsed, yet how much of this scene of apparently fragile beauty remained. The garden of Lindaraxa was still adorned with flowers; the fountain still presented its crystal mirror; it is true, the alabaster had lost its whiteness, and the basin beneath, overrun with weeds, had become the nestling-place of the lizard; but there was something in the very decay, that enhanced the interest of the scene, speaking as it did, of that mutability which is the irrevocable lot of man and all his works. The desolation too of these chambers, once the abode of the proud and elegant Elizabetha, had a more touching charm for me, than if I had beheld them in their pristine splendour, glittering with the pageantry of a court. I determined at once to take up my quarters in this apartment.

My determination excited great surprise in the family, who could not imagine any rational inducement for the choice of so solitary, remote, and forlorn an apartment. The good Tia Antonia considered it highly dangerous; the neighbourhood, she said, was infested by vagrants; the caverns of the adjacent hills swarmed with gipsies; the palace was ruinous, and easy to be entered in many parts; and the rumour of a stranger quartered alone in one of the ruined apartments, out of the hearing of the rest of the inhabitants, might tempt unwelcome visitors in the night, especially as foreigners are always supposed to be well stocked with money. Dolores represented the frightful loneliness of the place, nothing but bats and owls flitting about; then there were a fox and a wild cat that kept about the vaults and roamed about at night.

I was not to be diverted from my humour; so calling in the assistance of a carpenter, and the ever officious Mateo Ximenes, the doors and windows were soon placed in a state of tolerable security. With all these precautions, I must confess, the first night I passed in these quarters was inexpressibly dreary. I was escorted by the whole family to my chamber, and their taking leave of me, and returning along the waste ante-chambers and echoing galleries, reminded me of those hobgoblin stories where the hero is left to accomplish the adventure of an enchanted house.

Even the thoughts of the fair Elizabetha, and the beauties of her court, who had once graced these chambers, now, by a perversion of fancy, added to the gloom. Here was the scene of their transiency and loveliness; here were the very traces of their elegance and enjoyment; but what and where were they?—Dust and ashes! tenants of the tomb! phantoms of the memory!

A vague and indescribable awe was creeping over

## THE ALHAMBRA BY MOONLIGHT.

"this garden!" says an Arabian, "the flowers of the earth vie with the fountain filled with crystal, and the moon in her fulness, shining on the unclouded sky!"

But, yet how much of this scene of beauty remained. The garden was still adorned with flowers; the mirror and its crystal mirror; it is true, but its whiteness, and the basin filled with weeds, had become the lair of the lizard; but there was something that enhanced the interest of the scene, did, of that mutability which is the lot of man and all his works. The chambers, once the abode of the beautiful Elizabetha, had a more touching interest than if I had beheld them in their original splendor, glittering with the pageantry of a court, and at once to take up my quarters

excited great surprise in the mind of those who could not imagine any rational inducement for so solitary, remote, and forlorn a habitation. A good Tia Antonia considered it a great advantage in the neighbourhood, she said, was the caverns of the adjacent hills; the palace was ruinous, and in many parts; and the rumour of a great treasure hidden in one of the ruined apartments, was the cause of the rest of the inhabitants, who were always supposed to be waiting for the discovery of it.

Dolores represented the scene of the place, nothing but bats and owls, and then there were a fox and a wild cat, and the vaults and roamed about at night, and diverted from my humour; so I was employed by a carpenter, and the ever increasing number of the doors and windows, in a state of tolerable security. In my anticipations, I must confess, the first night in these quarters was inexpressibly terrified by the whole family to my taking leave of me, and returning to my ante-chambers and echoing galleries of those hobgoblin stories which were accomplished the adventure of an

of the fair Elizabetha, and the court, who had once graced these apartments, a perversion of fancy, added to the scene of their transfer to the present; here were the very traces of enjoyment; but what and what and ashes! tenants of the tomb! memory! scribble awe was creeping over

me. I would fain have ascribed it to the thoughts of robbers awakened by the evening's conversation, but I felt that it was something more unreal and absurd. In a word, the long-buried impressions of the nursery were reviving, and asserting their power over my imagination. Every thing began to be affected by the working of my mind. The whispering of the wind among the citron-trees, beneath my window, had something sinister. I cast my eyes into the garden of Lindaraxa; the groves presented a gulf of shadows; the thickets, indistinct and ghastly shapes. I was glad to close the window, but my chamber itself became infected. A bat had found its way in, and flitted about my head and athwart my solitary lamp; the grotesque faces carved in the ceiling seemed to mope and mow at me.

Rousing myself, and half smiling at this temporary weakness, I resolved to brave it, and, taking lamp in hand, sallied forth to make a tour of the ancient palace. Notwithstanding every mental exertion, the task was a severe one. The rays of my lamp extended to but a limited distance around me; I walked as it were in a mere halo of light, and all beyond was thick darkness. The vaulted corridors were as caverns; the vaults of the halls were lost in gloom; what unseen foe might not be lurking before or behind me! my own shadow playing about the walls and the echoes of my own footsteps disturbed me.

In this excited state, as I was traversing the great Hall of Ambassadors, there were added real sounds to these conjectural fancies. Low moans, and indistinct ejaculations seemed to rise, as it were, beneath my feet; I paused and listened. They then appeared to resound from without the tower. Sometimes they resembled the howlings of an animal, at others they were stifled shrieks, mingled with articulate ravings. The thrilling effect of these sounds in that still hour and singular place, destroyed all inclination to continue my lonely perambulation. I returned to my chamber with more alacrity than I had sallied forth, and drew my breath more freely when once more within its walls, and the door bolted behind me. When I awoke in the morning with the sun shining in at my window and lighting up every part of the building with his cheerful and truth-telling beams, I could scarcely recall the shadows and fancies conjured up by the gloom of the preceding night; or believe that the scenes around me, so naked and apparent, could have been clothed with such imaginary horrors.

Still, the dismal howlings and ejaculations I had heard, were not ideal; but they were soon accounted for by my handmaid Dolores; being the ravings of a poor maniac, a brother of her aunt, who was subject to violent paroxysms, during which he was confined in a vaulted room beneath the Hall of Ambassadors.

I HAVE given a picture of my apartment on my first taking possession of it; a few evenings have produced a thorough change in the scene and in my feelings. The moon, which then was invisible, has gradually gained upon the night, and now rolls in full splendour above the towers, pouring a flood of tempered light into every court and hall. The garden beneath my window is gently lighted up; the orange and citron-trees are tipped with silver; the fountain sparkles in the moon-beams, and even the blush of the rose is faintly visible.

I have sat for hours at my window, inhaling the sweetness of the garden, and musing on the chequered fortunes of those whose history is dimly shadowed out in the elegant memorials around. Sometimes I have issued forth at midnight, when every thing was quiet, and have wandered over the whole building. Who can do justice to a moonlight night in such a climate and in such a place! The temperature of an Andalusian midnight in summer is perfectly ethereal. We seem lifted up into a purer atmosphere; there is a serenity of soul, a buoyancy of spirits, an elasticity of frame, that render mere existence enjoyment. The effect of moonlight too, on the Alhambra, has something like enchantment. Every rent and chasm of time, every mouldering tint and weather-stain disappears; the marble resumes its original whiteness; the long colonnades brighten in the moonbeams, the halls are illuminated with a softened radiance, until the whole edifice reminds one of the enchanted palace of an Arabian tale.

At such a time I have ascended to the little pavilion called the Queen's Toilette, to enjoy its varied and extensive prospect. To the right, the snowy summits of the Sierra Nevada would gleam like silver clouds against the darker firmament, and all the outlines of the mountain would be softened, yet delicately defined. My delight, however, would be to lean over the parapet of the *tocador*, and gaze down upon Granada, spread out like a map below me; all buried in deep repose, and its white palaces and convents sleeping, as it were, in the moonshine.

Sometimes I would hear the faint sounds of castanets from some party of dancers lingering in the Alameda, at other times I have heard the dulcious tones of a guitar, and the notes of a single voice rising from some solitary street, and have pictured to myself some youthful cavalier serenading his lady's window; a gallant custom of former days, but now sadly on the decline, except in the remote towns and villages of Spain. Such were the scenes that have detained me for many an hour loitering about the courts and balconies of the castle, enjoying that mixture of reverie and sensation which steal away existence in a southern climate, and it has been almost morning before I have retired to my bed, and been lulled to



sleep by the falling waters of the fountain of Lindaraxa.

### INHABITANTS OF THE ALHAMBRA.

I HAVE often observed, that the more proudly a mansion has been tenanted in the day of its prosperity, the humbler are its inhabitants in the day of its decline, and that the palace of the king, commonly ends in being the nestling-place of the beggar.

The Alhambra is in a rapid state of similar transition. Whenever a tower falls to decay, it is seized upon by some tatterdemalion family, who become joint tenants, with the bats and owls, of its gilded halls; and hang their rags, those standards of poverty, out of its windows and loop-holes.

I have amused myself with remarking some of the motley characters that have thus usurped the ancient abode of royalty, and who seem as if placed here to give a farcical termination to the drama of human pride. One of these even bears the mockery of a regal title. It is a little old woman named Maria Antonia Sabonea, but who goes by the appellation of la Reyna Coquina, or the Cockle-queen. She is small enough to be a fairy, and a fairy she may be for aught I can find out, for no one seems to know her origin. Her habitation is in a kind of closet under the outer staircase of the palace, and she sits in the cool stone corridor, plying her needle and singing from morning till night, with a ready joke for every one that passes; for though one of the poorest, she is one of the merriest little women breathing. Her great merit is a gift for story-telling, having, I verily believe, as many stories at her command, as the inexhaustible Scheherazade of the Thousand and one Nights. Some of these I have heard her relate in the evening tertulias of Dame Antonia, at which she is occasionally a humble attendant.

That there must be some fairy gift about this mysterious little old woman, would appear from her extraordinary luck, since, notwithstanding her being very little, very ugly, and very poor, she has had, according to her own account, five husbands and a half, reckoning as a half one, a young dragoon who died during courtship. A rival personage to this little fairy queen, is a portly old fellow with a bottle nose, who goes about in a rusty garb, with a cocked hat of oil-skin and a red cockade. He is one of the legitimate sons of the Alhambra, and has lived here all his life, filling various offices, such as deputy alguazil, sexton of the parochial church, and marker of a fives' court established at the foot of one of the towers. He is as poor as a rat, but as proud as he is ragged, boasting of his descent from the illustrious house of Aguilar, from which sprang Gonsalvo of Cordova, the grand captain. Nay, he actually bears the name of Alonso de Aguilar, so renowned in the

history of the conquest; though the graceless wags of the fortress have given him the title of *elpadre santo*, or the holy father, the usual appellation of the Pope, which I had thought too sacred in the eyes of true catholics to be thus ludicrously applied. It is a whimsical caprice of fortune to present, in the grotesque person of this tatterdemalion, a namesake and descendant of the proud Alonso de Aguilar, the mirror of Andalusian chivalry, leading an almost mendicant existence about this once haughty fortress, which his ancestor aided to reduce; yet, such might have been the lot of the descendants of Agamemnon and Achilles, had they lingered about the ruins of Troy!

Of this motley community, I find the family of my gossiping squire, Mateo Ximenes, to form, from their numbers at least, a very important part. His boast of being a son of the Alhambra, is not unfounded. His family has inhabited the fortress ever since the time of the conquest, handing down an hereditary poverty from father to son; not one of them having ever been known to be worth a maravedi. His father, by trade a riband weaver, and who succeeded the historical tailor as the head of the family, is now near seventy years of age, and lives in a hovel of reeds and plaster, built by his own hands just above the iron gate. The furniture consists of a crazy bed, a table, and two or three chairs; a wooden chest, containing his clothes and the archives of his family; that is to say, a few papers concerning old law-suits, which he cannot read; but the pride of his hovel is a blazon of the arms of the family, brilliantly coloured, and suspended in a frame against the wall; clearly demonstrating by its quarterings, the various noble houses with which this poverty-stricken brood claim affinity.

As to Mateo himself, he has done his utmost to perpetuate his line, having a wife and a numerous progeny, who inhabit an almost dismantled hovel in the hamlet. How they manage to subsist, he only who sees into all mysteries can tell; the subsistence of a Spanish family of the kind, is always a riddle to me; yet they do subsist, and what is more, appear to enjoy their existence. The wife takes her holidays stroll in the Paseo of Granada, with a child in her arms and half a dozen at her heels; and the eldest daughter, now verging into womanhood, dresses her hair with flowers, and dances gaily to the castanets.

Here are two classes of people to whom life seems one long holiday, the very rich, and the very poor, one because they need do nothing, the other because they have nothing to do; but there are none who understand the art of doing nothing and living upon nothing, better than the poor classes of Spain. One mate does one half, and temperament the rest. Give a Spaniard the shade in summer, and the sun in winter; a little bread, garlic, oil, and garbances, an old brown cloak and a guitar, and let the world run on as it pleases. Talk of poverty! with him it has no disgrace. It sits upon him with a grandiose style, in his ragged cloak. He is a hidalgo, even when in rag-

though the graceless wags of him the title of *el padre santo*, usual appellation of the Pope, too sacred in the eyes of true and seriously applied. It is a whim to present, in the grotesque emanation, a namesake and descendant of Agamemnon and Achilles, at the ruins of Troy!

community, I find the family of my hero Ximenes, to form, from their very important part. His boast of the Alhambra, is not unfounded. He inherited the fortress ever since the first, handing down an hereditary right to son; not one of them having been able to be worth a maravedi. His son, a weaver, and who succeeded him as the head of the family, is now of age, and lives in a hovel of freedom by his own hands just above the furniture consists of a crazy bed, a few chairs; a wooden chest, and the archives of his family; that papers concerning old law-suits and; but the pride of his hovel is a picture of the family, brilliantly coloured in a frame against the wall; clearly its quarterings, the various noble and this poverty-stricken brood claim

himself, he has done his utmost to have a wife and a numerous family; but an almost dismantled hovel in which they manage to subsist, he only can tell; the subsistence of the kind, is always a riddle to him; and what is more, appears to be so. The wife takes her holidays to Granada, with a child in her arms, and a dozen at her heels; and the elder children, going into womanhood, dresses in the latest fashions, and dances gaily to the castanets, and attracts masses of people to whom life seems to be the very rich, and the very poor seem to need do nothing, the other become idle; to do; but there are none who are doing nothing and living upon the poor classes of Spain. Good nature, and temperament the rest. Granada in summer, and the sun is hot, and garlick, oil, and garbances, and a guitar, and let the world talk of poverty! with him it has been upon him with a grandiose style, and he is a hidalgo, even when in rags.

The "sons of the Alhambra" are an eminent illustration of this practical philosophy. As the Moors imagined that the celestial paradise hung over this favoured spot, so I am inclined at times to fancy, that a gleam of the golden age still lingers about the ragged community. They possess nothing, they do nothing, they care for nothing. Yet, though apparently idle all the week, they are as observant of all holy days and saints' days as the most laborious artisan. They attend all fêtes and dancings in Granada and its vicinity, light bonfires on the hills on St John's eve, and have lately danced away the moonlight nights on the harvest home of a small field within the precincts of the fortress, which yielded a few bushels of wheat.

Before concluding these remarks, I must mention one of the amusements of the place which has particularly struck me. I had repeatedly observed a long lean fellow perched on the top of one of the towers, manœuvring two or three fishing-rods, as though he was angling for the stars. I was for some time perplexed by the evolutions of this aerial fisherman, and my perplexity increased on observing others employed in like manner on different parts of the battlements and bastions; it was not until I consulted Mateo Ximenes, that I solved the mystery.

It seems that the pure and airy situation of this fortress has rendered it, like the castle of Macbeth, a prolific breeding-place for swallows and martlets, who sport about its towers in myriads, with the holiday glee ofurchins just let loose from school. To entrap these birds in their giddy circlings, with hooks baited with flies, is one of the favourite amusements of the ragged "sons of the Alhambra," who, with the good-for-nothing ingenuity of arrant idlers, have thus invented the art of angling in the sky!

### THE COURT OF LIONS.

The peculiar charm of this old dreamy palace, is its power of calling up vague reveries and picturings of the past, and thus clothing naked realities with the illusions of the memory and the imagination. As a delight to walk in these "vain shadows," I am come to seek those parts of the Alhambra which are most favourable to this phantasmagoria of the mind; and none are more so than the Court of Lions, and its surrounding halls. Here the hand of time has fallen the lightest, and the traces of Moorish elegance and splendour exist in almost their original brilliancy. Earthquakes have shaken the foundations of this pile, and rent its rudest towers; yet see, not one of those slender columns has been displaced, not an arch of that light and fragile colonnade has given way, and the fairy fretwork of these domes, apparently as substantial as the crystal fabrics of a morning's

frost, yet exist after the lapse of centuries, almost as fresh as if from the hand of the Moslem artist. I write in the midst of these mementos of the past, in the fresh hour of early morning, in the fated Hall of the Abencerrages. The blood-stained fountain, the legendary monument of their massacre, is before me; the lofty jet almost casts its dew upon my paper. How difficult to reconcile the ancient tale of violence and blood with the gentle and peaceful scene around! Every thing here appears calculated to inspire kind and happy feelings, for every thing is delicate and beautiful. The very light falls tenderly from above, through the lantern of a dome tinted and wrought as if by fairy hands. Through the ample and fretted arch of the portal I behold the Court of Lions, with brilliant sunshine gleaming along its colonnades, and sparkling in its fountains. The lively swallow dives into the Court, and then surging upwards, darts away twittering over the roofs; the busy bee toils humming among the flower beds, and painted butterflies hover from plant to plant, and flutter up and sport with each other in the sunny air. It needs but a slight exertion of the fancy to picture some pensive beauty of the harem, loitering in these secluded haunts of Oriental luxury.

He, however, who would behold this scene under an aspect more in unison with its fortunes, let him come when the shadows of evening temper the brightness of the Court, and throw a gloom into the surrounding halls. Then nothing can be more serenely melancholy, or more in harmony with the tale of departed grandeur.

At such times I am apt to seek the Hall of Justice, whose deep shadowy arcades extend across the upper end of the Court. Here was performed, in presence of Ferdinand and Isabella, and their triumphant Court, the pompous ceremonial of high mass, on taking possession of the Alhambra. The very cross is still to be seen upon the wall, where the altar was erected, and where officiated the Grand Cardinal of Spain, and others of the highest religious dignitaries of the land. I picture to myself the scene when this place was filled with the conquering host, that mixture of mitred prelate and shaven monk, and steel-clad knight and silken courtier; when crosses and crosiers, and religious standards, were mingled with proud armorial ensigns and the banners of the haughty chiefs of Spain, and flaunted in triumph through these Moslem halls. I picture to myself Columbus, the future discoverer of a world, taking his modest stand in a remote corner, the humble and neglected spectator of the pageant. I see in imagination the catholic sovereigns prostrating themselves before the altar, and pouring forth thanks for their victory; while the vaults resounded with sacred minstrelsy, and the deep-toned *Te Deum*.

The transient illusion is over—the pageant melts from the fancy—monarch, priest, and warrior, return into oblivion, with the poor Moslems over whom they exulted. The hall of their triumph is waste and de-

solate. The bat flits about its twilight vault, and the owl hoots from the neighbouring tower of Comares.

On entering the Court of the Lions, a few evenings since, I was startled at beholding a turbaned Moor quietly seated near the fountain. It seemed, for a moment, as if one of the superstitions of the place were realized, and some ancient inhabitant of the Alhambra had broken the spell of centuries, and become visible. He proved, however, to be a mere ordinary mortal, a native of Tetuan in Barbary, who had a shop in the Zacatin of Granada, where he sold rhubarb, trinkets, and perfumes. As he spoke Spanish fluently, I was enabled to hold conversation with him, and found him shrewd and intelligent. He told me that he came up the hill occasionally in the summer, to pass a part of the day in the Alhambra, which reminded him of the old palaces in Barbary, which were built and adorned in similar style, though with less magnificence.

As we walked about the palace, he pointed out several of the Arabic inscriptions, as possessing much poetic beauty.

"Ah, Señor," said he, "when the Moors held Granada, they were a gayer people than they are now-a-days. They thought only of love, of music, and poetry. They made stanzas upon every occasion, and set them all to music. He who could make the best verses, and she who had the most tuneful voice, might be sure of favour and preferment. In those days, if any one asked for bread, the reply was, make me a couplet; and the poorest beggar, if he begged in rhyme, would often be rewarded with a piece of gold."

"And is the popular feeling for poetry," said I, "entirely lost among you?"

"By no means, Señor, the people of Barbary, even those of the lower classes, still make couplets, and good ones too, as in the olden time; but talent is not rewarded as it was then: the rich prefer the jingle of their gold to the sound of poetry or music."

As he was talking, his eye caught one of the inscriptions that foretold perpetuity to the power and glory of the Moslem monarchs, the masters of this pile. He shook his head, and shrugged his shoulders, as he interpreted it. "Such might have been the case," said he, "the Moslems might still have been reigning in the Alhambra, had not Boabdil been a traitor, and given up his capital to the Christians. The Spanish monarchs would never have been able to conquer it by open force."

I endeavoured to vindicate the memory of the unlucky Boabdil from this aspersion, and to shew that the dissensions which led to the downfall of the Moorish throne, originated in the cruelty of his tiger-hearted father; but the Moor would admit of no palliation.

"Mule Hassan," said he, "might have been cruel; but he was brave, vigilant, and patriotic. Had he been properly seconded, Granada would still have been ours; but his son Boabdil thwarted his plans, crippled his power, sowed treason in his palace, and

dissension in his camp. May the curse of God light upon him for his treachery!" With these words the Moor left the Alhambra.

The indignation of my turbaned companion agrees with an anecdote related by a friend, who in the course of a tour in Barbary, had an interview with the Pacha of Tetuan. The Moorish governor was particular in his inquiries about the soil, and especially concerning the favoured regions of Andalusia, the delights of Granada, and the remains of its royal palace. The replies awakened all those fond recollections, so deeply cherished by the Moors, of the power and splendour of their ancient empire in Spain. Turning to his Moslem attendants, the Pacha stroked his beard, and broke forth in passionate lamentations that such a sceptre should have fallen from the sway of true believers. He consoled himself, however, with the persuasion, that the power and prosperity of the Spanish nation were on the decline; that a time would come when the Moors would conquer their rightful domains; and that the day was perhaps not far distant, when Mahomedan worthies would again be offered up in the Mosque of Cordova, and a Mahomedan prince sit on his throne in the Alhambra.

Such is the general aspiration and belief among the Moors of Barbary; who consider Spain, and especially Andalusia, their rightful heritage, of which they have been despoiled by treachery and violence. These ideas are fostered and perpetuated by the descendants of the exiled Moors of Granada, scattered among the cities of Barbary. Several of these reside in Tetuan, preserving their ancient names, such as Paez and Medina, and refraining from intermarriage with any families who cannot claim the same high origin. Their vaunted lineage is regarded with a degree of popular deference, rarely shown in Mahomedan communities to a hereditary distinction, except in the royal line.

These families, it is said, continue to sigh after the terrestrial paradise of their ancestors, and to put up prayers in their mosques on Fridays, imploring Allah to hasten the time when Granada shall be restored to the faithful: an event to which they look forward as fondly and confidently as did the Christian crusaders to the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. Nay, it is added, that some of them retain the ancient maps and deeds of the estates and gardens of their ancestors at Granada, and even the keys of the houses, holding them as evidences of their hereditary claim to be produced at the anticipated day of restoration.

The Court of the Lions has also its share of supernatural legends. I have already mentioned the belief in the murmuring of voices and clanking of chains made at night by the spirits of the murdered Abencerrages. Mateo Ximenes, a few evenings since, one of the gatherings in Dame Antonia's apartment related a fact which happened within the knowledge of his grandfather, the legendary tailor.

There was an invalid soldier, who had charge

May the curse of God light  
 every!" With these words the

my turbulent companion agreed  
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the Alhambra to shew it to strangers. As he was  
 one evening, about twilight, passing through the  
 Court of Lions, he heard footsteps in the hall of the  
 Abencerrages. Supposing some visitors to be linger-  
 ing there, he advanced to attend upon them, when  
 to his astonishment he beheld four Moors richly  
 dressed, with gilded cuirasses and cimeters, and  
 poniards glittering with precious stones. They were  
 walking to and fro, with solemn pace; but paused  
 and beckoned to him. The old soldier, however,  
 took to flight, and could never afterwards be pre-  
 vailed upon to enter the Alhambra. Thus it is that  
 men sometimes turn their backs upon fortune; for it  
 is the firm opinion of Mateo, that the Moors intended  
 to reveal the place where their treasures lay buried.  
 A successor to the invalid soldier was more knowing,  
 he came to the Alhambra poor; but at the end of a  
 year went off to Malaga, bought houses, set up a car-  
 riage, and still lives there one of the richest as well as  
 ablest men of the place; all which, Mateo sagely sur-  
 mised, was in consequence of his finding out the  
 golden secret of these phantom Moors.

### BOABDIL EL CHICO.

My conversation with the man in the Court of  
 Lions, set me to musing on the singular fate of Boab-  
 dil. Never was surname more applicable than that  
 bestowed upon him by his subjects, of "el Zogoyhi,"  
 "the unlucky." His misfortunes began almost  
 at his cradle. In his tender youth, he was imprison-  
 ed and menaced with death by an inhuman father,  
 and only escaped through a mother's stratagem; in  
 after years his life was embittered and repeatedly  
 endangered, by the hostilities of a usurping uncle;  
 his reign was distracted by external invasions and  
 internal feuds: he was alternately the foe, the pri-  
 soner, the friend, and always the dupe of Ferdinand,  
 until conquered and dethroned by the mingled craft  
 and force of that perfidious monarch. An exile from  
 his native land, he took refuge with one of the princes  
 of Africa, and fell obscurely in battle, fighting in the  
 cause of a stranger. His misfortunes ceased not with  
 his death. If Boabdil cherished a desire to leave an  
 honourable name on the historic page, how cruelly  
 has he been defrauded of his hopes! Who is there  
 that has turned the least attention to the romantic  
 history of the Moorish domination in Spain, without  
 finding with indignation at the alleged atrocities of  
 Boabdil? Who has not been touched with the woes  
 of his lovely and gentle queen, subjected by him to a  
 trial of life and death, on a false charge of infidelity?  
 Who has not been shocked by his alleged murder of  
 his sister and her two children, in a transport of pas-  
 sion? Who has not felt his blood boil, at the in-  
 human massacre of the gallant Abencerrages, thirty-

six of whom, it is affirmed, he ordered to be beheaded  
 in the Court of Lions? All these charges have been  
 reiterated in various forms; they have passed into  
 ballads, dramas, and romances, until they have taken  
 too thorough possession of the public mind to be era-  
 dicated. There is not a foreigner of education that  
 visits the Alhambra, but asks for the fountain where  
 the Abencerrages were beheaded; and gazes with  
 horror at the grated gallery where the Queen is said  
 to have been confined; not a peasant of the Vega or  
 the Sierra, but sings the story in rude couplets, to  
 the accompaniment of his guitar, while his hearers  
 learn to execrate the very name of Boabdil.

Never, however, was name more foully and un-  
 justly slandered. I have examined all the authentic  
 chronicles and letters written by Spanish authors,  
 contemporary with Boabdil; some of whom were in  
 the confidence of the catholic sovereigns, and actually  
 present in the camp throughout the war. I have  
 examined all the Arabian authorities I could get ac-  
 cess to through the medium of translation, and can  
 find nothing to justify these dark and hateful accusa-  
 tions. The whole of these tales may be traced to a  
 work commonly called "The Civil Wars of Gran-  
 ada," containing a pretended history of the feuds of  
 the Zegrís and Abencerrages, during the last strug-  
 gle of the Moorish empire. This work appeared  
 originally in Spanish, and professed to be translated  
 from the Arabic by one Gines Perez de Hila, an in-  
 habitant of Murcia. It has since passed into various  
 languages, and Florian has taken from it much of the  
 fable of his Gonsalvo of Cordova; it has since, in a  
 great measure, usurped the authority of real history,  
 and is currently believed by the people, and especially  
 the peasantry of Granada. The whole of it, how-  
 ever, is a mass of fiction, mingled with a few disfig-  
 ured truths, which give it an air of veracity. It bears  
 internal evidence of its falsity; the manners and  
 customs of the Moors being extravagantly misrepre-  
 sented in it, and scenes depicted, totally incompatible  
 with their habits and their faith, and which never  
 could have been recorded by a Mahometan writer.

I confess there seems to me something almost  
 criminal, in the wilful perversions of this work: great  
 latitude is undoubtedly to be allowed to romantic  
 fiction, but there are limits which it must not pass,  
 and the names of the distinguished dead, which be-  
 long to history, are no more to be calumniated than  
 those of the illustrious living. One would have  
 thought too, that the unfortunate Boabdil had suffer-  
 ed enough for his justifiable hostility to the Spaniards,  
 by being stripped of his kingdom, without having his  
 name thus wantonly traduced, and rendered a bye-  
 word and a theme of infamy in his native land, and  
 in the very mansion of his fathers!

It is not intended hereby to affirm that the trans-  
 actions imputed to Boabdil, are totally without his-  
 toric foundation; but as far as they can be traced,  
 they appear to have been the acts of his father, Abu  
 Hassan, who is represented by both Christian and

Arabian chroniclers, as being of a cruel and ferocious nature. It was he who put to death the cavaliers of the illustrious line of the Abencerrages, upon suspicion of their being engaged in a conspiracy to dispossess him of his throne.

The story of the accusation of the Queen of Boabdil, and of her confinement in one of the towers, may also be traced to an incident in the life of his tiger-hearted father. Aben Hasan, in his advanced age, married a beautiful Christian captive of noble descent, who took the Moorish appellation of Zorayda, by whom he had two sons. She was of an ambitious spirit, and anxious that her children should succeed to the crown. For this purpose she worked upon the suspicious temper of the King; inflaming him with jealousies of his children by his other wives and concubines, whom she accused of plotting against his throne and life. Some of them were slain by the ferocious father. Ayxa la Horra, the virtuous mother of Boabdil, who had once been his cherished favourite, became likewise the object of his suspicion. He confined her and her son in the tower of Comares, and would have sacrificed Boabdil to his fury, but that this tender mother lowered him from the tower, in the night, by means of the scarfs of herself and her attendants, and thus enabled him to escape to Guadix.

Such is the only shadow of a foundation that I can find for the story of the accused and captive Queen; and in this it appears that Boabdil was the persecuted, instead of the persecutor.

Throughout the whole of his brief, turbulent, and disastrous reign, Boabdil gives evidence of a mild and amiable character. He, in the first instance, won the hearts of the people by his affable and gracious manners; he was always peaceable, and never inflicted any severity of punishment upon those who occasionally rebelled against him. He was personally brave, but he wanted moral courage; and, in times of difficulty and perplexity, was wavering and irresolute. This febleness of spirit hastened his downfall, while it deprived him of that heroic grace which would have given a grandeur and dignity to his fate, and rendered him worthy of closing the splendid drama of the Moslem domination in Spain.

#### MEMENTOS OF BOABDIL.

WHILE my mind was still warm with the subject of the unfortunate Boabdil, I set forth to trace the mementos connected with his story, which yet exist in this scene of his sovereignty and his misfortunes. In the picture-gallery of the Palace of the Generalife hangs his portrait. The face is mild, handsome, and somewhat melancholy, with a fair complexion and yellow hair; if it be a true representation of the man,

he may have been wavering and uncertain, but there is nothing of cruelty or unkindness in his aspect.

I next visited the dungeon where he was confined in his youthful days when his cruel father meditated his destruction. It is a vaulted room in the tower of Comares under the Hall of Ambassadors; a similar room, separated by a narrow passage, was the prison of his mother, the virtuous Ayxa la Horra. The walls are of prodigious thickness, and the small windows secured by iron bars. A narrow stone gallery, with a low parapet, extends round three sides of the tower, just below the windows, but at a considerable height from the ground. From this gallery it is presumed, the Queen lowered her son with the scarfs of herself and her female attendants, during the darkness of night, to the hill-side, at the foot of which waited a domestic with a fleet steed to bear the prince to the mountains.

As I paced this gallery, my imagination pictured the anxious Queen leaning over the parapet, and listening, with the throbbings of a mother's heart, to the last echoes of the horse's hoof, as her son scoured along the narrow valley of the Darro.

My next search was for the gate by which Boabdil departed from the Alhambra when about to surrender his capital. With the melancholy caprice of a broken spirit, he requested of the Catholic monarchs, that no one afterwards might be permitted to pass through this gate. His prayer, according to ancient chronicles, was complied with, through the sympathy of Isabella, and the gate walled up. For some time I inquired in vain for such a portal; at length, my humble attendant, Mateo, learned among the old residents of the fortress, that a ruinous gateway still existed, by which, according to tradition, the Moorish King had left the fortress, but which had never been open within the memory of the oldest inhabitant.

He conducted me to the spot. The gateway is in the centre of what was once an immense tower, called *la Torre de los Siete Suelos*, or, the Tower of the Seven Floors. It is a place, famous in the superstitious stories of the neighbourhood, for being the scene of strange apparitions and Moorish enchantments.

This once redoubtable tower is now a mere wreck, having been blown up with gunpowder by the French, when they abandoned the fortress. Great masses of the wall lie scattered about, buried in the luxuriant herbage, or overshadowed by vines and fig-trees. The arch of the gateway, though rent by the shock, still remains; but the last wish of poor Boabdil has again, though unintentionally, been fulfilled, for the portal has been closed up by loose stones gathered from the ruins, and remains impassable.

Following up the route of the Moslem monarch, it remains on record, I crossed on horsback the hill of Los Martyres, keeping along the garden of the convent of the same name, and thence down a rugged ravine, beset by thickets of aloes and Indian figs, and lined by caves and hovels swarming with gypsies.



## THE BALCONY.

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lungeon where he was confined when his cruel father meditated a vaulted room in the tower of Hall of Ambassadors; a similar narrow passage, was the prison virtuous Ayxa la Horra. The thickness, and the small win- bars. A narrow stone gallery, extends round three sides of the windows, but at a considerable nd. From this gallery it is pre- voured her son with the scarv female attendants, during the hill-side, at the foot of which with a fleet steed to bear the ins.

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as for the gate by which Boabdil Alhambra when about to surren- with the melancholy caprice of a nsted of the Catholic monarchs, rds might be permitted to pass. His prayer, according to ancient dled with, through the sympathy gate walled up. For some time or such a portal; at length, my Mateo, learned among the old press, that a ruinous gateway still cording to tradition, the Moor- e fortress, but which had never memory of the oldest inhabitant. to the spot. The gateway is in as once an immense tower, called e Suelos, or, the Tower of the a place, famous in the supersti- ighbourhood, for being the scene s and Moorish enchantments.

able tower is now a mere wreck, b with gunpowder by the French, d the fortress. Great masses of l about, buried in the luxuriant owd by vines and fig-trees. The though rent by the shock, still wish of poor Boabdil has again, ly, been fulfilled, for the porta- ly loose stones gathered from the npassable.

oute of the Moslem monarch, as I, I crossed on horseback the hill eping along the garden of the ame, and thence down a rugged kets of aloes and Indian figs, and hovels swarming with gypsies.

was the road taken by Boabdil to avoid passing through the city. The descent was so steep and broken that I was obliged to dismount and lead my horse.

Emerging from the ravine, and passing by the *Puerta de los Molinos* (the gate of the mills), I issued forth upon the public promenade called the Prado, and pursuing the course of the Xenil, arrived at a small Moorish mosque, now converted into the chapel or hermitage of San Sebastian. A tablet on the wall relates that on this spot Boabdil surrendered the keys of Granada to the Castilian sovereigns. From thence I rode slowly across the Vega to a village where the family and household of the unhappy King awaited him, for he had sent them forward on the preceding night from the Alhambra, that his mother and wife might not participate in his personal humiliation, or be exposed to the gaze of the conquerors. Following in the route of the melancholy band of royal exiles, I arrived at the foot of a chain of barren and dreary heights, forming the skirt of the Alpuxarra mountains. From the summit of one of these the unfortunate Boabdil took his last look at Granada; it bears a name expressive of his sorrows, *la Cuesta de las Lagrimas* (the hill of tears). Beyond it, a sandy road winds across a rugged cheerless waste, doubly dismal to the unhappy monarch, as it led to exile.

I spurred my horse to the summit of a rock, where Boabdil uttered his last sorrowful declamation, as he turned his eyes from taking their farewell gaze: it is still denominated *el último Suspiro del Moro* (the last sigh of the Moor). Who can wonder at his anguish at being expelled from such a kingdom and such a habode? With the Alhambra he seemed to be yielding up all the honours of his line, and all the glories and delights of life.

It was here, too, that his affliction was embittered by the reproach of his mother, Ayxa, who had so often assisted him in times of peril, and had vainly sought to instil into him her own resolute spirit. "You do well," said she, "to weep as a woman over what you could not defend as a man,"—a speech that favours more of the pride of the princess than the tenderness of the mother.

When this anecdote was related to Charles V by Bishop Guevara, the emperor joined in the expression of scorn at the weakness of the wavering Boabdil. "Had I been he, or he been I," said the haughty potentate, "I would rather have made this Alhambra my sepulchre than have lived without a kingdom in the Alpuxarra."

How easy it is for those in power and prosperity to reach heroism to the vanquished! how little can they understand that life itself may rise in value with the unfortunate, when nought but life remains!

IN the Hall of Ambassadors, at the central window there is a balcony, of which I have already made mention: it projects like a cage from the face of the tower, high in mid air above the tops of the trees that grow on the steep hill-side. It serves me as a kind of observatory, where I often take my seat to consider, not merely the heaven above, but the earth beneath. Besides the magnificent prospect which it commands of mountain, valley, and vega, there is a busy little scene of human life laid open to inspection immediately below. At the foot of the hill is an alameda, or public walk, which, though not so fashionable as the more modern and splendid paseo of the Xenil, still boasts a varied and picturesque concourse. Hither resort the small gentry of the suburbs, together with priests and friars, who walk for appetite and digestion, majos and majas, the beaux and belles of the lower classes, in their Andalusian dresses, swaggering contrabandistas, and sometimes half-muffled and mysterious loungers of the higher ranks, on some secret assignation.

It is a moving and motley picture of Spanish life and character, which I delight to study; and, as the naturalist has his microscope to aid him in his investigations, so I have a small pocket telescope which brings the countenances of the motley groups so close as almost, at times, to make me think I can divine their conversation by the play and expression of their features. I am thus, in a manner, an invisible observer, and, without quitting my solitude, can throw myself in an instant into the midst of society,—a rare advantage to one of somewhat shy and quiet habits, and who, like myself, is fond of observing the drama of life without becoming an actor in the scene.

There is a considerable suburb lying below the Alhambra, filling the narrow gorge of the valley, and extending up the opposite hill of the Albaycin. Many of the houses are built in the Moorish style, round patios, or courts, cooled by fountains, and open to the sky; and as the inhabitants pass much of their time in these courts, and on the terraced roofs during the summer season, it follows that many a glance at their domestic life may be obtained by an aerial spectator like myself, who can look down on them from the clouds.

I enjoy, in some degree, the advantages of the student in the famous old Spanish story, who beheld all Madrid unroofed for his inspection; and my gossiping Squire, Mateo Xinenes, officiates occasionally as my Asmodeus, to give me anecdotes of the different mansions and their inhabitants.

I prefer, however, to form conjectural histories for myself, and thus can sit for hours weaving from casual incidents and indications that pass under my eye, the whole tissue of schemes, intrigues, and occupa-

tions of certain of the busy mortals below. There is scarce a pretty face, or a striking figure that I daily see, about which I have not thus gradually framed a dramatic story, though some of my characters will occasionally act in direct opposition to the part assigned them, and disconcert my whole drama. A few days since, as I was reconnoitring with my glass the streets of the Albaycin, I beheld the procession of a Novice about to take the veil; and remarked several circumstances that excited the strongest sympathy in the fate of the youthful being thus about to be consigned to a living tomb. I ascertained to my satisfaction that she was beautiful; and, by the paleness of her cheek, that she was a victim, rather than a votary. She was arrayed in bridal garments, and decked with a chaplet of white flowers, but her heart evidently revolted at this mockery of a spiritual union, and yearned after its earthly loves. A tall stern-looking man walked near her in the procession; it was evidently the tyrannical father, who, from some bigoted or sordid motive, had compelled this sacrifice. Amidst the crowd was a dark handsome youth, in Andalusian garb, who seemed to fix on her an eye of agony. It was doubtless the secret lover from whom she was for ever to be separated. My indignation rose as I noted the malignant expression painted on the countenances of the attendant monks and friars. The procession arrived at the chapel of the convent; the sun gleamed for the last time upon the chaplet of the poor Novice, as she crossed the fatal threshold, and disappeared within the building. The throng poured in with cowl, and cross, and minstrelsy; the lover paused for a moment at the door. I could divine the tumult of his feelings; but he mastered them, and entered. There was a long interval—I pictured to myself the scene passing within; the poor Novice despoiled of her transient finery, clothed in the conventual garb, her bridal chaplet taken from her brow, her beautiful head shorn of its long silken tresses—I heard her murmur the irrevocable vow. I saw her extended on her bier; the death-pall spread over her; the funeral service was performed; I heard the deep tones of the organ, and the plaintive requiem chanted by the nuns; the father looked on with a hard unfeeling countenance. The lover—but no, my imagination refused to paint the lover; there the picture remained a blank.

After a time the throng again poured forth, and dispersed various ways, to enjoy the light of the sun, and mingle with the stirring scenes of life; the victim, however, remained behind. Almost the last that came forth were the father and the lover; they were in earnest conversation. The latter was vehement in his gesticulations; I expected some violent termination to my drama; but an angle of a building interfered and closed the scene. My eye has since frequently been turned to that convent with painful interest. I remarked late at night a light burning in a remote window of one of its towers. "There," said I, "the unhappy nun sits weeping in her cell,

while perhaps her lover paces the street below unavailing anguish."

The officious Mateo interrupted my meditation and destroyed in an instant the cobweb tissue of my fancy. With his usual zeal he had gathered facts concerning the scene, that put my fictions all to flight. The heroine of my romance was neither young nor handsome; she had no lover—she had entered the convent of her own free will, as a respectable asylum, and was one of the most cheerful residents within its walls.

It was some little while before I could forgive the wrong done me by the nun in being thus happy in her cell, in contradiction to all the rules of romance. I diverted my spleen, however, by watching, for a day or two, the pretty coquetries of a dark-eyed brunette who, from the covert of a balcony shrouded with flowering shrubs and a silken awning, was carrying on a mysterious correspondence with a handsome, dark well-whiskered cavalier, who was frequently in the street beneath her window. Sometimes I saw him in an early hour, stealing forth wrapped in the eyes of a mantle. Sometimes he loitered at a corner, in various disguises, apparently waiting for a private signal to slip into the house. Then there was the tinkling of a guitar at night, and a lantern shifted from place to place in the balcony. I imagined another intrigue like that of Almaviva, but was again disconcerted in all my suppositions, by being informed that the supposed lover was the husband of the lady, and a noted contrabandista; and that all his mysterious signs and movements had doubtless been a smuggling scheme in view.

I occasionally amused myself with noting from the balcony the gradual changes that came over the scenes below, according to the different stages of the day.

Scarce has the grey dawn streaked the sky, and the earliest cock crowed from the cottages of the hillside, when the suburbs give sign of reviving animation; for the fresh hours of dawning are precious in the summer season in a sultry climate. All are anxious to get the start of the sun, in the business of the day. The muleteer drives forth his loaded train for the journey; and the traveller slings his carbine behind his saddle and mounts his steed at the gate of the hostel; the broad peasant urges his loitering beasts, laden with panniers of sunny fruit and fresh dewy vegetables; for already the thrifty housewives are hastening to the market.

The sun is up and sparkles along the valley, tipping the transparent foliage of the groves. The matin bell resound melodiously through the pure bright air, announcing the hour of devotion. The muleteer leads his burthened animals before the chapel, thrusts his staff through his belt behind, and enters with bare hand, smoothing his coal-black hair, to hear a mass and put up a prayer for a prosperous wayfarer and the Sierra. And now steals forth on fairy foot the gentle Señora, in trim basquiña, with restless fan in hand, and dark eye flashing from beneath the eye

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ly folded mantilla: she seeks some well-frequented  
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ely adjusted dress, the dainty shoe, and cobweb  
ocking, the raven tresses, exquisitely braided, the  
sh plucked rose, that gleams among them like a  
m, show that earth divides with Heaven the empire  
her thoughts. Keep an eye upon her, careful mo-  
er, or virgin aunt, or vigilant duenna, whichever  
u be, that walk behind.

As the morning advances, the din of labour aug-  
ents on every side; the streets are thronged with  
man, and steed, and beast of burthen, and there is  
hum and murmur, like the surges of the ocean.  
the sun ascends to his meridian, the hum and  
sle gradually decline; at the height of noon  
ere is a pause. The panting city sinks into lassi-  
tle, and for several hours there is a general repose.  
he windows are closed, the curtains drawn, the  
habitants retired into the coolest recesses of their  
nsions; the full-fed monk snores in his dormi-  
ry; the brawny porter lies stretched on the pave-  
ent beside his burthen; and the peasant and the labourer  
leep beneath the trees of the Alameda, lulled by the  
dry chirping of the locust. The streets are deserted,  
cept by the water-carrier, who refreshes the ear  
proclaiming the merits of his sparkling beverage,  
older than the mountain snow."

As the sun declines, there is again a gradual reviv-  
g, and when the vesper bell rings out his sinking  
ell, all nature seems to rejoice that the tyrant of the  
y has fallen. Now begins the bustle of enjoyment;  
hen the citizens pour forth to breathe the evening  
g, and revel away the brief twilight in the walks  
d gardens of the Darro and the Xenil.

As night closes, the capricious scene assumes new  
ures. Light after light gradually twinkles forth;  
ere a taper from a balconied window; there a votive  
up before the image of a Saint. Thus, by degrees,  
e city emerges from the pervading gloom, and  
arkles with scattered lights, like the starry firmam-  
ent. Now break forth from court and garden, and  
reet and lane, the tinkling of innumerable guitars,  
d the clicking of castañets; blending, at this lofty  
ght, in a faint but general concert. Enjoy the  
ment, is the creed of the gay and amorous And-  
sian, and at no time does he practise it more zeal-  
sly than in the balmy nights of summer, wooing  
mistress with the dance, the love ditty, and the  
sionate serenade.

I was one evening seated in the balcony, enjoying  
light breeze that came rustling along the side of  
hill, among the tree tops, when my humble his-  
tographer Mateo, who was at my elbow, pointed  
a spacious house, in an obscure street of the  
aycín, about which he related, as nearly as I can  
ollect, the following anecdote.

## THE ADVENTURE OF THE MASON.

“THERE was once upon a time a poor mason, or  
bricklayer, in Granada, who kept all the Saints'-days  
and holidays, and Saint Monday into the bargain, and  
yet, with all his devotion, he grew poorer and poorer,  
and could scarcely earn bread for his numerous fami-  
ly. One night he was roused from his first sleep by  
a knocking at his door. He opened it, and beheld be-  
fore him a tall, meagre, cadaverous-looking priest.

“‘Hark ye, honest friend!’ said the stranger; ‘I  
have observed that you are a good Christian, and one  
to be trusted; will you undertake a job this very night?’

“‘With all my heart, Señor Padre, on condition  
that I am paid accordingly.’

“‘That you shall be; but you must suffer yourself  
to be blindfolded.’

“To this the mason made no objection; so, being  
hoodwinked, he was led by the priest through vari-  
ous rough lanes and winding passages, until they  
stopped before the portal of a house. The priest then  
applied a key, turned a creaking lock, and opened  
what sounded like a ponderous door. They entered,  
the door was closed and bolted, and the mason was  
conducted through an echoing corridor, and a spaci-  
ous hall, to an interior part of the building. Here  
the bandage was removed from his eyes, and he found  
himself in a patio, or court, dimly lighted by a single  
lamp. In the centre was the dry basin of an old  
Moorish fountain, under which the priest requested  
him to form a small vault, bricks and mortar being at  
hand for the purpose. He accordingly worked all  
night, but without finishing the job. Just before  
day-break, the priest put a piece of gold into his  
hand, and having again blindfolded him, conducted  
him back to his dwelling.

“‘Are you willing,’ said he, ‘to return and com-  
plete your work?’

“‘Gladly, Señor Padre, provided I am so well  
paid.’

“‘Well, then, to-morrow at midnight I will call  
again.’

“He did so, and the vault was completed.

“‘Now,’ said the priest, ‘you must help me to bring  
forth the bodies that are to be buried in this vault.’

“The poor mason’s hair rose on his head at these  
words: he followed the priest, with trembling steps,  
into a retired chamber of the mansion, expecting to  
behold some ghastly spectacle of death, but was re-  
lieved on perceiving three or four portly jars standing  
in one corner. They were evidently full of money,  
and it was with great labour that he and the priest  
carried them forth and consigned them to their tomb.  
The vault was then closed, the pavement replaced,  
and all traces of the work obliterated. The mason  
was again hoodwinked and led forth by a route dif-  
ferent from that by which he had come. After they  
had wandered for a long time through a perplexed

maze of lanes and alleys, they halted. The priest then put two pieces of gold into his hand: 'Wait here,' said he, 'until you hear the cathedral bell toll for matins. If you presume to uncover your eyes before that time, evil will befall you:' so saying, he departed. The mason waited faithfully, amusing himself by weighing the gold pieces in his hand, and clinking them against each other. The moment the cathedral bell rang its matin peal, he uncovered his eyes, and found himself on the banks of the Xenil, from whence he made the best of his way home, and revelled with his family for a whole fortnight on the profits of his two nights' work; after which, he was as poor as ever.

"He continued to work a little, and pray a good deal, and keep Saints'-days and holidays, from year to year, while his family grew up as gaunt and ragged as a crew of gypsies. As he was seated one evening at the door of his hovel, he was accosted by a rich old curmudgeon, who was noted for owning many houses, and being a griping landlord. The man of money eyed him for a moment from beneath a pair of anxious shagged eye-brows.

"'I am told, friend, that you are very poor.'

"'There is no denying the fact, Señor—it speaks for itself.'

"'I presume then, that you will be glad of a job, and will work cheap.'

"'As cheap, my master, as any mason in Granada.'

"'That's what I want. I have an old house fallen into decay, that costs me more money than it is worth to keep it in repair, for nobody will live in it; so I must contrive to patch it up and keep it together at as small expense as possible.'

"The mason was accordingly conducted to a large deserted house that seemed going to ruin. Passing through several empty halls and chambers, he entered an inner court, where his eye was caught by an old Moorish fountain. He paused for a moment, for a dreaming recollection of the place came over him.

"'Pray,' said he, 'who occupied this house formerly?'

"'A pest upon him!' cried the landlord, 'it was an old miserly priest, who cared for nobody but himself. He was said to be immensely rich, and, having no relations, it was thought he would leave all his treasures to the Church. He died suddenly, and the priests and friars thronged to take possession of his wealth; but nothing could they find but a few ducats in a leathern purse. The worst luck has fallen on me, for, since his death, the old fellow continues to occupy my house without paying rent, and there's no taking the law of a dead man. The people pretend to hear the clinking of gold all night in the chamber where the old priest slept, as if he were counting over his money, and sometimes a groaning and moaning about the court. Whether true or false, the stories have brought a bad name on my house, and not a tenant will remain in it.'

"'Enough,' said the mason sturdily: 'let me live

in your house rent-free until some better tenant present, and I will engage to put it in repair, and to quiet the troubled spirit that disturbs it. I am a good Christian and a poor man, and am not to be daunted by the Devil himself, even though he should come in the shape of a big bag of money!'

"The offer of the honest mason was gladly accepted; he moved with his family into the house, and fulfilled all his engagements. By little and little he restored it to its former state; the clinking of gold was no more heard at night in the chamber of the defunct priest, but began to be heard by day in the pocket of the living mason. In a word, he increased rapidly in wealth, to the admiration of all his neighbours, and became one of the richest men in Granada: he gave large sums to the Church, by way, no doubt, of satisfying his conscience, and never revealed the secret of the vault until on his death-bed to his son and heir.

### A RAMBLE AMONG THE HILLS.

I FREQUENTLY amuse myself towards the close of the day, when the heat has subsided, with taking long rambles about the neighbouring hills and the deep umbrageous valleys, accompanied by my historiographic Squire, Mateo, to whose passion for gossiping I on such occasions give the most unbounded license; and there is scarce a rock, or ruin, or broken fountain, or lonely glen, about which he has not some marvellous story, or, above all, some golden legend; for never was poor devil so munificent in dispensing hidden treasures.

A few evenings since, we took a long stroll of the kind, in the course of which Mateo was more than usually communicative. It was towards sunset that we sallied forth from the Great Gate of Justice, ascending an alley of trees, among which he has a clump of fig and pomegranate trees, at the foot of a huge ruined tower, called the Tower of the Seven Floors (*de los Siete Suelos*). Here, pointing to an archway in the foundation of the tower, he informed me of a monstrous sprite, or hobgoblin, said to inhabit this tower ever since the time of the Moors, and to guard the treasures of a Moslem King. Sometimes it issues forth in the dead of the night, and scours the avenues of the Alhambra and the streets of Granada in the shape of a headless horse, pursued by six devils with terrible yells and howlings.

"But have you ever met with it yourself, Mateo, in any of your rambles?" demanded I.

"No, Señor, God be thanked! but my grandfather the tailor, knew several persons that had seen it, and it went about much oftener in his time than at present; sometimes in one shape, sometimes in another. Everybody in Granada has heard of the *Bellada*, the old women and the nurses frighten the children with it when they cry. Some say it is the spirit



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cruel Moorish King, who killed his six sons and buried  
them in these vaults, and that they hunt him at nights  
in revenge."

I forbear to dwell upon the marvellous details given  
by the simple-minded Mateo about this redoubtable  
phantom, which has, in fact, been time out of mind  
a favourite theme of nursery tales and popular tra-  
dition in Granada, and of which honourable mention  
is made by an ancient and learned historian and to-  
pographer of the place. I would only observe that,  
through this tower was the gateway by which the  
unfortunate Boabdil issued forth to surrender his ca-  
pital.

Leaving this eventful pile, we continued our course,  
skirting the fruitful orchards of the Generalife, in  
which two or three nightingales were pouring forth  
a rich strain of melody. Behind these orchards we  
passed a number of Moorish tanks, with a door cut  
into the rocky bosom of the hill, but closed up. These  
tanks, Mateo informed me, were favourite bathing-  
places of himself and his comrades in boyhood, until  
frightened away by a story of a hideous Moor, who  
used to issue forth from the door in the rock to entrap  
unwary bathers.

Leaving these haunted tanks behind us, we pursued  
our ramble up a solitary mule-path that wound among  
the hills, and soon found ourselves amidst wild and  
melancholy mountains, destitute of trees, and here  
and there tinted with scanty verdure. Everything  
within sight was severe and sterile, and it was scarce-  
ly possible to realise the idea that but a short distance  
behind us was the Generalife, with its blooming or-  
chards and terraced gardens, and that we were in the  
vicinity of delicious Granada, that city of groves and  
mountains. But such is the nature of Spain—wild and  
stern the moment it escapes from cultivation; the des-  
ert and the garden are ever side by side.

The narrow defile up which we were passing is  
called, according to Mateo, *el Barranco de la Tinaja*,  
or, the ravine of the jar, because a jar full of Moor-  
ish gold was found here in old times. The brain of  
poor Mateo is continually running upon these golden  
legends.

"But what is the meaning of the cross I see yon-  
der upon a heap of stones, in that narrow part of the  
ravine?"

"Oh, that's nothing—a muleteer was murdered  
here some years since."

"So then, Mateo, you have robbers and murderers  
even at the gates of the Alhambra?"

"Not at present, Señor; that was formerly, when  
there used to be many loose fellows about the fort-  
ress; but they 've all been weeded out. Not but  
that the gypsies who live in caves in the hill-sides,  
just out of the fortress, are many of them fit for any  
thing; but we have had no murder about here for a  
long time past. The man who murdered the mule-  
teer was hanged in the fortress."

Our path continued up the barranca, with a bold,  
steep height to our left, called the *Silla del Moro*,

or chair of the Moor, from the tradition already al-  
luded to, that the unfortunate Boabdil fled thither  
during a popular insurrection, and remained all day  
seated on the rocky summit, looking mournfully down  
on his factious city.

We at length arrived on the highest part of the  
promontory above Granada, called the Mountain of  
the Sun. The evening was approaching; the setting  
sun just gilded the loftiest heights. Here and there  
a solitary shepherd might be descried driving his flock  
down the declivities, to be folded for the night; or a  
muleteer and his lagging animals, threading some  
mountain path, to arrive at the city gates before  
nightfall.

Presently the deep tones of the cathedral bell came  
swelling up the defiles, proclaiming the hour of "ora-  
cion" or prayer. The note was responded to from  
the belfry of every church, and from the sweet bells  
of the convents among the mountains. The shepherd  
paused on the fold of the hill, the muleteer in the  
midst of the road, each took off his hat and remained  
motionless for a time, murmuring his evening prayer.  
There is always something pleasingly solemn in this  
custom, by which, at a melodious signal, every hu-  
man being throughout the land unites at the same  
moment in a tribute of thanks to God for the mercies  
of the day. It spreads a transient sanctity over the  
land, and the sight of the sun sinking in all his glory,  
adds not a little to the solemnity of the scene.

In the present instance the effect was heightened  
by the wild and lonely nature of the place. We were  
on the naked and broken summit of the haunted  
Mountain of the Sun, where ruined tanks and cisterns,  
and the mouldering foundations of extensive build-  
ings, spoke of former populousness, but where all  
was now silent and desolate.

As we were wandering among these traces of old  
times, Mateo pointed out to me a circular pit, that  
seemed to penetrate deep into the bosom of the moun-  
tain. It was evidently a deep well, dug by the in-  
defatigable Moors, to obtain their favourite element  
in its greatest purity. Mateo, however, had a differ-  
ent story, and much more to his humour. This was,  
according to tradition, an entrance to the subter-  
ranean caverns of the mountain, in which Boabdil and  
his court lay bound in magic spell; and from whence  
they sallied forth at night, at allotted times, to revisit  
their ancient abodes.

The deepening twilight, which, in this climate, is  
of such short duration, admonished us to leave this  
haunted ground. As we descended the mountain  
defiles, there was no longer herdsman or muleteer to  
be seen, nor any thing to be heard but our own foot-  
steps and the lonely chirping of the cricket. The  
hadows of the valleys grew deeper and deeper, until  
all was dark around us. The lofty summit of the  
Sierra Nevada alone retained a lingering gleam of  
daylight; its snowy peaks glaring against the dark  
blue firmament, and seeming close to us, from the  
extreme purity of the atmosphere.



"How near the Sierra looks this evening!" said Mateo; "it seems as if you could touch it with your hand; and yet it is many long leagues off." While he was speaking, a star appeared over the snowy summit of the mountain, the only one yet visible in the heavens, and so pure, so large, so bright and beautiful, as to call forth ejaculations of delight from honest Mateo.

"Que estrella hermosa! que clara y limpia es!—No puede ser estrella mas brillante!"

(What a beautiful star! how clear and lucid—no star could be more brilliant!)

I have often remarked this sensibility of the common people of Spain to the charms of natural objects. The lustre of a star, the beauty or fragrance of a flower, the crystal purity of a fountain, will inspire them with a kind of poetical delight; and then, what euphonious words their magnificent language affords, with which to give utterance to their transports!

"But what lights are those, Mateo, which I see twinkling along the Sierra Nevada, just below the snowy region, and which might be taken for stars, only that they are ruddy, and against the dark side of the mountain?"

"Those, Señor, are fires, made by the men who gather snow and ice for the supply of Granada. They go up every afternoon with mules and asses, and take turns, some to rest and warm themselves by the fires, while others fill the panniers with ice. They then set off down the mountain, so as to reach the gates of Granada before sunrise. That Sierra Nevada, Señor, is a lump of ice in the middle of Andalusia, to keep it all cool in summer."

It was now completely dark; we were passing through the barranca, where stood the cross of the murdered muleteer; when I beheld a number of lights moving at a distance, and apparently advancing up the ravine. On nearer approach, they proved to be torches borne by a train of uncouth figures arrayed in black: it would have been a procession dreary enough at any time, but was peculiarly so in this wild and solitary place.

Mateo drew near, and told me in a low voice, that it was a funeral-train bearing a corpse to the burying-ground among the hills.

As the procession passed by, the lugubrious light of the torches falling on the rugged features and funeral-weeds of the attendants, had the most fantastic effect, but was perfectly ghastly, as it revealed the countenance of the corpse, which, according to the Spanish custom, was borne uncovered on an open bier. I remained for some time gazing after the dreary train as it wound up the dark defile of the mountain. It put me in mind of the old story of a procession of demons bearing the body of a sinner up the crater of Stromboli.

"Ah! Señor," cried Mateo, "I could tell you a story of a procession once seen among these mountains, but then you'd laugh at me, and say it was one of the legacies of my grandfather the tailor."

"By no means, Mateo. There is nothing I relish more than a marvellous tale."

"Well, Señor, it is about one of those very men we have been talking of, who gather snow on the Sierra Nevada.

"You must know, that a great many years since, in my grandfather's time, there was an old fellow, Tio Nicolo by name, who had filled the panniers of his mule with snow and ice, and was returning down the mountain. Being very drowsy, he mounted upon the mule, and soon falling asleep, went with his head nodding and bobbing about from side to side, while his sure-footed old mule stepped along the edge of precipices, and down steep and broken barrancaes, just as safe and steady as if it had been on plain ground. At length, Tio Nicolo awoke, and gazed about him, and rubbed his eyes—and, in good truth, he had reason. The moon shone almost as bright as day, and he saw the city below him, as plain as your hand, and shining with its white buildings, like a silver platter in the moonshine: but, Lord! Señor, it was nothing like the city he had left a few hours before! Instead of the cathedral, with its great dome and turrets, and the churches with their spires, and the convents with their pinnacles, all surmounted with the blessed cross, he saw nothing but Moorish mosques, and minarets, and cupolas, all topped off with glittering crescents, such as you see on the Barbary flags. Well, Señor, as you may suppose, Tio Nicolo was mightily puzzled at all this, but while he was gazing down upon the city, a great army came marching up the mountain, winding along the ravines, sometimes in the moonshine, sometimes in the shade. As it drew nigh, he saw that there were horse and foot all in Moorish armour. Tio Nicolo tried to scramble out of their way, but his old mule stood stock still, and refused to budge, trembling, at the same time, like a leaf—for dumb beasts, Señor, are just as much frightened at such things as human beings. Well, Señor, the hobgoblin army came marching by; there were men that seemed to blow trumpets, and others to beat drums and strike cymbals, yet never a sound did they make; they all moved on without the least noise, just as I have seen painted armies move across the stage in the theatre of Granada, and all looked as pale as death. At last, in the rear of the army, between two black Moorish horsemen, rode the Grand Inquisitor of Granada, on a mule as white as snow. Tio Nicolo wondered to see him in such company, for the Inquisitor was famous for his hatred of Moors, and, indeed, of all kinds of Infidels, Jews, and Heretics, and used to hunt them out with fire and scourge. However, Tio Nicolo felt himself safe, now that there was a priest of such sanctity at hand. So making the sign of the cross, he called out for his benediction, when, honour be it, he received a blow that sent him and his old mule over the edge of a steep bank, down which they rolled head over heels, to the bottom! Tio Nicolo did not come to his senses until long after sunrise, when he

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found himself at the bottom of a deep ravine, his  
mule grazing beside him, and panniers of snow com-  
pletely melted. He crawled back to Granada, sorely  
bruised and battered, but was glad to find the city  
looking as usual, with Christian churches and crosses.  
When he told the story of his night's adventure,  
every one laughed at him; some said he had dreamed  
it all, as he dozed on his mule; others thought it all  
a fabrication of his own—but what was strange,  
Señor, and made people afterwards think more se-  
riously of the matter, was, that the Grand Inquisitor  
died within the year. I have often heard my grand-  
father, the tailor, say that there was more meant by  
that hobgoblin army bearing off the resemblance of  
the priest, than folks dared to surmise."

"Then you would insinuate, friend Mateo, that  
there is a kind of Moorish limbo, or purgatory, in  
the bowels of these mountains, to which the padre  
Inquisitor was borne off."

"God forbid, Señor! I know nothing of the matter  
—I only relate what I heard from my grandfather."  
By the time Mateo had finished the tale which I  
have more succinctly related, and which was inter-  
larder with many comments, and spun out with  
minute details, we reached the gate of the Alhambra.

#### LOCAL TRADITIONS.

THE common people of Spain have an Oriental  
passion for story-telling, and are fond of the marvel-  
lous. They will gather round the doors of their cot-  
tages in summer evenings, or in the great cavernous  
chimney corners of the ventas in the winter, and  
listen with insatiable delight to miraculous legends of  
saints, perilous adventures of travellers, and daring  
exploits of robbers and contrabandistas. The wild  
and solitary character of the country, the imperfect  
diffusion of knowledge, the scarceness of general  
topics of conversation, and the romantic adventurous  
life that every one leads in a land where travelling  
is yet in its primitive state, all contribute to cherish  
this love of oral narration, and to produce a strong  
infusion of the extravagant and incredible. There  
is no theme, however, more prevalent and popular  
than that of treasures buried by the Moors; it per-  
vades the whole country. In traversing the wild  
sierras, the scenes of ancient fray and exploit, you  
cannot see a Moorish atalaya, or watch-tower,  
perched among the cliffs, or beetling above its rock-  
built village, but your muleteer, on being closely  
questioned, will suspend the smoking of his cigarillo  
to tell some tale of Moslem gold buried beneath its  
foundations; nor is there a ruined alcazar in a city  
but has its golden tradition handed down from gen-  
eration to generation among the poor people of the  
neighbourhood.

These, like most popular fictions, have sprung  
from some scanty ground-work of fact. During the  
wars between Moor and Christian which distracted  
this country for centuries, towns and castles were  
liable frequently and suddenly to change owners, and  
the inhabitants, during sieges and assaults, were fain  
to bury their money and jewels in the earth, or hide  
them in vaults and wells, as is often done at the  
present day in the despotic and belligerent countries  
of the east. At the time of the expulsion of the  
Moors, also, many of them concealed their most pre-  
cious effects, hoping that their exile would be but  
temporary, and that they would be enabled to return  
and retrieve their treasures at some future day. It  
is certain that from time to time hoards of gold and  
silver coin have been accidentally dug up, after a  
lapse of centuries, from among the ruins of Moorish  
fortresses and habitations; and it requires but a few  
facts of the kind to give birth to a thousand fictions.

The stories thus originating have generally some-  
thing of an Oriental tinge, and are marked with that  
mixture of the Arabic and the Gothic which seems  
to me to characterize every thing in Spain, and es-  
pecially in its southern provinces. The hidden  
wealth is always laid under magic spell, and secured  
by charm and talisman. Sometimes it is guarded by  
uncouth monsters or fiery dragons, sometimes by  
enchanted Moors, who sit by it in armour, with  
drawn swords, but motionless as statues, maintain-  
ing a sleepless watch for ages.

The Alhambra, of course, from the peculiar cir-  
cumstances of its history, is a stronghold for popular  
fictions of the kind; and various relics dug up from  
time to time, have contributed to strengthen them.  
At one time an earthen vessel was found containing  
Moorish coins and the skeleton of a cock, which,  
according to the opinion of certain shrewd inspectors,  
must have been buried alive. At another time a  
vessel was dug up, containing a great scarabæus or  
beetle of baked clay, covered with Arabic inscrip-  
tions, which was pronounced a prodigious amulet of  
occult virtues. In this way the wits of the ragged  
brood who inhabit the Alhambra have been set wool-  
gathering, until there is not a hall, or tower, or vault,  
of the old fortress, that has not been made the scene  
of some marvellous tradition. Having, I trust, in  
the preceding papers made the reader in some degree  
familiar with the localities of the Alhambra, I shall  
now launch out more largely into the wonderful  
legends connected with it, and which I have dili-  
gently wrought into shape and form, from various  
legendary scraps and hints picked up in the course of  
my perambulations; in the same manner that an an-  
tiquary works out a regular historical document from  
a few scattered letters of an almost defaced inscription.

If any thing in these legends should shock the faith  
of the over-scrupulous reader, he must remember  
the nature of the place, and make due allowances.  
He must not expect here the same laws of probability  
that govern common-place scenes, and every-day

life; he must remember that he treads the halls of an enchanted palace, and that all is "haunted ground."

### THE HOUSE OF THE WEATHERCOCK.

On the brow of the lofty hill of the Albaycin, the highest part of the city of Granada, stand the remains of what was once a royal palace, founded shortly after the conquest of Spain by the Arabs. It is now converted into a manufactory, and was fallen into such obscurity, that it cost me much trouble to find it, notwithstanding that I had the assistance of the sagacious, and all-knowing Mateo Ximenes. This edifice still bears the name by which it has been known for centuries, namely, "La Casa del Gallo de Viento," *i. e.*, the House of the Weathercock. It was so called from a bronze figure of a warrior on horseback, armed with shield and spear, erected on one of its turrets, and turning with every wind; bearing an Arabic motto, which, translated into Spanish, was as follows:

Dice el sabio Aben Habuz,  
Que asi se defiende el Andaluz.

In this way, says Aben Habuz the wise,  
The Andalusian his foe defies.

This Aben Habuz, according to Moorish chronicles, was a Captain in the invading army of Taric, and was left by him as Alcalde of Granada. He is supposed to have intended this warlike effigy as a perpetual memorial to the Moslem inhabitants, that, surrounded as they were by foes, their safety depended upon being always on their guard, and ready for the field.

Traditions, however, give a different account of this Aben Habuz and his palace, and affirm that his bronze horseman was originally a talisman of great virtue, though, in after ages, it lost its magic properties, and degenerated into a mere weathercock.

The following are the traditions alluded to.

#### LEGEND OF

### THE ARABIAN ASTROLOGER.

In old times, many hundred years ago, there was a Moorish King, named Aben Habuz, who reigned over the kingdom of Granada. He was a retired conqueror, that is to say, one who having in his more youthful days led a life of constant foray and depredation, now that he was grown feeble and superannuated, "languished for repose," and desired nothing

more than to live at peace with all the world, to husband his laurels, and to enjoy in quiet the possessions he had wrested from his neighbours.

It so happened, however, that this most reasonable and pacific old monarch had young rivals to deal with; princes full of his early passion for fame and fighting, and who were disposed to call him to account for the scores he had run up with their fathers. Certain distant districts of his own territories, also, which during the days of his vigour he had treated with a high hand, were prone, now that he languished for repose, to rise in rebellion and threaten to invest him in his capital. Thus he had foes on every side, and as Granada is surrounded by wild and craggy mountains, which hide the approach of an enemy, the unfortunate Aben Habuz was kept in a constant state of vigilance and alarm, not knowing in what quarter hostilities might break out.

It was in vain that he built watch-towers on the mountains, and stationed guards at every pass, with orders to make fires by night and smoke by day, on the approach of an enemy. His alert foes, baffling every precaution, would break out of some unthought-of defile, ravage his lands beneath his very nose, and then make off with prisoners and booty to the mountains. Was ever peaceable and retired conqueror in a more uncomfortable predicament?

While Aben Habuz was harassed by these perplexities and molestations, an ancient Arabian physician arrived at his court. His grey beard descended to his girdle, and he had every mark of extreme age, yet he had travelled almost the whole way from Egypt on foot, with no other aid than a staff, marked with hieroglyphics. His fame had preceded him. His name was Ibrahim Ebn Abu Ajeeb; he was said to have lived ever since the days of Mahomet, and to be the son of Abu Ajeeb, the last of the companions of the Prophet. He had, when a child, followed the conquering army of Amru into Egypt, where he had remained many years studying the dark sciences, and particularly magic, among the Egyptian priests.

It was, moreover, said, that he had found out the secret of prolonging life, by means of which he had arrived to the great age of upwards of two centuries, though, as he did not discover the secret until well stricken in years, he could only perpetuate his grey hairs and wrinkles.

This wonderful old man was honourably entertained by the King; who, like most superannuated monarchs, began to take physicians into great favour. He would have assigned him an apartment in his palace, but the astrologer preferred a cave in the side of the hill which rises above the city of Granada, being the same on which the Alhambra has since been built. He caused the cave to be enlarged so as to form a spacious and lofty hall, with a circular hole at the top, through which, as through a well, he could see the heavens and behold the stars even at mid-day. The walls of this hall were covered with Egyptian hieroglyphics, with cabalistic symbols, and with the

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nished with many implements, fabricated under his  
directions by cunning artificers of Granada, but the  
occult properties of which were known only to him-  
self.

In a little while the sage Ibrahim became the bosom  
counsellor of the King, who applied to him for ad-  
vice in every emergency. Aben Habuz was once in-  
veighing against the injustice of his neighbours, and  
bewailing the restless vigilance he had to observe, to  
guard himself against their invasions; when he had  
finished, the astrologer remained silent for a moment,  
and then replied, "Know, O King, that when I was  
in Egypt I beheld a great marvel devised by a pagan  
priestess of old. On a mountain, above the city of  
Borsa, and overlooking the great valley of the Nile,  
was a figure of a ram, and above it a figure of a cock,  
both of molten brass, and turning upon a pivot.  
Whenever the country was threatened with inva-  
sion, the ram would turn in the direction of the  
enemy, and the cock would crow; upon this the in-  
habitants of the city knew of the danger, and of the  
quarter from which it was approaching, and could  
take timely means to guard against it."

"God is great!" exclaimed the pacific Aben Ha-  
buz, "what a treasure would be such a ram to keep  
an eye upon these mountains around me, and then  
such a cock, to crow in time of danger! Allah Achbar!  
How securely I might sleep in my palace with such  
sentinels on the top!"

The astrologer waited until the ecstasies of the  
King had subsided, and then proceeded.

"After the victorious Amru (may he rest in peace!)  
had finished his conquest of Egypt, I remained among  
the ancient priests of the land, studying the rights  
and ceremonies of their idolatrous faith, and seeking  
to make myself master of the hidden knowledge for  
which they are renowned. I was one day seated on  
the banks of the Nile, conversing with an ancient  
priest, when he pointed to the mighty pyramids  
which rose like mountains out of the neighbour-  
ing desert. 'All that we can teach thee,' said he,  
is nothing to the knowledge locked up in those mighty  
piles. In the centre of the central pyramid is a se-  
pulchral chamber in which is enclosed the mummy  
of the high priest, who aided in rearing that stupen-  
dous pile; and with him is buried a wondrous book of  
knowledge, containing all the secrets of magic and art.  
This book was given to Adam after his fall, and was  
handed down from generation to generation to King  
Solomon the wise, and by its aid he built the temple  
of Jerusalem. How it came into the possession of the  
builder of the pyramids, is known to him alone who  
knows all things."

"When I heard these words of the Egyptian priest,  
my heart burned to get possession of that book. I  
could command the services of many of the soldiers  
of our conquering army, and of a number of the na-  
tive Egyptians; with these I set to work, and pierced  
the solid mass of the pyramid, until, after great toil,

I came upon one of its interior and hidden passages.  
Following this up, and threading a fearful labyrinth,  
I penetrated into the very heart of the pyramid, even  
to the sepulchral chamber, where the mummy of the  
high priest had lain for ages. I broke through the  
outer cases of the mummy, unfolded its many wrap-  
pers and bandages, and, at length, found the precious  
volume on its bosom. I seized it with a trembling  
hand, and groped my way out of the pyramid, leav-  
ing the mummy in its dark and silent sepulchre, there  
to await the final day of resurrection and judgment."

"Son of Abu Ajeeb," exclaimed Aben Habuz,  
"thou hast been a great traveller, and seen marvel-  
lous things; but of what avail to me is the secret of  
the pyramid, and the volume of knowledge of the  
wise Solomon?"

"This it is, O King! by the study of that book I  
am instructed in all magic arts, and can command  
the assistance of genii to accomplish my plans. The  
mystery of the Talisman of Borsa is therefore familiar  
to me, and such a talisman can I make; nay, one of  
greater virtues."

"O wise son of Abu Ajeeb," cried Aben Habuz,  
"better were such a talisman, than all the watch-  
towers on the hills, and sentinels upon the borders.  
Give me such a safeguard, and the riches of my  
treasury are at thy command."

The astrologer immediately set to work to gratify  
the wishes of the monarch. He caused a great tower  
to be erected upon the top of the royal palace, which  
stood on the brow of the hill of the Albaycin. The  
tower was built of stones brought from Egypt, and  
taken, it is said, from one of the pyramids. In the  
upper part of the tower was a circular hall, with  
windows looking towards every point of the compass,  
and before each window was a table, on which was  
arranged, as on a chess-board, a mimic army of  
horse and foot, with the effigy of the potentate that  
ruled in that direction, all carved of wood. To each  
of these tables there was a small lance, no bigger  
than a bodkin, on which were engraved certain  
Chaldaic characters. This hall was kept constantly  
closed, by a gate of brass, with a great lock of steel,  
the key of which was in possession of the King.

On the top of the tower was a bronze figure of a  
Moorish horseman, fixed on a pivot, with a shield on  
one arm, and his lance elevated perpendicularly. The  
face of this horseman was towards the city, as if keep-  
ing guard over it; but if any foe were at hand, the  
figure would turn in that direction, and would level  
the lance as if for action.

When this talisman was finished, Aben Habuz  
was all impatient to try its virtues; and longed as  
ardently for an invasion as he had ever sighed after  
repose. His desire was soon gratified. Tidings  
were brought early one morning by the sentinel ap-  
pointed to watch the tower, that the face of the  
bronze horseman was turned towards the mountains of  
Elvira, and that his lance pointed directly against  
the pass of Lope.

"Let the drums and trumpets sound to arms, and all Granada be put on the alert," said *Aben Habuz*.

"O King," said the astrologer, "let not your city be disquieted, nor your warriors called to arms; we need no aid of force to deliver you from your enemies. Dismiss your attendants, and let us proceed alone to the secret hall of the tower."

The ancient *Aben Habuz* mounted the staircase of the tower, leaning on the arm of the still more ancient *Ibrahim Ebn Abu Ajeeb*. They unlocked the brazen door, and entered. The window that looked towards the pass of *Lope* was open. "In this direction," said the astrologer, "lies the danger; approach, O King, and behold the mystery of the table."

King *Aben Habuz* approached the seeming chess-board, on which were arranged the small wooden effigies, when, to his surprise, he perceived that they were all in motion. The horses pranced and curveted, the warriors brandished their weapons, and there was a faint sound of drums and trumpets, and the clang of arms, and neighing of steeds; but all no louder, nor more distinct, than the hum of the bee, or the summer-fly, in the drowsy ear of him who lies at noontide in the shade.

"Behold, O King," said the astrologer, "a proof that thy enemies are even now in the field. They must be advancing through yonder mountains, by the passes of *Lope*. Would you produce a panic and confusion amongst them, and cause them to retreat without loss of life, strike these effigies with the butt-end of this magic lance; but would you cause bloody feud and carnage among them, strike with the point."

A livid streak passed across the countenance of the pacific *Aben Habuz*; he seized the mimic lance with trembling eagerness, and tottered towards the table, his grey beard wagged with chuckling exultation: "Son of *Abu Ajeeb*," exclaimed he, "I think we will have a little blood!"

So saying, he thrust the magic lance into some of the pigmy effigies, and belaboured others with the butt-end, upon which the former fell as dead upon the board, and the rest, turning upon each other, began, pell-mell, a chance-medley fight.

It was with difficulty the astrologer could stay the hand of the most pacific of monarchs, and prevent him from absolutely exterminating his foes; at length he prevailed upon him to leave the tower, and to send out scouts to the mountains by the pass of *Lope*.

They returned with the intelligence, that a Christian army had advanced through the heart of the Sierra, almost within sight of Granada, where a disension had broken out among them; they had turned their weapons against each other, and after much slaughter had retreated over the border.

*Aben Habuz* was transported with joy on this proving the efficacy of the talisman. "At length," said he, "I shall lead a life of tranquillity, and have all my enemies in my power. O wise son of *Abu*

*Ajeeb*, what can I bestow on thee in reward for such a blessing?"

"The wants of an old man and a philosopher, O King, are few and simple; grant me but the means of fitting up my cave as a suitable hermitage, and I am content."

"How noble is the moderation of the truly wise!" exclaimed *Aben Habuz*, secretly pleased at the cheapness of the recompense. He summoned his treasurer, and bade him dispense whatever sums might be required by *Ibrahim* to complete and furnish his hermitage.

The astrologer now gave orders to have various chambers hewn out of the solid rock, so as to form ranges of apartments connected with his astrological hall; these he caused to be furnished with luxurious ottomans and divans, and the walls to be hung with the richest silks of Damascus. "I am an old man," said he, "and can no longer rest my bones on stone couches, and these damp walls require covering."

He had baths too constructed, and provided with all kinds of perfumes and aromatic oils, "For a bath," said he, "is necessary to counteract the rigidity of age, and to restore freshness and suppleness to the frame withered by study."

He caused the apartments to be hung with innumerable silver and crystal lamps, which he filled with a fragrant oil, prepared according to a receipt discovered by him in the tombs of Egypt. This oil was perpetual in its nature, and diffused a soft radiance like the tempered light of day. "The light of the sun," said he, "is too garish and violent for the eye of an old man, and the light of the lamp is more congenial to the studies of a philosopher."

The treasurer of King *Aben Habuz* groaned at the sums daily demanded to fit up this hermitage, and he carried his complaints to the King. The royal word, however, was given; *Aben Habuz* shrugged his shoulders. "We must have patience," said he, "this old man has taken his idea of a philosopher's retreat from the interior of the pyramids, and of the vast ruins of Egypt; but all things have an end, and so will the furnishing of his cavern."

The King was in the right, the hermitage was length complete, and formed a sumptuous subterranean palace. "I am now content," said *Ibrahim Ebn Abu Ajeeb* to the treasurer, "I will shut myself up in my cell, and devote my time to study. I desire nothing more, nothing, except a trifling solace, amuse me at the intervals of mental labour."

"O wise *Ibrahim*, ask what thou wilt, I am bound to furnish all that is necessary for thy solitude."

"I would fain have then a few dancing women," said the philosopher.

"Dancing women!" echoed the treasurer with surprise.

"Dancing women," replied the sage gravely; "few will suffice, for I am an old man, and a philosopher, of simple habits, and easily satisfied. Let them however, be young, and fair to look upon; for



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While the philosopher, Ibrahim Ebn Abu Ajeeb, passed his time thus sagely in his hermitage, the pacific Aben Habuz carried on furious campaigns in effigy in his tower. It was a glorious thing for an old man, like himself, of quiet habits, to have war made easy, and to be enabled to amuse himself in his chamber by brushing away whole armies like so many swarms of flies.

For a time he rioted in the indulgence of his humours, and even taunted and insulted his neighbours, to induce them to make incursions; but by degrees they grew wary from repeated disasters, until no one ventured to invade his territories. For many months the bronze horseman remained on the peace establishment with his lance elevated in the air, and the worthy old monarch began to repine at the want of his accustomed sport, and to grow peevish at his monotonous tranquillity.

At length, one day, the talismanic horseman veered suddenly round, and lowering his lance, made a dead point towards the mountains of Guadix. Aben Habuz hastened to his tower, but the magic table in that direction remained quiet; not a single warrior was in motion. Perplexed at the circumstance, he sent forth a troop of horse to scour the mountains and reconnoitre. They returned after three days' absence.

"We have searched every mountain pass," said they, "but not a helm or spear was stirring. All that we have found in the course of our foray, was a Christian damsel of surpassing beauty, sleeping at moon-tide beside a fountain, whom we have brought away captive."

"A damsel of surpassing beauty!" exclaimed Aben Habuz, his eyes gleaming with animation; "let her be conducted into my presence."

The beautiful damsel was accordingly conducted into his presence. She was arrayed with all the luxury of ornament that had prevailed among the Gothic squires at the time of the Arabian conquest. Pearls of dazzling whiteness were entwined with her raven tresses; and jewels sparkled on her forehead, rivalling the lustre of her eyes. Around her neck was a golden chain, to which was suspended a silver lyre, which hung by her side.

The flashes of her dark refulgent eye were like sparks of fire on the withered, yet combustible, heart of Aben Habuz; the swimming voluptuousness of her wit made his senses reel. "Fairest of women," cried he, with rapture, "who and what art thou?"

"The daughter of one of the Gothic princes, who lately ruled over this land. The armies of my father have been destroyed as if by magic, among these mountains; he has been driven into exile, and his daughter is a captive."

"Beware, O King!" whispered Ibrahim Ebn Abu Ajeeb, "this may be one of those Northern sorceresses of whom we have heard, who assume the most seductive forms to beguile the unwary. Methinks I had witchcraft in her eye, and sorcery in every

movement. Doubtless this is the enemy pointed out by the talisman."

"Son of Abu Ajeeb," replied the King, "thou art a wise man, I grant, a conjuror for aught I know; but thou art little versed in the ways of woman. In that knowledge will I yield to no man; no, not to the wise Solomon himself, notwithstanding the number of his wives and concubines. As to this damsel, I see no harm in her, she is fair to look upon, and finds favour in my eyes."

"Hearken, O King!" replied the astrologer. "I have given thee many victories by means of my talisman, but have never shared any of the spoil. Give me then this stray captive, to solace me in my solitude with her silver lyre. If she be indeed a sorceress, I have counter spells that set her charms at defiance."

"What! more women!" cried Aben Habuz. "Hast thou not already dancing women enough to solace thee?"

"Dancing women have I, it is true, but no singing women. I would fain have a little minstrelsy to refresh my mind when weary with the toils of study."

"A truce with thy hermit cravings," said the King, impatiently. "This damsel have I marked for my own. I see much comfort in her; even such comfort as David, the father of Solomon the wise, found in the society of Abishag the Shunamite."

Further solicitations and remonstrances of the astrologer only provoked a more peremptory reply from the monarch, and they parted in high displeasure. The sage shut himself up in his hermitage to brood over his disappointment; ere he departed, however, he gave the King one more warning to beware of his dangerous captive. But where is the old man in love that will listen to council? Aben Habuz resigned himself to the full sway of his passion. His only study was how to render himself amiable in the eyes of the Gothic beauty. He had not youth to recommend him, it is true, but then he had riches; and when a lover is old, he is generally generous. The Zacatin of Granada was ransacked for the most precious merchandise of the East; silks, jewels, precious gems, exquisite perfumes, all that Asia and Africa yielded of rich and rare, were lavished upon the princess. All kinds of spectacles and festivities were devised for her entertainment; minstrelsy, dancing, tournaments, bull-fights: Granada, for a time, was a scene of perpetual pageant. The Gothic princess regarded all this splendour with the air of one accustomed to magnificence. She received every thing as a homage due to her rank, or rather to her beauty, for beauty is more lofty in its exactions even than rank. Nay, she seemed to take a secret pleasure in exciting the monarch to expenses that made his treasury shrink; and then treating his extravagant generosity as a mere matter of course. With all his assiduity and munificence, also, the venerable lover could not flatter himself that he had made any impression on her heart. She never frowned on him,

it is true, but then she never smiled. Whenever he began to plead his passion, she struck her silver lyre. There was a mystic charm in the sound. In an instant the monarch began to nod; a drowsiness stole over him, and he gradually sank into a sleep, from which he awoke wonderfully refreshed, but perfectly cooled, for the time, of his passion. This was very baffling to his suit; but then these slumbers were accompanied by agreeable dreams, that completely enthralled the senses of the drowsy lover; so he continued to dream on, while all Granada scoffed at his infatuation, and groaned at the treasures lavished for a song.

At length a danger burst on the head of Aben Habuz, against which his talisman yielded him no warning. An insurrection broke out in his very capital: his palace was surrounded by an armed rabble, who menaced his life and the life of his Christian paramour. A spark of his ancient warlike spirit was awakened in the breast of the monarch. At the head of a handful of his guards he sallied forth, put the rebels to flight, and crushed the insurrection in the bud.

When quiet was again restored, he sought the astrologer, who still remained shut up in his hermitage, chewing the bitter cud of resentment.

Aben Habuz approached him with a conciliatory tone. "O wise son of Abu Ajeeb," said he, "well didst thou predict dangers to me from this captive beauty: tell me then, thou who art so quick at foreseeing peril, what I should do to avert it."

"Put from thee the infidel damsel who is the cause."

"Sooner would I part with my kingdom," cried Aben Habuz.

"Thou art in danger of losing both," replied the astrologer.

"Be not harsh and angry, O most profound of philosophers; consider the double distress of a monarch and a lover, and devise some means of protecting me from the evils by which I am menaced. I care not for grandeur, I care not for power, I languish only for repose; would that I had some quiet retreat where I might take refuge from the world, and all its cares, and pomps, and troubles, and devote the remainder of my days to tranquillity and love."

The astrologer regarded him for a moment, from under his bushy eye-brows.

"And what wouldst thou give, if I could provide thee such a retreat?"

"Thou shouldst name thy own reward, and whatever it might be, if within the scope of my power, as my soul liveth, it should be thine."

"Thou hast heard, O King, of the garden of Irem, one of the prodigies of Arabia the Happy."

"I have heard of that garden; it is recorded in the Koran, even in the chapter entitled 'The Dawn of Day.' I have, moreover, heard marvellous things related of it by pilgrims who had been to Mecca; but I considered them wild fables, such as travellers are

wont to tell who have visited remote countries." "Discredit not, O King, the tales of travellers," rejoined the astrologer gravely, "for they contain precious rarities of knowledge brought from the ends of the earth. As to the Palace and Garden of Irem, what is generally told of them is true; I have seen them with mine own eyes—listen to my adventure for it has a bearing upon the object of your request.

"In my younger days, when a mere Arab of the desert, I tended my father's camels. In traversing the Desert of Aden, one of them strayed from the rest, and was lost. I searched after it for several days, but in vain, until wearied and faint, I laid myself down one noontide, and slept under a palm tree by the side of a scanty well. When I awoke, I found myself at the gate of a city. I entered, and beheld noble streets, and squares, and market-places; but all were silent and without an inhabitant. I wandered on until I came to a sumptuous palace with a garden, adorned with fountains and fish-ponds, and groves and flowers, and orchards laden with delicious fruit; but still no one was to be seen. Upon which appalled at this loneliness, I hastened to depart; and after issuing forth at the gate of the city, I turned to look upon the place, but it was no longer to be seen—nothing but the silent desert extended before my eyes.

"In the neighbourhood I met with an aged dervish learned in the traditions and secrets of the land, and related to him what had befallen me. 'This,' said he, 'is the far-famed garden of Irem, one of the wonders of the desert. It only appears at times to some wanderer like thyself, gladdening him with the sight of towers and palaces, and garden walls overhung with richly laden fruit trees, and then vanishes, leaving nothing but a lonely desert. And this is the story of it. In old times, when this country was inhabited by the Addites, King Sheddad, the son of Ad, the great grandson of Noah, founded here a splendid city. When it was finished, and he saw its grandeur, his heart was puffed up with pride and arrogance, and he determined to build a royal palace with gardens that should rival all that was related in the Koran of the celestial paradise. But the curse of Heaven fell upon him for his presumption. He and his subjects were swept from the earth, and his splendid city, and palace, and gardens, were hid under a perpetual spell, that hides them from the human sight, excepting that they are seen at intervals, by way of keeping his sin in perpetual remembrance."

"This story, O King, and the wonders I had never dwelt in my mind; and in after years, when I had been in Egypt, and was possessed of the book of knowledge of Solomon the wise, I determined to turn and revisit the garden of Irem. I did so, and found it revealed to my instructed sight. I took possession of the palace of Sheddad, and passed several days in his mock paradise. The genii who were over the place, were obedient to my magic power."

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In my childhood I met with an aged dervise, who told me of the visions and secrets of the land, and how it had befallen me. "This," said he, "is the Garden of Irem, one of the wonders of the world. It only appears at times to some wandering dervise, gladdening him with the sight of the palace and garden walls overhung with vines, and then vanishes, leaving him in the desert. And this is the story of the country when this country was inhabited by the prophet Sheddad, the son of Ad, the brother of Noah, founded here a splendid city. When it was finished, and he saw its grandeur, he puffed up with pride and arrogance, and determined to build a royal palace which should rival all that was related of in the celestial paradise. But the curse of God came upon his presumption. He was swept from the earth, and his palace, and gardens, were laid under a spell, that hides them from the eyes of mortals, so that they are not seen at intervals, excepting his sin in perpetual remembrance.

The king, and the wonders I had seen, and in after years, when I was, and was possessed of the book of the wise, I determined to visit the garden of Irem. I did so, and I took my instructed sight. I took the advice of Sheddad, and passed several days in the paradise. The genii who were obedient to my magic power

and revealed to me the spells by which the whole garden had been, as it were, conjured into existence, and by which it was rendered invisible. Such a palace and garden, O King, can I make for thee, even here, on the mountain above thy city. Do I not know all the secret spells? and am I not in possession of the book of knowledge of Solomon the wise?"

"O wise son of Abu Ajeeb!" exclaimed Aben Habuz, trembling with eagerness, "thou art a traveller indeed, and hast seen and learnt marvellous things! Contrive me such a paradise, and ask any reward, even to the half of my kingdom."

"Alas!" replied the other, "thou knowest I am an old man, and a philosopher, and easily satisfied; but the reward I ask is the first beast of burden, with its load, that shall enter the magic portal of the palace."

The monarch gladly agreed to so moderate a stipulation, and the astrologer began his work. On the summit of the hill, immediately above his subterranean hermitage, he caused a great gateway or barbican to be erected, opening through the centre of a strong tower.

There was an outer vestibule or porch, with a lofty arch, and within it a portal secured by massive gates. On the key-stone of the portal the astrologer, with his own hand, wrought the figure of a key; and on the key-stone of the outer arch of the vestibule, which was loftier than that of the portal, he carved a gigantic hand. These were potent talismans, over which he repeated many sentences in an unknown tongue.

When this gateway was finished, he shut himself up for two days in his astrological hall, engaged in secret incantations; on the third he ascended the hill, and passed the whole day on its summit. At a late hour of the night he came down, and presented himself before Aben Habuz. "At length, O King," said he, "my labour is accomplished. On the summit of the hill stands one of the most delectable palaces that ever the head of man devised, or the heart of man desired. It contains sumptuous halls and galleries, delicious gardens, cool fountains, and fragrant baths; in a word, the whole mountain is converted into a paradise. Like the garden of Irem, it is protected by a mighty charm, which hides it from the view and search of mortals, excepting such as possess the secret of its talismans."

"Enough!" cried Aben Habuz joyfully, "to-morrow morning with the first light we will ascend and take possession." The happy monarch slept but little that night. Scarcely had the rays of the sun begun to play about the snowy summit of the Sierra Nevada, when he mounted his steed, and, accompanied only by a few chosen attendants, ascended a steep and narrow road leading up the hill. Beside him, on a white palfrey, rode the Gothic princess, whose whole dress sparkling with jewels, while round her neck was suspended her silver lyre. The astrologer walked on the other side of the king, assisting

his steps with his hieroglyphic staff, for he never mounted steed of any kind.

Aben Habuz looked to see the towers of the palace brightening above him, and the embowered terraces of its gardens stretching along the heights; but as yet nothing of the kind was to be descried. "That is the mystery and safeguard of the place," said the astrologer, "nothing can be discerned until you have passed the spell-bound gateway, and been put in possession of the place."

As they approached the gateway, the astrologer paused, and pointed out to the King the mystic hand and key carved upon the portal and the arch. "These," said he, "are the talismans which guard the entrance to this paradise. Until yonder hand shall reach down and seize that key, neither mortal power nor magic artifice can prevail against the lord of this mountain."

While Aben Habuz was gazing with open mouth, and silent wonder, at these mystic talismans, the palfrey of the princess proceeded, and bore her in at the portal, to the very centre of the barbican.

"Behold," cried the astrologer, "my promised reward; the first animal with its burthen that should enter the magic gateway."

Aben Habuz smiled at what he considered a pleasantry of the ancient man; but when he found him to be in earnest, his grey beard trembled with indignation.

"Son of Abu Ajeeb," said he, sternly, "what equivocation is this? Thou knowest the meaning of my promise: the first beast of burthen, with its load, that should enter this portal. Take the strongest mule in my stables, load it with the most precious things of my treasury, and it is thine; but dare not to raise thy thoughts to her who is the delight of my heart."

"What need I of wealth," cried the astrologer, scornfully; "have I not the book of knowledge of Solomon the wise, and through it the command of the secret treasures of the earth? The princess is mine by right; thy royal word is pledged; I claim her as my own."

The princess looked down haughtily from her palfrey, and a light smile of scorn curled her rosy lip at this dispute between two grey-beards for the possession of youth and beauty. The wrath of the monarch got the better of his discretion. "Base son of the desert," cried he, "thou may'st be master of many arts, but know me for thy master, and presume not to juggle with thy King."

"My master!" echoed the astrologer, "my King! The monarch of a mole-hill to claim sway over him who possesses the talismans of Solomon! Farewell, Aben Habuz; reign over thy petty kingdom, and revel in thy paradise of fools; for me, I will laugh at thee in my philosophic retirement."

So saying, he seized the bridle of the palfrey, smote the earth with his staff, and sank with the Gothic princess through the centre of the barbican. The

earth closed over them, and no trace remained of the opening by which they had descended.

Aben Habuz was struck dumb for a time with astonishment. Recovering himself, he ordered a thousand workmen to dig, with pickaxe and spade, into the ground where the astrologer had disappeared. They digged and digged, but in vain; the flinty bosom of the hill resisted their implements; or if they did penetrate a little way, the earth filled in again as fast as they threw it out. Aben Habuz sought the mouth of the cavern at the foot of the hill, leading to the subterranean palace of the astrologer; but it was no where to be found. Where once had been an entrance, was now a solid surface of primeval rock. With the disappearance of Ibrahim Ebn Abu Ajeeb, ceased the benefit of his talismans. The bronze horseman remained fixed, with his face turned towards the hill, and his spear pointed to the spot where the astrologer had descended, as if there still lurked the deadliest foe of Aben Habuz.

From time to time the sound of music, and the tones of a female voice, could be faintly heard from the bosom of the hill; and a peasant one day brought word to the King, that in the preceding night he had found a fissure in the rock, by which he had crept in until he looked down into a subterranean hall, in which sat the astrologer, on a magnificent divan, slumbering and nodding to the silver lyre of the princess, which seemed to hold a magic sway over his senses.

Aben Habuz sought the fissure in the rock, but it was again closed. He renewed the attempt to unearth his rival, but all in vain. The spell of the hand and key was too potent to be counteracted by human power. As to the summit of the mountain, the site of the promised palace and garden, it remained a naked waste; either the boasted elysium was hidden from sight by enchantment, or was a mere fable of the astrologer. The world charitably supposed the latter, and some used to call the place, "The King's Folly;" while others named it, "The Fool's Paradise."

To add to the chagrin of Aben Habuz, the neighbours whom he had defied and taunted, and cut up at his leisure while master of the talismanic horseman, finding him no longer protected by magic spell, made inroads into his territories from all sides, and the remainder of the life of the most pacific of monarchs, was a tissue of turmoils.

At length Aben Habuz died, and was buried. Ages have since rolled away. The Alhambra has been built on the eventful mountain, and in some measure realizes the fabled delights of the garden of Irem. The spell-bound gateway still exists entire, protected no doubt by the mystic hand and key, and now forms the Gate of Justice, the grand entrance to the fortress. Under that gateway, it is said, the old astrologer remains in his subterranean hall, nodding on his divan, lulled by the silver lyre of the princess.

The old invalid sentinels who mount guard at the gate, hear the strains occasionally in the summer

nights; and yielding to their soporific power, doze quietly at their posts. Nay, so drowsy an influence pervades the place, that even those who watch by day may generally be seen nodding on the stone benches of the barbican, or sleeping under the neighbouring trees; so that in fact it is the drowsiest military post in all Christendom. All this, say the ancient legends, will endure from age to age. The princess will remain captive to the astrologer, and the astrologer bound up in magic slumber by the princess, until the last day, unless the mystic hand shall grasp the fated key, and dispel the whole charm of this enchanted mountain.

### THE TOWER OF LAS INFANTAS.

IN an evening's stroll up a narrow glen, overshadowed by fig-trees, pomegranates, and myrtles, that divides the lands of the fortress from those of the Generalife, I was struck with the romantic appearance of a Moorish tower in the outer wall of the Alhambra, that rose high above the tree-tops, and caught the ruddy rays of the setting sun. A solitary window at a great height commanded a view of the glen; and as I was regarding it, a young female looked out, with her head adorned with flowers. She was evidently superior to the usual class of people that inhabit the old towers of the fortress; and this sudden and picturesque glimpse of her reminded me of the descriptions of captive beauties in fairy tales. These fanciful associations of my mind were increased on being informed by my attendant Mateo, that this was the Tower of the Princesses (La Torre de las Infantas); so called, from having been, according to tradition, the residence of the daughters of the Moorish kings. I have since visited the tower. It is generally shown to strangers, though well worth attention, for the interior is equal for beauty of architecture, and delicacy of ornament, to any part of the palace. The elegance of the central hall, with its marble fountain, its lofty arches, and richly fretted dome; the arabesques and stucco work of the small but well-proportioned chamber, though injured by time and neglect, all accord with the story of its being anciently the abode of royal beauty.

The little old fairy queen who lives under the staircase of the Alhambra and frequents the evening terraces of Dame Antonia, tells some fanciful traditions about three Moorish princesses, who were once shut up in this tower by their father, a tyrant king of Granada, and were only permitted to ride out at night about the hills, when no one was permitted to come in their way under pain of death. They still, according to her account, may be seen occasionally when the moon is in the full, riding in lonely phantoms along the mountain side, on palfreys richly caparisoned.

their soporific power, doze away, so drowsy an influence even those who watch by seen nodding on the stone, or sleeping under the neighborly fact it is the drowsiest nindom. All this, say the ancients from age to age. The captive to the astrologer, and up in magic slumber by the day, unless the mystic hand, and dispel the whole charm attain.

## OF LAS INFANTAS.

roll up a narrow glen, overshadowed by pomegranates, and myrtles, that the fortress from those of the tower with the romantic appearance in the outer wall of the high above the tree-tops, and the setting sun. A solitary tower commanded a view of the surrounding country, and regarding it, a young female with her head adorned with flowers, superior to the usual class of people, gazed from the towers of the fortress; and this glimpse of her reminded me of the captive beauties in fairy tales. My thoughts were increased by my attendant Mateo, that the Princesses (La Torre de las Infantas) had never, according to the story of the daughters of the Moorish king, visited the tower. It is not strange, though well worthy of notice, that the beauty of architecture is equal for beauty of architecture, to any part of the building, and the central hall, with its lofty arches, and richly fretted ceiling, and stucco work of the same kind, though injured by the passage of time, accord with the story of its being the residence of royal beauty.

The queen who lives under the starry sky, and frequents the evening of the moon, tells some fanciful traditions of the Princesses, who were once the daughters of their father, a tyrant king of Granada, who permitted to ride out at night, when no one was permitted to come near the tower, on pain of death. They still, however, are to be seen occasionally in the full, riding in lonely phantoms on the side, on palfreys richly capar-

soned and sparkling with jewels, but they vanish on being spoken to.

But before I relate any thing further respecting these princesses, the reader may be anxious to know something about the fair inhabitant of the tower with her head dressed with flowers, who looked out from the lofty window. She proved to be the newly-married spouse of the worthy adjutant of invalids; who, though well stricken in years, had had the courage to take to his bosom a young and buxom Andalusian damsel. May the good old cavalier be happy in his choice, and find the Tower of the Princesses a more secure residence for female beauty, than it seems to have proved in the time of the Moslems, if we may believe the following legend!

## LEGEND OF

## THE THREE BEAUTIFUL PRINCESSES.

In old times there reigned a Moorish King in Granada, whose name was Mohamed, to which his subjects added the appellation of El Haygari, or "The Left-handed." Some say he was so called on account of his being really more expert with his sinister than his dexter hand; others, because he was prone to take every thing by the wrong end, or in other words, to mar wherever he meddled. Certain it is, either through misfortune or mismanagement, he was continually in trouble: thrice was he driven from his throne, and, on one occasion, barely escaped to Africa with his life, in the disguise of a fisherman. Still he was as brave as he was blundering; and though left-handed, wielded his cimeter to such purpose, that he each time re-established himself upon his throne by dint of hard fighting. Instead, however, of learning wisdom from adversity, he hardened his neck, and stiffened his left arm in wilfulness. The evils of a public nature which he thus brought upon himself and his kingdom, may be learned by those who will delve into the Arabian annals of Granada; the present legend deals but with his domestic policy.

As this Mohamed was one day riding forth with a train of his courtiers, by the foot of the mountain of Elvira, he met a band of horsemen returning from a foray into the land of the Christians. They were conducting a long string of mules laden with spoil, and many captives of both sexes, among whom the monarch was struck with the appearance of a beautiful damsel, richly attired, who sat weeping on a low palfrey, and heeded not the consoling words of a duenna who rode beside her.

The monarch was struck with her beauty, and, on enquiring of the Captain of the troop, found that she was the daughter of the Aleayde of a frontier fortress, who had been surprised and sacked in the course of the foray. Mohamed claimed her as his royal share

of the booty, and had her conveyed to his harem in the Alhambra. There every thing was devised to soothe her melancholy; and the monarch, more and more enamoured, sought to make her his queen. The Spanish maid at first repulsed his addresses—he was an infidel—he was the open foe of her country—what was worse, he was stricken in years!

The monarch, finding his assiduities of no avail, determined to enlist in his favour the duenna, who had been captured with the lady. She was an Andalusian by birth, whose Christian name is forgotten, being mentioned in Moorish legends by no other appellation than that of the discreet Kadiga—and discreet in truth she was, as her whole history makes evident. No sooner had the Moorish king held a little private conversation with her, than she saw at once the cogency of his reasoning, and undertook his cause with her young mistress.

"Go to, now!" cried she, "what is there in all this to weep and wail about? Is it not better to be mistress of this beautiful palace, with all its gardens and fountains, than to be shut up within your father's old frontier tower? As to this Mohamed being an infidel, what is that to the purpose? You marry him, not his religion: and if he is waxing a little old, the sooner will you be a widow, and mistress of yourself; at any rate, you are in his power, and must either be a queen or a slave. When in the hands of a robber, it is better to sell one's merchandise for a fair price, than to have it taken by main force."

The arguments of the discreet Kadiga prevailed. The Spanish lady dried her tears, and became the spouse of Mohamed the Left-handed; she even conformed, in appearance, to the faith of her royal husband; and her discreet duenna immediately became a zealous convert to the Moslem doctrines; it was then the latter received the Arabian name of Kadiga, and was permitted to remain in the confidential employ of her mistress.

In due process of time the Moorish king was made the proud and happy father of three lovely daughters, all born at a birth: he could have wished they had been sons, but consoled himself with the idea that three daughters at a birth were pretty well for a man somewhat stricken in years, and left-handed!

As usual with all Moslem monarchs, he summoned his astrologers on this happy event. They cast the nativities of the three Princesses, and shook their heads. "Daughters, O King!" said they, "are always precarious property; but these will most need your watchfulness when they arrive at a marriageable age: at that time gather them under your wings, and trust them to no other guardianship."

Mohamed the Left-handed was acknowledged to be a wise king by his courtiers, and was certainly so considered by himself. The prediction of the astrologers caused him but little disquiet, trusting to his ingenuity to guard his daughters and outwit the Fates.



The three-fold birth was the last matrimonial trophy of the monarch; his queen bore him no more children, and died within a few years, bequeathing her infant daughters to his love, and to the fidelity of the discreet Kadiga.

Many years had yet to elapse before the Princesses would arrive at that period of danger—the marriageable age: “It is good, however, to be cautious in time,” said the shrewd monarch; so he determined to have them reared in the royal Castle of Salobreña. This was a sumptuous palace, incrustated, as it were, in a powerful Moorish fortress on the summit of a hill that overlooks the Mediterranean Sea. It was a royal retreat, in which the Moslem monarchs shut up such of their relations as might endanger their safety, allowing them all kinds of luxuries and amusements, in the midst of which they passed their lives in voluptuous indolence.

Here the Princesses remained, immured from the world, but surrounded by enjoyments, and attended by female slaves who anticipated their wishes. They had delightful gardens for their recreation, filled with the rarest fruits and flowers, with aromatic groves and perfumed baths. On three sides the castle looked down upon a rich valley, enamelled with all kinds of culture, and bounded by the lofty Alpuxarra mountains; on the other side it overlooked the broad sunny sea.

In this delicious abode, in a propitious climate, and under a cloudless sky, the three Princesses grew up into wondrous beauty; but, though all reared alike they gave early tokens of diversity of character. Their names were Zayda, Zorayda, and Zorahayda; and such was their order of seniority, for there had been precisely three minutes between their births.

Zayda, the eldest, was of an intrepid spirit, and took the lead of her sisters in every thing, as she had done in entering first into the world. She was curious and inquisitive, and fond of getting at the bottom of things.

Zorayda had a great feeling for beauty, which was the reason, no doubt, of her delighting to regard her own image in a mirror or a fountain, and of her fondness for flowers, and jewels, and other tasteful ornaments.

As to Zorahayda, the youngest, she was soft and timid, and extremely sensitive, with a vast deal of disposable tenderness, as was evident from her number of pet-flowers, and pet-birds, and pet-animals, all of which she cherished with the fondest care. Her amusements, too, were of a gentle nature, and mixed up with musing and reverie. She would sit for hours in a balcony, gazing on the sparkling stars of a summer's night; or on the sea when lit up by the moon; and at such times, the song of a fisherman, faintly heard from the beach, or the notes of a Moorish flute from some gliding bark, sufficed to elevate her feelings into ecstasy. The least uproar of the elements, however, filled her with dismay; and a clap of thunder was enough to throw her into a swoon.

Years rolled on smoothly and serenely; the discreet Kadiga, to whom the Princesses were confided, was faithful to her trust, and attended them with unremitting care.

The Castle of Salobreña, as has been said, was built upon a hill on the sea-coast. One of the exterior walls straggled down the profile of the hill, until it reached a jutting rock overhanging the sea, with a narrow sandy beach at its foot, laved by the rippling billows. A small watch-tower on this rock had been fitted up as a pavilion, with latticed windows to admit the sea-breeze. Here the Princesses used to pass the sultry hours of mid-day.

The curious Zayda was one day seated at one of the windows of the pavilion, as her sisters, reclining on ottomans, were taking the siesta, or noon-tide slumber. Her attention had been attracted to a galley which came coasting along, with measured strokes of the oar. As it drew near, she observed that it was filled with armed men. The galley anchored at the foot of the tower: a number of Moorish soldiers landed on the narrow beach, conducting several Christian prisoners. The curious Zayda awakened her sisters, and all three peeped cautiously through the close jealousies of the lattice, which screened them from sight. Among the prisoners were three Spanish cavaliers, richly dressed. They were in the flower of youth, and of noble presence; and the lofty manner in which they carried themselves, though loaded with chains and surrounded with enemies, bespoke the grandeur of their souls. The Princesses gazed with intense and breathless interest. Cooped up as they had been in this castle among female attendants, seeing nothing of the male sex but black slaves, or the rude fishermen of the sea-coast, it is not to be wondered at, that the appearance of three gallant cavaliers in the pride of youth and manly beauty, should produce some commotion in their bosom.

“Did ever nobler being tread the earth than that cavalier in crimson?” cried Zayda, the eldest of the sisters. “See how proudly he bears himself, as though all around him were his slaves!”

“But notice that one in blue!” exclaimed Zorayda. “What grace! what elegance! what spirit!”

The gentle Zorahayda said nothing, but she secretly gave preference to the cavalier in green.

The Princesses remained gazing until the prisoners were out of sight; then heaving long-drawn sighs they turned round, looked at each other for a moment, and sat down, musing and pensive, on their ottomans.

The discreet Kadiga found them in this situation; they related to her what they had seen, and even the withered heart of the duenna was warmed. “Poor youths!” exclaimed she, “I’ll warrant their captivity makes many a fair and high-born lady’s heart ache in their native land! Ah! my children, you have little idea of the life these cavaliers lead in their own country. Such pranking at tournaments! such devotion to the ladies! such courting and serenading!”

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The curiosity of Zayda was fully aroused; she was insatiable in her inquiries, and drew from the duenna the most animated pictures of the scenes of her youthful days and native land. The beautiful Zorahayda bridled up, and slyly regarded herself in a mirror, when the theme turned upon the charms of the Spanish ladies; while Zorahayda suppressed a struggling sigh at the mention of moonlight serenades.

Every day the curious Zayda renewed her inquiries, and every day the sage duenna repeated her stories, which were listened to with profound interest, though with frequent sighs, by her gentle auditors. The discreet old woman at length awakened to the mischief she might be doing. She had been accustomed to think of the Princesses only as children; but they had imperceptibly ripened beneath her eye, and now bloomed before her three lovely damsels of the marriageable age. It is time, thought the duenna, to give notice to the King.

Mohamed the Left-handed was seated one morning in a divan in one of the cool halls of the Alhambra, when a slave arrived from the fortress of Salobreña, with a message from the sage Kadiga, congratulating him on the anniversary of his daughters' birth-day. The slave at the same time presented a delicate little basket decorated with flowers, within which, on a bunch of vine and fig-leaves, lay a peach, an apricot, and a nectarine, with their bloom and down and dewy sweetness upon them, and all in the early stage of tempting ripeness. The monarch was versed in the oriental language of fruits and flowers, and readily divined the meaning of this emblematical offering.

"So," said he, "the critical period pointed out by the astrologers is arrived: my daughters are at a marriageable age. What is to be done? They are put up from the eyes of men; they are under the eyes of the discreet Kadiga—all very good,—but still they are not under my own eye, as was prescribed by the astrologers: I must gather them under my wing, and trust to no other guardianship."

So saying, he ordered that a tower of the Alhambra should be prepared for their reception, and decorated at the head of his guards for the fortress of Salobreña, to conduct them home in person.

About three years had elapsed since Mohamed had shield his daughters, and he could scarcely credit his eyes at the wonderful change which that small space of time had made in their appearance. During the interval, they had passed that wondrous boundary line in female life which separates the crude, unimaged, and thoughtless girl from the blooming, glowing, meditative woman. It is like passing from the flat, bleak, uninteresting plains of La Mancha to the voluptuous valleys and swelling hills of Andalusia.

Zayda was tall and finely-formed, with a lofty demeanour and a penetrating eye. She entered with a stately and decided step, and made a profound reverence to Mohamed, treating him more as her sovereign than her father. Zorahayda was of the middle height, with an alluring look and swarming gait,

and a sparkling beauty, heightened by the assistance of the toilette. She approached her father with a smile, kissed his hand, and saluted him with several stanzas from a popular Arabian poet, with which the monarch was delighted. Zorahayda was shy and timid, smaller than her sisters, and with a beauty of that tender beseeching kind which looks for fondness and protection. She was little fitted to command, like her elder sister, or to dazzle like the second, but was rather formed to creep to the bosom of manly affection, to nestle within it, and be content. She drew near her father with a timid, and almost faltering step, and would have taken his hand to kiss, but on looking up into his face, and seeing it beaming with a paternal smile, the tenderness of her nature broke forth, and she threw herself upon his neck.

Mohamed the Left-handed surveyed his blooming daughters with mingled pride and perplexity; for while he exulted in their charms, he bethought himself of the prediction of the astrologers. "Three daughters! three daughters!" muttered he repeatedly to himself, "and all of a marriageable age! Here's tempting Hesperian fruit, that requires a dragon watch!"

He prepared for his return to Granada, by sending heralds before him, commanding every one to keep out of the road by which he was to pass, and that all doors and windows should be closed at the approach of the Princesses. This done, he set forth, escorted by a troop of black horsemen of hideous aspect, and clad in shining armour.

The Princesses rode beside the King, closely veiled, on beautiful white palfreys, with velvet caparisons, embroidered with gold, and sweeping the ground; the bits and stirrups were of gold, and the silken bridles adorned with pearls and precious stones. The palfreys were covered with little silver bells, that made the most musical tinkling as they ambled gently along. Woe to the unlucky wight, however, who lingered in the way when he heard the tinkling of these bells!—the guards were ordered to cut him down without mercy.

The cavalcade was drawing near to Granada, when it overtook, on the banks of the river Xenil, a small body of Moorish soldiers with a convoy of prisoners. It was too late for the soldiers to get out of the way, so they threw themselves on their faces on the earth, ordering their captives to do the like. Among the prisoners were the three identical cavaliers whom the Princesses had seen from the pavilion. They either did not understand, or were too haughty to obey the order, and remained standing and gazing upon the cavalcade as it approached.

The ire of the Monarch was kindled at this flagrant defiance of his orders. Drawing his cimeter, and pressing forward, he was about to deal a left-handed blow, that would have been fatal to, at least, one of the gazers, when the Princesses crowded round him, and implored mercy for the prisoners; even the timid Zorahayda forgot her shyness, and became eloquent

in their behalf. Mohamed paused, with uplifted cimeter, when the captain of the guard threw himself at his feet. "Let not your Majesty," said he, "do a deed that may cause great scandal throughout the kingdom. These are three brave and noble Spanish knights, who have been taken in battle, fighting like lions; they are of high birth, and may bring great ransoms."—"Enough!" said the King. "I will spare their lives, but punish their audacity—let them be taken to the Vermilion Towers and put to hard labour."

Mohamed was making one of his usual left-handed blunders. In the tumult and agitation of this blustering scene, the veils of the three Princesses had been thrown back, and the radiance of their beauty revealed; and in prolonging the parley, the King had given that beauty time to have its full effect. In those days people fell in love much more suddenly than at present, as all ancient stories make manifest: it is not a matter of wonder, therefore, that the hearts of the three cavaliers were completely captured; especially as gratitude was added to their admiration; it is a little singular, however, though no less certain, that each of them was enraptured with a several beauty. As to the Princesses, they were more than ever struck with the noble demeanour of the captives, and cherished in their breasts all that they had heard of their valour and noble lineage.

The cavalcade resumed its march; the three Princesses rode pensively along on their tinkling palfreys, now and then stealing a glance behind in search of the Christian captives, and the latter were conducted to their allotted prison in the Vermilion Towers.

The residence provided for the Princesses was one of the most dainty that fancy could devise. It was in a tower somewhat apart from the main palace of the Alhambra, though connected with it by the main wall that encircled the whole summit of the hill. On one side it looked into the interior of the fortress, and had, at its foot, a small garden filled with the rarest flowers. On the other side it overlooked a deep embowered ravine that separated the grounds of the Alhambra from those of the Generalife. The interior of the tower was divided into small fairy apartments, beautifully ornamented in the light Arabian style, surrounding a lofty hall, the vaulted roof of which rose almost to the summit of the tower. The walls and ceiling of the hall were adorned with arabesques and fret-work, sparkling with gold and with brilliant pencilling. In the centre of the marble pavement was an alabaster fountain, set round with aromatic shrubs and flowers, and throwing up a jet of water that cooled the whole edifice and had a lulling sound. Round the hall were suspended cages of gold and silver wire, containing singing-birds of the finest plumage or sweetest note.

The Princesses had been represented as always cheerful when in the Castle of Salobreña; the King had expected to see them enraptured with the Alhambra. To his surprise, however, they began to

pine, and grow melancholy, and dissatisfied with every thing around them. The flowers yielded them no fragrance, the song of the nightingale disturbed their night's rest, and they were out of all patience with the alabaster fountain with its eternal drop-drop and splash-splash, from morning till night, and from night till morning.

The King, who was somewhat of a testy, tyrannical disposition, took this at first in high dudgeon; but he reflected that his daughters had arrived at an age when the female mind expands and its desires augment. "They are no longer children," said he to himself, "they are women grown, and require suitable objects to interest them." He put in requisition, therefore, all the dress-makers, and the jewellers, and the artificers in gold and silver throughout the Zacatin of Granada, and the Princesses were overwhelmed with robes of silk, and of tissue, and of brocade, and cashmere shawls, and necklaces of pearls and diamonds, and rings, and bracelets, and anklets, and all manner of precious things.

All, however, was of no avail; the Princesses continued pale and languid in the midst of their finery, and looked like three blighted rose-buds, drooping from one stalk. The King was at his wits' end. He had in general a laudable confidence in his own judgment, and never took advice. The whims and caprices of three marriageable damsels, however, are sufficient, said he, to puzzle the shrewdest head. So for once in his life he called in the aid of counsel.

The person to whom he applied was the experienced duenna.

"Kadiga," said the King, "I know you to be one of the most discreet women in the whole world, as well as one of the most trust-worthy; for these reasons I have always continued you about the persons of my daughters. Fathers cannot be too wary in whom they repose such confidence; I now wish you to find out the secret malady that is preying upon the Princesses, and to devise some means of restoring them to health and cheerfulness."

Kadiga promised implicit obedience. In fact she knew more of the malady of the Princesses than they did themselves. Shutting herself up with them, however, she endeavoured to insinuate herself into their confidence.

"My dear children, what is the reason you are so dismal and downcast in so beautiful a place, when you have every thing that heart can wish?"

The Princesses looked vacantly round the apartment, and sighed.

"What more, then, would you have? Shall I get you the wonderful parrot that talks all languages and is the delight of Granada?"

"Odious!" exclaimed the Princess Zayda. "A horrid, screaming bird, that chatters words without ideas: one must be without brains to tolerate such pest."

"Shall I send for a monkey from the rock of Gibraltar, to divert you with his antics?"

"A monkey! laugh!" cried Zorayda; "the detestable mimic of man. I hate the nauseous animal."

"What say you to the famous black singer Casem, from the royal harem in Morocco? They say he has a voice as fine as a woman's."

"I am terrified at the sight of these black slaves," said the delicate Zorabayda; "besides, I have lost all relish for music."

"Ah! my child, you would not say so," replied the old woman, slyly, "had you heard the music I heard last evening, from the three Spanish cavaliers, whom we met on our journey. But, bless me, children! what is the matter that you blush so, and are in such a flutter?"

"Nothing, nothing, good mother; pray proceed."

"Well; as I was passing by the Vermilion Towers last evening, I saw the three cavaliers resting after their day's labour. One was playing on the guitar so gracefully, and the others sung by turns; and they did it in such style, that the very guards seemed like statues, or men enchanted. Allah forgive me! I could not help being moved at hearing the songs of my native country. And then to see three such noble and handsome youths in chains and slavery!"

Here the kind-hearted old woman could not restrain her tears.

"Perhaps, mother, you could manage to procure a sight of these cavaliers," said Zayda.

"I think," said Zorayda, "a little music would be quite reviving."

The timid Zorabayda said nothing, but threw her arms round the neck of Kadiga.

"Mercy on me!" exclaimed the discreet old woman:

"what are you talking of, my children? Your father would be the death of us all if he heard of such a thing. To be sure, these cavaliers are evidently well-bred, and high-minded youths; but what of that? they are the enemies of our faith, and you must not even think of them but with abhorrence."

There is an admirable intrepidity in the female will, particularly when about the marriageable age, which is not to be deterred by dangers and prohibitions. The Princesses hung round their old duenna, and coaxed, and entreated, and declared that a refusal would break their hearts.

What could she do? She was certainly the most discreet old woman in the whole world, and one of the most faithful servants to the King; but was she to see three beautiful Princesses break their hearts over the mere tinkling of a guitar? Besides, though she had been so long among the Moors, and changed her faith in imitation of her mistress, like a trusty follower, yet she was a Spaniard born, and had the feelings of Christianity in her heart. So she set about to contrive how the wish of the Princesses might be gratified.

The Christian captives, confined in the Vermilion Towers, were under the charge of a big-whiskered, broad-shouldered renegado, called Hussein Baba, who was reputed to have a most itching palm. She

went to him privately, and slipping a broad piece of gold into his hand, "Hussein Baba," said she, "my mistresses, the three Princesses, who are shut up in the tower, and in sad want of amusement, have heard of the musical talents of the three Spanish cavaliers, and are desirous of hearing a specimen of their skill. I am sure you are too kind-hearted, to refuse them so innocent a gratification."

"What! and to have my head set grinning over the gate of my own tower! for that would be the reward, if the King should discover it."

"No danger of any thing of the kind; the affair may be managed so that the whim of the Princesses may be gratified, and their father be never the wiser. You know the deep ravine outside of the walls that passes immediately below the tower. Put the three Christians to work there, and at the intervals of their labour let them play and sing, as if for their own recreation. In this way the Princesses will be able to hear them from the windows of the tower, and you may be sure of their paying well for your compliance."

As the good old woman concluded her harangue, she kindly pressed the rough hand of the renegado, and left within it another piece of gold.

Her eloquence was irresistible. The very next day the three cavaliers were put to work in the ravine. During the noontide heat, when their fellow-labourers were sleeping in the shade, and the guard nodding drowsily at his post, they seated themselves among the herbage at the foot of the tower, and sang a Spanish roundelay to the accompaniment of the guitar.

The glen was deep, the tower was high, but their voices rose distinctly in the stillness of the summer noon. The Princesses listened from their balcony; they had been taught the Spanish language by their duenna, and were moved by the tenderness of the song. The discreet Kadiga, on the contrary, was terribly shocked. "Allah preserve us!" cried she, "they are singing a love-ditty, addressed to yourselves. Did ever mortal hear of such audacity? I will run to the slave-master, and have them soundly bastinadoed."

"What! bastinado such gallant cavaliers, and for singing so charmingly!" The three beautiful Princesses were filled with horror at the idea. With all her virtuous indignation, the good old woman was of a placable nature, and easily appeased. Besides, the music seemed to have a beneficial effect upon her young mistresses. A rosy bloom had already come to their cheeks, and their eyes began to sparkle. She made no further objection, therefore, to the amorous ditty of the cavaliers.

When it was finished, the Princesses remained silent for a time: at length Zorayda took up a lute, and with a sweet, though faint and trembling voice, warbled a little Arabian air, the burden of which was, "The rose is concealed among her leaves, but she listens with delight to the song of the nightingale."



From this time forward the cavaliers worked almost daily in the ravine. The considerate Hussein Baba became more and more indulgent, and daily more prone to sleep at his post. For some time a vague intercourse was kept up by popular songs and romances, which, in some measure, responded to each other, and breathed the feelings of the parties. By degrees, the Princesses showed themselves at the balcony, when they could do so without being perceived by the guards. They conversed with the cavaliers, also, by means of flowers, with the symbolical language of which they were mutually acquainted: the difficulties of their intercourse added to its charms, and strengthened the passion they had so singularly conceived; for love delights to struggle with difficulties, and thrives the most hardily on the scantiest soil.

The change effected in the looks and spirits of the Princesses by this secret intercourse, surprised and gratified the left-handed King; but no one was more elated than the discreet Kadiga, who considered it all owing to her able management.

At length there was an interruption in this telegraphic correspondence: for several days the cavaliers ceased to make their appearance in the glen. The three beautiful Princesses looked out from the tower in vain. In vain they stretched their swan-like necks from the balcony; in vain they sang like captive nightingales in their cage: nothing was to be seen of their Christian lovers; not a note responded from the groves. The discreet Kadiga sallied forth in quest of intelligence, and soon returned with a face full of trouble. "Ah, my children!" cried she, "I saw what all this would come to, but you would have your way; you may now hang up your lutes on the willows. The Spanish cavaliers are now ransomed by their families; they are down in Granada, and preparing to return to their native country."

The three beautiful Princesses were in despair at the tidings. The fair Zayda was indignant at the slight put upon them, in thus being deserted without a parting word. Zorayda wrung her hands and cried, and looked in the glass, and wiped away her tears and cried afresh. The gentle Zorahayda leaned over the balcony and wept in silence, and her tears fell drop by drop among the flowers of the bank where the faithless cavaliers had so often been seated.

The discreet Kadiga did all in her power to soothe their sorrow. "Take comfort, my children," said she, "this is nothing when you are used to it. This is the way of the world. Ah! when you are as old as I am, you will know how to value these men. I'll warrant, these cavaliers have their loves among the Spanish beauties of Cordova and Seville, and will soon be serenading under their balconies, and thinking no more of the Moorish beauties in the Alhambra. Take comfort, therefore, my children, and drive them from your hearts."

The comforting words of the discreet Kadiga only redoubled the distress of the three Princesses, and

for two days they continued inconsolable. On the morning of the third, the good old woman entered their apartment, all ruffling with indignation.

"Who would have believed such insolence in mortal man!" exclaimed she, as soon as she could find words to express herself; "but I am rightly served for having connived at this deception of your worthy father. Never talk more to me of your Spanish cavaliers."

"Why, what has happened, good Kadiga?" exclaimed the Princesses in breathless anxiety.

"What has happened?—treason has happened: or what is almost as bad, treason has been proposed, and to me, the most faithful of subjects, the trustiest of duennas! Yes, my children, the Spanish cavaliers have dared to tamper with me, that I should persuade you to fly with them to Cordova, and become their wives!"

Here the excellent old woman covered her face with her hands, and gave way to a violent burst of grief and indignation. The three beautiful Princesses turned pale and red, red and pale, and trembled, and looked down, and cast shy looks at each other, but said nothing. Meantime the old woman sat rocking backward and forward in violent agitation, and now and then breaking out into exclamations,—“That ever I should live to be so insulted!—I, the most faithful of servants!”

At length the eldest Princess, who had most spirit, and always took the lead, approached her, and laying her hand upon her shoulder, “Well, mother,” said she, “supposing we were willing to fly with these Christian cavaliers—is such a thing possible?”

The good old woman paused sudden’y in her grief, and looking up, “Possible!” echoed she; “to be sure it is possible. Have not the cavaliers already bribed Hussein Baba, the renegade captain of the guard, and arranged the whole plan? But, then, to think of deceiving your father! your father, who has placed such confidence in me!” Here the worthy woman gave way to a fresh burst of grief, and began again to rock backward and forward, and to wring her hands.

“But our father has never placed any confidence in us,” said the eldest Princess, “but has trusted to bolts and bars, and treated us as captives.”

“Why, that is true enough,” replied the old woman, again pausing in her grief; “he has indeed treated you most unreasonably, keeping you shut up here, to waste your bloom in a moping old tower like roses left to wither in a flower-jar. But, then, to fly from your native land!”

“And is not the land we fly to, the native land of our mother, where we shall live in freedom? And shall we not each have a youthful husband in exchange for a severe old father?”

“Why, that again is all very true; and your father, I must confess, is rather tyrannical: but, what, then, relapsing into her grief, “would you leave me behold to bear the brunt of his vengeance?”



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“By no means, my good Kadiga; cannot you fly  
with us?”

“Very true, my child; and, to tell the truth, when  
I talked the matter over with Hussein Baba, he pro-  
mised to take care of me, if I would accompany you  
in your flight: but, then, belink you, my children,  
are you willing to renounce the faith of your father?”

“The Christian faith was the original faith of our  
mother,” said the eldest Princess; “I am ready to  
embrace it, and so, I am sure, are my sisters.”

“Right again!” exclaimed the old woman, bright-  
ening up; “it was the original faith of your mother,  
and bitterly did she lament, on her death-bed, that  
she had renounced it. I promised her then to take  
care of your souls, and I rejoice to see that they are  
now in a fair way to be saved. Yes, my children, I  
too was born a Christian, and have remained a Chris-  
tian in my heart, and am resolved to return to the  
faith. I have talked on the subject with Hussein  
Baba, who is a Spaniard by birth, and comes from a  
place not far from my native town. He is equally  
anxious to see his own country, and to be reconciled  
to the Church; and the cavaliers have promised, that  
if we are disposed to become man and wife, on re-  
turning to our native land, they will provide for us  
handsomely.”

In a word, it appeared that this extremely discreet  
and provident old woman had consulted with the ca-  
valiers and the renegado, and had concerted the  
whole plan of escape. The eldest Princess imme-  
diately assented to it: and her example, as usual,  
determined the conduct of her sisters. It is true, the  
youngest hesitated, for she was gentle and timid of  
soul, and there was a struggle in her bosom between  
filial feeling and youthful passion: the latter, how-  
ever, as usual, gained the victory, and with silent  
tears, and stifled sighs, she prepared herself for flight.

The rugged hill, on which the Alhambra is built,  
was, in old times, perforated with subterranean pas-  
sages, cut through the rock, and leading from the  
towers to various parts of the city, and to distant  
sally-ports on the banks of the Darro and the Xenil.  
They had been constructed at different times by the  
Moorish Kings, as means of escape from sudden in-  
surrections, or of secretly issuing forth on private en-  
terprises. Many of them are now entirely lost, while  
others remain, partly choked up with rubbish, and  
partly walled up; monuments of the jealous precau-  
tions and warlike stratagems of the Moorish govern-  
ment. By one of these passages, Hussein Baba had  
undertaken to conduct the Princesses to a sally-port  
beyond the walls of the city, where the cavaliers were  
to be ready with fleet steeds, to bear the whole party  
over the borders.

The appointed night arrived: the tower of the Prin-  
cesses had been locked up as usual, and the Alhambra  
was buried in deep sleep. Towards midnight, the  
discreet Kadiga listened from the balcony of a window  
that looked into the garden. Hussein Baba, the re-  
negado, was already below, and gave the appointed

signal. The duenna fastened the end of a ladder of  
ropes to the balcony, lowered it into the garden, and  
descended. The two eldest Princesses followed her  
with beating hearts; but when it came to the turn of  
the youngest Princess, Zorahayda, she hesitated, and  
trembled. Several times she ventured a delicate  
little foot upon the ladder, and as often drew it back,  
while her poor little heart fluttered more and more  
the longer she delayed. She cast a wistful look back  
into the silken chamber; she had lived in it, to be  
sure, like a bird in a cage; but within it she was se-  
cure: who could tell what dangers might beset her,  
should she flutter forth into the wide world! Now  
she bethought her of her gallant Christian lover, and  
her little foot was instantly upon the ladder; and  
anon she thought of her father, and shrank back.  
But fruitless is the attempt to describe the conflict in  
the bosom of one so young and tender, and loving,  
but so timid and so ignorant of the world.

In vain her sisters implored, the duenna scolded,  
and the renegado blasphemed beneath the balcony;  
the gentle little Moorish maid stood doubting and  
wavering on the verge of elopement; tempted by the  
sweetness of the sin, but terrified at its perils.

Every moment increased the danger of discovery.  
A distant tramp was heard. “The patrols are walk-  
ing the rounds,” cried the renegado; “if we linger,  
we perish. Princess, descend instantly, or we leave  
you.”

Zorahayda was for a moment in fearful agitation;  
then loosening the ladder of ropes, with desperate re-  
solution, she flung it from the balcony.

“It is decided!” cried she, “flight is now out  
of my power! Allah guide and bless ye, my dear  
sisters!”

The two eldest princesses were shocked at the  
thoughts of leaving her behind, and would fain have  
lingered, but the patrol was advancing; the renegado  
was furious, and they were hurried away to the sub-  
terranean passage. They groped their way through  
a fearful labyrinth, cut through the heart of the moun-  
tain, and succeeded in reaching, undiscovered, an  
iron gate that opened outside of the walls. The Spanish  
cavaliers were waiting to receive them, disguised as  
Moorish soldiers of the guard, commanded by the  
renegado.

The lover of Zorahayda was frantic, when he  
learned that she had refused to leave the tower; but  
there was no time to waste in lamentations. The  
two Princesses were placed behind their lovers, the  
discreet Kadiga mounted behind the renegado, and  
all set off at a round pace in the direction of the pass  
of Lope, which leads through the mountains towards  
Cordova.

They had not proceeded far when they heard the  
noise of drums and trumpets from the battlements of  
the Alhambra.

“Our flight is discovered,” said the renegado.

“We have fleet steeds, the night is dark, and we  
may distance all pursuit,” replied the cavaliers.

They put spurs to their horses, and scoured across the Vega. They attained to the foot of the mountain of Elvira, which stretches like a promontory into the plain. The renegado paused and listened. "As yet," said he, "there is no one on our traces, we shall make good our escape to the mountains." While he spoke, a pale fire sprang up in a light blaze on the top of the watch-tower of the Alhambra.

"Confusion!" cried the renegado, "that fire will put all the guards of the passes on the alert. Away! away! Spur like mad,—there is no time to be lost."

Away they dashed—the clattering of their horses' hoofs echoed from rock to rock, as they swept along the road that skirts the rocky mountain of Elvira. As they galloped on, they beheld that the pale fire of the Alhambra was answered in every direction; light after light blazed on the Atalayas, or watch-towers of the mountains.

"Forward! forward!" cried the renegado, with many an oath, "to the bridge,—to the bridge, before the alarm has reached there!"

"They doubled the promontory of the mountains, and arrived in sight of the famous Puente del Pinos, that crosses a rushing stream often dyed with Christian and Moslem blood. To their confusion, the tower on the bridge blazed with lights and glittered with armed men. The renegado pulled up his steed, rose in his stirrups and looked about him for a moment; then beckoning to the cavaliers, he struck off from the road, skirted the river for some distance, and dashed into its waters. The cavaliers called upon the Princesses to cling to them, and did the same. They were borne for some distance down the rapid current, the surges roared round them, but the beautiful Princesses clung to their Christian knights, and never uttered a complaint. The cavaliers attained the opposite bank in safety, and were conducted by the renegado, by rude and unfrequented paths, and wild barrancas, through the heart of the mountains, so as to avoid all the regular passes. In a word, they succeeded in reaching the ancient city of Cordova; where their restoration to their country and friends was celebrated with great rejoicings, for they were of the noblest families. The beautiful Princesses were forthwith received into the bosom of the Church, and, after being in all due form made regular Christians, were rendered happy wives.

In our hurry to make good the escape of the Princesses across the river, and up the mountains, we forgot to mention the fate of the discreet Kadiga. She had clung like a cat to Hussein Baba in the scamper across the Vega, screaming at every bound, and drawing many an oath from the whiskered renegado; but when he prepared to plunge his steed into the river, her terror knew no bounds. "Grasp me not so tightly," cried Hussein Baba, "hold on my belt and fear nothing." She held firmly with both hands by the leathern belt that girded the broad-backed renegado; but when he halted with the ca-

valiers to take breath on the mountain summit, the duenna was no longer to be seen.

"What has become of Kadiga?" cried the Princesses in alarm.

"Allah alone knows!" replied the renegado, "my belt came loose when in the midst of the river, and Kadiga was swept with it down the stream. The will of Allah be done! but it was an embroidered belt, and of great price."

There was no time to waste in idle regrets; yet bitterly did the Princesses bewail the loss of their discreet counsellor. That excellent old woman, however, did not lose more than half of her nine lives in the stream: a fisherman, who was drawing his nets some distance down the stream, brought her to land, and was not a little astonished at his miraculous draught. What further became of the discreet Kadiga, the legend does not mention; certain it is that she evinced her discretion in never venturing within the reach of Mohamed the Left-handed.

Almost as little is known of the conduct of that sagacious monarch when he discovered the escape of his daughters, and the deceit practised upon him by the most faithful of servants. It was the only instance in which he had called in the aid of counsel, and he was never afterwards known to be guilty of a similar weakness. He took good care, however, to guard his remaining daughter, who had no disposition to elope: it is thought, indeed, that she secretly repented having remained behind: now and then she was seen leaning on the battlements of the tower, and looking mournfully towards the mountains in the direction of Cordova, and sometimes the notes of her lute were heard accompanying plaintive ditties, in which she was said to lament the loss of her sisters and her lover, and to bewail her solitary life. She died young, and, according to popular rumour, was buried in a vault beneath the tower, and her untimely fate has given rise to more than one traditional fable.

## VISITORS TO THE ALHAMBRA.

It is now nearly three months since I took up my abode in the Alhambra, during which time the progress of the season has wrought many changes. When I first arrived every thing was in the freshness of May; the foliage of the trees was still tender and transparent; the pomegranate had not yet shed its brilliant crimson blossoms; the orchards of the Xenos and the Darro were in full bloom; the rocks were hung with wild flowers, and Granada seemed completely surrounded by a wilderness of roses, among which innumerable nightingales sang, not merely at night, but all day long.

The advance of summer has withered the roses, and silenced the nightingale, and the distant country beyond

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summer has withered the rose and  
gale, and the distant country began

to look parched and sunburnt; though a perennial  
verdure reigns immediately round the city, and in  
the deep narrow valleys at the foot of the snow-capped  
mountains.

The Alhambra possesses retreats graduated to the  
heat of the weather, among which the most peculiar  
is the almost subterranean apartment of the baths.  
This still retains its ancient Oriental character, though  
stamped with the touching traces of decline. At the  
entrance, opening into a small court formerly adorned  
with flowers, is a hall, moderate in size, but light and  
graceful in architecture. It is overlooked by a small  
gallery supported by marble pillars and Moresco  
arches. An alabaster fountain in the centre of the  
pavement still throws up a jet of water to cool the  
place. On each side are deep alcoves with raised  
platforms, where the bathers, after their ablutions,  
reclined on luxurious cushions, soothed to voluptuous  
repose by the fragrance of the perfumed air and the  
notes of soft music from the gallery. Beyond this  
hall are the interior chambers, still more private and  
retired, where no light is admitted but through small  
apertures in the vaulted ceilings. Here was the  
sanctum sanctorum of female privacy, where the  
beauties of the Harem indulged in the luxury of the  
baths. A soft mysterious light reigns through the  
place, the broken baths are still there, and traces of  
ancient elegance. The prevailing silence and obscur-  
ity have made this a favourite resort of bats, who  
nestle during the day in the dark nooks and corners,  
and on being disturbed, flit mysteriously about the  
twilight chambers, heightening, in an indescribable  
degree, their air of desertion and decay.

In this cool and elegant, though dilapidated retreat,  
which has the freshness and seclusion of a grotto, I  
have of late passed the sultry hours of the day, emerg-  
ing towards sunset; and bathing, or rather swimming,  
at night in the great reservoir of the main court. In  
this way I have been enabled in a measure to coun-  
teract the relaxing and enervating influence of the  
climate.

My dream of absolute sovereignty, however, is at an  
end. I was roused from it lately by the report of  
fire arms, which reverberated among the towers as  
if the castle had been taken by surprise. On sallying  
forth, I found an old cavalier with a number of do-  
mestics, in possession of the Hall of Ambassadors.  
He was an ancient Count who had come up from his  
palace in Granada to pass a short time in the Alhambra  
for the benefit of purer air; and who, being a veteran  
and inveterate sportsman, was endeavouring to get  
an appetite for his breakfast by shooting at swallows  
from the balconies. It was a harmless amusement,  
for though, by the alertness of his attendants in load-  
ing his pieces, he was enabled to keep up a brisk fire,  
I could not accuse him of the death of a single swallow.  
Nay, the birds themselves seemed to enjoy the sport,  
and to deride his want of skill, skimming in cir-  
cles close to the balconies, and twittering as they  
darted by.

The arrival of this old gentleman has in some  
manner changed the aspect of affairs, but has likewise  
afforded matter for agreeable speculation. We have  
tacitly shared the empire between us, like the last  
kings of Granada, excepting that we maintain a most  
amicable alliance. He reigns absolute over the Court  
of the Lions and its adjacent halls, while I maintain  
peaceful possession of the regions of the baths and the  
little garden of Lindaraxa. We take our meals to-  
gether under the arcades of the court, where the  
fountains cool the air, and bubbling rills run along  
the channels of the marble pavement.

In the evening a domestic circle gathers about the  
worthy old cavalier. The countess comes up from  
the city, with a favourite daughter about sixteen years  
of age. Then there are the official dependants of the  
Count, his chaplain, lawyer, his secretary, his stew-  
ard, and other officers and agents of his extensive  
possessions. Thus he holds a kind of domestic court,  
where every person seeks to contribute to his amuse-  
ment without sacrificing his own pleasure or self  
respect. In fact, whatever may be said of Spanish  
pride, it certainly does not enter into social or do-  
mestic life. Among no people are the relations be-  
tween kindred more cordial, or between superior and  
dependant more frank and genial; in these respects  
there still remains, in the provincial life of Spain,  
much of the vaunted simplicity of the olden times.

The most interesting member of this family group,  
however, is the daughter of the Count, the charming  
though almost infantine little Carmen. Her form has  
not yet attained its maturity, but has already the  
exquisite symmetry and pliant grace so prevalent in  
this country. Her blue eyes, fair complexion, and  
light hair, are unusual in Andalusia, and give a mild-  
ness and gentleness to her demeanour in contrast to  
the usual fire of Spanish beauty, but in perfect unison  
with the guileless and confiding innocence of her  
manners. She has, however, all the innate aptness  
and versatility of her fascinating countrywomen, and  
sings, dances, and plays the guitar, and other instru-  
ments, to admiration.

A few days after taking up his residence in the  
Alhambra, the Count gave a domestic fête on his  
Saint's-day, assembling round him the members of  
his family and household, while several old servants  
came from his distant possessions to pay their reve-  
rence to him, and partake of the good cheer. This  
patriarchal spirit, which characterized the Spanish  
nobility in the days of their opulence, has declined  
with their fortunes; but some who, like the Count,  
still retain their ancient family possessions, keep up a  
little of the ancient system and have their estates over-  
run and almost eaten up by generations of idle re-  
tainers. According to this magnificent old Spanish  
system, in which the national pride and generosity  
bore equal parts, a superannuated servant was never  
turned off, but became a charge for the rest of his  
days; nay, his children and his children's children,  
and often their relatives, to the right and left, became

gradually entailed upon the family. Hence the huge palaces of the Spanish nobility, which have such an air of empty ostentation from the greatness of their size compared with the mediocrity and scantiness of their furniture, were absolutely required in the golden days of Spain, by the patriarchal habits of their possessors. They were little better than vast barracks for the hereditary generations of hangers on, that battered at the expense of a Spanish noble. The worthy old Count, who has estates in various parts of the kingdom, assures me that some of them barely feed the hordes of dependants nestled upon them; who consider themselves entitled to be maintained upon the place rent-free, because their forefathers have been so for generations.

The domestic fête of the Count broke in upon the usual still life of the Alhambra; music and laughter resounded through its late silent halls; there were groups of the guests amusing themselves about the galleries and gardens, and officious servants from town hurrying through the courts, bearing viands to the ancient kitchen, which was again alive with the tread of cooks and scullions, and blazed with unwonted fires.

The feast, for a Spanish set dinner is literally a feast, was laid in the beautiful Moresco hall called "La Sala de las dos Hermanas" (the saloon of the two sisters), the table groaned with abundance, and a joyous conviviality prevailed round the board; for though the Spaniards are generally an abstemious people, they are complete revellers at a banquet. For my own part, there was something peculiarly interesting in thus sitting at a feast in the royal halls of the Alhambra, given by the representative of one of its most renowned conquerors; for the venerable Count, though unwarlike himself, is the lineal descendant and representative of the "Great Captain," the illustrious Gonsalvo of Cordova, whose sword he guards in the archives of his palace at Granada.

The banquet ended, the company adjourned to the Hall of Ambassadors. Here every one contributed to the general amusement by exerting some peculiar talent; singing, improvising, telling wonderful tales, or dancing to that all-pervading talisman of Spanish pleasure, the guitar.

The life and charm of the whole assemblage, however, was the gifted little Carmen. She took her part in two or three scenes from Spanish comedies, exhibiting a charming dramatic talent; she gave imitations of the popular Italian singers with singular and whimsical felicity, and a rare quality of voice; she imitated the dialects, dances and ballads of the gypsies and the neighbouring peasantry, but did every thing with a facility, a neatness, a grace, and an all-pervading prettiness, that were perfectly fascinating.

The great charm of her performances, however, was their being free from all pretension, or ambition of display. She seemed unconscious of the extent of her own talents, and in fact is accustomed only to exert them casually, like a child, for the amusement

of the domestic circle. Her observation and tact must be remarkably quick, for her life is passed in the bosom of her family, and she can only have had casual and transient glances at the various characters and traits, brought out *impromptu* in moments of domestic hilarity like the one in question. It is pleasing to see the fondness and admiration with which every one of the household regards her: she is never spoken of, even by the domestics, by any other appellation than that of La Niña, 'the child,' an appellation which thus applied has something peculiarly kind and endearing in the Spanish language.

Never shall I think of the Alhambra without remembering the lovely little Carmen sporting in happy and innocent girlhood in its marble halls, dancing to the sound of the Moorish castañets, or mingling the silver warbling of her voice with the music of the fountains.

On this festive occasion several curious and amusing legends and traditions were told; many of which have escaped my memory; but out of those that most struck me, I will endeavour to shapè forth some entertainment for the reader.

#### LEGEND OF

### PRINCE AHMED AL KAMEL;

OR,

#### THE PILGRIM OF LOVE.

THERE was once a Moorish King of Granada, who had but one son, whom he named Ahmed, to which his courtiers added the surname of Al Kamel, or the perfect, from the indubitable signs of super-excellence which they perceived in him in his very infancy. The astrologers countenanced them in their foresight, predicting every thing in his favour that could make a perfect prince and a prosperous sovereign. One cloud only rested upon his destiny, and even that was of a roseate hue. He would be of an amorous temperament, and run great perils from the tender passion. If, however, he could be kept from the allurements of love, until of mature age, these dangers would be averted, and his life thereafter be one uninterrupted course of felicity.

To prevent all danger of the kind, the king wisely determined to rear the prince in a seclusion where he should never see a female face, nor hear even the name of love. For this purpose he built a beautiful palace on the brow of the hill above the Alhambra, in the midst of delightful gardens, but surrounded by lofty walls, being, in fact, the same palace known at the present day by the name of the Generalife. In this palace the youthful prince was shut up, and entrusted to the guardianship and instruction of Eben Bonabben, one of the wisest and dryest of Arabian sages, who had passed the greatest part of his life in



Her observation and tact, for her life is passed in the and she can only have had caresses at the various characters *impromptu* in moments of doubt in question. It is pleasing admiration with which every regards her: she is never spoken of, by any other appellation as 'the child,' an appellation as something peculiarly kind Spanish language.

of the Alhambra without rattle Carnies sporting in happy in its marble halls, dancing to fish castanets, or mingling the voice with the music of the

tion several curious and amusing stories were told; many of which are very interesting; but out of those that most favour to shape forth some character.

## LEGEND OF

## AHMED AL KAMEL;

OR,  
THE GRIM OF LOVE.

Moorish King of Granada, who was named Ahmed, to which he added the surname of Al Kamel, or the complete, a sign of super-excellence in him in his very infancy, which he enhanced them in their foresight, and in his favour that could make him a prosperous sovereign. One day he was informed of his destiny, and even that he would be of an amorous prince, and great perils from the tender heart, he could be kept from the until of mature age, these dangers, and his life thereafter be one of felicity.

The sage Eben Bonabben, the king wisely ordered the prince in a seclusion where he could not see a female face, nor hear even the voice of a woman. For his purpose he built a beautiful palace on the hill above the Alhambra, with beautiful gardens, but surrounded by a wall, the same palace known at present by the name of the Generalife. In the palace the prince was shut up, and the Generalife, in his relationship and instruction of Eben Bonabben, the wisest and driest of Arabian philosophers, and the greatest part of his life

Egypt, studying hieroglyphics, and making researches among the tombs and pyramids, and who saw more charms in an Egyptian mummy, than in the most beautiful of living beauties. The sage was ordered to instruct the prince in all kinds of knowledge but one—he was to be kept utterly ignorant of love. "Use every precaution for the purpose you may think proper," said the king, "but remember, O Eben Bonabben, if my son learns aught of that forbidden knowledge while under your care, your head shall answer for it." A withered smile came over the dry visage of the wise Bonabben at the menace. "Let your majesty's heart be as easy about your son, as mine is about my head: am I a man likely to give lessons in the idle passion?"

Under the vigilant care of the philosopher, the prince grew up, in the seclusion of the palace and its gardens. He had black slaves to attend upon him,—the mute, who knew nothing of love, or, if they did, had not words to communicate it. His mental endowments were the peculiar care of Eben Bonabben, who sought to initiate him into the abstruse lore of Egypt; but in this the prince made little progress, and it was soon evident that he had no turn for philosophy.

He was, however, amazingly ductile for a youthful prince, ready to follow any advice, and always guided by the last counsellor. He suppressed his passions, and listened patiently to the long and learned discourses of Eben Bonabben, from which he imbibed a smattering of various kinds of knowledge, and thus happily attained his twentieth year, a miracle of princely wisdom—but totally ignorant of love.

About this time, however, a change came over the conduct of the prince. He completely abandoned his studies, and took to strolling about the gardens, and amusing by the side of the fountains. He had been taught a little music among his various accomplishments; it now engrossed a great part of his time, and a turn for poetry became apparent. The sage Eben Bonabben took the alarm, and endeavoured to work these idle humours out of him by a severe course of algebra—but the prince turned from it with distaste. "I cannot endure algebra," said he; "it is an abomination to me. I want something that speaks more to the heart."

The sage Eben Bonabben shook his dry head at the words. "Here is an end to philosophy," thought he. "The prince has discovered he has a heart!" He now kept anxious watch upon his pupil, and saw that the latent tenderness of his nature was in activity, and only wanted an object. He wandered about the gardens of the Generalife in an intoxication of feelings of which he knew not the cause. Sometimes he would sit plunged in a delicious reverie; then he would seize his lute and draw from it the most touching notes, and then throw it aside, and break forth into sighs and ejaculations.

By degrees this loving disposition began to extend

to inanimate objects; he had his favourite flowers, which he cherished with tender assiduity; then he became attached to various trees, and there was one in particular of a graceful form and drooping foliage, on which he lavished his amorous devotion, carving his name on its bark, hanging garlands on its branches, and singing couplets in its praise, to the accompaniment of his lute.

The sage Eben Bonabben was alarmed at this excited state of his pupil. He saw him on the very brink of forbidden knowledge—the least hint might reveal to him the fatal secret. Trembling for the safety of the prince and the security of his own head, he hastened to draw him from the seductions of the garden, and shut him up in the highest tower of the Generalife. It contained beautiful apartments, and commanded an almost boundless prospect, but was elevated far above that atmosphere of sweets, and those witching bowers so dangerous to the feelings of the too susceptible Ahmed.

What was to be done, however, to reconcile him to this restraint, and to beguile the tedious hours? He had exhausted almost all kinds of agreeable knowledge; and algebra was not to be mentioned. Fortunately Eben Bonabben had been instructed, when in Egypt, in the language of birds, by a Jewish Rabbini, who had received it in lineal transmission from Solomon the wise, who had been taught it by the Queen of Sheba. At the very mention of such a study, the eyes of the prince sparkled with animation, and he applied himself to it with such avidity, that he soon became as great an adept as his master.

The tower of the Generalife was no longer a solitude; he had companions at hand with whom he could converse. The first acquaintance he formed was with a hawk, who built his nest in a crevice of the lofty battlements, from whence he soared far and wide in quest of prey. The prince, however, found little to like or esteem in him. He was a mere pirate of the air, swaggering and boastful, whose talk was all about rapine and courage and desperate exploits.

His next acquaintance was an owl, a mighty wise-looking bird, with a huge head and staring eyes, who sat blinking and goggling all day in a hole in the wall, and roamed forth at night. He had great pretensions to wisdom, talked something of astrology and the moon, and hinted at the dark sciences; but he was grievously given to metaphysics, and the prince found his prosings even more ponderous than those of the sage Eben Bonabben.

Then there was a bat, that hung all day by his heels in the dark corner of a vault, but sallied out in a slipshod style at twilight. He, however, had but twilight ideas on all subjects, derided things of which he had taken but an imperfect view, and seemed to take delight in nothing.

Besides these there was a swallow, with whom the prince was at first much taken. He was a smart talker, but restless, bustling, and for ever on the



wing; seldom remaining long enough for any continued conversation. He turned out in the end to be a mere matterer, who did but skim over the surface of things, pretending to know every thing, but knowing nothing thoroughly.

These were the only feathered associates with whom the prince had any opportunity of exercising his newly-acquired language; the tower was too high for any other birds to frequent it. He soon grew weary of his new acquaintances, whose conversation spoke so little to the head, and nothing to the heart; and gradually relapsed into his loneliness. A winter passed away, spring opened with all its bloom and verdure and breathing sweetness, and the happy time arrived for birds to pair and build their nests. Suddenly, as it were, a universal burst of song and melody broke forth from the groves and gardens of the Generalife, and reached the prince in the solitude of his tower. From every side he heard the same universal theme—love—love—love—chanted forth and responded to in every variety of note and tone. The prince listened in silence and perplexity. "What can be this love," thought he, "of which the world seems so full, and of which I know nothing!" He applied for information to his friend the hawk. The ruffian bird answered in a tone of scorn: "You must apply," said he, "to the vulgar peaceable birds of earth who are made for the prey of us princes of the air. My trade is war, and fighting my delight. In a word, I am a warrior, and know nothing of this thing called love."

The prince turned from him with disgust, and sought the owl in his retreat. "This is a bird," said he, "of peaceful habits, and may be able to solve my question." So he asked the owl to tell him what was this love about which all the birds in the groves below were singing.

Upon this, the owl put on a look of offended dignity. "My nights," said he, "are taken up in study and research, and my days in ruminating in my cell upon all that I have learnt. As to these singing birds of whom you talk, I never listen to them—I despise them and their themes. Allah be praised, I cannot sing; I am a philosopher, and know nothing of this thing called love."

The prince now repaired to the vault, where his friend the bat was hanging by the heels, and propounded the same question. The bat wrinkled up his nose into a most snappish expression. "Why do you disturb me in my morning's nap with such an idle question?" said he peevishly. "I only fly by twilight, when all birds are asleep, and never trouble myself with their concerns. I am neither bird nor beast, and I thank heaven for it. I have found out the villany of the whole of them, and hate them one and all. In a word, I am a misanthrope—and know nothing of this thing called love."

As a last resort, the prince now sought the swallow, and stopped him just as he was circling about the summit of the tower. The swallow, as usual, was

in a prodigious hurry, and had scarce time to make a reply. "Upon my word," said he, "I have much public business to attend to, and so many pursuits to follow, that I have had no time to think of the subject. I have every day a thousand visits to pay; a thousand affairs of importance to examine into, that leave me not a moment of leisure for these little sing-song matters. In a word, I am a citizen of the world—I know nothing of this thing called love." So saying, the swallow dived into the valley and was out of sight in a moment.

The prince remained disappointed and perplexed but with his curiosity still more piqued by the difficulty of gratifying it. While in this mood, his ancient guardian entered the tower. The prince advanced eagerly to meet him. "O sage Eben Bonabben," cried he, "thou hast revealed to me much of the wisdom of the earth; but there is one thing of which I remain in utter ignorance, and would fain be informed."

"My prince has but to make the inquiry, and every thing within the limited range of his servant's intellect is at his command."

"Tell me then, O most profound of sages, what is the nature of this thing called love?"

The sage Eben Bonabben was struck as with a thunderbolt. He trembled and turned pale, and fell as if his head sat but loosely on his shoulders.

"What could suggest such a question to my prince—where could he have learnt so idle a word?"

The prince led him to the window of the tower. "Listen, O Eben Bonabben," said he. The sage listened. The nightingale sat in a thicket below the tower, singing to his paramour the rose; from every blossomed spray and tufted grove arose a strain of melody; and love—love—love—was still the unvarying strain.

"Allah achbar! God is great!" exclaimed the wise Bonabben. "Who shall pretend to keep this secret from the heart of man, when even the birds of the air conspire to betray it?"

Then turning to Ahmed—"O my prince," cried he, "shut thine ears to these seductive strains. Check thy mind against this dangerous knowledge. Know that this love is the cause of half the ills of wretched mortality. It is this which produces bitterness and strife between brethren and friends; which causes treacherous murder and desolating war. Care and sorrow, weary days and sleepless nights, are its attendants. It withers the bloom and blights the joys of youth, and brings on the ills and griefs of premature old age. Allah preserve thee, my prince, in the ignorance of this thing called love!"

The sage Eben Bonabben hastily retired, leaving the prince plunged in still deeper perplexity. It was in vain he attempted to dismiss the subject from his mind; it still continued uppermost in his thoughts, and teased and exhausted him with vain conjectures. Surely, said he to himself, as he listened to the full strains of the birds, there is no sorrow in the

and had scarce time to make a word," said he, "I have a great deal to attend to, and so many purchases to make, that I have had no time to think of every day a thousand visits to the towers of importance to examine at a moment of leisure for these towers. In a word, I am a citizen, and know nothing of this thing called love. I saw a swallow dive into the valley in a moment.

I was disappointed and perplexed, and still more piqued by the difficulty. While in this mood, his ancient attendant tower. The prince advanced, and said, "O sage Eben Bonabben, what has revealed to me much of the mystery of love, but there is one thing of which I am ignorant, and would fain be informed."

"I will make the inquiry, and every man has a limited range of his servant's industry."

"The most profound of sages, what is the thing called love?"

"Bonabben was struck as with a lightning bolt, and turned pale, and fell loosely on his shoulders.

"The greatest such a question to my prince, have I learnt so idle a word?"

"I will bring you to the window of the tower," said he. The sage Bonabben sat in a thicket below the tower, and his paramour the rose; from every tree and tufted grove arose a strain of love—love—was still the unvarying theme.

"God is great!" exclaimed the wise man, "I shall pretend to keep this secret from you, when even the birds of the air are ignorant of it?"

"Ahmed—"O my prince," cried the sage, "these seductive strains. Close to these dangerous knowledge. Know that the cause of half the ills of wretchedness which produces bitterness and sorrow to children and friends; which causes poverty and desolating war. Care and anxiety, and sleepless nights, are its attendants. It is the bloom and blights the joys of life, and the ills and griefs of premature death. I deserve thee, my prince, in that I have called love!"

"Bonabben hastily retired, leaving the prince in still deeper perplexity. It was not until he had dismissed the subject from his mind, and returned to his chamber, that he was overpowered by the anguish of his heart. He continued uppermost in his thoughts, and he himself, as he listened to the towers, there is no sorrow in the world."

notes; every thing seems tenderness and joy. If love be a cause of such wretchedness and strife, why are not these birds drooping in solitude, or tearing each other in pieces, instead of fluttering cheerfully about the groves, or sporting with each other among the towers?

He lay one morning on his couch meditating on this inexplicable matter. The window of his chamber was open to admit the soft morning breeze which came laden with the perfume of orange blossoms from the valley of the Darro. The voice of the nightingale was faintly heard, still chanting the wonted theme. As the prince was listening and sighing, there was a sudden rushing noise in the air; a beautiful dove, pursued by a hawk, darted in at the window, and fell panting on the floor; while the hawk, balking of his prey, soared off to the mountains.

The prince took up the gasping bird, smoothed its feathers and nestled it in his bosom. When he had soothed it by his caresses, he put it in a golden cage, and offered it, with his own hands, the whitest and finest of wheat and the purest of water. The bird, however, refused food, and sat drooping and pining, and uttering piteous moans.

"What aileth thee?" said Ahmed. "Hast thou not every thing thy heart can wish?"

"Alas, no!" replied the dove; "am I not separated from the partner of my heart, and that too in the happy spring-time, the very season of love!"

"Of love!" echoed Ahmed; "I pray thee, my pretty bird, canst thou then tell me what is love?"

"Too well can I, my prince. It is the torment of love, the felicity of two, the strife and enmity of three. It is a charm which draws two beings together, and unites them by delicious sympathies, making it happiness to be with each other, but misery to be apart. It is there no being to whom you are drawn by these ties of tender affection?"

"I like my old teacher Eben Bonabben better than any other being; but he is often tedious, and I occasionally feel myself happier without his society."

"That is not the sympathy I mean. I speak of love, the great mystery and principle of life; the intoxicating revel of youth; the sober delight of age. Look forth, my prince, and behold how at this blessed season all nature is full of love. Every created being has its mate; the most insignificant bird sings to its paramour; the very beetle wooes its lady-beetle in the dust, and yon butterflies which you see fluttering high above the tower and toying in the air, are happy in each other's loves. Alas, my prince! hast thou spent so many of the precious days of youth without knowing any thing of love? Is there no gentle being of another sex—no beautiful princess or lovely damsel who has ensnared your heart, and filled your bosom with a soft tumult of pleasing pains and tender wishes?"

"I begin to understand," said the prince, sighing; "such a tumult I have more than once experienced,

without knowing the cause;—and where should I seek for an object, such as you describe, in this dismal solitude?"

A little further conversation ensued, and the first amatory lesson of the prince was complete.

"Alas!" said he, "if love be indeed such a delight and its interruption such a misery, Allah forbid that I should mar the joy of any of its votaries." He opened the cage, took out the dove, and having fondly kissed it, carried it to the window. "Go, happy bird," said he, "rejoice with the partner of thy heart in the days of youth and spring-time. Why should I make thee a fellow-prisoner in this dreary tower, where love can never enter?"

The dove flapped its wings in rapture, gave one vault into the air, and then swooped downward on whistling wings to the blooming bowers of the Darro.

The prince followed him with his eyes, and then gave way to bitter repining. The singing of the birds, which once delighted him, now added to his bitterness. Love! love! love! Alas, poor youth! he now understood the strain.

His eyes flashed fire when next he beheld the sage Bonabben. "Why hast thou kept me in this abject ignorance?" cried he. "Why has the great mystery and principle of life been withheld from me, in which I find the meanest insect is so learned? Behold all nature is in a revel of delight. Every created being rejoices with its mate. This—this is the love about which I have sought instruction. Why am I alone debarred its enjoyment? Why has so much of my youth been wasted without a knowledge of its raptures?"

The sage Bonabben said that all further reserve was useless; for the prince had acquired the dangerous and forbidden knowledge. He revealed to him, therefore, the predictions of the astrologers, and the precautions that had been taken in his education to avert the threatened evils. "And now, my prince," added he, "my life is in your hands. Let the king your father discover that you have learned the passion of love while under my guardianship, and my head must answer for it."

The prince was as reasonable as most young men of his age, and easily listened to the remonstrances of his tutor, since nothing pleaded against them. Besides, he really was attached to the sage Bonabben, and being as yet but theoretically acquainted with the passion of love, he consented to confine the knowledge of it to his own bosom, rather than endanger the head of the philosopher.

His discretion was doomed, however, to be put to still further proofs. A few mornings afterwards, as he was ruminating on the battlements of the tower, the dove which had been released by him came hovering in the air, and alighted fearlessly upon his shoulder.

The prince fondled it to his heart. "Happy bird," said he, "who can fly, as it were, with the wings of the morning to the uttermost parts of the earth. Where hast thou been since we parted?"

"In a far country, my prince, from whence I bring you tidings in reward for my liberty. In the wild compass of my flight, which extends over plain and mountain, as I was soaring in the air, I beheld below me a delightful garden, with all kinds of fruits and flowers. It was in a green meadow, on the banks of a wandering stream; and in the centre of the garden was a stately palace. I alighted in one of the bowers to repose after my weary flight. On the green bank below me was a youthful princess, in the very sweetness and bloom of her years. She was surrounded by female attendants, young like herself, who decked her with garlands and coronets of flowers; but no flower of field or garden could compare with her for loveliness. Here, however, she bloomed in secret, for the garden was surrounded by high walls, and no mortal man was permitted to enter. When I beheld this beautiful maid, thus young and innocent and unspotted by the world, I thought, here is the being formed by heaven to inspire my prince with love."

The description was a spark of fire to the combustible heart of Ahmed; all the latent amorousness of his temperament had at once found an object, and he conceived an immeasurable passion for the princess. He wrote a letter, couched in the most impassioned language, breathing his fervent devotion, but bewailing the unhappy thraldom of his person, which prevented him from seeking her out and throwing himself at her feet. He added couplets of the most tender and moving eloquence, for he was a poet by nature and inspired by love. He addressed his letter—"To the unknown beauty, from the captive Prince Ahmed;" then perfuming it with musk and roses, he gave it to the dove.

"Away, trustiest of messengers!" said he. "Fly over mountain and valley and river and plain; rest not in bower, nor set foot on earth, until thou hast given this letter to the mistress of my heart."

The dove soared high in air, and taking his course, darted away in one undeviating direction. The prince followed him with his eye until he was a mere speck on a cloud, and gradually disappeared behind a mountain.

Day after day he watched for the return of the messenger of love, but he watched in vain. He began to accuse him of forgetfulness, when towards sunset one evening the faithful bird fluttered into his apartment, and falling at his feet, expired. The arrow of some wanton archer had pierced his breast, yet he had struggled with the lingerings of life to execute his mission. As the prince bent with grief over this gentle martyr to fidelity, he beheld a chain of pearls round his neck, attached to which, beneath his wing, was a small enamelled picture. It represented a lovely princess in the very flower of her years. It was doubtless the unknown beauty of the garden; but who and where was she—how had she received his letter, and was this picture sent as a token of her approval of his passion? Unfortunately

the death of the faithful dove left every thing in mystery and doubt.

The prince gazed on the picture till his eyes swam with tears. He pressed it to his lips and to his heart, he sat for hours contemplating it almost in an agony of tenderness. "Beautiful image!" said he, "alas! thou art but an image! Yet thy dewy eyes beam tenderly upon me; those rosy lips look as though they would speak encouragement; vain fancies! Have they not looked the same on some more happy rival? But where in this wide world shall I hope to find the original? Who knows what mountains, what realms may separate us—what adverse chances may intervene? Perhaps now, even now, lovers may be crowding around her, while I sit here a prisoner in a tower, wasting my time in adoration of a painted shadow."

The resolution of Prince Ahmed was taken. "I will fly from this palace," said he, "which has become an odious prison, and, a pilgrim of love, will seek this unknown princess throughout the world." To escape from the tower in the day, when every one was awake, might be a difficult matter; but at night the palace was slightly guarded; for no one apprehended any attempt of the kind from the prince, who had always been so passive in his captivity. How was he to guide himself, however, in his darling flight, being ignorant of the country? He beheld him of the owl, who was accustomed to roost at night, and must know every bye-lane and secret pass. Seeking him in his hermitage, he questioned him touching his knowledge of the land. Upon this the owl put on a mighty self-important look. "You must know, O prince," said he, "that we owls are of a very ancient and extensive family, though rather fallen to decay, and possess ruinous castles and palaces in all parts of Spain. There is scarcely a tower of the mountains, or a fortress of the plains, or an old citadel of a city, but has some brother, or uncle, or cousin quartered in it; and in going the rounds to visit this my numerous kindred, I have pryed into every nook and corner, and made myself acquainted with every secret of the land." The prince was overjoyed to find the owl so deeply versed in topography, and now informed him, in confidence, of his tender passion and his intended elopement, urging him to be his companion and counsellor.

"Go to!" said the owl with a look of displeasure. "am I a bird to cugage in a love affair? I whose whole time is devoted to meditation and the moon?"

"Be not offended, most solemn owl," replied the prince; "abstract thyself for a time from meditation and the moon, and aid me in my flight, and thou shalt have whatever heart can wish."

"I have that already," said the owl: "a few mice are sufficient for my frugal table, and this hole in the wall is spacious enough for my studies; and what more does a philosopher like myself desire?"

"Bethink thee, most wise owl, that while moored in thy cell and gazing at the moon, all thy talents

dove left every thing in mys-

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 st wise owl, that while moping  
 at the moon, all thy talents are

not to the world. I shall one day be a sovereign  
 prince, and may advance thee to some post of honour  
 and dignity."

The owl, though a philosopher and above the  
 ordinary wants of life, was not above ambition;  
 he was finally prevailed on to elope with the  
 prince, and be his guide and Mentor in his pil-  
 grimage.

The plans of a lover were promptly executed. The  
 prince collected all his jewels, and concealed them  
 about his person as travelling funds. That very night  
 he lowered himself by his scarf from a balcony of the  
 tower, clambered over the outer walls of the Gene-  
 rals, and, guided by the owl, made good his escape  
 before morning to the mountains.

He now held a council with his Mentor as to his  
 future course.

"Might I advise," said the owl, "I would recom-  
 mend you to repair to Seville. You must know, that  
 many years since I was on a visit to an uncle, an owl  
 of great dignity and power, who lived in a ruined  
 building of the alcázar of that place. In my hoverings  
 that night over the city I frequently remarked a light  
 burning in a lonely tower. At length I alighted on  
 the battlements, and found it to proceed from the  
 camp of an Arabian magician: he was surrounded by  
 his magic books, and on his shoulder was perched  
 his familiar, an ancient raven who had come with  
 him from Egypt. I am acquainted with that raven,  
 and owe to him a great part of the knowledge I pos-  
 sess. The magician is since dead, but the raven still  
 inhabits the tower, for these birds are of wonderful  
 long life. I would advise you, O prince, to seek that  
 raven, for he is a soothsayer and a conjurer, and  
 deals in the black art, for which all ravens, and es-  
 pecially those of Egypt, are renowned."

The prince was struck with the wisdom of this ad-  
 vice, and accordingly bent his course towards Seville.  
 He travelled only in the night, to accommodate his  
 companion, and lay by during the day in some dark  
 cavern or mouldering watch-tower, for the owl knew  
 every hiding hole of the kind, and had a most anti-  
 quarian taste for ruins.

At length one morning at day-break they reached  
 the city of Seville, where the owl, who hated the  
 glare and bustle of crowded streets, halted with-  
 out the gate and took up his quarters in a hollow  
 tree.

The prince entered the gate and readily found the  
 magic tower, which rose above the houses of the city,  
 a palm-tree rises above the shrubs of the desert;  
 it was in fact the same tower that is standing at the  
 present day, and known as the Giralda, the famous  
 Moorish tower of Seville.

The prince ascended by a great winding staircase  
 to the summit of the tower, where he found the ca-  
 talistic raven, an old, mysterious, grey-headed bird,  
 ragged in feather, with a film over one eye that gave  
 him the glare of a spectre. He was perched on one  
 leg, with his head turned on one side, poring with

his remaining eye on a diagram described on the  
 pavement.

The prince approached him with the awe and re-  
 verence naturally inspired by his venerable appear-  
 ance and supernatural wisdom. "Pardon me, most  
 ancient and darkly wise raven," exclaimed he, "if  
 for a moment I interrupt those studies which are the  
 wonder of the world. You behold before you a vo-  
 tary of love, who would fain seek your counsel how  
 to obtain the object of his passion."

"In other words," said the raven, with a signifi-  
 cant look, "you seek to try my skill in palmistry.  
 Come, show me your hand, and let me decypher the  
 mysterious lines of fortune."

"Excuse me," said the prince, "I come not to  
 pry into the decrees of fate, which are hidden by  
 Allah from the eyes of mortals; I am a pilgrim of  
 love, and seek but to find a clue to the object of my  
 pilgrimage."

"And can you be at any loss for an object in amorous  
 Andalusia?" said the old raven, leering upon him  
 with his single eye; "above all, can you be at a loss  
 in wanton Seville, where black-eyed damsels dance  
 the zambra under every orange grove!"

The prince blushed, and was somewhat shocked at  
 hearing an old bird, with one foot in the grave, talk  
 thus loosely. "Believe me," said he gravely, "I  
 am on none such light and vagrant errand as thou  
 dost insinuate. The black-eyed damsels of Andalusia  
 who dance among the orange groves of the Guadal-  
 quivir are as sought to me. I seek one unknown  
 but immaculate beauty, the original of this picture;  
 and I beseech thee, most potent raven, if it be within  
 the scope of thy knowledge or the reach of thy art,  
 inform me where she may be found."

The grey-headed raven was rebuked by the gravity  
 of the prince.

"What know I," replied he drily, "of youth and  
 beauty? my visits are to the old and withered, not  
 the fresh and fair: the harbinger of fate am I; who  
 croak bodings of death from the chimney-top, and  
 flap my wings at the sick man's window. You  
 must seek elsewhere for tidings of your unknown  
 beauty."

"And where can I seek, if not among the sons of  
 wisdom, versed in the book of destiny? A royal  
 prince am I, fated by the stars, and sent on a mys-  
 terious enterprise on which may hang the destiny of  
 empires."

When the raven heard that it was a matter of vast  
 moment in which the stars took interest, he changed  
 his tone and manner, and listened with profound  
 attention to the story of the prince. When it was  
 concluded, he replied, "Touching this princess I  
 can give thee no information of myself, for my flight  
 is not among gardens, or around lady's bowers: but  
 hie thee to Cordova, seek the palm-tree of the great  
 Abderahman, which stands in the court of the prin-  
 cipal mosque: at the foot of it thou wilt find a great  
 traveller who has visited all countries and courts,



and been a favourite with queens and princesses. He will give thee tidings of the object of thy search."

"Many thanks for this precious information," said the prince. "Farewell, most venerable conjurer."

"Farewell, pilgrim of love," said the raven drily, and again fell to pondering on the diagram.

The prince sallied forth from Seville, sought his fellow-traveller the owl, who was still dozing in the hollow tree, and set off for Cordova.

He approached it along hanging gardens, and orange and citron groves, overlooking the fair valley of the Guadalquivir. When arrived at its gates, the owl flew up to a dark hole in the wall, and the prince proceeded in quest of the palm-tree planted in days of yore by the great Abderahman. It stood in the midst of the great court of the mosque, towering from amidst orange and cypress-trees. Dervises and faquirs were seated in groups under the cloisters of the court, and many of the faithful were performing their ablutions at the fountains before entering the mosque.

At the foot of the palm-tree was a crowd listening to the words of one who appeared to be talking with great volubility. "This," said the prince to himself, "must be the great traveller who is to give me tidings of the unknown princess." He mingled in the crowd, but was astonished to perceive that they were all listening to a parrot, who with his bright green coat, pragmatistical eye, and consequential top-knot, had the air of a bird on excellent terms with himself.

"How is this," said the prince to one of the bystanders, "that so many grave persons can be delighted with the garrulity of a chattering bird?"

"You know not whom you speak of," said the other; "this parrot is a descendant of the famous parrot of Persia, renowned for his story-telling talent. He has all the learning of the East at the tip of his tongue, and can quote poetry as fast as he can talk. He has visited various foreign courts, and where he has been considered an oracle of erudition. He has been a universal favourite also with the fair sex, who have a vast admiration for erudite parrots that can quote poetry."

"Enough," said the prince, "I will have some private talk with this distinguished traveller."

He sought a private interview, and expounded the nature of his errand. He had scarcely mentioned it, when the parrot burst into a fit of dry rickety laughter that absolutely brought tears in his eyes. "Excuse my merriment," said he, "but the mere mention of love always sets me laughing."

The prince was shocked at this ill-timed merriment. "Is not love," said he, "the great mystery of nature, the secret principle of life, the universal bond of sympathy?"

"A fig's end!" cried the parrot, interrupting him; "prythee where hast thou learnt this sentimental jargon? trust me, love is quite out of vogue;

one never hears of it in the company of wits and people of refinement."

The prince sighed as he recalled the different language of his friend the dove. But this parrot, though he, has lived about the court, he affects the wit and the fine gentleman, he knows nothing of the thing called love. Unwilling to provoke any more ridicule of the sentiment which filled his heart, he now directed his inquiries to the immediate purport of his visit.

"Tell me," said he, "most accomplished parrot, thou who hast every where been admitted to the most secret bowers of beauty, hast thou in the course of thy travels met with the original of this portrait?"

The parrot took the picture in his claw, turned his head from side to side, and examined it curiously with either eye. "Upon my honour," said he, "very pretty face; very pretty: but then one sees many pretty women in one's travels that one can hardly—but hold—bless me! now I look at it again—sure enough this is the Princess Aldegonda: how could I forget one that is so prodigious a favourite with me?"

"The Princess Aldegonda!" echoed the prince, "and where is she to be found?"

"Softly, softly," said the parrot, "easier to be found than gained. She is the only daughter of the Christian King who reigns at Toledo, and is shut up from the world until her seventeenth birth-day, on account of some prediction of those meddling fellows the astrologers. You'll not get a sight of her—no mortal man can see her. I was admitted to her presence to entertain her, and I assure you, on the word of a parrot who has seen the world, I have conversed with much sillier princesses in my time."

"A word in confidence, my dear parrot," said the prince, "I am heir to a kingdom, and shall one day sit upon a throne. I see that you are a bird of passage and understand the world. Help me to gain possession of this princess, and I will advance you to some distinguished place about court."

"With all my heart," said the parrot; "but let me be a sinecure if possible, for we wits have a great dislike to labour."

Arrangements were promptly made; the prince sallied forth from Cordova through the same gate which he had entered; called the owl down from the hole in the wall, introduced him to his new travelling companion as a brother savant, and away they set off on their journey.

They travelled much more slowly than according to the impatience of the prince, but the parrot was accustomed to high life, and did not like to be disturbed early in the morning. The owl on the other hand was for sleeping at mid-day, and lost a great deal of time by his long siestas. His antiquarian companion also was in the way; for he insisted on pausing to inspect every ruin, and had long legendary tales to tell about every old tower and castle in the country. The prince had supposed that he and the parrot



in the company of wits and

as he recalled the different language. But this parrot, though in the court, he affects the wit and he knows nothing of the thing, trying to provoke any more ridiculous which filled his heart, he now to the immediate purport of his

me, "most accomplished parrot, why where been admitted to the of beauty, hast thou in the course with the original of this portrait?" The picture in his claw, turned to side, and examined it curiously. "Upon my honour," said he, "it is very pretty: but then one sees a man in one's travels that one can't bless me! now I look at it again, it is the Princess Aldegonda: how that is so prodigious a favourite

Aldegonda!" echoed the prince, "to be found?"

said the parrot, "easier to be found than the only daughter of the Christian king at Toledo, and is shut up from her seventeenth birth-day, on account of those meddlesome fellows that I not get a sight of her—no more. I was admitted to her presence only to assure you, on the word of the world, I have conversed with princesses in my time."

"Confidence, my dear parrot," said the prince, "to a kingdom, and shall one day see that you are a bird of paradise world. Help me to gain possession, and I will advance you to some about court."

"Heart," said the parrot; "but let's see, for we wits have a great deal

were promptly made; the prince of Cordova through the same gate entered; called the owl down from the roof, introduced him to his new travelling brother savant, and away they went.

Y. much more slowly than according to the prince, but the parrot was with life, and did not like to be disturbed in the morning. The owl on the other hand, sleeping at mid-day, and lost a great deal of his long siestas. His antiquarian tastes were very high; for he insisted on pausing at every ruin, and had long legendary tales of the old tower and castle in the count. He supposed that he and the parrot

being both birds of learning, would delight in each other's society, but never had he been more mistaken. They were eternally bickering. The one was a wit, the other a philosopher. The parrot quoted poetry, was critical on new readings, and eloquent on small points of erudition; the owl treated all such knowledge as trifling, and relished nothing but metaphysics. Then the parrot would sing songs and repeat bon mots and crack jokes upon his solemn neighbour, and laugh outrageously at his own wit; all which proceedings the owl considered as a grievous invasion of his dignity, and would scowl and sulk and swell, and be silent for a whole day together.

The prince heeded not the wranglings of his companions, being wrapped up in the dreams of his own fancy, and the contemplation of the portrait of the beautiful princess. In this way they journeyed through the stern passes of the Sierra Morena, across the sunburnt plains of La Mancha and Castile, and along the banks of the "Golden Tagus," which winds its wizard mazes over one half of Spain and Portugal. At length they came in sight of a strong city with walls and towers built on a rocky promontory, round the foot of which the Tagus circled with brawling violence.

"Behold," exclaimed the owl, "the ancient and renowned city of Toledo; a city famous for its antiquities. Behold those venerable domes and towers, hoary with time and clothed with legendary grandeur, in which so many of my ancestors have meditated."

"Pish!" cried the parrot, interrupting his solemn antiquarian rapture, "what have we to do with antiquities, and legends, and your ancestry? Behold what is more to the purpose—behold the abode of youth and beauty—behold at length, O prince, the abode of your long-sought princess."

The prince looked in the direction indicated by the parrot, and beheld, in a delightful green meadow on the banks of the Tagus, a stately palace rising from amidst the bowers of a delicious garden. It was just such a place as had been described by the dove as the residence of the original of the picture. He gazed at it with a throbbing heart; "Perhaps at this moment," thought he, "the beautiful princess is sporting beneath those shady bowers, or pacing with delicate step those stately terraces, or reposing beneath those lofty roofs!" As he looked more narrowly, he perceived that the walls of the garden were of great height, so as to defy access, while numbers of armed guards patrolled around them.

The prince turned to the parrot. "O most accomplished of birds," said he, "thou hast the gift of human speech. Hie thee to yon garden; seek the idol of my soul, and tell her that Prince Ahmed, a pilgrim of love, and guided by the stars, has arrived in quest of her on the flowery banks of the Tagus."

The parrot, proud of his embassy, flew away to the garden; mounted above its lofty walls, and after soaring for a time over the lawns and groves, alighted on

the balcony of a pavilion that overhung the river. Here, looking in at the casement, he beheld the princess reclining on a couch, with her eyes fixed on a paper, while tears gently stole after each other down her pallid cheek.

Pluming his wings for a moment, adjusting his bright green coat, and elevating his top-knot, the parrot perched himself beside her with a gallant air: then assuming a tenderness of tone, "Dry thy tears, most beautiful of princesses," said he, "I come to bring solace to thy heart."

The princess was startled on hearing a voice, but turning and seeing nothing but a little green-coated bird bobbing and bowing before her; "Alas! what solace canst thou yield," said she, "seeing thou art but a parrot!"

The parrot was nettled at the question. "I have consoled many beautiful ladies in my time," said he; "but let that pass. At present I come ambassador from a royal prince. Know that Ahmed, the prince of Granada, has arrived in quest of thee, and is encamped even now on the flowery banks of the Tagus."

The eyes of the beautiful princess sparkled at these words even brighter than the diamonds in her coronet. "O sweetest of parrots," cried she, "joyful indeed are thy tidings, for I was faint and weary, and sick almost unto death with doubt of the constancy of Ahmed. Hie thee back, and tell him that the words of his letter are engraven in my heart, and his poetry has been the food of my soul. Tell him, however, that he must prepare to prove his love by force of arms; to-morrow is my seventeenth birth-day, when the king my father holds a great tournament; several princes are to enter the lists, and my hand is to be the prize of the victor."

The parrot again took wing, and rustling through the groves, flew back to where the prince awaited his return. The rapture of Ahmed on finding the original of his adored portrait, and finding her kind and true, can only be conceived by those favoured mortals who have had the good fortune to realise day-dreams and turn a shadow into substance: still there was one thing that alloyed his transport—this impending tournament. In fact, the banks of the Tagus were already glittering with arms, and resounding with trumpets of the various knights, who, with proud retinues, were prancing on towards Toledo to attend the ceremonial. The same star that had controlled the destiny of the prince, had governed that of the princess, and until her seventeenth birthday she had been shut up from the world, to guard her from the tender passion. The fame of her charms, however, had been enhanced rather than obscured by this seclusion. Several powerful princes had contended for her alliance; and her father, who was a king of wondrous shrewdness, to avoid making enemies by showing partiality, had referred them to the arbitrement of arms. Among the rival candidates were several renowned for strength and prowess.

What a predicament for the unfortunate Ahmed, unprovided as he was with weapons, and unskilled in the exercises of chivalry! "Luckless prince that I am!" said he, "to have been brought up in seclusion under the eye of a philosopher! Of what avail are algebra and philosophy in affairs of love? Alas, Eben Bonabben! why hast thou neglected to instruct me in the management of arms?" Upon this the owl broke silence, preluding his harangue with a pious ejaculation, for he was a devout Musulman.

"Allah achbar! God is great!" exclaimed he, "in his hands are all secret things—he alone governs the destiny of princes! Know, O prince, that this land is full of mysteries, hidden from all but those who, like myself, can grope after knowledge in the dark. Know that in the neighbouring mountains there is a cave, and in that cave there is an iron table, and on that table there lies a suit of magic armour, and beside that table there stands a spell-bound steed, which have been shut up there for many generations."

The prince stared with wonder, while the owl, blinking his huge round eyes, and erecting his horns, proceeded:—

"Many years since, I accompanied my father to these parts on a tour of his estates, and we sojourned in that cave; and thus became I acquainted with the mystery. It is a tradition in our family which I have heard from my grandfather, when I was yet but a very little owlet, that this armour belonged to a Moorish magician, who took refuge in this cavern when Toledo was captured by the Christians, and died here, leaving his steed and weapons under a mystic spell, never to be used but by a Moslem, and by him only from sun-rise to mid-day. In that interval, whoever uses them will overthrow every opponent."

"Enough: let us seek this cave!" exclaimed Ahmed.

Guided by his legendary Mentor, the prince found the cavern, which was in one of the wildest recesses of those rocky cliffs which rise around Toledo; none but the mousing eye of an owl or an antiquary could have discovered the entrance to it. A sepulchral lamp of everlasting oil shed a solemn light through the place. On an iron table in the centre of the cavern lay the magic armour, against it leaned the lance, and beside it stood an Arabian steed, caparisoned for the field, but motionless as a statue. The armour was bright and unsullied as it had gleamed in days of old; the steed in as good condition as if just from the pasture; and when Ahmed laid his hand upon his neck, he pawed the ground and gave a loud neigh of joy that shook the walls of the cavern. Thus amply provided with "horse to ride and weapon to wear," the prince determined to defy the field in the impending tourney.

The eventful morning arrived. The lists for the combat were prepared in the vega, or plain, just below the cliff-built walls of Toledo, where stages and

galleries were erected for the spectators, covered with rich tapestry, and sheltered from the sun by silken awnings. All the beauties of the land were assembled in those galleries, while below pranced plumed knights with their pages and esquires, among whom figured conspicuously the princes who were to contend in the tourney. All the beauties of the land, however, were eclipsed when the Princess Isdegonda appeared in the royal pavilion, and for the first time broke forth upon the gaze of an admiring world. A murmur of wonder ran through the crowd at her transcendent loveliness; and the princes who were candidates for her hand, merely on the faith of her reported charms, now felt tenfold ardour in the conflict.

The princess, however, had a troubled look. The colour came and went from her cheek, and her eyes wandered with a restless and unsatisfied expression over the plumed throng of knights. The trumpets were about sounding for the encounter, when the herald announced the arrival of a stranger knight, and Ahmed rode into the field. A steel helmet studded with gems rose above his turban; his cuirass was embossed with gold; his cimier and dagger were of the workmanship of Fez, and flamed with precious stones. A round shield was at his shoulder, and in his hand he bore the lance of charmed virtue. The caparison of his Arabian steed was richly embroidered and swept the ground, and the proud animal pranced and snuffed the air, and neighed with joy at once more beholding the array of arms. The lofty and graceful demeanour of the prince struck every eye, and when his appellation was announced—"The Pilgrim of Love," an universal flutter and agitation prevailed among the fair dames in the galleries.

When Ahmed presented himself at the lists, however, they were closed against him; none but princes, he was told, were admitted to the contest. He declared his name and rank. "Still worse!"—he was a Moslem, and could not engage in a tourney where the hand of a Christian princess was the prize.

The rival princes surrounded him with haughty and menacing aspects; and one of insolent demeanour and herculean frame sneered at his light and youthful form, and scoffed at his amorous appellation. The ire of the prince was roused. He defied his rival to the encounter. They took distance, wheeled, and charged; and at the first touch of the magic lance the brawny scoffer was tilted from his saddle. Here the prince would have paused, but, alas! he had to deal with a demoniac horse and armour—once in action nothing could control them. The Arabian steed charged into the thickest of the throng; the lance overturned every thing that presented; the gentle prince was carried pell-mell about the field, strewing it with high and low, gentle and simple, and grieving at his own involuntary exploits. The king stormed and raged at this outrage on his subjects and his guests. He ordered out all his guard-

l for the spectators, covered and sheltered from the sun by the beauties of the land were galleries, while below pranced their pages and esquires, among them the princes who were the eyes of the court. All the beauties of the court were eclipsed when the Princess appeared in the royal pavilion, and for the first time upon the gaze of an admiring crowd. Her wonder ran through the crowd like a storm; her loveliness; and the princes who were her admirers, merely on the faith of her beauty, now felt tenfold ardour in her presence.

She never, had a troubled look. The king looked at her cheek, and hereupon he was restless and unsatisfied expression ran through the ranks of knights. The trumpets sounded for the encounter, when the king saw the arrival of a stranger knight on horseback into the field. A steel helmet gleamed above his turban; his cuirass was of gold; his cimeter and dagger were of Damascus; his shield was of the finest steel, and bore the lance of charmed virtue. The Arabian steed was richly equipped, and the proud animal snuffed the air, and neighed with the sound of the array of arms. The king's demeanour of the prince struck him in his appellation was announced as "love," an universal flutter among the fair dames in the gallery.

He presented himself at the lists, and closed against him; none but the bravest were admitted to the contest, and rank. "Still worse!" he could not engage in a tournament. The Christian princess was the prize, and she surrounded him with haughty looks; and one of insolent demeanour sneered at his light and youthful looks at his amorous appellation. The king was roused. He defied his rival to a close fight, and the first touch of the magic lance was felt from his saddle. Hereupon he paused, but, alas! he had no power to control them. The Arabian steed was the thickest of the throng; the king was every thing that presented; he was carried pell-mell about the field, and high and low, gentle and simple, were his involuntary exploits. The king gazed at this outrage on his son's behalf. He ordered out all his guards

they were unhorsed as fast as they came up. The king threw off his robes, grasped buckler and lance, and rode forth to awe the stranger with the presence of majesty itself. Alas! majesty fared no better than the vulgar—the steed and lance were no respecters of persons; to the dismay of Ahmed, he was born full tilt against the king, and in a moment the royal heels were in the air, and the crown was rolling in the dust.

At this moment the sun reached the meridian; the magic spell resumed its power; the Arabian steed scoured across the plain, leaped the barrier, plunged into the Tagus, swam its raging current, bore the prince breathless and amazed to the cavern, and resumed his station like a statue, beside the iron table. The prince dismounted right gladly, and replaced the armour, to abide the further decrees of fate. Then seating himself in the cavern, he ruminated on the desperate state to which this demoniac steed and armour had reduced him. Never should he dare to show his face at Toledo after inflicting such disgrace upon his chivalry, and such an outrage on its king. What too would the princess think of so rude and riotous an achievement? Full of anxiety, he sent forth his winged messengers to gather tidings. The parrot resorted to all the public places and crowded resorts of the city, and soon returned with a world of gossip. All Toledo was in consternation. The princess had been borne off senseless to the palace; the tournament had ended in confusion; every one was talking of the sudden apparition, prodigious exploits, and strange disappearance of the Moslem knight. Some pronounced him a Moorish magician; others thought him a demon who had assumed a human shape, while others related traditions of enchanted warriors hidden in the caves of the mountains, and thought it might be one of these who had made a sudden irruption from his den. All agreed that no mere ordinary mortal could have wrought such wonders, or unhorsed such accomplished and stalwart Christian warriors.

The owl flew forth at night and hovered about the dusky city, perching on the roofs and chimneys. He then wheeled his flight up to the royal palace, which stood on the rocky summit of Toledo, and went prowling about its terraces and battlements, eaves-dropping at every cranny, and glaring in with his big goggling eyes at every window where there was a light, so as to throw two or three maids of honour into fits. It was not until the grey dawn began to show above the mountains that he returned from his eaves-dropping expedition, and related to the prince what he had seen.

"As I was prying about one of the loftiest towers of the palace," said he, "I beheld through a casement a beautiful princess. She was reclining on a couch with attendants and physicians around her, but she would none of their ministry and relief. When they retired I beheld her draw forth a letter from her bosom, and read and kiss it, and give way to loud

lamentations; at which, philosopher as I am, I could not but be greatly moved."

The tender heart of Ahmed was distressed at these tidings. "Too true were thy words, O sage Eben Bonabben," cried he; "care and sorrow and sleepless nights are the lot of lovers. Allah preserve the princess from the blighting influence of this thing called love!"

Further intelligence from Toledo corroborated the report of the owl. The city was a prey to uneasiness and alarm. The princess was conveyed to the highest tower of the palace, every avenue to which was strongly guarded. In the mean time a devouring melancholy had seized upon her, of which no one could divine the cause—she refused food and turned a deaf ear to every consolation. The most skillful physicians had essayed their art in vain; it was thought some magic spell had been practised upon her, and the king made proclamation, declaring that whoever should effect her cure should receive the richest jewel in the royal treasury.

When the owl, who was dozing in a corner, heard of this proclamation, he rolled his large eyes, and looked more mysterious than ever.

"Allah achbar!" exclaimed he, "happy the man that shall effect that cure, should he but know what to choose from the royal treasury."

"What mean you, most reverend owl?" said Ahmed.

"Hearken, O prince, to what I shall relate. We owls, you must know, are a learned body, and much given to dark and dusty research. During my late prowling at night about the domes and turrets of Toledo, I discovered a college of antiquarian owls, who hold their meetings in a great vaulted tower where the royal treasury is deposited. Here they were discussing the forms and inscriptions and designs of ancient gems and jewels, and of golden and silver vessels, heaped up in the treasury, the fashion of every country and age; but mostly they were interested about certain reliques and talismans that have remained in the treasury since the time of Roderick the Goth. Among these was a box of sandal wood secured by bands of steel of Oriental workmanship, and inscribed with mystic characters known only to the learned few. This box and its inscription had occupied the college for several sessions, and had caused much long and grave dispute. At the time of my visit a very ancient owl, who had recently arrived from Egypt, was seated on the lid of the box lecturing upon the inscription, and he proved from it that the coffer contained the silken carpet of the throne of Solomon the wise; which doubtless had been brought to Toledo by the Jews who took refuge there after the downfall of Jerusalem."

When the owl had concluded his antiquarian harangue, the prince remained for a time absorbed in thought. "I have heard," said he, "from the sage Eben Bonabben, of the wonderful properties of that talisman, which disappeared at the fall of Jerusalem,

and was supposed to be lost to mankind. Doubtless it remains a sealed mystery to the Christians of Toledo. If I can get possession of that carpet my fortune is secure."

The next day the prince laid aside his rich attire, and arrayed himself in the simple garb of an Arab of the desert. He dyed his complexion to a tawny hue, and no one could have recognised in him the splendid warrior who had caused such admiration and dismay at the tournament. With staff in hand and scrip by his side and a small pastoral reed, he repaired to Toledo, and presenting himself at the gate of the royal palace, announced himself as a candidate for the reward offered for the cure of the princess. The guards would have driven him away with blows. "What can a vagrant Arab like thyself pretend to do," said they, "in a case where the most learned of the land have failed?" The king, however, overheard the tumult, and ordered the Arab to be brought into his presence.

"Most potent king," said Ahmed, "you behold before you a Bedouin Arab, the greater part of whose life has been passed in the solitudes of the desert. These solitudes, it is well known, are the haunts of demons and evil spirits, who beset us poor shepherds in our lonely watchings, enter into and possess our flocks and herds, and sometimes render even the patient camel furious; against these our counter-charm is music; and we have legendary airs handed down from generation to generation, that we chant and pipe, to cast forth these evil spirits. I am of a gifted line, and possess this power in its fullest force. If it be any evil influence of the kind that holds a spell over thy daughter, I pledge my head to free her from its sway."

The king, who was a man of understanding, and knew the wonderful secrets possessed by the Arabs, was inspired with hope by the confident language of the prince. He conducted him immediately to the lofty tower, secured by several doors, in the summit of which was the chamber of the princess. The windows opened upon a terrace with balustrades, commanding a view over Toledo and all the surrounding country. The windows were darkened, for the princess lay within, a prey to a devouring grief that refused all alleviation.

The prince seated himself on the terrace, and performed several wild Arablan airs on his pastoral pipe, which he had learnt from his attendants in the Generalife at Granada. The princess continued insensible, and the doctors who were present shook their heads and smiled with incredulity and contempt: at length the prince laid aside the reed, and, to a simple melody, chanted the amatory verses of the letter which had declared his passion.

The princess recognised the strain—a fluttering joy stole to her heart; she raised her head and listened; tears rushed to her eyes and streamed down her cheeks; her bosom rose and fell with a tumult of emotions. She would have asked for the minstrel

to be brought into her presence, but maiden coyness held her silent. The king read her wishes, and at his command Ahmed was conducted into the chamber. The lovers were discreet: they but exchanged glances, yet those glances spoke volumes. Never was triumph of music more complete. The rose had returned to the soft cheek of the princess, the freshness to her lip, and the dewy light to her languishing eyes.

All the physicians present stared at each other with astonishment. The king regarded the Arab minstrel with admiration mixed with awe. "Wonderful youth!" exclaimed he, "thou shalt henceforth be the first physician of my court, and no other prescription will I take but thy melody. For the present receive thy reward, the most precious jewel in my treasury."

"O king," replied Ahmed, "I care not for silver or gold or precious stones. One relique hast thou in thy treasury, handed down from the Moslems who once owned Toledo—a box of sandal wood containing a silken carpet: give me that box, and I am content."

All present were surprised at the moderation of the Arab; and still more when the box of sandal wood was brought and the carpet drawn forth. It was of fine green silk, covered with Hebrew and Chaldaic characters. The court physicians looked at each other, and shrugged their shoulders, and smiled at the simplicity of this new practitioner, who could be content with so paltry a fee.

"This carpet," said the prince, "once covered the throne of Solomon the wise; it is worthy of being placed beneath the feet of beauty."

So saying, he spread it on the terrace beneath an ottoman that had been brought forth for the princess, then seating himself at her feet—

"Who," said he, "shall counteract what is written in the book of fate? Behold the prediction of the astrologers verified. Know, O king, that your daughter and I have long loved each other in secret. Behold in me the Pilgrim of Love!"

These words were scarcely from his lips, when the carpet rose in the air, bearing off the prince and princess. The king and the physicians gazed after it with open mouths and straining eyes, until it became a little speck on the white bosom of a cloud, and then disappeared in the blue vault of heaven.

The king in a rage summoned his treasurer. "How is this," said he, "that thou hast suffered an infidel to get possession of such a talisman?"

"Alas, sir, we knew not its nature, nor could we decypher the inscription of the box. If it be indeed the carpet of the throne of the wise Solomon, it possessed of magic power, and can transport its owner from place to place through the air."

The king assembled a mighty army, and set off for Granada in pursuit of the fugitives. His march was long and toilsome. Encamping in the Vega, he sent a herald to demand restitution of his daughter. The king himself came forth with all his court to



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him. In the king he beheld the real minstrel, for  
Ahmed had succeeded to the throne on the death of his  
father, and the beautiful Aldegonde was his sultana.

The Christian king was easily pacified when he  
found that his daughter was suffered to continue in  
her faith; not that he was particularly pious; but  
religion is always a point of pride and etiquette with  
princes. Instead of bloody battles, there was a suc-  
cession of feasts and rejoicings, after which the king  
returned well pleased to Toledo, and the youthful  
couple continued to reign as happily as wisely in the  
Alhambra.

It is proper to add, that the owl and the parrot had  
generally followed the prince by easy stages to Gra-  
nada; the former travelling by night, and stopping  
at the various hereditary possessions of his family,  
the latter figuring in gay circles of every town and  
city on his route.

Ahmed gratefully requited the services which they  
had rendered on his pilgrimage. He appointed the  
owl his prime minister, the parrot his master of cere-  
monies. It is needless to say that never was a realm  
more sagely administered, or a court conducted with  
more exact punctilio.

#### LEGEND OF THE MOOR'S LEGACY.

JUST within the fortress of the Alhambra, in front  
of the royal palace, is a broad open esplanade, called  
the Place or Square of the Cisterns (la Plaza de los  
Aljibes), so called from being undermined by re-  
servoirs of water, hidden from sight, and which have  
existed from the time of the Moors. At one corner  
of this esplanade is a Moorish well, cut through the  
living rock to a great depth, the water of which  
is cold as ice and clear as crystal. The wells made  
by the Moors are always in repute, for it is well  
known what pains they took to penetrate to the purest  
and sweetest spring and fountains. The one of  
which we now speak is famous throughout Granada,  
inasmuch that the water-carriers, some bearing great  
water-jars on their shoulders, others driving asses be-  
fore them laden with earthen vessels, are ascending  
and descending the steep woody avenues of the Alham-  
bra, from early dawn until a late hour of the night.

Fountains and wells, ever since the scriptural days,  
have been noted gossiping places in hot climates; and  
the well in question there is a kind of perpetual  
club kept up during the livelong day, by the invalids,  
old women, and other curious do-nothing folk of the  
city, who sit here on the stone benches, under an  
awning spread over the well to shelter the toll-ga-  
therer from the sun, and dawdle over the gossip of the  
city, and question every water-carrier that arrives,  
about the news of the city, and make long comments  
on every thing they hear and see. Not an hour of

the day but loitering housewives and idle maid-ser-  
vants may be seen, lingering with pitcher on head or  
in hand, to hear the last of the endless tattle of these  
worthies.

Among the water-carriers who once resorted to  
this well, there was a sturdy, strong-backed, bandy-  
legged little fellow, named Pedro Gil, but called  
Peregil for shortness. Being a water-carrier, he  
was a Gallego, or native of Galicia, of course. Na-  
ture seems to have formed races of men, as she has  
of animals, for different kinds of drudgery. In France  
the shoe-blacks are all Savoyards, the porters of hotels  
all Swiss, and in the days of hoops and hair-powder  
in England, no man could give the regular swing to a  
sedan chair but a bog-trotting Irishman. So in Spain,  
the carriers of water and bearers of burdens are all  
sturdy little natives of Galicia. No man says, "Get  
me a porter," but, "Call a Gallego."

To return from this digression, Peregil the Gallego  
had begun business with merely a great earthen jar  
which he carried upon his shoulder; by degrees he  
rose in the world, and was enabled to purchase an  
assistant of a correspondent class of animals, being a  
stout shaggy-haired donkey. On each side of this  
his long-eared aid-de-camp, in a kind of pannier,  
were slung his water-jars, covered with fig-leaves to  
protect them from the sun. There was not a more  
industrious water-carrier in all Granada, nor one more  
merry withal. The streets rang with his cheerful  
voice as he trudged after his donkey, singing forth the  
usual summer note that resounds through the Spanish  
towns; "*Quien quiere agua—agua mas fria que la  
nieve?*"—"Who wants water—water colder than  
snow? Who wants water from the well of the Al-  
hambra, cold as ice and clear as crystal?" When he  
served a customer with a sparkling glass, it was al-  
ways with a pleasant word that caused a smile; and  
if, perchance, it was a comely dame or dimpling dam-  
sel, it was always, with a sly leer and a compliment  
to her beauty that was irresistible. Thus Peregil the  
Gallego was noted throughout all Granada for being  
one of the civillest, pleasantest, and happiest of mor-  
tals. Yet it is not he who sings loudest and jokes  
most that has the lightest heart. Under all this air  
of merriment, honest Peregil had his cares and  
trouble. He had a large family of ragged children to  
support, who were hungry and clamorous as a nest  
of young swallows, and beset him with their out-  
cries for food whenever he came home of an even-  
ing. He had a helpmate too, who was any thing but  
a help to him. She had been a village beauty before  
marriage, noted for her skill at dancing the bolero  
and rattling the castañets; and she still retained her  
early propensities, spending the hard earnings of  
honest Peregil in frippery, and laying the very donkey  
under requisition for junketing parties into the coun-  
try on Sundays, and Saints'-days, and those innum-  
erable holidays which are rather more numerous in  
Spain than the days of the week. With all this she  
was a little of a slattern, something more of a lie-a-



bed, and, above all, a gossip of the first water; neglecting house, household, and every thing else, to loiter slipshod in the houses of her gossip neighbours.

He, however, who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, accommodates the yoke of matrimony to the submissive neck. Peregil bore all the heavy dispensations of wife and children with as meek a spirit as his donkey bore the water-jars; and, however he might shake his ears in private, never ventured to question the household virtues of his slattern spouse.

He loved his children too even as an owl loves its owlets, seeing in them his own image multiplied and perpetuated; for they were a sturdy, long-backed, bandy-legged little brood. The great pleasure of honest Peregil was, whenever he could afford himself a scanty holiday, and had a handful of maravedies to spare, to take the whole litter forth with him, some in his arms, some tugging at his skirts, and some trudging at his heels, and to treat them to a gambol among the orchards of the Vega, while his wife was dancing with her holiday friends in the Angosturas of the Darro.

It was a late hour one summer night; and most of the water-carriers had desisted from their toils. The day had been uncommonly sultry; the night was one of those delicious moonlights, which tempt the inhabitants of those southern climes to indemnify themselves for the heat and inaction of the day, by lingering in the open air and enjoying its tempered sweetness until after midnight.—Customers for water were therefore still abroad. Peregil, like a considerate pains-taking little father, thought of his hungry children. “One more journey to the well,” said he to himself, “to earn a Sunday’s puchero for the little ones.” So saying, he trudged manfully up the steep avenue of the Alhambra, singing as he went, and now and then bestowing a hearty thwack with a cudgel on the flanks of his donkey, either by way of cadence to the song, or refreshment to the animal; for dry blows serve in lieu of provender in Spain for all beasts of burden.

When arrived at the well, he found it deserted by every one except a solitary stranger in Moorish garb, seated on the stone bench in the moonlight. Peregil paused at first and regarded him with surprise, not unmixed with awe, but the Moor feebly beckoned him to approach. “I am faint and ill,” said he; “aid me to return to the city, and I will pay thee double what thou couldst gain by thy jars of water.”

The honest heart of the little water-carrier was touched with compassion at the appeal of the stranger. “God forbid,” said he, “that I should ask fee or reward for doing a common act of humanity.” He accordingly helped the Moor on his donkey, and set off slowly for Granada, the poor Moslem being so weak that it was necessary to hold him on the animal to keep him from falling to the earth.

When they entered the city, the water-carrier demanded whither he should conduct him. “Alas!” said the Moor faintly, “I have neither home nor habitation, I am a stranger in the land. Suffer me to

lay my head this night beneath thy roof, and thou shalt be amply repaid.”

Honest Peregil thus saw himself unexpectedly saddled with an infidel guest, but he was too humane to refuse a night’s shelter to a fellow being in so forlorn a plight, so he conducted the Moor to his dwelling. The children, who had sallied forth open-mouthed as usual on hearing the tramp of the donkey, ran back with affright, when they beheld the turbaned stranger, and hid themselves behind their mother. The latter stepped forth intrepidly, like a ruffling hen before her brood when a vagrant dog approaches.

“What infidel companion,” cried she, “is this you have brought home at this late hour, to draw upon us the eyes of the Inquisition?”

“Be quiet, wife,” replied the Gallego, “here is a poor sick stranger, without friend or home; wouldst thou turn him forth to perish in the streets?”

The wife would still have remonstrated, for although she lived in a hovel, she was a furious stickler for the credit of her house; the little water-carrier, however, for once was stiff-necked, and refused to bend beneath the yoke. He assisted the poor Moslem to alight, and spread a mat and a sheep-skin for him on the ground, in the coolest part of the house; being the only kind of bed that his poverty afforded.

In a little while the Moor was seized with violent convulsions, which defied all the ministering skill of the simple water-carrier. The eye of the poor patient acknowledged his kindness. During an interval of his fits he called him to his side, and addressing him in a low voice, “My end,” said he, “I fear is at hand. If I die I bequeath you this box as a reward for your charity:” so saying, he opened his albornoz, or cloak, and showed a small box of sandal wood, strapped round his body. “God grant, my friend,” replied the worthy little Gallego, “that you may live many years to enjoy your treasure, whatever it may be.” The Moor shook his head; he laid his hand upon the box, and would have said something more concerning it, but his convulsions returned with increased violence, and in a little while he expired.

The water-carrier’s wife was now as one distracted. “This comes,” said she, “of your foolish good nature, always running into scrapes to oblige others. What will become of us when this corpse is found in our house? We shall be sent to prison as murderers; and if we escape with our lives, shall be ruined by notaries and alguazils.”

Poor Peregil was in equal tribulation, and almost repented himself of having done a good deed. At length a thought struck him. “It is not yet day,” said he; “I can convey the dead body out of the city, and bury it in the sands on the banks of the Xenil. No one saw the Moor enter our dwelling, and no one will know any thing of his death.”

So said, so done. The wife aided him; they rolled the body of the unfortunate Moslem in the mat which he had expired, laid it across the ass, and Peregil set out with it for the banks of the river.

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As ill luck would have it, there lived opposi- to the  
water-carrier a barber named Pedrillo Pedrugo, one  
of the most prying, tattling, and mischief-making of  
his gossip tribe. He was a weasel-faced, spider-leg-  
ged varlet, supple and insinuating; the famous barber  
of Seville could not surpass him for his universal know-  
ledge of the affairs of others, and he had no more  
power of retention than a sieve. It was said that he  
slept but with one eye at a time, and kept one ear un-  
covered, so that, even in his sleep, he might see and  
hear all that was going on. Certain it is, he was a  
sort of scandalous chronicle for the quid-nuncs of  
Granada, and had more customers than all the rest of  
his fraternity.

This meddling barber heard Peregil arrive at an  
unusual hour at night, and the exclamations of his  
wife and children. His head was instantly popped  
out of a little window which served him as a look-  
out, and he saw his neighbour assist a man in Moorish  
garb into his dwelling. This was so strange an oc-  
currence, that Pedrillo Pedrugo slept not a wink that  
night. Every five minutes he was at his loop-hole,  
watching the lights that gleamed through the chinks  
of his neighbour's door, and before daylight he beheld  
Peregil sally forth with his donkey unusually laden.

The inquisitive barber was in a fidget; he slipped  
on his clothes, and, stealing forth silently, followed  
the water-carrier at a distance, until he saw him dig  
a hole in the sandy bank of the Xenil, and bury  
something that had the appearance of a dead body.

The barber hied him home, and fidgetted about his  
shop, setting every thing upside down, until sunrise.  
He then took a basin under his arm, and sallied forth  
to the house of his daily customer the alcalde.

The alcalde was just risen. Pedrillo Pedrugo seated  
him in a chair, threw a napkin round his neck, put a  
basin of hot water under his chin, and began to mol-  
lify his beard with his fingers.

"Strange doings!" said Pedrugo, who played  
barber and newsmonger at the same time—"Strange  
doings! Robbery, and murder, and burial, all in  
one night!"

"Hey!—how!—what is that you say?" cried the  
alcalde.

"I say," replied the barber, rubbing a piece of soap  
over the nose and mouth of the dignitary, for a Span-  
ish barber disdains to employ a brush—"I say that  
Peregil the Gallego has robbed and murdered a  
Moorish Mussulmaa, and buried him, this blessed  
night. *Maldita sea la noche*—accursed be the night  
for the same!"

"But how do you know all this?" demanded the  
alcalde.

"Be patient, Señor, and you shall hear all about  
it," replied Pedrillo, taking him by the nose and  
sliding a razor over his cheek. He then recounted all  
that he had seen, going through both operations at the  
same time, shaving his beard, washing his chin, and  
wiping him dry with a dirty napkin, while he was  
robbing, murdering, and burying the Moslem.

Now it so happened that this alcalde was one of the  
most overbearing, and at the same time most griping  
and corrupt curmudgeons in all Granada. It could  
not be denied, however, that he set a high value upon  
justice, for he sold it at its weight in gold. He pre-  
sumed the case in point to be one of murder and  
robbery; doubtless there must be rich spoil; how  
was it to be secured into the legitimate hands of the  
law? for as to merely entrapping the delinquent—  
that would be feeding the gallows; but entrapping  
the booty—that would be enriching the judge, and  
such, according to his creed, was the great end of  
justice. So thinking, he summoned to his presence  
his trustiest alguazil—a gaunt, hungry-looking varlet,  
clad according to the custom of his order, in the  
ancient Spanish garb, a broad black beaver turned up  
at the sides; a quaint ruff; a small black cloak  
dangling from his shoulders; rusty black under-  
clothes that set off his spare wiry frame, while in his  
hand he bore a slender white wand, the dreaded  
insignia of his office. Such was the legal blood-hound  
of the ancient Spanish breed, that he put upon the  
traces of the unlucky water-carrier, and such was his  
speed and certainty, that he was upon the haunches  
of poor Peregil before he had returned to his dwell-  
ing, and brought both him and his donkey before the  
dispenser of justice.

The alcalde bent upon him one of his most terrific  
frowns. "Hark ye, culprit!" roared he, in a voice  
that made the knees of the little Gallego smite to-  
gether—"hark ye, culprit! there is no need of denying;  
thy guilt, every thing is known to me. A gallows is  
the proper reward for the crime thou hast committed,  
but I am merciful, and readily listen to reason. The  
man that has been murdered in thy house was a Moor,  
an infidel, the enemy of our faith. It was doubtless  
in a fit of religious zeal that thou hast slain him. I  
will be indulgent, therefore; render up the property  
of which thou hast robbed him, and we will hush the  
matter up."

The poor water-carrier called upon all the saints to  
witness his innocence; alas! not one of them ap-  
peared; and if they had, the alcalde would have  
disbelieved the whole calendar. The water-carrier  
related the whole story of the dying Moor with the  
straight-forward simplicity of truth, but it was all in  
vain. "Wilt thou persist in saying," demanded the  
judge, "that this Moslem had neither gold nor  
jewels, which were the object of thy cupidity?"

"As I hope to be saved, your worship," replied  
the water-carrier, "he had nothing but a small box  
of sandal wood, which he bequeathed to me in reward  
for my services."

"A box of sandal wood! a box of sandal wood!"  
exclaimed the alcalde, his eyes sparkling at the idea  
of precious jewels. "And where is this box? where  
have you concealed it?"

"An' it please your grace," replied the water-  
carrier, "it is in one of the panniers of my mule,  
and heartily at the service of your worship."

He had hardly spoken the words, when the keen alguazil darted off and re-appeared in an instant with the mysterious box of sandal wood. The alcalde opened it with an eager and trembling hand; all pressed forward to gaze upon the treasures it was expected to contain; when, to their disappointment, nothing appeared within, but a parchment scroll, covered with Arabic characters, and an end of a waxen taper.

When there is nothing to be gained by the conviction of a prisoner, justice, even in Spain, is apt to be impartial. The alcalde having recovered from his disappointment, and found that there was really no booty in the case, now listened dispassionately to the explanation of the water-carrier, which was corroborated by the testimony of his wife. Being convinced, therefore, of his innocence, he discharged him from arrest; nay more, he permitted him to carry off the Moor's legacy, the box of sandal wood and its contents, as the well-merited reward of his humanity; but he retained his donkey in payment of costs and charges.

Behold the unfortunate little Gallego reduced once more to the necessity of being his own water-carrier, and trudging up to the well of the Alhambra with a great earthen jar upon his shoulder.

As he toiled up the hill in the heat of a summer noon, his usual good humour forsook him. "Dog of an alcalde!" would he cry, "to rob a poor man of the means of his subsistence, of the best friend he had in the world!" And then, at the remembrance of the beloved companion of his labours, all the kindness of his nature would break forth. "Ah donkey of my heart!" would he exclaim, resting his burden on a stone, and wiping the sweat from his brow—"Ah! donkey of my heart! I warrant me thou thinkest of thy old master! I warrant me thou missest the water-jars—poor beast!"

To add to his afflictions, his wife received him, on his return home, with whimperings and repinings; she had clearly the vantage ground of him, having warned him not to commit the egregious act of hospitality that had brought on him all these misfortunes; and, like a knowing woman, she took every occasion to throw her superior sagacity in his teeth. If ever her children lacked food, or needed a new garment, she could answer with a sneer—"Go to your father—he is heir to King Chico of the Alhambra: ask him to help you out of the Moor's strong-box."

Was ever poor mortal so soundly punished for having done a good action? The unlucky Peregil was grieved in flesh and spirit, but still he bore meekly with the railings of his spouse. At length, one evening, when, after a hot day's toil, she taunted him in the usual manner, he lost all patience. He did not venture to retort upon her, but his eye rested upon the box of sandal wood, which lay on a shelf with lid half open, as if laughing in mockery at his vexation. Seizing it up, he dashed it with indignation to the floor:—"Unlucky was the day that I ever set

eyes on thee," he cried, "or sheltered thy master beneath my roof!"

As the box struck the floor, the lid flew wide open, and the parchment scroll rolled forth. Peregil sat regarding the scroll for some time in moody silence. At length rallying his ideas—"Who knows," thought he, "but this writing may be of some importance, as the Moor seems to have guarded it with such care?" Picking it up, therefore, he put it in his bosom, and the next morning, as he was crying water through the streets, he stopped at the shop of a Moor, a native of Tangiers, who sold trinkets and perfumery in the Zacatin, and asked him to explain the contents.

The Moor read the scroll attentively, then stroked his beard and smiled. "This manuscript," said he, "is a form of incantation for the recovery of hidden treasure, that is under the power of enchantment. It is said to have such virtue, that the strongest bolts and bars, nay the adamant rock itself, will yield before it!"

"Bah!" cried the little Gallego, "what is all that to me? I am no enchanter, and know nothing of buried treasure." So saying, he shouldered his water-jar, left the scroll in the hands of the Moor, and trudded forward on his daily rounds.

That evening, however, as he rested himself about twilight at the well of the Alhambra, he found a number of gossips assembled at the place, and their conversation, as is not unusual at that shadowy hour, turned upon old tales and traditions of a supernatural nature. Being all poor as rats, they dwelt with peculiar fondness upon the popular theme of enchanted riches left by the Moors in various parts of the Alhambra. Above all, they concurred in the belief that there were great treasures buried deep in the earth under the tower of the seven floors.

These stories made an unusual impression on the mind of honest Peregil, and they sank deeper and deeper into his thoughts as he returned alone down the darkling avenues. "If, after all, there should be treasure hid beneath that tower—and if the scroll I left with the Moor should enable me to get at it!" In the sudden ecstasy of the thought he had well nigh let fall his water-jar.

That night he tumbled and tossed, and could scarcely get a wink of sleep for the thoughts that were bewildering his brain. Bright and early, he repaired to the shop of the Moor, and told him all that was passing in his mind. "You can read Arabic," said he; "suppose we go together to the tower, and try the effect of the charm; if it fails we are no worse off than before, but if it succeeds we will share equally all the treasure we may discover."

"Hold," replied the Moslem; "this writing is not sufficient of itself; it must be read at midnight, by the light of a taper singularly compounded and prepared, the ingredients of which are not within my reach. Without such taper the scroll is of no avail."

"Say no more!" cried the little Gallego, "I have

"or sheltered thy master  
 floor, the lid flew wide open,  
 rolled forth. Peregil sat  
 some time in moody silence.  
 "Who knows," thought  
 may be of some importance,  
 have guarded it with such  
 therefore, he put it in his  
 ming, as he was crying water  
 opped at the shop of a Moor,  
 who sold trinkets and per-  
 and asked him to explain the  
 roll attentively, then stroked  
 "This manuscript," said he,  
 n for the recovery of hidden  
 the power of enchantment.  
 rtune, that the strongest bolts  
 antine rock itself, will yield  
 the Gallego, "what is all that  
 nter, and know nothing of  
 ying, he shouldered his water-  
 the hands of the Moor, and  
 daily rounds.  
 er, as he rested himself about  
 of the Alhambra, he found a  
 mbled at the place, and their  
 unusual at that shadowy hour,  
 and traditions of a supernatural  
 as rats, they dwelt with pe-  
 the popular theme of enchanted  
 rs in various parts of the Al-  
 ey concurred in the belief that  
 ures buried deep in the earth  
 seven floors.  
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 ed the little Gallego, "I have

such a taper at hand, and will bring it here in a mo-  
 ment." So saying, he hastened home, and soon re-  
 turned with the end of yellow wax taper that he had  
 found in the box of sandal wood.

The Moor felt it and smelt to it. "Here are rare  
 and costly perfumes," said he, "combined with this  
 yellow wax. This is the kind of taper specified in  
 the scroll. While this burns, the strongest walls and  
 most secret caverns will remain open. Woe to him,  
 however, who lingers within until it be extinguished.  
 He will remain enchanted with the treasure."

It was now agreed between them to try the charm  
 that very night. At a late hour, therefore, when no-  
 thing was stirring but bats and owls, they ascended  
 the woody hill of the Alhambra, and approached that  
 awful tower, shrouded by trees and rendered formid-  
 able by so many traditional tales. By the light of  
 a lanthorn, they groped their way through bushes,  
 and over fallen stones, to the door of a vault beneath  
 the tower. With fear and trembling they descended  
 a flight of steps cut into the rock. It led to an empty  
 chamber damp and drear, from which another flight  
 of steps led to a deeper vault. In this way they de-  
 scended four several flights, leading into as many  
 vaults one below the other, but the floor of the fourth  
 was solid; and though, according to tradition, there  
 remained three vaults still below, it was said to be  
 impossible to penetrate further, the residue being  
 shut up by strong enchantment. The air of this vault  
 was damp and chilly, and had an earthy smell, and  
 the light scarce cast forth any rays. They paused  
 here for a time in breathless suspense, until they  
 faintly heard the clock of the watch-tower strike mid-  
 night; upon this they lit the waxen taper, which  
 diffused an odour of myrrh and frankincense and  
 storax.

The Moor began to read in a hurried voice. He  
 had scarce finished when there was a noise as of sub-  
 terranean thunder. The earth shook, and the floor  
 yawning open, disclosed a flight of steps. Trembling  
 with awe they descended, and by the light of the  
 lanthorn found themselves in another vault, covered  
 with Arabic inscriptions. In the centre stood a great  
 chest, secured with seven bands of steel, at each end  
 of which sat an enchanted Moor in armour, but mo-  
 tionless as a statue, being controlled by the power of  
 the incantation. Before the chest were several jars  
 filled with gold and silver and precious stones. In  
 the largest of these they thrust their arms up to the  
 elbow, and at every dip hauled forth handfuls of broad  
 yellow pieces of Moorish gold, or bracelets and orna-  
 ments of the same precious metal, while occasionally  
 a necklace of Oriental pearls would stick to their fin-  
 gers. Still they trembled and breathed short while  
 cramming their pockets with the spoils; and cast  
 many a fearful glance at the two enchanted Moors,  
 who sat grim and motionless, glaring upon them with  
 unwinking eyes. At length, struck with a sudden  
 panic at some fancied noise, they both rushed up the  
 staircase, tumbled over one another into the upper

apartment, overturned and extinguished the waxen  
 taper, and the pavement again closed with a thunder-  
 ing sound.

Filled with dismay, they did not pause until they  
 had groped their way out of the tower, and beheld  
 the stars shining through the trees. Then seating  
 themselves upon the grass, they divided the spoil,  
 determined to content themselves for the present with  
 this mere skimming of the jars, but to return on some  
 future night and drain them to the bottom. To make  
 sure of each other's good faith, also, they divided the  
 talismans between them, one retaining the scroll and  
 the other the taper; this done, they set off with light  
 hearts and well-lined pockets for Granada.

As they wended their way down the hill, the  
 shrewd Moor whispered a word of counsel in the ear  
 of the simple little water-carrier.

"Friend Peregil," said he, "all this affair must  
 be kept a profound secret until we have secured the  
 treasure and conveyed it out of harm's way. If a  
 whisper of it gets to the ear of the alcalde we are  
 undone!"

"Certainly," replied the Gallego, "nothing can  
 be more true."

"Friend Peregil," said the Moor, "you are a  
 discreet man, and I make no doubt can keep a secret:  
 but you have a wife."

"She shall not know a word of it," replied the  
 little water-carrier sturdily.

"Enough," said the Moor, "I depend upon thy  
 discretion and thy promise."

Never was promise more positive and sincere; but,  
 alas! what man can keep a secret from his wife?  
 Certainly not such a one as Peregil the water-carrier,  
 who was one of the most loving and tractable of hus-  
 bands. On his return home, he found his wife mop-  
 ing in a corner. "Mighty well," cried she as he  
 entered, "you've come at last; after rambling about  
 until this hour of the night. I wonder you have not  
 brought home another Moor as a housemate." Then  
 bursting into tears, she began to wring her hands  
 and smite her breast: "Unhappy woman that I  
 am!" exclaimed she, "what will become of me! My  
 house stripped and plundered by lawyers and algu-  
 zils; my husband a do-no-good, that no longer brings  
 home bread for his family, but goes rambling about  
 day and night, with infidel Moors! O my children!  
 my children! what will become of us? we shall all  
 have to beg in the streets!"

Honest Peregil was so moved by the distress of his  
 spouse, that he could not help whimpering also. His  
 heart was as full as his pocket, and not to be re-  
 strained. Thrusting his hand into the latter, he  
 hauled forth three or four broad gold pieces, and slip-  
 ped them into her bosom. The poor woman stared  
 with astonishment, and could not understand the  
 meaning of this golden shower. Before she could re-  
 cover her surprise, the little Gallego drew forth a  
 chain of gold and dangled it before her, capering  
 with exultation, his mouth distended from ear to ear.



"Holy Virgin protect us!" exclaimed the wife. "What hast thou been doing, Peregil? surely thou hast not been committing murder and robbery!"

The idea scarce entered the brain of the poor woman, when it became a certainty with her. She saw a prison and a gallows in the distance, and a little bandy-legged Gallego hanging pendant from it; and, overcome by the horrors conjured up by her imagination, fell into violent hysterics.

What could the poor man do? He had no other means of pacifying his wife and dispelling the phantoms of her fancy, than by relating the whole story of his good fortune. This, however, he did not do until he had exacted from her the most solemn promise to keep it a profound secret from every living being.

To describe her joy would be impossible. She flung her arms round the neck of her husband, and almost strangled him with her caresses. "Now, wife," exclaimed the little man with honest exultation, "what say you now to the Moor's legacy? Henceforth never abuse me for helping a fellow-creature in distress."

The honest Gallego retired to his sheep-skin mat, and slept as soundly as if on a bed of down. Not so his wife; she emptied the whole contents of his pockets upon the mat, and sat all night counting gold pieces of Arabic coin, trying on necklaces and earrings, and fancying the figure she should one day make when permitted to enjoy her riches.

On the following morning, the honest Gallego took a broad golden coin, and repaired with it to a jeweller's shop in the Zacatin to offer it for sale, pretending to have found it among the ruins of the Alhambra. The jeweller saw that it had an Arabic inscription, and was of the purest gold; he offered, however, but a third of its value, with which the water-carrier was perfectly content. Peregil now bought new clothes for his little flock, and all kinds of toys, together with ample provisions for a hearty meal, and, returning to his dwelling, set all his children dancing around him, while he capered in the midst, the happiest of fathers.

The wife of the water-carrier kept her promise of secrecy with surprising strictness. For a whole day and a half she went about with a look of mystery and a heart swelling almost to bursting, yet she held her peace, though surrounded by her gossips. It is true, she could not help giving herself a few airs, apologized for her ragged dress, and talked of ordering a new *basquiña* all trimmed with gold lace and bugles, and a new lace mantilla. She threw out hints of her husband's intention of leaving off his trade of water-carrying, as it did not altogether agree with his health. In fact she thought they should all retire to the country for the summer, that the children might have the benefit of the mountain air, for there was no living in the city in this sultry season.

The neighbours stared at each other, and thought the poor woman had lost her wits; and her airs and graces and elegant pretensions were the theme of uni-

versal scoffing and merriment among her friends, the moment her back was turned.

If she restrained herself abroad, however, she indemnified herself at home, and putting a string of rich Oriental pearls round her neck, Moorish bracelets on her arms, and an aigrette of diamonds on her head, sailed backwards and forwards in her slattern rags about the room, now and then stopping to admire herself in a piece of broken mirror. Nay, in the impulse of her simple vanity, she could not resist, on one occasion, showing herself at the window, to enjoy the effect of her finery on the passers by.

As the fates would have it, Pedrillo Pedrugo, the meddlesome barber, was at this moment sitting lily in his shop on the opposite side of the street, when his ever-watchful eye caught the sparkle of a diamond. In an instant he was at his loop-hole, reconnoitring the slattern spouse of the water-carrier, decorated with the splendour of an eastern bride. No sooner had he taken an accurate inventory of her ornaments, than he posted off with all speed to the *alcaldé*. In a little while the hungry *alguazil* was again on the scent, and before the day was over the unfortunate Peregil was again dragged into the presence of the judge.

"How is this, villain!" cried the *alcaldé* in a furious voice. "You told me that the infidel who died in your house left nothing behind but an empty coffer, and now I hear of your wife flaunting in her rags decked out with pearls, and diamonds. Wretch that thou art! prepare to render up the spoils of thy miserable victim, and to swing on the gallows that is already tired of waiting for thee."

The terrified water-carrier fell on his knees and made a full relation of the marvellous manner in which he had gained his wealth. The *alcaldé*, the *alguazil*, and the inquisitive barber, listened with greedy ears to this Arabian tale of enchanted treasure. The *alguazil* was dispatched to bring the Moor who had assisted in the incantation. The Moslem entered half-frightened out of his wits at finding himself in the hands of the harpies of the law. When he beheld the water-carrier standing with sheepish looks and downcast countenance, he comprehended the whole matter. "Miserable animal," said he, as he passed near him, "did I not warn thee against babbling to thy wife?"

The story of the Moor coincided exactly with that of his colleague; but the *alcaldé* affected to be slow of belief, and threw out menaces of imprisonment and rigorous investigation.

"Softly, good Señor *Alcalde*," said the Mussulman, who by this time had recovered his usual shrewdness and self-possession. "Let us not mar Fortune's favours in the scramble for them. Nobody knows any thing of this matter but ourselves—let us keep the secret. There is wealth enough in the cave to enrich us all. Promise a fair division, and all shall be produced—refuse, and the cave shall remain for ever closed."



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The alcalde consulted apart with the alguazil. The  
latter was an old fox in his profession. "Promise  
anything," said he, "until you get possession of the  
treasure. You may then seize upon the whole, and  
I and his accomplice dare to murmur, threaten  
them with the fagot and the stake as infidels and  
murderers."

The alcalde relished the advice. Smoothing his  
brow and turning to the Moor, "This is a strange  
story," said he, "and may be true, but I must have  
regular proof of it. This very night you must repeat  
the incantation in my presence. If there be really such  
treasure, we will share it amicably between us, and  
say nothing further of the matter; if ye have deceived  
me, expect no mercy at my hands. In the mean-  
time you must remain in custody."

The Moor and the water-carrier cheerfully agreed  
to these conditions, satisfied that the event would  
prove the truth of their words.

Towards midnight the alcalde sallied forth secretly,  
attended by the alguazil and the meddlesome barber,  
strongly armed. They conducted the Moor and  
the water-carrier as prisoners, and were provided  
with the stout donkey of the latter to bear off the ex-  
pected treasure. They arrived at the tower without  
being observed; and tying the donkey to a fig-tree,  
descended into the fourth vault of the tower.

The scroll was produced, the yellow waxen taper  
lighted, and the Moor read the form of incantation.  
The earth trembled as before, and the pavement opened  
with a thundering sound, disclosing the narrow flight  
of steps. The alcalde, the alguazil, and the barber  
were struck aghast, and could not summon courage  
to descend. The Moor and the water-carrier entered  
the lower vault, and found the two Moors seated  
before, silent and motionless. They removed two  
of the great jars, filled with golden coin and precious  
stones. The water-carrier bore them up one by one  
upon his shoulders, but though a strong-backed little  
man, and accustomed to carry burdens, he staggered  
beneath their weight, and found, when slung on each  
side of his donkey, they were as much as the animal  
could bear.

"Let us be content for the present," said the Moor,  
"here is as much treasure as we can carry off without  
being perceived, and enough to make us all wealthy  
our heart's desire."

"Is there more treasure remaining behind?" de-  
manded the alcalde.

"The greatest prize of all," said the Moor, "a huge  
coffer bound with bands of steel, and filled with pearls  
and precious stones."

"Let us have up the coffer by all means," cried  
the grasping alcalde.

"I will descend for no more," said the Moor dog-  
gily; "enough is enough for a reasonable man—  
more is superfluous."

"And I," said the water-carrier, "will bring up  
further burden to break the back of my poor don-  
key."

Finding commands, threats, and entreaties equally  
vain, the alcalde turned to his two adherents. "Aid  
me," said he, "to bring up the coffer, and its con-  
tents shall be divided between us." So saying he  
descended the steps, followed with trembling reluc-  
tance by the alguazil and the barber.

No sooner did the Moor behold them fairly earthed  
than he extinguished the yellow taper; the pavement  
closed with its usual crash, and the three worthies  
remained buried in its womb.

He then hastened up the different flights of steps,  
nor stopped until in the open air. The little water-  
carrier followed him as fast as his short legs would  
permit.

"What hast thou done?" cried Peregil, as soon as  
he could recover breath. "The alcalde and the other  
two are shut up in the vault."

"It is the will of Allah!" said the Moor devoutly.

"And will you not release them?" demanded the  
Gallego.

"Allah forbid!" replied the Moor, smoothing his  
beard. "It is written in the book of fate that they  
shall remain enchanted until some future adventurer  
arrive to break the charm. The will of God be  
done!" So saying, he hurled the end of the waxen  
taper far among the gloomy thickets of the glen.

There was now no remedy, so the Moor and the  
water-carrier proceeded with the richly laden donkey  
towards the city, nor could honest Peregil refrain from  
hugging and kissing his long-eared fellow labourer,  
thus restored to him from the clutches of the law; and  
in fact, it is doubtful which gave the simple-hearted  
little man most joy at the moment, the gaining of the  
treasure, or the recovery of the donkey.

The two partners in good luck divided their spoil  
amicably and fairly, except that the Moor, who had  
a little taste for trinketry, made out to get into his  
heap the most of the pearls and precious stones and  
other baubles, but then he always gave the water-  
carrier in lieu magnificent jewels of massy gold, of  
five times the size, with which the latter was heartily  
content. They took care not to linger within reach  
of accidents, but made off to enjoy their wealth un-  
disturbed in other countries. The Moor returned to  
Africa, to his native city of Tetuan, and the Gallego,  
with his wife, his children and his donkey, made the  
best of his way to Portugal. Here, under the admo-  
nition and tuition of his wife, he became a personage  
of some consequence, for she made the worthy little  
man array his long body and short legs in doublet and  
hose, with a feather in his hat and a sword by his  
side; and laying aside his familiar appellation of Pe-  
regil, assumed the more sonorous title of Don Pedro  
Gil: his progeny grew up a thriving and merry-heart-  
ed, though short and bandy-legged generation, while  
Señora Gil, befringed, belaced and betasselled from  
her head to her heels, with glittering rings on every  
finger, became a model of slattern fashion and finery.

As to the alcalde and his adjuncts, they remained  
shut up under the great tower of the seven floors,

and there they remain spell-bound at the present day. Whenever there shall be a lack in Spain of pimping barbers, sharking alguazils, and corrupt alcaldes, they may be sought after; but if they have to wait until such time for their deliverance, there is danger of their enchantment enduring until doomsday.

THE LEGEND OF

THE ROSE OF THE ALHAMBRA;

OR,

THE PAGE AND THE GER-FALCON.

FOR some time after the surrender of Granada by the Moors, that delightful city was a frequent and favourite residence of the Spanish sovereigns, until they were frightened away by successive shocks of earthquakes, which toppled down various houses, and made the old Moslem towers rock to their foundation.

Many many years then rolled away during which Granada was rarely honoured by a royal guest. The palaces of the nobility remained silent and shut up; and the Alhambra, like a slighted beauty, sat in mournful desolation among her neglected gardens. The tower of the Infantas, once the residence of the three beautiful Moorish princesses, partook of the general desolation, and the spider spun her web athwart the gilded vault, and bats and owls nested in those chambers that had been graced by the presence of Zayda, Zorayda, and Zorahayda. The neglect of this tower may partly have been owing to some superstitious notions of the neighbours. It was rumoured that the spirit of the youthful Zorahayda, who had perished in that tower, was often seen by moonlight seated beside the fountain in the hall, or moaning about the battlements, and that the notes of her silver lute would be heard at midnight by wayfarers passing along the glen.

At length the city of Granada was once more welcomed by the royal presence. All the world knows that Philip V was the first Bourbon that swayed the Spanish sceptre. All the world knows that he married, in second nuptials, Elizabetha or Isabella (for they are the same), the beautiful princess of Parma; and all the world knows that by this chain of contingencies a French prince and an Italian princess were seated together on the Spanish throne. For the reception of this illustrious pair, the Alhambra was repaired and fitted up with all possible expedition. The arrival of the court changed the whole aspect of the lately deserted palace. The clangour of drum and trumpet, the tramp of steed about the avenues and outer court, the glitter of arms and display of banners about barbican and battlement, recalled the ancient and warlike glories of the fortress. A softer spirit, however, reigned within the royal pa-

lace. There was the rustling of robes and the cautious tread and murmuring voice of reverential courtiers about the antichambers; a loitering of pages and maids of honour about the gardens, and the sound of music stealing from open casements.

Among those who attended in the train of the monarchs was a favourite page of the queen, named Ruy de Alarcon. To say that he was a favourite page of the queen was at once to speak his eulogium, for every one in the suite of the stately Elizabetha was chosen for grace, and beauty, and accomplishment. He was just turned of eighteen, light and little of form, and graceful as a young Antinous. To the queen he was all deference and respect, yet he was at heart a roguish stripling, petted and spoiled by the ladies about the court, and experienced in the ways of women far beyond his years.

This loitering page was one morning rambled about the groves of the Generalife, which overtopped the grounds of the Alhambra. He had taken with him for his amusement a favourite ger-falcon of the queen. In the course of his rambles, seeing a bird rising from a thicket, he unhooded the hawk and let him fly. The falcon towered high in the air, made a swoop at his quarry, but missing it, soared away regardless of the calls of the page. The latter followed the truant bird with his eye, in its capricious flight, until he saw it alight upon the battlements of a remote and lonely tower, in the outer wall of the Alhambra, built on the edge of a ravine that separated the royal fortress from the grounds of the Generalife. It was in fact the "Tower of the Princesses."

The page descended into the ravine and approached the tower, but it had no entrance from the glen, and its lofty height rendered any attempt to scale it fruitless. Seeking one of the gates of the fortress, therefore, he made a wide circuit to that side of the tower facing within the walls.

A small garden enclosed by a trellis-work of rose overhung with myrtle, lay before the tower. Opening a wicket, the page passed between beds of flowers and thickets of roses to the door. It was closed and bolted. A crevice in the door gave him a peep into the interior. There was a small Moorish hall with fretted walls, light marble columns, and an alabaster fountain surrounded with flowers. In the centre hung a gilt cage, containing a singing bird; beneath it, on a chair, lay a tortoise-shell cat among red silk and other articles of female labour, and a gilded chair decorated with ribbons leaned against the fountain.

Ruy de Alarcon was struck with these traces of female taste and elegance in a lonely, and, as he supposed, deserted tower. They reminded him of the tales of enchanted halls current in the Alhambra, and the tortoise-shell cat might be some spell-bound princess.

He knocked gently at the door. A beautiful face peeped out from a little window above, but was instantly withdrawn. He waited expecting that

outing of robes and the castrating voice of reverential courtiers; a loitering of pages in the gardens, and the sound of the casements.

attended in the train of the most beautiful page of the queen, named Ruy Blas, that he was a favourite page of the queen, and used to speak his eulogium, before the stately Elizabetha with her beauty, and accomplishments of eighteen, light and little as a young Antinous. To the reverence and respect, yet he was spoiled by the caressing, petted and spoiled by the queen, and experienced in the way of his years.

One morning he was one morning rambling in the Generalife, which overlooks the Alhambra. He had taken with him a favourite ger-falcon of the queen, and, seeing a bird of prey, he unhooded the hawk and let it tower high in the air, making a noise, but missing it, soared away into the sky. The latter looked on with his eye, in its capriciousness, it alight upon the battlements of the tower, in the outer wall of the edge of a ravine that separated the fortress from the grounds of the Alhambra. In fact the "Tower of the Pro-

ved into the ravine and approached, and no entrance from the glen, he considered any attempt to scale it from the gates of the fortress, the circuit to that side of the tower walls.

enclosed by a trellis-work of roses, lay before the tower. Opening the door, he passed between beds of flowers to the door. It was closed, and in the door gave him a peep into a small Moorish hall with marble columns, and an alabaster vase with flowers. In the center containing a singing bird; beneath a tortoise-shell cat among robes of female labour, and a golden lions leaned against the fountain. It was struck with these traces of elegance in a lonely, and, as he looked at the tower. They reminded him of the halls current in the Alhambra. The cat might be some spell-  
fully at the door. A beautiful little window above, but was not. He waited expecting that

door would be opened, but he waited in vain; no step was to be heard within—all was silent. Had his senses deceived him, or was this beautiful apparition the fairy of the tower? He knocked again, and more loudly. After a little while the beaming face once more peeped forth; it was that of a blooming damsel of fifteen.

The page immediately doffed his plumed bonnet, and entreated in the most courteous accents to be permitted to ascend the tower in pursuit of his falcon.

"I dare not open the door, Señor," replied the damsel blushing, "my aunt has forbidden it."

"I do beseech you, fair maid—it is the favourite son of the queen: I dare not return to the palace without it."

"Are you then one of the cavaliers of the court?"

"I am, fair maid; but I shall lose the queen's favour and my place, if I lose this hawk."

"Santa Maria! it is against you cavaliers of the court my aunt has charged me especially to bar the door."

"Against wicked cavaliers doubtless, but I am one of these, but a simple harmless page, who will be ruined and undone if you deny me this small quest."

The heart of the little damsel was touched by the distress of the page. It was a thousand pities he could be ruined for the want of so trifling a boon. Truly too he could not be one of those dangerous rascals whom her aunt had described as a species of animal, ever on the prowl to make prey of thoughtless damsels; he was gentle and modest, and stood earnestly with cap in hand, and looked so promising.

The sly page saw that the garrison began to waver, and redoubled his entreaties in such moving terms, that it was not in the nature of mortal maiden to resist him; so the blushing little warden of the tower descended and opened the door with a trembling hand; and if the page had been charmed by a glimpse of her countenance from the window, he was ravished by the full length portrait now revealed to him.

Her Andalusian bodice and trim *basquina* set off round but delicate symmetry of her form, which was yet scarce verging into womanhood. Her glossy hair was parted on her forehead, with scrupulous neatness, and decorated with a fresh-plucked rose, according to the universal custom of the country. It was her complexion was tinged by the ardour of a southern sun, but it served to give richness to the glowing bloom of her cheek, and to heighten the beauty of her melting eyes.

Don Alarcon beheld all this with a single glance, for it became him not to tarry; he merely murmured his acknowledgments, and then bounded up the spiral staircase in quest of his falcon.

He soon returned with the truant bird upon his arm. The damsel, in the mean time, had seated herself by the fountain in the hall, and was winding

silk; but in her agitation she let fall the reel upon the pavement. The page sprang and picked it up, then dropping gracefully on one knee presented it to her; but, seizing the hand extended to receive it, imprinted on it a kiss more fervent and devout than he had ever imprinted on the fair hand of his sovereign.

"Ave Maria, Señor!" exclaimed the damsel, blushing still deeper with confusion and surprise, for never before had she received such a salutation.

The modest page made a thousand apologies, assuring her it was the way, at court, of expressing the most profound homage and respect.

Her anger, if anger she felt, was easily pacified, but her agitation and embarrassment continued, and she sat blushing deeper and deeper, with her eyes cast down upon her work, entangling the silk which she attempted to wind.

The cunning page saw the confusion in the opposite camp, and would fain have profited by it, but the fine speeches he would have uttered died upon his lips; his attempts at gallantry were awkward and ineffectual, and to his surprise, the adroit page, who had figured with such grace and effrontery among the most knowing and experienced ladies of the court, found himself awed and abashed in the presence of a simple damsel of fifteen.

In fact, the artless maiden, in her own modesty and innocence, had guardians more effectual than the bolts and bars prescribed by her vigilant aunt. Still, where is the female bosom proof against the first whisperings of love? The little damsel, with all her artlessness, instinctively comprehended all that the faltering tongue of the page failed to express, and her heart was fluttered at beholding, for the first time, a lover at her feet—and such a lover!

The diffidence of the page, though genuine, was short-lived, and he was recovering his usual ease and confidence, when a shrill voice was heard at a distance.

"My aunt is returning from mass!" cried the damsel in affright: "I pray you, Señor, depart."

"Not until you grant me that rose from your hair as a remembrance."

She hastily untwisted the rose from her raven locks. "Take it," cried she, agitated and blushing, "but pray begone."

The page took the rose, and at the same time covered with kisses the fair hand that gave it. Then, placing the flower in his bonnet, and taking the falcon upon his fist, he bounded off through the garden, bearing away with him the heart of the gentle Jacinta.

When the vigilant aunt arrived at the tower, she remarked the agitation of her niece, and an air of confusion in the hall; but a word of explanation sufficed. "A ger-falcon had pursued his prey into the hall."

"Mercy on us! to think of a falcon flying into the tower. Did ever one hear of so saucy a hawk! Why, the very bird in the cage is not safe!"

The vigilant Fredegonda was one of the most wary of ancient spinsters. She had a becoming terror and distrust of what she denominated "the opposite sex," which had gradually increased through a long life of celibacy. Not that the good lady had ever suffered from their wiles, nature having set up a safeguard in her face that forbade all trespass upon her premises; but ladies who have least cause to fear for themselves, are most ready to keep a watch over their more tempting neighbours.

The niece was the orphan of an officer who had fallen in the wars. She had been educated in a convent, and had recently been transferred from her sacred asylum to the immediate guardianship of her aunt, under whose overshadowing care she vegetated in obscurity, like an opening rose blooming beneath a briar. Nor indeed is this comparison entirely accidental; for, to tell the truth, her fresh and dawning beauty had caught the public eye, even in her seclusion, and, with that poetical turn common to the people of Andalusia, the peasantry of the neighbourhood had given her the appellation of "the Rose of the Alhambra."

The wary aunt continued to keep a faithful watch over her tempting little niece as long as the court continued at Granada, and flattered herself that her vigilance had been successful. It is true, the good lady was now and then discomposed by the tinkling of guitars and chanting of love ditties from the moonlit groves beneath the tower; but she would exhort her niece to shut her ears against such idle minstrelsy, assuring her that it was one of the arts of the opposite sex, by which simple maids were often lured to their undoing. Alas! what chance with a simple maid has a dry lecture against a moonlight serenade?

At length King Philip cut short his sojourn at Granada, and suddenly departed with all his train. The vigilant Fredegonda watched the royal pageant as it issued forth from the Gate of Justice and descended the great avenue leading to the city. When the last banner disappeared from her sight, she returned exulting to her tower, for all her cares were over. To her surprise, a light Arabian steed pawed the ground at the wicket-gate of the garden:—to her horror, she saw through the thickets of roses a youth, in gaily embroidered dress, at the feet of her niece. At the sound of her footsteps he gave a tender adieu, bounded lightly over the barrier of reeds and myrtles, sprang upon his horse, and was out of sight in an instant.

The tender Jacinta, in the agony of her grief, lost all thought of her aunt's displeasure. Throwing herself into her arms, she broke forth into sobs and tears.

"Ay de mi!" cried she; "he's gone!—he's gone!—he's gone! and I shall never see him more!"

"Gone!—who is gone?—what youth is that I saw at your feet?"

"A queen's page, aunt, who came to bid me farewell."

"A queen's page, child!" echoed the vigilant Fre-

degonda faintly; "and when did you become acquainted with a queen's page?"

"The morning that the ger-falcon came into the tower. It was the queen's ger-falcon, and he came in pursuit of it."

"Ah silly, silly girl! know that there are no ger-falcons half so dangerous as these young pranking pages, and it is precisely such simple birds as these that they pounce upon."

The aunt was at first indignant at learning that, despite of her boasted vigilance, a tender intercourse had been carried on by the youthful lovers, almost beneath her eye; but when she found that her simple-hearted niece, though thus exposed, without the protection of bolt or bar, to all the machinations of the opposite sex, had come forth unsinged from the fiery ordeal, she consoled herself with the persuasion that it was owing to the chaste and cautious maxims which she had, as it were, steeped her to the very lips.

While the aunt laid this soothing unction to her pride, the niece treasured up the oft-repeated vows of fidelity of the page. But what is the love of restlessness in a roving man? A vagrant stream that dallies for a day with each flower upon its bank, then passes on, and leaves them all in tears.

Days, weeks, months elapsed, and nothing more was heard of the page. The pomegranate ripened, the vine yielded up its fruit, the autumnal rains descended in torrents from the mountains; the Sierra Nevada became covered with a snowy mantle, and wintry blasts howled through the halls of the Alhambra—still he came not. The winter passed away again the genial spring burst forth with song and blossom and balmy zephyr; the snows melted from the mountains, until none remained but on the high summit of Nevada, glistening through the sultry summer air. Still nothing was heard of the forgotten page.

In the mean time, the poor little Jacinta grew sad and thoughtful. Her former occupations and amusements were abandoned, her silk lay entangled, her guitar unstrung, her flowers were neglected, her notes of her bird unheeded, and her eyes, once so bright, were dimmed with secret weeping. In her solitude could he devised to foster the passion of a love-lorn damsel, it would be such a place as the Alhambra, where every thing seems disposed to tempt the tender and romantic reveries. It is a very poor place for lovers: how hard then to be alone in such a paradise—and not merely alone, but forsaken!

"Alas, silly child!" would the staid and impatient Fredegonda say, when she found her niece in one of her desponding moods—"did I not warn you against the wiles and deceptions of these men? what couldst thou expect, too, from one of a hanging and aspiring family—thou an orphan, the descendant of a fallen and impoverished line? Be assured, if the youth were true, his father, who is one of the noblest and most nobles about the court, would prohibit his



with one so humble and portionless as thou. Pluck up thy resolution, therefore, and drive these idle notions from thy mind."

The words of the immaculate Fredegonda only served to increase the melancholy of her niece, but she sought to indulge it in private. At a late hour one midsummer night, after her aunt had retired to rest, she remained alone in the hall of the tower, seated beside the alabaster fountain. It was here that the faithless page had first knelt and kissed her hand; it was here that he had often vowed eternal fidelity. The poor little damsel's heart was overlaid with sad and tender recollections, her tears began to flow, and slowly fell drop by drop into the fountain. By degrees the crystal water became agitated, and—bubble—bubble—boiled up and was tossed about, until a female figure, richly clad in Moorish robes, slowly rose to view.

Jacinta was so frightened that she fled from the hall, and did not venture to return. The next morning she related what she had seen to her aunt, but the good lady treated it as a phantasy of her troubled mind, or supposed she had fallen asleep and dreamt beside the fountain. "Thou hast been thinking of the story of the three Moorish princesses that once inhabited this tower," continued she, "and it has entered into thy dreams."

"What story, aunt? I know nothing of it."

"Thou hast certainly heard of the three princesses, Zayda, Zorayda, and Zorahayda, who were confined in this tower by the king their father, and agreed to fly with three Christian cavaliers. The two first accomplished their escape, but the third failed in her resolution, and it is said, died in this tower."

"I now recollect to have heard of it," said Jacinta, "and to have wept over the fate of the gentle Zorahayda."

"Thou mayest well weep over her fate," continued the aunt, "for the lover of Zorahayda was thy ancestor. He long bemoaned his Moorish love, but time cured him of his grief, and he married a Spanish lady, from whom thou art descended."

Jacinta ruminated upon these words. "That what I have seen is no phantasy of the brain," said she to herself, "I am confident. If indeed it be the spirit of the gentle Zorahayda, which I have heard of, I will watch by the fountain to-night—perhaps the visit will be repeated."

Towards midnight, when every thing was quiet, she again took her seat in the hall. As the bell in the distant watch-tower of the Alhambra struck the midnight hour, the fountain was again agitated; and—bubble—bubble—bubble—it tossed about the waters until the Moorish female again rose to view. She was young and beautiful; her dress was rich with jewels, and in her hand she held a silver lute. Jacinta trembled and was faint, but was reassured by the soft and plaintive voice of the apparition, and the sweet expression of her pale, melancholy countenance.

"Daughter of mortality," said she, "what alleth thee? Why do thy tears trouble my fountain, and thy sighs and plaints disturb the quiet watches of the night?"

"I weep because of the faithlessness of man, and I bemoan my solitary and forsaken state."

"Take comfort; thy sorrows may yet have an end. Thou beholdest a Moorish princess, who, like thee, was unhappy in her love. A Christian knight, thy ancestor, won my heart, and would have borne me to his native land and to the bosom of his church. I was a convert in my heart, but I lacked courage equal to my faith, and lingered till too late. For this the evil genii are permitted to have power over me, and I remain enchanted in this tower until some pure Christian will deign to break the magic spell. Wilt thou undertake the task?"

"I will," replied the damsel trembling.

"Come hither then, and fear not; dip thy hand in the fountain, sprinkle the water over me, and baptize me after the manner of thy faith; so shall the enchantment be dispelled, and my troubled spirit have repose."

The damsel advanced with faltering steps, dipped her hand in the fountain, collected water in the palm, and sprinkled it over the pale face of the phantom.

The latter smiled with ineffable benignity. She dropped her silver lute at the feet of Jacinta, crossed her white arms upon her bosom and melted from sight, so that it seemed merely as if a shower of dew drops had fallen into the fountain.

Jacinta retired from the hall filled with awe and wonder. She scarcely closed her eyes that night, but when she awoke at day-break out of a troubled slumber, the whole appeared to her like a distempered dream. On descending into the hall, however, the truth of the vision was established, for, beside the fountain, she beheld the silver lute glittering in the morning sunshine.

She hastened to her aunt, to relate all that had befallen her, and called her to behold the lute as a testimonial of the reality of her story. If the good lady had any lingering doubts, they were removed when Jacinta touched the instrument, for she drew forth such ravishing tones as to thaw even the frigid bosom of the immaculate Fredegonda, that region of eternal winter, into a genial flow. Nothing but supernatural melody could have produced such an effect.

The extraordinary power of the lute became every day more and more apparent. The wayfarer passing by the tower was detained, and, as it were, spell-bound, in breathless ecstasy. The very birds gathered in the neighbouring trees, and hushing their own strains, listened in charmed silence.

Rumour soon spread the news abroad. The inhabitants of Granada thronged to the Alhambra to catch a few notes of the transcendent music that floated about the tower of Las Infantas.

The lovely little minstrel was at length drawn



forth from her retreat. The rich and powerful of the land contended who should entertain and do honour to her; or rather, who should secure the charms of her lute to draw fashionable throngs to their saloons. Wherever she went her vigilant aunt kept a dragon watch at her elbow, awing the throngs of impassioned admirers, who hung in raptures on her strains. The report of her wonderful powers spread from city to city. Malaga, Seville, Cordova, all became successively mad on the theme; nothing was talked of throughout Andalusia but the beautiful minstrel of the Alhambra. How could it be otherwise among a people so musical and gallant as the Andalusians, when the lute was magical in its powers, and the minstrel inspired by love?

While all Andalusia was thus music-mad, a different mood prevailed at the court of Spain. Philip V, as is well known, was a miserable hypochondriac, and subject to all kinds of fancies. Sometimes he would keep to his bed for weeks together, groaning under imaginary complaints. At other times he would insist upon abdicating his throne, to the great annoyance of his royal spouse, who had a strong relish for the splendours of a court and the glories of a crown, and guided the sceptre of her imbecile lord with an expert and steady hand.

Nothing was found to be so efficacious in dispelling the royal megrims as the powers of music; the queen took care, therefore, to have the best performers, both vocal and instrumental, at hand, and retained the famous Italian singer, Farinelli, about the court as a kind of royal physician.

At the moment we treat of, however, a freak had come over the mind of this sapient and illustrious Bourbon that surpassed all former vagaries. After a long spell of imaginary illness, which set all the strains of Farinelli, and the consultations of a whole orchestra of court fiddlers at defiance, the monarch fairly, in idea, gave up the ghost, and considered himself absolutely dead.

This would have been harmless enough, and even convenient both to his queen and courtiers, had he been content to remain in the quietude befitting a dead man, but to their annoyance he insisted upon having the funeral ceremonies performed over him, and, to their inexpressible perplexity, began to grow impatient and to revile bitterly at them for negligence and disrespect, in leaving him unburied. What was to be done? To disobey the king's positive commands was monstrous in the eyes of the obsequious courtiers of a punctilious court—but to obey him and bury him alive, would be downright regicide!

In the midst of this fearful dilemma a rumour reached the court, of the female minstrel who was turning the brains of all Andalusia. The queen dispatched missions in all haste to summon her to St Ildefonso, where the court at that time resided.

Within a few days, as the queen, with her maids of honour, was walking in those stately gardens intended, with their avenues and terraces and fountains, to

eclipse the glories of Versailles, the far-famed minstrel was conducted into her presence. The imperial Elizabetha gazed with surprise at the youthful and unpretending appearance of the little being that had set the world madding. She was in her picturesque Andalusian dress, her silver lute was in her hand, and she stood with modest and downcast eyes, but with a simplicity and freshness of beauty that still bespoke her "the Rose of the Alhambra."

As usual she was accompanied by the ever vigilant Fredegonda, who gave the whole history of her parentage and descent to the inquiring queen. If the stately Elizabetha had been interested by the appearance of Jacinta, she was still more pleased when she learnt that she was of a meritorious though impoverished line, and that her father had bravely fallen in the service of the crown. "If thy powers equal their renown," said she, "and thou canst cast forth this evil spirit that possesses thy sovereign, thy fortunes shall henceforth be my care, and honours and wealth attend thee."

Impatient to make trial of her skill, she led the way at once to the apartment of the moody monarch.

Jacinta followed with downcast eyes through files of guards and crowds of courtiers. They arrived at length at a great chamber hung with black. The windows were closed to exclude the light of day: a number of yellow wax tapers in silver sconces diffused a lugubrious light, and dimly revealed the figures of mutes in mourning dresses, and courtiers who glided about with noiseless step and wo-begone visage. On the midst of a funeral bed or bier, his hands folded on his breast, and the tip of his nose just visible, lay extended this would-be-buried monarch.

The queen entered the chamber in silence, and pointing to a footstool in an obscure corner, beckoned to Jacinta to sit down and commence.

At first she touched her lute with a faltering hand, but gathering confidence and animation as she proceeded, drew forth such soft aerial harmony, that all present could scarce believe it mortal. As to the monarch, who had already considered himself in the world of spirits, he set it down for some angelic melody or the music of the spheres. By degrees the theme was varied, and the voice of the minstrel accompanied the instrument. She poured forth one of the legendary ballads treating of the ancient glories of the Alhambra and the achievements of the Moors. Her whole soul entered into the theme, for with the recollections of the Alhambra was associated the story of her love. The funeral chamber resounded with the animating strain. It entered into the gloomy heart of the monarch. He raised his head and gazed around: he sat up on his couch, his eye began to kindle—at length, leaping upon the floor, he called for sword and buckler.

The triumph of music, or rather of the enchanted lute was complete; the demon of melancholy was cast forth; and, as it were, a dead man brought to life. The windows of the apartment were thrown

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open; the glorious effulgence of Spanish sunshine  
burst into the late lugubrious chamber; all eyes  
sought the lovely enchantress, but the lute had fallen  
from her hand, she had sunk upon the earth, and the  
next moment was clasped to the bosom of Ruyz de  
Alarcon.

The nuptials of the happy couple were shortly  
after celebrated with great splendour; but hold—I  
hear the reader ask, how did Ruyz de Alarcon ac-  
count for his long neglect? O that was all owing to  
the opposition of a proud pragmatical old father:  
besides, young people, who really like one another,  
soon come to an amicable understanding, and bury  
all past grievances when once they meet.

But how was the proud pragmatical old father re-  
conciled to the match?

O his scruples were easily overcome by a word or  
two from the queen, especially as dignities and re-  
wards were showered upon the blooming favourite of  
royalty. Besides, the lute of Jacinta, you know, pos-  
sessed a magic power, and could control the most  
stubborn head and hardest breast.

And what came of the enchanted lute?

O that is the most curious matter of all, and plainly  
proves the truth of all this story. That lute remained  
for some time in the family, but was purloined and  
carried off, as was supposed, by the great singer  
Farinelli, in pure jealousy. At his death it passed  
into other hands in Italy, who were ignorant of its  
mystic powers, and melting down the silver, trans-  
ferred the strings to an old Cremona fiddle. The  
strings still retain something of their magic virtues.  
A word in the reader's ear, but let it go no further—  
that fiddle is now bewitching the whole world—it is  
the fiddle of Paganini!

### THE VETERAN.

AMONG the curious acquaintances I have made in  
my rambles about the fortress, is a brave and bat-  
tered old colonel of Invalids, who is nestled like a  
hawk in one of the Moorish towers. His history,  
which he is fond of telling, is a tissue of those adven-  
tures, mishaps, and vicissitudes that render the life  
of almost every Spaniard of note as varied and whin-  
sical as the pages of Gil Blas.

He was in America at twelve years of age, and  
reckons among the most signal and fortunate events  
of his life, his having seen General Washington.  
Since then he has taken a part in all the wars of his  
country; he can speak experimentally of most of the  
prisons and dungeons of the Peninsula; has been  
lamed of one leg, crippled in his hands, and so cut  
up and carbonadoed, that he is a kind of walking  
monument of the troubles of Spain, on which there  
is a scar for every battle and broil, as every year was

notched upon the tree of Robinson Crusoe. The  
greatest misfortune of the brave old cavalier, how-  
ever, appears to have been his having commanded at  
Malaga during a time of peril and confusion, and been  
made a general by the inhabitants, to protect them  
from the invasion of the French. This has entailed  
upon him a number of just claims upon government,  
that I fear will employ him until his dying day in  
writing and printing petitions and memorials, to the  
great disquiet of his mind, exhaustion of his purse,  
and penance of his friends; not one of whom can  
visit him without having to listen to a mortal docu-  
ment of half an hour in length, and to carry away  
half a dozen pamphlets in his pocket. This, how-  
ever, is the case throughout Spain: every where you  
meet with some worthy wight brooding in a corner  
and nursing up some pet grievance and cherished  
wrong. Besides, a Spaniard who has a law suit, or  
a claim upon government, may be considered as fur-  
nished with employment for the remainder of his  
life.

I visited the veteran in his quarters in the upper  
part of the Torre del Vino, or Wine Tower. His  
room was small but snug, and commanded a beauti-  
ful view of the Vega. It was arranged with a sol-  
dier's precision. Three muskets and a brace of pis-  
tols, all bright and shining, were suspended against  
the wall with a sabre and a cane, hanging side by  
side, and above them, two cocked hats, one for pa-  
rade, and one for ordinary use. A small shelf, con-  
taining some half dozen books, formed his library,  
one of which, a little old mouldy volume of philoso-  
phical maxims, was his favourite reading. This he  
thumbed and pondered over day by day; applying  
every maxim to his own particular case, provided it  
had a little tinge of wholesome bitterness, and treated  
of the injustice of the world.

Yet he is social and kind-hearted, and provided he  
can be diverted from his wrongs and his philosophy,  
is an entertaining companion. I like these old weath-  
er-beaten sons of fortune, and enjoy their rough  
campaigning anecdotes. In the course of my visit to  
the one in question, I learnt some curious facts about  
an old military commander of the fortress, who seems  
to have resembled him in some respects, and to have  
had similar fortunes in the wars. These particulars  
have been augmented by inquiries among some of  
the old inhabitants of the place, particularly the fa-  
ther of Mateo Ximenes, of whose traditional stories  
the worthy I am about to introduce to the reader, is  
a favourite hero.

### THE GOVERNOR AND THE NOTARY.

In former times there ruled as governor of the  
Alhambra, a doughty old cavalier, who, from hav-

ing lost one arm in the wars, was commonly known by the name of el Gobernador Manco, or "the one-armed governor." He in fact prided himself upon being an old soldier, wore his mustachios curled up to his eyes, a pair of campaigning boots, and a Toledo as long as a spit, with his pocket handkerchief in the basket hilt.

He was, moreover, exceedingly proud and punctilious, and tenacious of all his privileges and dignities. Under his sway the immunities of the Alhambra, as a royal residence and domain, were rigidly exacted. No one was permitted to enter the fortress with firearms, or even with a sword or staff, unless he were of a certain rank; and every horseman was obliged to dismount at the gate, and lead his horse by the bridle. Now as the hill of the Alhambra rises from the very midst of the city of Granada, being, as it were, an excrescence of the capital, it must at all times be somewhat irksome to the captain-general, who commands the province, to have thus an *imperium in imperio*, a petty independent post in the very centre of his domains. It was rendered the more galling in the present instance, from the irritable jealousy of the old governor, that took fire on the least question of authority and jurisdiction, and from the loose vagrant character of the people that had gradually nestled themselves within the fortress, as in a sanctuary, and from thence carried on a system of roguery and depredation at the expense of the honest inhabitants of the city.

Thus there was a perpetual feud and heart-burning between the captain-general and the governor, the more virulent on the part of the latter, inasmuch as the smallest of two neighbouring potentates is always the most captious about his dignity. The stately palace of the captain-general stood in the Plaza Nueva, immediately at the foot of the hill of the Alhambra, and here was always a bustle and parade of guards and domestics, and city functionaries. A beetling bastion of the fortress overlooked the palace and public square in front of it; and on this bastion the old governor would occasionally strut backwards and forwards, with his Toledo girded by his side, keeping a wary eye down upon his rival, like a hawk reconnoitring his quarry from his nest in a dry tree.

Whenever he descended into the city it was in grand parade, on horseback surrounded by his guards, or in his state coach, an ancient and unwieldy Spanish edifice of carved timber and gilt leather, drawn by eight mules, with running footmen, out-riders and lackeys, on which occasions he flattered himself he impressed every beholder with awe and admiration as vicegerent of the king, though the wits of Granada, particularly those who loitered about the palace of the captain-general, were apt to sneer at his petty parade, and in allusion to the vagrant character of his subjects, to greet him with the appellation of "the king of the beggars." One of the most fruitful sources of dispute between these two doughty rivals was the right claimed by the governor to have all

things passed free of duty through the city, that were intended for the use of himself or his garrison. By degrees this privilege had given rise to extensive smuggling. A nest of contrabandistas took up their abode in the hovels of the fortress, and the numerous caves in its vicinity, and drove a thriving business under the connivance of the soldiers of the garrison.

The vigilance of the captain-general was aroused. He consulted his legal adviser and factotum, a shrewd meddling escribano, or notary, who rejoiced in an opportunity of perplexing the old potentate of the Alhambra, and involving him in a maze of legal subtilities. He advised the captain-general to insist upon the right of examining every convoy passing through the gates of his city, and he penned a long letter for him in vindication of his right. Governor Manco was a straight-forward cut-and-thrust old soldier, who hated an escribano worse than the devil, and this one in particular worse than all other escribanos.

"What!" said he, curling up his mustachios fiercely, "does the captain-general set his man of the pen to practise confusions upon me? I'll let him see that an old soldier is not to be baffled by schoolcraft."

He seized his pen and scrawled a short letter in a crabbed hand, in which, without deigning to enter into argument, he insisted on the right of transit free of search, and denounced vengeance on any custom-house officer who should lay his unhallowed hand on any convoy protected by the flag of the Alhambra. While this question was agitated between the two pragmatistical potentates, it so happened that a mule laden with supplies for the fortress arrived one day at the gate of Xenil, by which it was to traverse a suburb of the city on its way to the Alhambra. The convoy was headed by a testy old corporal, who had long served under the governor, and was a man after his own heart; as rusty and staunch as an old Toledo blade. As they approached the gate of the city, the corporal placed the banner of the Alhambra on the pack-saddle of the mule, and, drawing himself up to a perfect perpendicular, advanced with his head dressed to the front, but with the wary side-glance of a cur passing through hostile ground, ready for a snap or a snarl.

"Who goes there?" said the sentinel at the gate.

"Soldier of the Alhambra," said the corporal, without turning his head.

"What have you in charge?"

"Provisions for the garrison."

"Proceed."

The corporal marched straight forward, followed by the convoy, but had not advanced many paces before a posse of custom-house officers rushed out of a small toll-house.

"Hallo there!" cried the leader. "Mulcteer, halt, and open those packages."

The corporal wheeled round, and drew himself up in battle array. "Respect the flag of the Alhambra," said he; "these things are for the governor."

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"A figo for the governor, and a figo for his flag. Muleteer, halt, I say."

"Stop the convoy at your peril!" cried the corporal, cocking his musket; "Muleteer, proceed."

The muleteer gave his beast a hearty thwack; the town-house officer sprang forward and seized the mule; whereupon the corporal levelled his piece and shot him dead.

The street was immediately in an uproar.

The old corporal was seized, and after undergoing a dry kicks and cuffs and cudgellings, which are generally given impromptu by the mob in Spain, as a taste of the after penalties of the law, he was led with irons, and conducted to the city prison; while his comrades were permitted to proceed with the convoy, after it had been well rummaged, to the Alhambra.

The old governor was in a towering passion when he heard of this insult to his flag and capture of his corporal. For a time he stormed about the Moorish walls, and vapoured about the bastions, and looked down fire and sword upon the palace of the captain-general. Having vented the first ebullition of his wrath, he despatched a message demanding the surrender of the corporal, as to him alone belonged the right of sitting in judgment on the offences of those under his command. The captain-general, aided by a pen of the delighted escribano, replied at great length, arguing that as the offence had been committed within the walls of his city, and against one of his civil officers, it was clearly within his proper jurisdiction. The governor rejoined by a repetition of his demand; the captain-general gave a sur-render of still greater length and legal acumen; the governor became hotter and more peremptory in his demands, and the captain-general cooler and more pliant in his replies; until the old lion-hearted soldier suddenly roared with fury at being thus entangled in the meshes of legal controversy.

While the subtle escribano was thus amusing himself at the expense of the governor, he was conducting a trial of the corporal, who, mewed up in a narrow dungeon of the prison, had merely a small grated window at which to show his iron-bound visage and receive the consolations of his friends.

A mountain of written testimony was diligently piled up, according to Spanish form, by the indefatigable escribano; the corporal was completely overwhelmed by it. He was convicted of murder and sentenced to be hanged.

It was in vain the governor sent down remonstrance and menace from the Alhambra. The fatal day was at hand, and the corporal was put *in capilla*, that is to say, in the chapel of the prison, as is always done with culprits the day before execution, that they may meditate on their approaching end and repent them of their sins.

Seeing things drawing to an extremity, the old governor determined to attend to the affair in person. For this purpose he ordered out his carriage of state,

and, surrounded by his guards, rumbled down the avenue of the Alhambra into the city. Driving to the house of the escribano, he summoned him to the portal.

The eyes of the old governor gleamed like a coal at beholding the smirking man of the law advancing with an air of exultation.

"What is this I hear," cried he, "that you are about to put to death one of my soldiers?"

"All according to law—all in strict form of justice," said the self-sufficient escribano, chuckling and rubbing his hands. "I can show your excellency the written testimony in the case."

"Fetch it hither," said the governor. The escribano bustled into his office, delighted with having another opportunity of displaying his ingenuity at the expense of the hard-headed veteran.

He returned with a satchel full of papers, and began to read a long deposition with professional volubility. By this time a crowd had collected, listening with outstretched necks and gaping mouths.

"Pr'ythee, man, get into the carriage, out of this pestilent throng, that I may the better hear thee," said the governor.

The escribano entered the carriage, when, in a twinkling, the door was closed, the coachman smacked his whip—mules, carriage, guards and all dashed off at a thundering rate, leaving the crowd in gaping wonderment; nor did the governor pause until he had lodged his prey in one of the strongest dungeons of the Alhambra.

He then sent down a flag of truce in military style, proposing a cartel or exchange of prisoners—the corporal for the notary. The pride of the captain-general was piqued; he returned a contemptuous refusal, and forthwith caused a gallows, tall and strong, to be erected in the centre of the Plaza Nueva for the execution of the corporal.

"Oho! is that the game?" said Governor Manco. He gave orders, and immediately a gibbet was reared on the verge of the great beetling bastion that overlooked the Plaza. "Now," said he, in a message to the captain-general, "hang my soldier when you please; but at the same time that he is swung off in the square, look up to see your escribano dangling against the sky."

The captain-general was inflexible; troops were paraded in the square; the drums beat, the bell tolled. An immense multitude of amateurs had collected to behold the execution. On the other hand, the governor paraded his garrison on the bastion, and tolled the funeral dirge of the notary from the Torre de la Campana, or Tower of the Bell.

The notary's wife pressed through the crowd with a whole progeny of little embryo escribanos at her heels, and throwing herself at the feet of the captain-general, implored him not to sacrifice the life of her husband and the welfare of herself and her numerous little ones, to a point of pride; "for you know the old governor too well," said she, "to doubt that he

will put his threat in execution, if you hang the soldier."

The captain-general was overpowered by her tears and lamentations, and the clamours of her callow brood. The corporal was sent up to the Alhambra, under a guard, in his gallows' garb, like a hooded friar, but with head erect and a face of iron. The escribano was demanded in exchange, according to the cartel. The once bustling and self-sufficient man of the law was rawn forth from his dungeon more dead than alive. All his flippancy and conceit had evaporated; his hair, it is said, had nearly turned grey with affright, and he had a downcast, dogged look, as if he still felt the halter round his neck.

The old governor stuck his one arm a-kimbo, and for a moment surveyed him with an iron smile. "Henceforth, my friend," said he, "moderate your zeal in hurrying others to the gallows; be not too certain of your safety, even though you should have the law on your side; and above all, take care how you play off your school-craft another time upon an old soldier."

#### GOVERNOR MANCO AND THE SOLDIER.

WHEN Governor Manco, or "the one-armed," kept up a show of military state in the Alhambra, he became nettled at the reproaches continually cast upon his fortress, of being a nestling place of rogues and contrabandistas. On a sudden, the old potentate determined on reform, and setting vigorously to work, ejected whole nests of vagabonds out of the fortress and the gipsy caves with which the surrounding hills are honey-combed. He sent out soldiers, also, to patrol the avenues and footpaths, with others to take up all suspicious persons.

One bright summer morning, a patrol, consisting of the testy old corporal who had distinguished himself in the affair of the notary, a trumpeter and two privates, was seated under the garden wall of the Generalife, beside the road which leads down from the Mountain of the Sun, when they heard the tramp of a horse, and a male voice singing in rough, though not unmusical tones, an old Castilian campaigning song.

Presently they beheld a sturdy, sun-burnt fellow, clad in the ragged garb of a foot soldier, leading a powerful Arabian horse, caparisoned in the ancient Moresco fashion.

Astonished at the sight of a strange soldier descending steed in hand, from that solitary mountain, the corporal stepped forth and challenged him.

"Who goes there?"

"A friend."

"Who and what are you?"

"A poor soldier just from the wars, with a cracked crown and empty purse for a reward."

By this time they were enabled to view him more narrowly. He had a black patch across his forehead which, with a grizzled beard, added to a certain devil cast of countenance, while a slight squint threw into the whole an occasional gleam of roguish good humour.

Having answered the questions of the patrol, the soldier seemed to consider himself entitled to make others in return. "May I ask," said he, "what city is that which I see at the foot of the hill?"

"What city!" cried the trumpeter; "come, that's too bad. Here's a fellow lurking about the Mountain of the Sun, and demands the name of the great city of Granada!"

"Granada! Madre di Dios! can it be possible?"

"Perhaps not!" rejoined the trumpeter; "and perhaps you have no idea that yonder are the towers of the Alhambra."

"Son of a trumpet," replied the stranger, "do not trifle with me; if this be indeed the Alhambra, I have some strange matters to reveal to the governor."

"You will have an opportunity," said the corporal "for we mean to take you before him." By this time the trumpeter had seized the bridle of the steed, the two privates had each secured an arm of the soldier, the corporal put himself in front, gave the word "Forward—march!" and away they marched for the Alhambra.

The sight of a ragged foot soldier and a fine Arabian horse, brought in captive by the patrol, attracted the attention of all the idlers of the fortress, and of those gossip groups that generally assemble about wells and fountains at early dawn. The wheel of the cistern paused in its rotations, and the slipshod servant-maid stood gaping, with pitcher in hand, as the corporal passed by with his prize. A motley train gradually gathered in the rear of the escort.

Knowing nods and winks and conjectures passed from one to another. "It is a deserter," said one. "A contrabandista," said another; "A bandalero," said a third;—until it was affirmed that a captain of a desperate band of robbers had been captured by the prowess of the corporal and his patrol. "Well, well," said the old crenes, one to another, "captain or no let him get out of the grasp of old Governor Manco, he can, though he is but one-handed."

Governor Manco was seated in one of the inner halls of the Alhambra, taking his morning's cup of chocolate in company with his confessor, a fat Franciscan friar, from the neighbouring convent. A demure, dark-eyed damsel of Malaga, the daughter of his housekeeper, was attending upon him. The woman hinted that the damsel who, with all her demureness was a sly buxom baggage, had found out a soft spot in the iron heart of the old governor, and held complete control over him. But let that pass—the domestic affairs of these mighty potentates of the court should not be too narrowly scrutinized.

When word was brought that a suspicious stranger had been taken lurking about the fortress, and was



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ually in the outer court, in durance of the corpo-  
l, waiting the pleasure of his excellency, the pride  
nd stateliness of office swelled the bosom of the go-  
emor. Giving back his chocolate cup into the hands  
the demure damsel, he called for his basket-hilted  
word, girded it to his side, twirled up his musta-  
sions, took his seat in a large high-backed chair, as-  
umed a bitter and forbidding aspect, and ordered  
the prisoner into his presence. The soldier was  
ought in, still closely pinioned by his captors, and  
arded by the corporal. He maintained, however,  
resolute self-confident air, and returned the sharp,  
rutinizing look of the governor with an easy squint,  
hich by no means pleased the punctilious old po-  
tante.

"Well, culprit," said the governor, after he had  
garded him for a moment in silence, "what have  
you to say for yourself—who are you?"

"A soldier, just from the wars, who has brought  
ay nothing but scars and bruises."

"A soldier—humph—a foot soldier by your garb.  
understand you have a fine Arabian horse. I pre-  
sume you brought him too from the wars, beside  
our scars and bruises."

"May it please your excellency, I have something  
range to tell about that horse. Indeed I have one  
the most wonderful things to relate. Something  
o that concerns the security of this fortress, indeed  
of all Granada. But it is a matter to be imparted  
ly to your private ear, or in presence of such only  
as are in your confidence.

The governor considered for a moment, and then  
irected the corporal and his men to withdraw, but  
o post themselves outside of the door, and be ready  
a call. "This holy friar," said he, "is my confes-  
or, you may say anything in his presence—and this  
damsel," nodding towards the handmaid, who had  
ntered with an air of great curiosity, "this damsel  
o great secrecy and discretion, and to be trusted  
with anything."

The soldier gave a glance between a squint and a  
er at the demure handmaid. "I am perfectly  
illing," said he, "that the damsel should re-  
ain."

When all the rest had withdrawn, the soldier com-  
enced his story. He was a fluent, smooth-tongued  
rlet, and had a command of language above his  
pparent rank.

"May it please your excellency," said he, "I am,  
I before observed, a soldier, and have seen some  
ard service, but my term of enlistment being expired,  
was discharged, not long since, from the army at  
alladolid, and set out on foot for my native village  
Andalusia. Yesterday evening the sun went down  
I was traversing a great dry plain of Old Castile.

"Hold," cried the governor, "what is this you  
y? Old Castile is some two or three hundred  
iles from this."

"Even so," replied the soldier coolly, "I told  
our excellency I had strange things to relate; but

not more strange than true; as your excellency will  
find, if you will deign me a patient hearing."

"Proceed, culprit!" said the governor, twirling  
up his mustachios.

"As the sun went down," continued the soldier,  
"I cast my eyes about in search of some quarters  
for the night, but far as my sight could reach, there  
were no signs of habitation. I saw that I should  
have to make my bed on the naked plain, with my  
knapsack for a pillow; but your excellency is an old  
soldier, and knows that to one who has been in the  
wars, such a night's lodging is no great hardship."

The governor nodded assent, as he drew his pocket-  
handkerchief out of the basket-hilt, to drive away a  
fly that buzzed about his nose.

"Well, to make a long story short," continued the  
soldier, "I trudged forward for several miles until I  
came to a bridge over a deep ravine, through which  
ran a little thread of water, almost dried up by the  
summer heat. At one end of the bridge was a  
Moorish tower, the upper end all in ruins, but a vault  
in the foundation quite entire. Here, thinks I, is a  
good place to make a halt; so I went down to the  
stream, took a hearty drink, for the water was pure  
and sweet, and I was parched with thirst; then,  
opening my wallet, I took out an onion and a few  
crusts, which were all my provisions, and seating  
myself on a stone on the margin of the stream, began  
to make my supper; intending afterwards to quarter  
myself for the night in the vault of the tower; and  
capital quarters they would have been for a cam-  
paigner just from the wars, as your excellency, who  
is an old soldier, may suppose."

"I have put up gladly with worse in my time,"  
said the governor, returning his pocket-handkerchief  
into the hilt of his sword.

"While I was quietly crunching my crust," pur-  
sued the soldier, "I heard something stir within the  
vault; I listened—it was the tramp of a horse. By  
and bye, a man came forth from a door in the founda-  
tion of the tower, close by the water's edge, leading  
a powerful horse by the bridle. I could not well  
make out what he was by the star-light. It had a  
suspicious look to be lurking among the ruins of a  
tower, in that wild solitary place. He might be a  
mere wayfarer, like myself; he might be a contra-  
bandista; he might be a bandalero! what of that?  
thank heaven and my poverty, I had nothing to lose;  
so I sat still and crunched my crusts.

"He led his horse to the water, close by where I  
was sitting, so that I had a fair opportunity of re-  
connoitring him. To my surprise he was dressed  
in a Moorish garb, with a cuirass of steel, and a  
polished scull-cap, that I distinguished by the reflec-  
tion of the stars upon it. His horse, too, was  
harnessed in the Moresco fashion, with great shovel  
stirrups. He led him, as I said, to the side of the  
stream, into which the animal plunged his head al-  
most to the eyes, and drank until I thought he would  
have burst.

“‘Comrade,’ said I, ‘your steed drinks well; it’s a good sign when a horse plunges his muzzle bravely into the water.’

“‘He may well drink,’ said the stranger, speaking with a Moorish accent, ‘it is a good year since he had his last draught.’

“‘By Santiago,’ said I, ‘that beats even the camels that I have seen in Africa. But come, you seem to be something of a soldier, will you sit down and take part of a soldier’s fare?’ In fact I felt the want of a companion in this lonely place, and was willing to put up with an infidel. Besides, as your excellency well knows, a soldier is never very particular about the faith of his company, and soldiers of all countries are comrades on peaceable ground.”

The governor again nodded assent.

“Well, as I was saying, I invited him to share my supper, such as it was, for I could not do less in common hospitality. ‘I have no time to pause for meat or drink,’ said he, ‘I have a long journey to make before morning.’

“‘In which direction?’ said I.

“‘Andalusia,’ said he.

“‘Exactly my route,’ said I, ‘so, as you won’t stop and eat with me, perhaps you will let me mount and ride with you. I see your horse is of a powerful frame, I’ll warrant he’ll carry double.’

“‘Agreed,’ said the trooper; and it would not have been civil and soldier-like to refuse, especially as I had offered to share my supper with him. So up he mounted, and up I mounted behind him.

“‘Hold fast,’ said he, ‘my steed goes like the wind.’

“‘Never fear me,’ said I, and so off we set.

“From a walk the horse soon passed to a trot, from a trot to a gallop, and from a gallop to a harum scarum scamper. It seemed as if rocks, trees, houses, every thing, flew hurry scurry behind us.

“‘What town is this?’ said I.

“‘Segovia,’ said he; and before the word was out of his mouth, the towers of Segovia were out of sight. We swept up the Guadarama mountains, and down by the Escorial; and we skirted the walls of Madrid, and we scoured away across the plains of La Mancha. In this way we went up hill and down dale, by towers and cities, all buried in deep sleep, and across mountains, and plains, and rivers, just glimmering in the starlight.

“To make a long story short, and not to fatigue your excellency, the trooper suddenly pulled up on the side of a mountain. ‘Here we are,’ said he, ‘at the end of our journey.’ I looked about, but could see no signs of habitation; nothing but the mouth of a cavern. While I looked I saw multitudes of people in Moorish dresses, some on horseback, some on foot, arriving as if borne by the wind from all points of the compass, and hurrying into the mouth of the cavern, like bees into a hive. Before I could ask a question, the trooper struck his long Moorish spurs into the horse’s flanks and dashed in with the throng.

We passed along a steep winding way, that descended into the very bowels of the mountain. As we pushed on, a light began to glimmer up, by little and little like the first glimmerings of day, but what caused I could not discern. It grew stronger and stronger and enabled me to see every thing around. I noticed, as we passed along, great caverns, opening to the right and left, like halls in an arsenal. In some there were shields, and helmets, and cuirasses and lances, and cimeters, hanging against the wall; in others there were great heaps of warlike munitions, and camp equipage lying upon the ground.

“It would have done your excellency’s heart good being an old soldier, to have seen such grand provision for war. Then, in other caverns, there were long rows of horsemen armed to the teeth, with lances raised and banners unfurled all ready for the field; but they all sat motionless in their saddles like so many statues. In other halls were warriors sleeping on the ground beside their horses, and foot soldiers in groups ready to fall into the ranks. All were in old-fashioned Moorish dresses and armour.

“Well, your excellency, to cut a long story short we at length entered an immense cavern, or I may say palace, of grotto work, the walls of which seemed to be veined with gold and silver, and to sparkle with diamonds and sapphires and all kinds of precious stones. At the upper end sat a Moorish king on a golden throne, with his nobles on each side, and a guard of African blacks with drawn cimeters. All the crowd that continued to flock in, and amounted to thousands and thousands, passed one by one before his throne, each paying homage as he passed. Some of the multitude were dressed in magnificent robes, without stain or blemish, and sparkling with jewels; others in burnished and enamelled armour; while others were in mouldered and mildewed garments, and in armour all battered and dented and covered with rust.

“I had hitherto held my tongue, for your excellency well knows, it is not for a soldier to ask many questions when on duty, but I could keep silent no longer.

“‘Pr’ythee, comrade,’ said I, ‘what is the meaning of all this?’

“‘This,’ said the trooper, ‘is a great and fearful mystery. Know, O Christian, that you see before you the court and army of Boabdil, the last king of Granada.’

“‘What is this you tell me?’ cried I. ‘Boabdil and his court were exiled from the land hundreds of years ago, and all died in Africa.’

“‘So it is recorded in your lying chronicles,’ replied the Moor, ‘but know that Boabdil and the warriors who made the last struggle for Granada were all shut up in the mountain by powerful enchantment. As for the king and army that marched forth from Granada at the time of the surrender, they were a mere phantom train of spirits and demons, permitted to assume those shapes to deceive the Christian

And furthermore let me tell you, friend, that all Spain is a country under the power of enchantment. There is not a mountain cave, not a lonely watch-tower in the plains, nor ruined castle on the hills, but has some spell-bound warriors sleeping from age to age within its vaults, until the sins are expiated for which Allah permitted the dominion to pass for a time out of the hands of the faithful. Once every year, on the eve of St John, they are released from enchantment, from sun-set to sun-rise, and permitted to repair here to pay homage to their sovereign! and the crowds which you beheld swarming into the cavern are Moslem warriors from their haunts in all parts of Spain. For my own part, you saw the ruined tower of the bridge in Old Castile, where I have now wintered and summered for many hundred years, and where I must be back again by day-break. As to the battalions of horse and foot which you beheld draw up in array in the neighbouring caverns, they are the spell-bound warriors of Granada. It is written in the book of fate, that when the enchantment is broken, Boabdil will descend from the mountain at the head of this army, resume his throne in the Alhambra and his sway of Granada, and gathering together the enchanted warriors from all parts of Spain, will reconquer the Peninsula and restore it to Moslem rule.

“And when shall this happen?” said I.

“Allah alone knows: we had hoped the day of deliverance was at hand; but there reigns at present a vigilant governor in the Alhambra, a staunch old soldier, well known as Governor Manco. While such a warrior holds command of the very out-post, and stands ready to check the first irruption from the mountain, I fear Boabdil and his soldiery must be content to rest upon their arms.”

Here the governor raised himself somewhat perpendicularly, adjusted his sword, and twirled up his mustachios.

“To make a long story short, and not to fatigue your excellency, the trooper, having given me this account, dismounted from his steed.

“Tarry here,” said he, “and guard my steed while I go and bow the knee to Boabdil.” So saying, he strode away among the throng that pressed forward to the throne.

“What’s to be done?” thought I, when thus left to myself; “shall I wait here until this infidel returns to whisk me off on his goblin steed, the Lord knows where; or shall I make the most of my time and beat a retreat from this hobgoblin community?” A soldier’s mind is soon made up, as your excellency well knows. As to the horse, he belonged to an avowed enemy of the faith and the realm, and was a fair prize according to the rules of war. So hoisting myself from the crupper into the saddle, I turned the reins, struck the Moorish stirrups into the sides of the steed, and put him to make the best of his way out of the passage by which he had entered. As we scoured by the halls where the Moslem horse-

men sat in motionless battalions, I thought I heard the clang of armour and a hollow murmur of voices. I gave the steed another taste of the stirrups, and doubled my speed. There was now a sound behind me like a rushing blast; I heard the clatter of a thousands hoofs; a countless throng overtook me. I was borne along in the press, and hurled forth from the mouth of the cavern, while thousands of shadowy forms were swept off in every direction by the four winds of heaven.

“In the whirl and confusion of the scene I was thrown senseless to the earth. When I came to myself I was lying on the brow of a hill with the Arabian steed standing beside me; for, in falling, my arm had slipped within the bridle, which, I presume, prevented his whisking off to Old Castile.

“Your excellency may easily judge of my surprise on looking round, to behold hedges of aloes and Indian figs and other proofs of a southern climate, and to see a great city below me, with towers, and palaces, and a grand cathedral.

“I descended the hill cautiously, leading my steed, for I was afraid to mount him again, lest he should play me some slippery trick. As I descended I met with your patrol, who let me into the secret that it was Granada that lay before me; and that I was actually under the walls of the Alhambra, the fortress of the redoubted Governor Manco, the terror of all enchanted Moslems. When I heard this, I determined at once to seek your excellency, to inform you of all that I had seen, and to warn you of the perils that surround and undermine you, that you may take measures in time to guard your fortress, and the kingdom itself, from this intestine army that lurks in the very bowels of the land.”

“And pr’ythee, friend, you who are a veteran campaigner, and have seen so much service,” said the governor, “how would you advise me to proceed, in order to prevent this evil?”

“It is not for a humble private of the ranks,” said the soldier modestly, “to pretend to instruct a commander of your excellency’s sagacity; but it appears to me that your excellency might cause all the caves and entrances into the mountain to be walled up with solid mason work, so that Boabdil and his army might be completely corked up in their subterranean habitation. If the good father too,” added the soldier, reverently bowing to the friar, and devoutly crossing himself, “would consecrate the barricadoes with his blessing, and put up a few crosses and relics and images of saints, I think they might withstand all the power of infidel enchantments.”

“They doubtless would be of great avail,” said the friar.

The governor now placed his arm a-kimbo with his hand resting on the hilt of his Toledo, fixed his eye upon the soldier, and gently wagging his head from one side to the other,

“So, friend,” said he, “then you really suppose I am to be gulled with this cock-and-ball story about

enchanted mountains and enchanted Moors? Hark ye, culprit!—not another word. An old soldier you may be, but you'll find you have an older soldier to deal with, and one not easily out-generalled. Ho! guards there! put this fellow in irons."

The demure handmaid would have put in a word in favour of the prisoner, but the governor silenced her with a look.

As they were pinioning the soldier, one of the guards felt something of bulk in his pocket, and drawing it forth, found a long leathern purse that appeared to be well filled. Holding it by one corner, he turned out the contents upon the table before the governor, and never did freebooter's bag make more gorgeous delivery. Out tumbled rings and jewels, and rosaries of pearls, and sparkling diamond crosses, and a profusion of ancient golden coin, some of which fell jingling to the floor, and rolled away to the uttermost parts of the chamber.

For a time the functions of justice were suspended; there was an universal scramble after the glittering fugitives. The governor alone, who was imbued with true Spanish pride, maintained his stately decorum, though his eye betrayed a little anxiety until the last coin and jewel was restored to the sack.

The friar was not so calm; his whole face glowed like a furnace, and his eyes twinkled and flashed at sight of the rosaries and crosses.

"Sacriligious wretch that thou art!" exclaimed he; "what church or sanctuary hast thou been plundering of these sacred relics?"

"Neither one nor the other, holy father. If they be sacriligious spoils, they must have been taken in times long past, by the infidel trooper I have mentioned. I was just going to tell his excellency when he interrupted me, that on taking possession of the trooper's horse, I unhooked a leathern sack which hung at the saddle-bow, and which I presume contained the plunder of his campaignings in days of old, when the Moors overran the country."

"Mighty well; at present you will make up your mind to take up your quarters in a chamber of the Vermilion Towers, which, though not under a magic spell, will hold you as safe as any cave of your enchanted Moors."

"Your excellency will do as you think proper," said the prisoner coolly. "I shall be thankful to your excellency for any accommodation in the fortress. A soldier who has been in the wars, as your excellency well knows, is not particular about his lodgings: provided I have a snug dungeon and regular rations, I shall manage to make myself comfortable. I would only entreat that while your excellency is so careful about me, you would have an eye to your fortress, and think on the hint I dropped about stopping up the entrances to the mountain."

Here ended the scene. The prisoner was conducted to a strong dungeon in the Vermilion Towers, the Arabian steed was led to his excellency's stable, and the trooper's sack was deposited in his excel-

lency's strong box. To the latter, it is true, the friar made some demur, questioning whether the sacred relics, which were evidently sacriligious spoils, should not be placed in custody of the church; but as the governor was peremptory on the subject, and was absolute lord in the Alhambra, the friar discreetly dropped the discussion, but determined to convey intelligence of the fact to the church dignitaries in Granada.

To explain these prompt and rigid measures on the part of old Governor Manco, it is proper to observe, that about this time the Alpuxarra mountains in the neighbourhood of Granada were terribly infested by a gang of robbers, under the command of a daring chief named Manuel Borasco, who were accustomed to prowl about the country, and even to enter the city in various disguises, to gain intelligence of the departure of convoys of merchandise, or travellers with well-lined purses, whom they took care to waylay in distant and solitary passes of their road. These repeated and daring outrages had awakened the attention of government, and the commanders of the various posts had received instructions to be on the alert and to take up all suspicious stragglers. Governor Manco was particularly zealous in consequence of the various stigmas that had been cast upon his fortress, and he now doubted not that he had entrapped some formidable desperado of this gang.

In the mean time the story took wind, and became the talk, not merely of the fortress, but of the whole city of Granada. It was said that the noted robber Manuel Borasco, the terror of the Alpuxarras, had fallen into the clutches of old Governor Manco, and been cooped up by him in a dungeon of the Vermilion Towers; and every one who had been robbed by him locked to recognise the marauder. The Vermilion Towers, as is well known, stand apart from the Alhambra on a sister hill, separated from the main avenue. There were no outer walls, but a sentinel patrolled before the tower. The window of the chamber in which the soldier was confined, was strongly grated, and looked upon a small esplanade. Here the good folks of Granada repaired to gaze at him, as they would at a laughing hyena, grinning through the cage of a menagerie. Nobody, however, recognised him for Manuel Borasco, for that terrible robber was noted for a ferocious physiognomy, and had by no means the good-humoured squint of the prisoner. Visitors came not merely from the city, but from all parts of the country; but nobody knew him, and there began to be doubts in the minds of the common people whether there might not be some truth in his story. That Boabdil and his army were shut up in the mountain, was an old tradition which many of the ancient inhabitants had heard from their fathers. Numbers went up to the Mountain of the Sun, or rather of St Elena, in search of the cave mentioned by the soldier; and saw and peeped into the deep dark pit, descending, no one knows how



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far, into the mountain, and which remains there to  
 this day—the fabled entrance to the subterranean  
 abode of Boabdil.

By degrees the soldier became popular with the  
 common people. A freebooter of the mountains is by  
 no means the opprobrious character in Spain that a  
 robber is in any other country: on the contrary, he  
 is a kind of chivalrous personage in the eyes of the  
 lower classes. There is always a disposition, also, to  
 cavil at the conduct of those in command, and many  
 began to murmur at the high-handed measures of old  
 Governor Manco, and to look upon the prisoner in  
 the light of a martyr.

The soldier, moreover, was a merry, waggish fel-  
 low, that had a joke for every one who came near his  
 window, and a soft speech for every female. He had  
 procured an old guitar also, and would sit by his  
 window and sing ballads and love ditties, to the deli-  
 ght of the women of the neighbourhood, who would  
 assemble on the esplanade in the evenings and dance  
 boleros to his music. Having trimmed off his rough  
 beard, his sun-burnt face found favour in the eyes of  
 the fair, and the demure handmaid of the governor  
 declared that his squint was perfectly irresistible.  
 This kind-hearted damsel had from the first evinced  
 a deep sympathy in his fortunes, and having in vain  
 tried to mollify the governor, had set to work pri-  
 vately to mitigate the rigour of his dispensations.  
 Every day she brought the prisoner some crumbs of  
 comfort which had fallen from the governor's table,  
 or been abstracted from his larder, together with,  
 now and then, a consoling bottle of choice Val de  
 Peñas, or rich Malaga.

While this petty treason was going on, in the very  
 centre of the old governor's citadel, a storm of open  
 war was brewing up among his external foes. The  
 circumstance of a bag of gold and jewels having been  
 found upon the person of the supposed robber, had  
 been reported, with many exaggerations, in Granada.  
 A question of territorial jurisdiction was immediately  
 started by the governor's inveterate rival, the cap-  
 tain-general. He insisted that the prisoner had been  
 captured without the precincts of the Alhambra, and  
 within the rules of his authority. He demanded his  
 body, therefore, and the *spolia opima* taken with  
 him. Due information having been carried likewise  
 by the friar to the grand Inquisitor of the crosses and  
 rosaries, and other reliques contained in the bag, he  
 claimed the culprit as having been guilty of sacrilege,  
 and insisted that his plunder was due to the church,  
 and his body to the next *auto de fe*. The feuds ran  
 high, the governor was furious, and swore, rather  
 than surrender his captive, he would hang him up  
 within the Alhambra, as a spy caught within the pur-  
 lieus of the fortress.

The captain-general threatened to send a body of  
 soldiers to transfer the prisoner from the Vermilion  
 Towers to the city. The grand Inquisitor was equally  
 bent upon despatching a number of the familiars of  
 the Holy Office. Word was brought late at night to

the governor of these machinations. "Let them  
 come," said he, "they'll find me beforehand with  
 them; he must rise bright and early who would take  
 in an old soldier." He accordingly issued orders to  
 have the prisoner removed, at day-break, to the donjon  
 keep within the walls of the Alhambra. "And d'ye  
 hear, child," said he to his demure handmaid, "tap  
 at my door, and wake me before cock-crow, that  
 I may see to the matter myself."

The day dawned, the cock crowed, but nobody  
 tapped at the door of the governor. The sun rose  
 high above the mountain tops, and glittered in at his  
 casement, ere the governor was awakened from his  
 morning dreams by his veteran corporal, who stood  
 before him with terror stamped upon his iron visage.

"He's off! he's gone!" cried the corporal, gasping  
 for breath.

"Who's off—who's gone?"

"The soldier, the robber—the devil, for aught I  
 know; his dungeon is empty, but the door locked;  
 no one knows how he has escaped out of it."

"Who saw him last?"

"Your handmaid; she brought him his supper."

"Let her be called instantly."

Here was new matter of confusion. The chamber  
 of the demure damsel was likewise empty, her bed  
 had not been slept in: she had doubtless gone off  
 with the culprit, as she had appeared, for some days  
 past, to have frequent conversations with him.

This was wounding the old governor in a tender  
 part, but he had scarce time to wince at it, when new  
 misfortunes broke upon his view. On going into his  
 cabinet he found his strong box open, the leather  
 purse of the trooper abstracted, and with it, a couple  
 of corpulent bags of doubloons.

But how and which way had the fugitives escaped?  
 An old peasant who lived in a cottage by the road-  
 side, leading up into the Sierra, declared that he had  
 heard the tramp of a powerful steed just before day-  
 break, passing up into the mountains. He had looked  
 out at his casement, and could just distinguish a  
 horseman, with a female seated before him.

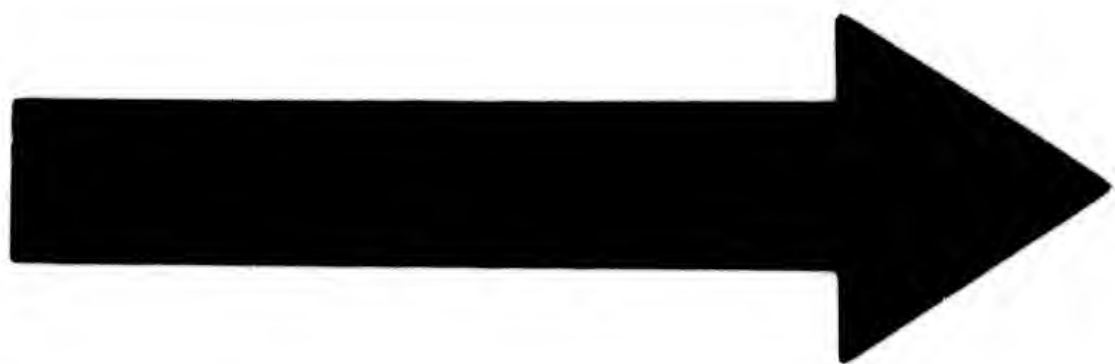
"Search the stables!" cried Governor Manco. The  
 stables were searched; all the horses were in their  
 stalls, excepting the Arabian steed. In his place was  
 a stout cudgel tied to the manger, and on it a label  
 bearing these words, "A gift to Governor Manco,  
 from an Old Soldier."

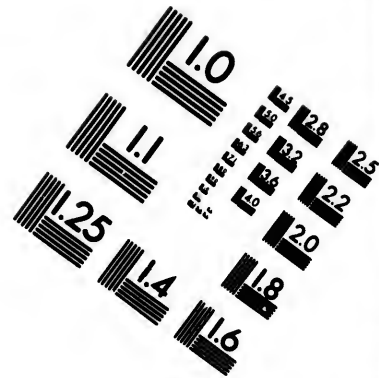
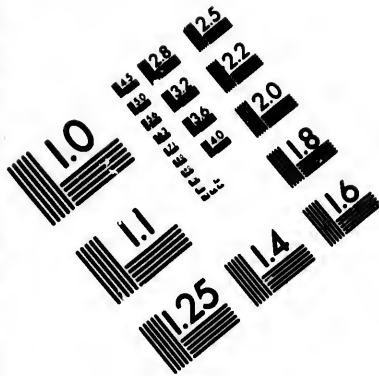
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### THE TWO DISCREET STATUES.

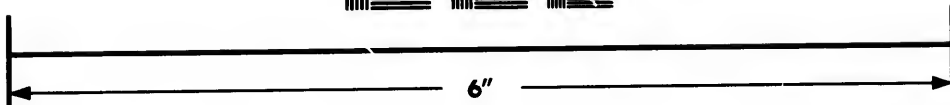
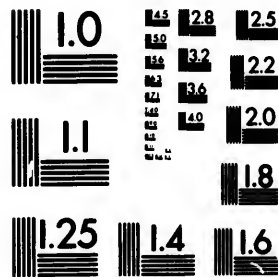
THERE lived once in a waste apartment of the  
 Alhambra, a merry little fellow named Lope Sanchez,  
 who worked in the gardens, and was as brisk and







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blithe as a grasshopper, singing all day long. He was the life and soul of the fortress; when his work was over, he would sit on one of the stone benches of the esplanade and strum his guitar, and sing long ditties about the Cid, and Bernardo del Carpio, and Fernando del Pulgar, and other Spanish heroes, for the amusement of the old soldiers of the fortress, or would strike up a merrier tune, and set the girls dancing boleros and fandangos.

Like most little men, Lope Sanchez had a strapping buxom dame for a wife, who could almost have put him in her pocket; but he lacked the usual poor man's lot—instead of ten children he had but one. This was a little black-eyed girl about twelve years of age, named Sanchica, who was as merry as himself, and the delight of his heart. She played about him as he worked in the gardens, danced to his guitar as he sat in the shade, and ran as wild as a young fawn about the groves and alleys and ruined halls of the Alhambra.

It was now the eve of the blessed St John, and the holiday loving gossips of the Alhambra, men, women, and children, went up at night to the mountain of the sun, which rises above the Generalife, to keep their midsummer vigil on its level summit. It was a bright moonlight night, and all the mountains were grey and silvery, and the city, with its domes and spires, lay in shadows below, and the Vega was like a fairy land, with haunted streams gleaming among its dusky groves. On the highest part of the mountain they lit up a bonfire, according to an old custom of the country handed down from the Moors. The inhabitants of the surrounding country were keeping a similar vigil, and bonfires, here and there in the Vega, and along the folds of the mountains, blazed up palely in the moonlight.

The evening was gaily passed in dancing to the guitar of Lope Sanchez, who was never so joyous as when on a holiday revel of the kind. While the dance was going on, the little Sanchica with some of her playmates sported among the ruins of an old Moorish fort that crowns the mountain, when in gathering pebbles in the fosse, she found a small hand curiously carved of jet, the fingers closed, and the thumb firmly clasped upon them. Overjoyed with her good fortune, she ran to her mother with her prize. It immediately became a subject of sage speculation, and was eyed by some with superstitious distrust. "Throw it away," said one; "it's Moorish—depend upon it there's mischief and witchcraft in it." "By no means," said another; "you may sell it for something to the jewellers of the Zacatin." In the midst of this discussion an old tawny soldier drew near, who had served in Africa, and was as swarthy as a Moor. He examined the hand with a knowing look. "I have seen things of this kind," said he, "among the Moors of Barbary. It is a great virtue to guard against the evil eye, and all kinds of spells and enchantments. I give you joy, friend Lope, this bodes good luck to your child."

Upon hearing this, the wife of Lope Sanchez tied the little hand of jet to a ribbon, and hung it round the neck of her daughter.

The sight of this talisman called up all the favourite superstitions about the Moors. The dance was neglected, and they sat in groups on the ground, telling old legendary tales handed down from their ancestors. Some of their stories turned upon the wonders of the very mountain upon which they were seated, which is a famous hobgoblin region. One ancient crone gave a long account of the subterranean palace in the bowels of that mountain, where Boabdil and all his Moslem court are said to remain enchanted. "Among yonder ruins," said she, pointing to some crumbling walls and mounds of earth on a distant part of the mountain, "there is a deep black pit that goes down into the very heart of the mountain. For all the money in Granada I would not look down into it. Once upon a time a poor man of the Alhambra, who tended goats upon this mountain, scrambled down into that pit after a kid that had fallen in. He came out again all wild and staring, and told such things of what he had seen, that every one thought his brain was turned. He raved for a day or two about the hobgoblin Moors that had pursued him in the cavern, and could hardly be persuaded to drive his goats up again to the mountain. He did so at last, but, poor man, he never came down again. The neighbours found his goats browsing about the Moorish ruins, and his hat and mantle lying near the mouth of the pit, but he was never more heard of."

The little Sanchica listened with breathless attention to this story. She was of a curious nature, and felt immediately a great hankering to peep into this dangerous pit. Stealing away from her companions, she sought the distant ruins, and after groping for some time among them, came to a small hollow, or basin, near the brow of the mountain, where it swept steeply down into the valley of the Darro. In the centre of this basin yawned the mouth of the pit. Sanchica ventured to the verge and peeped in. All was black as pitch, and gave an idea of immeasurable depth. Her blood ran cold; she drew back, then peeped again, then would have run away, then took another peep—the very horror of the thing was delightful to her. At length she rolled a large stone and pushed it over the brink. For some time it fell in silence; then struck some rocky projection with a violent crash, then rebounded from side to side, rumbling and tumbling, with a noise like thunder, then made a final splash into water, far, far below—and all was again silent.

The silence, however, did not long continue. It seemed as if something had been awakened within this dreary abyss. A murmuring sound gradually rose out of the pit, like the hum and buzz of a beehive. It grew louder and louder; there was the confusion of voices as of a distant multitude, together with the faint din of arms, clash of cymbals.

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mountain.

The child drew off with silent awe, and hastened  
back to the place where she had left her parents and  
their companions. All were gone. The bonfire was  
extinguished, and its last wreath of smoke curling up in  
the moonshine. The distant fires that had blazed  
along the mountains and in the Vega were all ex-  
tinguished, and every thing seemed to have sunk to  
repose. Sanchica called her parents and some of her  
companions by name, but received no reply. She ran  
down the side of the mountain, and by the gardens  
of the Generalife, until she arrived in the alley of  
trees leading to the Alhambra, when she seated her-  
self on a bench of a woody recess to recover breath.  
The bell from the watch-tower of the Alhambra tolled  
midnight. There was a deep tranquillity, as if all  
nature slept; excepting the low tinkling sound of an  
unseen stream that ran under the covert of the  
bushes. The breathing sweetness of the atmosphere  
was lulling her to sleep, when her eye was caught by  
something glittering at a distance, and to her surprise  
she beheld a long cavalcade of Moorish warriors  
pouring down the mountain side and along the leafy  
avenues. Some were armed with lance and shields;  
others with cineters and battle-axes, and with po-  
lished cuirasses that flashed in the moon-beams. Their  
horses pranced proudly and clamped upon their bits,  
but their tramp caused no more sound than if they  
had been shod with felt, and the riders were all as  
pale as death. Among them rode a beautiful lady,  
with a crowned head and long golden locks entwined  
with pearls. The housings of her palfrey were of  
crimson velvet embroidered with gold, and swept the  
earth; but she rode all disconsolate, with eyes ever  
fixed upon the ground.

Then succeeded a train of courtiers magnificently  
arrayed in robes and turbans of divers colours, and  
amidst them, on a cream-coloured charger, rode King  
Boabdil el Chico, in a royal mantle covered with  
jewels, and a crown sparkling with diamonds. The  
little Sanchica knew him by his yellow beard, and  
his resemblance to his portrait, which she had often  
seen in the picture-gallery of the Generalife. She  
gazed in wonder and admiration at this royal pageant,  
as it passed glistening among the trees; but though  
she knew these monarchs and courtiers and warriors,  
so pale and silent, were out of the common course of  
nature, and things of magic and enchantment, yet  
she looked on with a bold heart, such courage did  
she derive from the mystic talisman of the hand,  
which was suspended about her neck.

The cavalcade having passed by, she rose and fol-  
lowed. It continued on to the great Gate of Justice,  
which stood wide open; the old invalid sentinels on  
duty lay on the stone benches of the barbican, buried  
in profound and apparently charmed sleep, and the  
phantom pageant swept noiselessly by them with  
launting banner and triumphant state. Sanchica

would have followed; but to her surprise she beheld  
an opening in the earth, within the barbican, leading  
down beneath the foundations of the tower. She  
entered for a little distance, and was encouraged to  
proceed by finding steps rudely hewn in the rock,  
and a vaulted passage here and there lit up by a silver  
lamp, which, while it gave light, diffused likewise  
a grateful fragrance. Venturing on, she came at  
last to a great hall, wrought out of the heart of the  
mountain, magnificently furnished in the Moorish  
style, and lighted up by silver and crystal lamps.  
Here, on an ottoman, sat an old man in Moorish  
dress, with a long white beard, nodding and dozing,  
with a staff in his hand, which seemed ever to be  
slipping from his grasp; while at a little distance sat  
a beautiful lady, in ancient Spanish dress, with a  
coronet all sparkling with diamonds, and her hair  
entwined with pearls, who was softly playing on a  
silver lyre. The little Sanchica now recollected a  
story she heard among the old people of the Alham-  
bra, concerning a Gothic princess confined in the  
centre of the mountain by an old Arabian magician,  
whom she kept bound up in magic sleep by the power  
of music.

The lady paused with surprise at seeing a mortal  
in that enchanted hall. "Is it the eve of the blessed  
St John?" said she.

"It is," replied Sanchica.

"Then for one night the magic charm is sus-  
pended. Come hither, child, and fear not. I am a  
Christian like thyself, though bound here by en-  
chantment. Touch my fetters with the talisman that  
hangs about thy neck, and for this night I shall be  
free."

So saying, she opened her robes and displayed a  
broad golden band round her waist, and a golden  
chain that fastened her to the ground. The child  
hesitated not to apply the little hand of jet to the  
golden band, and immediately the chain fell to the  
earth. At the sound the old man awoke and began  
to rub his eyes; but the lady ran her fingers over the  
chords of the lyre, and again he fell into a slumber  
and began to nod, and his staff to falter in his hand.  
"Now," said the lady, "touch his staff with the  
talismanic hand of jet." The child did so, and it fell  
from his grasp, and he sunk in a deep sleep on the  
ottoman. The lady gently laid the silver lyre on the  
ottoman, leaning it against the head of the sleeping  
magician; then touching the chords until they vibrated  
in his ear—"O potent spirit of harmony," said she,  
"continue thus to hold his senses in thralldom till the  
return of day. Now follow me, my child," continued  
she, "and thou shalt behold the Alhambra as it was  
in the days of its glory, for thou hast a magic talisman  
that reveals all enchantments." Sanchica followed  
the lady in silence. They passed up through the en-  
trance of the cavern into the barbican of the Gate of  
Justice, and thence to the Plaza de los Algibes, or es-  
planade within the fortress. This was all filled with  
Moorish soldiery, horse and foot, marshalled in



squadrons, with banners displayed. There were royal guards also at the portal, and rows of African blacks with drawn cimeters. No one spoke a word, and Sanchica passed on fearlessly after her conductress. Her astonishment increased on entering the royal palace, in which she had been reared. The broad moonshine lit up all the halls, courts, and gardens almost as brightly as if it were day, but revealed a far different scene from that to which she was accustomed. The walls of the apartment were no longer stained and rent by time. Instead of cobwebs, they were now hung with rich silks of Damascus, and the gildings and arabesque paintings were restored to their original brilliancy and freshness. The halls, instead of being naked and unfurnished, were set out with divans and ottomans of the rarest stuffs, embroidered with pearls and studded with precious gems, and all the fountains in the courts and gardens were playing.

The kitchens were again in full operation; cooks were busy preparing shadowy dishes, and roasting and boiling the phantoms of pullets and partridges; servants were hurrying to and fro with silver dishes heaped up with dainties, and arranging a delicious banquet. The Court of Lions was thronged with guards, and courtiers, and alfaquis, as in the old times of the Moors; and at the upper end, in the Saloon of Judgment, sat Boabdil on his throne, surrounded by his court, and swaying a shadowy sceptre for the night. Notwithstanding all this throng and seeming bustle, not a voice nor a footstep was to be heard; nothing interrupted the midnight silence but the splashing of the fountains. The little Sanchica followed her conductress in mute amazement about the palace, until they came to a portal opening to the vaulted passages beneath the great Tower of Comares. On each side of the portal sat the figure of a Nymph, wrought out of alabaster. Their heads were turned aside, and their regards fixed upon the same spot within the vault. The enchanted lady paused, and beckoned the child to her. "Here," said she, "is a great secret, which I will reveal to thee in reward for thy faith and courage. These discreet statues watch over a mighty treasure hidden in old times by a Moorish king. Tell thy father to search the spot on which their eyes are fixed, and he will find what will make him richer than any man in Granada. Thy innocent hands alone, however, gifted as thou art also with the talisman, can remove the treasure. Bid thy father use it discreetly, and devote a part of it to the performance of daily masses for my deliverance from this unholy enchantment."

When the lady had spoken these words, she led the child onward to the little garden of Lindaraxa, which is hard by the vault of the statues. The moon trembled upon the waters of the solitary fountain in the centre of the garden, and shed a tender light upon the orange and citron-trees. The beautiful lady plucked a branch of myrtle, and wreathed it round the head of the child. "Let this be a memento,"

said she, "of what I have revealed to thee, and a testimonial of its truth. My hour is come—I must return to the enchanted hall; follow me not, lest evil befall thee—farewell. Remember what I have said, and have masses performed for my deliverance." So saying, the lady entered a dark passage leading beneath the Tower of Comares, and was no longer seen.

The faint crowing of a cock was now heard from the cottages below the Alhambra, in the valley of the Darro, and a pale streak of light began to appear above the eastern mountains. A slight wind arose, there was a sound like the rustling of dry leaves through the courts and corridors, and door after door shut to with a jarring sound.

Sanchica returned to the scenes she had so lately beheld thronged with the shadowy multitude, but Boabdil and his phantom court were gone. The moon shone into empty halls and galleries stripped of their transient splendour, stained and dilapidated by time, and hung with cobwebs. The bat flitted about in the uncertain light, and the frog croaked from the fish-pond.

Sanchica now made the best of her way to a remote staircase that led up to the humble apartment occupied by her family. The door as usual was open, for Lope Sanchez was too poor to need bolt or bar; she crept quietly to her pallet, and, putting the myrtle wreath beneath her pillow, soon fell asleep.

In the morning she related all that had befallen her to her father. Lope Sanchez, however, treated the whole as a mere dream, and laughed at the child for her credulity. He went forth to his customary labours in the garden, but had not been there long when his little daughter came running to him almost breathless. "Father! father!" cried she, "behold the myrtle wreath which the Moorish lady bound round my head."

Lope Sanchez gazed with astonishment, for the stalk of the myrtle was of pure gold, and every leaf was a sparkling emerald! Being not much accustomed to precious stones, he was ignorant of the real value of the wreath, but he saw enough to convince him that it was something more substantial than the stuff that dreams are generally made of, and that at any rate the child had dreamt to some purpose. His first care was to enjoin the most absolute secrecy upon his daughter; in this respect, however, he was secure, for she had discretion far beyond her years or sex. He then repaired to the vault, where stood the statues of the two alabaster Nymphs. He remarked that their heads were turned from the portal, and that the regards of each were fixed upon the same point in the interior of the building. Lope Sanchez could not but admire this most discreet contrivance for guarding a secret. He drew a line from the eyes of the statues to the point of regard, made a private mark on the wall, and then retired.

All day, however, the mind of Lope Sanchez was distracted with a thousand cares. He could not help hovering within distant view of the two statues, and

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became nervous from the dread that the golden secret  
might be discovered. Every footstep that approached  
the place made him tremble. He would have given  
anything could he but have turned the heads of the  
statues, forgetting that they had looked precisely in  
the same direction for some hundreds of years, with-  
out any person being the wiser.

"A plague upon them," he would say to himself,  
"they'll betray all; did ever mortal hear of such a  
mode of guarding a secret?" Then on hearing any  
one advance, he would steal off, as though his very  
lurking near the place would awaken suspicions.  
Then he would return cautiously, and peep from a  
distance to see if every thing was secure, but the  
sight of the statues would again call forth his igni-  
nation. "Ay, there they stand," would he say,  
"always looking, and looking, and looking, just where  
they should not. Confound them! they are just like  
all their sex; if they have not tongues to tattle with,  
they'll be sure to do it with their eyes."

At length, to his relief, the long anxious day drew  
to a close. The sound of footsteps was no longer  
heard in the echoing halls of the Alhambra; the last  
stranger passed the threshold, the great portal was  
barred and bolted, and the bat and the frog, and the  
hooting owl, gradually resumed their nightly voca-  
tions in the deserted palace.

Lope Sanchez waited, however, until the night  
was far advanced, before he ventured with his little  
daughter to the hall of the two Nymphs. He found  
them looking as knowingly and mysteriously as ever  
at the secret place of deposit. "By your leaves,  
gentle ladies," thought Lope Sanchez, as he passed  
between them, "I will relieve you from this charge  
that must have set so heavy in your minds for the last  
two or three centuries." He accordingly went to  
work at the part of the wall which he had marked,  
and in a little while laid open a concealed recess, in  
which stood two great jars of porcelain. He attempt-  
ed to draw them forth, but they were immovable,  
until touched by the innocent hand of his little daugh-  
ter. With her aid he dislodged them from their  
niche, and found, to his great joy, that they were  
filled with pieces of Moorish gold, mingled with jewels  
and precious stones. Before day-light he managed  
to convey them to his chamber, and left the two  
guardian statues with their eyes still fixed on the va-  
cant wall.

Lope Sanchez had thus on a sudden become a rich  
man; but riches, as usual, brought a world of cares  
to which he had hitherto been a stranger. How was  
he to convey away his wealth with safety? How  
was he even to enter upon the enjoyment of it with-  
out awakening suspicion? Now, too, for the first  
time in his life, the dread of robbers entered into his  
mind. He looked with terror at the insecurity of  
his habitation, and went to work to barricado the  
doors and windows; yet after all his precautions he  
could not sleep soundly. His usual gaiety was at an  
end, he had no longer a joke or a song for his neigh-

hours, and, in short, became the most miserable ani-  
mal in the Alhambra. His old comrades remarked  
this alteration, pitied him heartily, and began to  
desert him; thinking he must be falling into want,  
and in danger of looking to them for assistance.  
Little did they suspect that his only calamity was  
riches.

The wife of Lope Sanchez shared his anxiety, but  
then she had ghostly comfort. We ought before this  
to have mentioned that Lope, being rather a light  
inconsiderate little man, his wife was accustomed, in  
all grave matters, to seek the counsel and ministry  
of her confessor Fray Simon, a sturdy broad-shoulder-  
ed, blue-bearded, bullet-headed friar of the neigh-  
bouring convent of San Francisco, who was in fact  
the spiritual comforter of half the good wives of the  
neighbourhood. He was, moreover, in great esteem  
among divers sisterhoods of nuns; who requited him  
for his ghostly services by frequent presents of those  
little dainties and knick-knacks manufactured in  
convents, such as delicate confections, sweet biscuits,  
and bottles of spiced cordials, found to be marvellous  
restoratives after fasts and vigils.

Fray Simon thrived in the exercise of his func-  
tions. His oily skin glistened in the sunshine as he  
toiled up the hill of the Alhambra on a sultry day.  
Yet notwithstanding his sleek condition, the knotted  
rope round his waist showed the austerity of his self-  
discipline; the multitude doffed their caps to him as  
a mirror of piety, and even the dogs scented the  
odour of sanctity that exhaled from his garments,  
and howled from their kennels as he passed.

Such was Fray Simon, the spiritual counsellor of  
the comely wife of Lope Sanchez; and as the father  
confessor is the domestic confidant of woman in  
humble life in Spain, he was soon made acquainted,  
in great secrecy, with the story of the hidden trea-  
sure.

The friar opened eyes and mouth and crossed  
himself a dozen times at the news. After a moment's  
pause, "Daughter of my soul!" said he, "know  
that thy husband has committed a double sin—a sin  
against both state and church. The treasure he  
hath thus seized upon for himself, being found in the  
royal domains, belongs of course to the crown; but  
being infidel wealth, rescued as it were from the  
very fangs of Satan, should be devoted to the church.  
Still, however, the matter may be accommodated.  
Bring hither the myrtle wreath."

When the good father beheld it, his eyes twinkled  
more than ever with admiration of the size and beauty  
of the emeralds. "This," said he, "being the first  
fruits of this discovery, should be dedicated to pious  
purposes. I will hang it up as a votive offering  
before the image of San Francisco in our chapel, and  
will earnestly pray to him, this very night, that your  
husband be permitted to remain in quiet possession of  
your wealth."

The good dame was delighted to make her peace  
with heaven at so cheap a rate, and the friar, putting

the wreath under his mantle, departed with saintly steps towards his convent.

When Lope Sanchez came home, his wife told him what had passed. He was excessively provoked, for he lacked his wife's devotion, and had for some time groaned in secret at the domestic visitations of the friar. "Woman," said he, "what hast thou done? thou hast put every thing at hazard by thy tattling."

"What!" cried the good woman, "would you forbid my disburthening my conscience to my confessor?"

"No, wife! confess as many of your own sins as you please; but as to this money-digging, it is a sin of my own, and my conscience is very easy under the weight of it."

There was no use, however, in complaining; the secret was told, and, like water spilled on the sand, was not again to be gathered. Their only chance was, that the friar would be discreet.

The next day, while Lope Sanchez was abroad, there was a humble knocking at the door, and Fray Simon entered with meek and demure countenance.

"Daughter," said he, "I have prayed earnestly to San Francisco, and he has heard my prayer. In the dead of the night the saint appeared to me in a dream, but with a frowning aspect. 'Why,' said he, 'dost thou pray to me to dispense with this treasure of the Gentiles, when thou seest the poverty of my chapel? Go to the house of Lope Sanchez, crave in my name a portion of the Moorish gold, to furnish two candlesticks for the main altar, and let him possess the residue in peace.'"

When the good woman heard of this vision, she crossed herself with awe, and going to the secret place where Lope had hid the treasure, she filled a great leathern purse with pieces of Moorish gold, and gave it to the friar. The pious monk bestowed upon her, in return, benedictions enough, if paid by Heaven, to enrich her race to the latest posterity; then slipping the purse into the sleeve of his habit, he folded his hands upon his breast, and departed with an air of humble thankfulness.

When Lope Sanchez heard of this second donation to the church, he had well nigh lost his senses. "Unfortunate man," cried he, "what will become of me? I shall be robbed by piecemeal; I shall be ruined and brought to beggary!"

It was with the utmost difficulty that his wife could pacify him, by reminding him of the countless wealth that yet remained, and how considerate it was for San Francisco to rest contented with so very small a portion.

Unluckily, Fray Simon had a number of poor relations to be provided for, not to mention some half-dozen sturdy bullet-headed orphan children, and destitute foundlings that he had taken under his care. He repeated his visits, therefore, from day to day, with solicitations on behalf of Saint Dominick, Saint Andrew, Saint James, until poor Lope was driven to

despair, and found that, unless he got out of the reach of this holy friar, he should have to make peace-offerings to every saint in the calendar. He determined, therefore, to pack up his remaining wealth, beat a secret retreat in the night, and make off to another part of the kingdom.

Full of his project, he bought a stout mule for the purpose, and tethered it in a gloomy vault underneath the Tower of the Seven Floors; the very place from whence the Belludo, or goblin horse without a head, is said to issue forth at midnight, and to scour the streets of Granada, pursued by a pack of hell-hounds. Lope Sanchez had little faith in the story, but availed himself of the dread occasioned by it, knowing that no one would be likely to pry into the subterranean stable of the phantom steed. He sent off his family in the course of the day, with orders to wait for him at a distant village of the Vega. As the night advanced, he conveyed his treasure to the vault under the tower, and having loaded his mule, he led it forth, and cautiously descended the dusky avenue.

Honest Lope had taken his measures with the utmost secrecy, imparting them to no one but the faithful wife of his bosom. By some miraculous revelation, however, they became known to Fray Simon. The zealous friar beheld these infidel treasures on the point of slipping for ever out of his grasp, and determined to have one more dash at them for the benefit of the church and San Francisco. Accordingly, when the bells had rung for animas, and all the Alhambra was quiet, he stole out of his convent, and, descending through the Gate of Justice, concealed himself among the thickets of roses and laurels that border the great avenue. Here he remained, counting the quarters of hours as they were sounded on the bells of the watch tower, and listening to the dreary howlings of owls and the distant barking of dogs from the gipsy caverns.

At length he heard the tramp of hoofs, and, through the gloom of the overshadowing trees, imperfectly beheld a steed descending the avenue. The sturdy friar chuckled at the idea of the knowing turn he was about to serve honest Lope.

Tucking up the skirts of his habit, and wriggling like a cat watching a mouse, he waited until his prey was directly before him, when darting forth from his leafy covert, and putting one hand on the shoulder and the other on the crupper, he made a vault that would not have disgraced the most experienced master of equitation, and alighted well-forked astride the steed. "Aha!" said the sturdy friar, "we shall now see who best understands the game." He had scarce uttered the words when the mule began to kick, and rear, and plunge, and then set off full speed down the hill. The friar attempted to check him, but in vain. He leaped from rock to rock, and bush to bush; the friar's habit was torn to ribbons and fluttered in the wind; his shaven poll received many a hard knock from the branches of the trees, and many a scratch from the brambles. To add to

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terror and distress, he found a pack of seven hounds in full cry at his heels, and perceived too late, that he was actually mounted upon the terrible Belludo!

Away then they went, according to the ancient phrase, "pull devil, pull friar," down the great avenue, across the Plaza Nueva, along the Zacatin, around the Vivarrambla—never did huntsman and bound make a more furious run, or more infernal uproar. In vain did the friar invoke every saint in the kalender, and the Holy Virgin into the bargain; every time he mentioned a name of the kind, it was like a fresh application of the spur, and made the Belludo bound as high as a house. Through the remainder of the night was the unlucky Fray Simon carried hither and thither, and whither he would not, until every bone in his body ached, and he suffered a loss of leather too grievous to be mentioned. At length the crowing of a cock gave the signal of returning day. At the sound the goblin steed wheeled about, and galloped back for his tower. Again he scoured the Vivarrambla, the Zacatin, the Plaza Nueva, and the avenue of fountains, the seven dogs yelling, and barking, and leaping up, and snapping at the heels of the terrified friar. The first streak of day had just appeared as they reached the tower; here the goblin steed kicked up his heels, sent the friar a somerset through the air, plunged into the dark vault, followed by the infernal pack, and a profound silence succeeded to the late deafening clamour.

Was ever so diabolical a trick played off upon a holy friar? A peasant going to his labours at early dawn found the unfortunate Fray Simon lying under a fig-tree at the foot of the tower, but so bruised and bedevilled that he could neither speak nor move. He was conveyed with all care and tenderness to his cell, and the story went that he had been wailed and maltreated by robbers. A day or two elapsed before he recovered the use of his limbs; he consoled himself, in the mean time, with the thought that though the mule with the treasure had escaped him, he had previously had some rare pickings at the infidel spoils. His first care on being able to use his limbs, was to search beneath his pallet, where he had secreted the myrtle wreath and the leathern pouches of gold extracted from the piety of dame Sanchez. What was his dismay at finding the wreath, in effect, but a withered branch of myrtle, and the leathern pouches filled with sand and gravel?

Fray Simon, with all his chagrin, had the discretion to hold his tongue, for to betray the secret might draw on him the ridicule of the public, and the punishment of his superior: it was not until many years afterwards, on his death-bed, that he revealed to his confessor his nocturnal ride on the Belludo.

Nothing was heard of Lope Sanchez for a long time after his disappearance from the Alhambra. His memory was always cherished as that of a merry companion, though it was faded, from the care and melancholy observed in his conduct shortly before his mysterious departure, that poverty and distress had

driven him to some extremity. Some years afterwards one of his old companions, an invalid soldier, being at Malaga, was knocked down and nearly run over by a coach and six. The carriage stopped; an old gentleman magnificently dressed, with a bag wig and sword, stepped out to assist the poor invalid. What was the astonishment of the latter to behold in this grand cavalier his old friend Lope Sanchez, who was actually celebrating the marriage of his daughter Sanchica with one of the first grandees in the land!

The carriage contained the bridal party. There was dame Sanchez, now grown as round as a barrel, and dressed out with feathers and jewels, and necklaces of pearls and necklaces of diamonds, and rings on every finger, and altogether a finery of apparel that had not been seen since the days of the Queen of Sheba. The little Sanchica had now grown to be a woman, and for grace and beauty might have been mistaken for a duchess, if not a princess outright. The bridegroom sat beside her—rather a withered, spindle-shanked little man, but this only proved him to be of the true blue blood; a legitimate Spanish grandee being rarely above three cubits in stature. The match had been of the mother's making.

Riches had not spoiled the heart of honest Lope. He kept his old comrade with him for several days; feasted him like a king, took him to plays and bull-fights, and at length sent him away rejoicing, with a big bag of money for himself, and another to be distributed among his ancient messmates of the Alhambra.

Lope always gave out that a rich brother had died in America and left him heir to a copper mine; but the shrewd gossips of the Alhambra insist that his wealth was all derived from his having discovered the secret guarded by the two marble Nymphs of the Alhambra. It is remarked, that these very discreet statues continue, even unto the present day, with their eyes fixed most significantly on the same part of the wall; which leads many to suppose there is still some hidden treasure remaining there well worthy the attention of the enterprising traveller. Though others, and particularly all female visitors, regard them with great complacency, as lasting monuments of the fact that women can keep a secret.

## MUHAMMED ABU ALAHMAR,

THE

## FOUNDER OF THE ALHAMBRA.

HAVING dealt so freely in the marvellous legends of the Alhambra, I feel as if bound to give the reader a few facts concerning its sober history, or rather the history of those magnificent princes, its founder and finisher, to whom the world is indebted for so beautiful and romantic an Oriental monument. To obtain



these facts, I descended from this region of fancy and fable where every thing is liable to take an imaginative tint, and carried my researches among the dusty tomes of the old Jesuits' library in the university. This once boasted repository of erudition is now a mere shadow of its former self, having been stripped of its manuscripts and rarest works by the French, when masters of Granada. Still it contains, among many ponderous tomes of polemics of the Jesuit fathers, several curious tracts of Spanish literature; and above all, a number of those antiquated, dusty, parchment-bound chronicles, for which I have a peculiar veneration.

In this old library I have passed many delightful hours of quiet, undisturbed literary foraging, for the keys of the doors and book-cases were kindly entrusted to me, and I was left alone to rummage at my leisure—a rare indulgence in these sanctuaries of learning, which too often tantalize the thirsty student with the sight of sealed fountains of knowledge.

In the course of these visits I gleaned the following particulars concerning the historical characters in question.

The Moors of Granada regarded the Alhambra as a miracle of art, and had a tradition that the king who founded it dealt in magic, or, at least, was versed in alchemy, by means whereof he procured the immense sums of gold expended in its erection. A brief view of his reign will show the real secret of his wealth.

The name of this monarch, as inscribed on the walls of some of the apartments, was Abu Abd'allah (i. e. the father of Abdallah), but he is commonly known in Moorish history as Muhamed Abu Alahmar (or Muhamed, son of Alahmar), or simply, Abu Alahmar, for the sake of brevity.

He was born in Arjoua, in the year of the Hegira 504, of the Christian era 1105, of the noble family of the Beni Nasar, or children of Nasar, and no expense was spared by his parents to fit him for the high station to which the opulence and dignity of his family entitled him. The Saracens of Spain were greatly advanced in civilization, every principal city was a seat of learning and the arts, so that it was easy to command the most enlightened instructors for a youth of rank and fortune. Abu Alahmar, when he arrived at manly years, was appointed alcaide or governor of Arjoua and Jaen, and gained great popularity by his benignity and justice. Some years afterwards, on the death of Abu Hud, the Moorish power in Spain was broken into factions, and many places declared for Muhamed Abu Alahmar. Being of a sanguine spirit, and lofty ambition, he seized upon the occasion, made a circuit through the country, and was every where received with acclamations. It was in the year 1238, that he entered Granada amidst the enthusiastic shouts of the multitude. He was proclaimed king with every demonstration of joy, and soon became the head of the Moslems in Spain, being the first of the illustrious line of Beni Nasar, that had sat upon the throne. His reign was

such as to render him a blessing to his subjects. He gave the command of his various cities to such as had distinguished themselves by valour and prudence, and who seemed most acceptable to the people. He organized a vigilant police, and established rigid rules for the administration of justice. The poor and the distressed always found ready admission to his presence, and he attended personally to their assistance and redress. He erected hospitals for the blind, the aged, and infirm, and all those incapable of labour, and visited them frequently; not on set days with pomp and form, so as to give time for every thing to be put in order, and every abuse concealed, but suddenly and unexpectedly, informing himself, by actual observation and close inquiry, of the treatment of the sick, and the conduct of those appointed to administer to their relief. He founded schools and colleges, which he visited in the same manner, inspecting personally the instruction of the youth. He established butcheries and public ovens, that the people might be furnished with wholesome provisions at just and regular prices. He introduced abundant streams of water into the city, erecting baths and fountains, and constructing aqueducts and canals to irrigate and fertilize the Vega. By these means prosperity and abundance prevailed in this beautiful city, its gates were thronged with commerce, and its warehouses filled with luxuries and merchandise of every clime and country.

While Muhamed Abu Alahmar was ruling his fair domains thus wisely and prosperously, he was suddenly menaced by the horrors of war. The Christians at that time, profiting by the dismemberment of the Moslem power, were rapidly regaining their ancient territories. James the Conqueror had subjected all Valencia, and Ferdinand the Saint was carrying his victorious arms into Andalusia. The latter invested the city of Jaen, and swore not to raise his camp until he had gained possession of the place. Muhamed Abu Alahmar was conscious of the insufficiency of his means to carry on a war with the potent sovereign of Castile. Taking a sudden resolution, therefore, he repaired privately to the Christian camp, and made his unexpected appearance in the presence of King Ferdinand. "In me," said he, "you behold Muhamed, king of Granada; I confide in your good faith, and put myself under your protection. Take all I possess, and receive me as your vassal." So saying, he knelt and kissed the king's hand in token of submission.

King Ferdinand was touched by this instance of confiding faith, and determined not to be outdone in generosity. He raised his late rival from the earth, and embraced him as a friend, nor would he accept the wealth he offered, but received him as a vassal, leaving him sovereign of his dominions, on condition of paying a yearly tribute, attending the Cortes as one of the nobles of the empire, and serving him in war with a certain number of horsemen.

It was not long after this that Muhamed was called



a blessing to his subjects. He was various titles to such as had been by valour and prudence, and acceptable to the people. He organized and established rigid rules for justice. The poor and the disreputable admission to his presence, and finally to their assistance and hospitals for the blind, the aged, those incapable of labour, and finally; not on set days with pomp and time for every thing to be put to use concealed, but suddenly appearing himself, by actual obsequy, of the treatment of the most of those appointed to administer.

He founded schools and colleges in the same manner, inspected the public ovens, that the people were with wholesome provisions at all times. He introduced abundance to the city, erecting baths and aqueducts and canals to irrigate the Vega. By these means abundance prevailed in this beautiful country, thronged with commerce, and adorned with luxuries and merchandises of every country.

Abu Alahmar was ruling his fair kingdom prosperously, he was suddenly the horrors of war. The Christians, profiting by the dismemberment of the kingdom, were rapidly regaining their empire. James the Conqueror had subdued Ferdinand and the Saint was returning to Andalusia. The latter, in the name of heaven, and swore not to raise his hand against the possession of the place. Alahmar was conscious of the insupportable to carry on a war with the potent king. Taking a sudden resolution, he appeared privately to the Christian camp, and made his appearance in the presence of the king. "In me," said he, "you behold the king of Granada; I confide in your good will, and I am under your protection. Take me as your vassal." So he kissed the king's hand in token

of submission. He was touched by this instance of submission, and determined not to be outdone in his late rival from the earth, but as a friend, nor would he accept of him as a vassal, but received him as a vassal, on condition of his dominions, on condition of tribute, attending the Cortes as a member of the empire, and serving him in the number of horsemen.

It is thus that Muhamed was called

upon for his military services, to aid King Ferdinand in his famous siege of Seville. The Moorish king sallied forth with five hundred chosen horsemen of Granada, than whom none in the world knew better how to manage the steed or wield the lance. It was a melancholy and humiliating service, however, for they had to draw the sword against their brethren of the faith.

Muhamed gained a melancholy distinction by his prowess in this renowned conquest, but more true honour by the humanity which he prevailed upon Ferdinand to introduce into the usages of war. When in 1248 the famous city of Seville surrendered to the Castilian monarch, Muhamed returned sad and full of care to his dominions. He saw the gathering ills that menaced the Moslem cause; and uttered an ejaculation often used by him in moments of anxiety and trouble—"How straightened and wretched would be our life, if our hope were not so spacious and extensive!"

"Que angosta y miserable seria nuestra vida, sino fuera tan dilatada y espaciosa nuestra esperanza!"

When the melancholy conqueror approached his beloved Granada, the people thronged forth to see him with impatient joy; for they loved him as a benefactor. They had erected arches of triumph in honour of his martial exploits, and wherever he passed he was hailed with acclamations as *El Ghalib*, or the Conqueror. Muhamed shook his head when he heard the appellation. "*Wa la ghalib ila Allah!*" exclaimed he. (There is no conqueror but God!) From that time forward he adopted this exclamation as a motto.

He inscribed it on an oblique band across his escutcheon, and it continued to be the motto of his descendants.

Muhamed had purchased peace by submission to the Christian yoke; but he knew that where the elements were so discordant, and the motives for hostility so deep and ancient, it could not be secure or permanent. Acting therefore upon an old maxim, "Arm thyself in peace, and clothe thyself in summer," he improved the present interval of tranquillity by fortifying his dominions and replenishing his arsenals, and by promoting those useful arts which give wealth and real power to an empire. He gave premiums and privileges to the best artificers; improved the breed of horses and other domestic animals; encouraged husbandry; and increased the natural fertility of the soil two-fold by his protection, making the lovely valleys of his kingdom to bloom like gardens. He fostered also the growth and fabrication of silk, until the looms of Granada surpassed even those of Syria in the fineness and beauty of their productions. He moreover caused the mines of gold and silver and other metals, found in the mountainous regions of his dominions, to be diligently worked, and was the first king of Granada who struck money of gold and silver with his name, taking great care that the coins should be skilfully executed.

It was about this time, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, and just after his return from the siege of Seville, that he commenced the splendid palace of the Alhambra; superintending the building of it in person, mingling frequently among the artists and workmen, and directing their labours.

Though thus magnificent in his works and great in his enterprises, he was simple in his person and moderate in his enjoyments. His dress was not merely void of splendour, but so plain as not to distinguish him from his subjects. His harem boasted but few beauties, and these he visited but seldom, though they were entertained with great magnificence. His wives were daughters of the principal nobles, and were treated by him as friends and rational companions. What is more, he managed to make them live as friends with one another. He passed much of his time in his gardens; especially in those of the Alhambra, which he had stored with the rarest plants and the most beautiful and aromatic flowers. Here he delighted himself in reading histories, or in causing them to be read and related to him, and sometimes, in intervals of leisure, employed himself in the instruction of his three sons, for whom he had provided the most learned and virtuous masters.

As he had frankly and voluntarily offered himself a tributary vassal to Ferdinand, so he always remained loyal to his word, giving him repeated proofs of fidelity and attachment. When that renowned monarch died in Seville, in 1254, Muhamed Abu Alahmar sent ambassadors to condole with his successor Alonso X, and with them a gallant train of a hundred Moorish cavaliers of distinguished rank, who were to attend, each bearing a lighted taper, round the royal bier, during the funeral ceremonies. This grand testimonial of respect was repeated by the Moslem monarch during the remainder of his life on each anniversary of the death of King Ferdinando el Santo, when the hundred Moorish knights repaired from Granada to Seville, and took the stations with lighted tapers in the centre of the sumptuous cathedral round the cenotaph of the illustrious deceased.

Muhamed Abu Alahmar retained his faculties and vigour to an advanced age. In his seventy-ninth year he took the field on horseback, accompanied by the flower of his chivalry, to resist an invasion of his territories. As the army sallied forth from Granada, one of the principal adalides, or guides, who rode in the advance, accidentally broke his lance against the arch of the gate. The councillors of the king, alarmed by this circumstance, which was considered an evil omen, entreated him to return. Their supplications were in vain. The king persisted, and at noon-tide the omen, say the Moorish chroniclers, was fatally fulfilled. Muhamed was suddenly struck with illness, and had nearly fallen from his horse. He was placed on a litter, and borne back towards Granada, but his illness increased to such a degree that they were obliged to pitch his tent in the Vega. His

physicians were filled with consternation, not knowing what remedy to prescribe. In a few hours he died, vomiting blood and in violent convulsions. The Castilian prince Don Philip, brother of Alonso X, was by his side when he expired. His body was embalmed, enclosed in a silver coffin, and buried in the Alhambra in a sepulchre of precious marble, amidst the unfeigned lamentations of his subjects, who bewailed him as a parent.

Such was the enlightened patriot prince who founded the Alhambra, whose name remains emblazoned among its most delicate and graceful ornaments, and whose memory is calculated to inspire the loftiest associations in those who tread these fading scenes of his magnificence and glory. Though his undertakings were vast, and his expenditures immense, yet his treasury was always full; and this seeming contradiction gave rise to the story that he was versed in magic art, and possessed of the secret for transmuting baser metals into gold. Those who have attended to his domestic policy, as here set forth, will easily understand the natural magic and simple alchemy which made his ample treasury to overflow.

### YUSEF ABUL HAGIG,

THE

### FINISHER OF THE ALHAMBRA.

BENEATH the governor's apartment in the Alhambra, is the royal mosque, where the Moorish monarchs performed their private devotions. Though consecrated as a catholic chapel, it still bears traces of its Moslem origin; the Saracenic columns with their gilded capitals, and the latticed gallery for the females of the Harem, may yet be seen, and the escutcheons of the Moorish kings are mingled on the walls with those of the Castilian sovereigns.

In this consecrated place perished the illustrious Yusef Abul Hagig, the high-minded prince who completed the Alhambra, and who for his virtues and endowments deserves almost equal renown with its magnanimous founder. It is with pleasure I draw forth from the obscurity in which it has too long remained, the name of another of those princes of a departed and almost forgotten race, who reigned in elegance and splendour in Andalusia, when all Europe was in comparative barbarism.

Yusef Abul Hagig (or, as it is sometimes written, Haxia) ascended the throne of Granada in the year 1333, and his personal appearance and mental qualities were such, as to win all hearts, and to awaken anticipations of a beneficent and prosperous reign. He was of a noble presence, and great bodily strength, united to manly beauty; his complexion was exceeding fair, and, according to the Arabian chroniclers,

he heightened the gravity and majesty of his appearance by suffering his beard to grow to a dignified length, and dyeing it black. He had an excellent memory, well stored with science and erudition; he was of a lively genius, and accounted the best poet of his time, and his manners were gentle, affable, and urbane. Yusef possessed the courage common to all generous spirits, but his genius was more calculated for peace than war, and though obliged to take up arms repeatedly in his time, he was generally unfortunate. He carried the benignity of his nature into warfare, prohibiting all wanton cruelty, and enjoining mercy and protection towards women and children, the aged and infirm, and all friars and persons of holy and recluse life. Among other ill-starred enterprises, he undertook a great campaign in conjunction with the king of Morocco, against the kings of Castile and Portugal, but was defeated in the memorable battle of Salado; a disastrous reverse, which had nearly proved a death-blow to the Moslem power in Spain.

Yusef obtained a long truce after this defeat, during which time he devoted himself to the instruction of his people, and the improvement of their morals and manners. For this purpose he established schools in all the villages, with simple and uniform systems of education; he obliged every hamlet of more than twelve houses to have a mosque, and prohibited various abuses and indecours that had been introduced into the ceremonies of religion and the festivals and public amusements of the people. He attended vigilantly to the police of the city, establishing nocturnal guards and patrols, and superintending all municipal concerns. His attention was also directed towards finishing the great architectural works commenced by his predecessors, and erecting others on his own plans. The Alhambra, which had been founded by the good Abu Alahmar, was now completed. Yusef constructed the beautiful Gate of Justice, forming the grand entrance to the fortress, which he finished in 1348. He likewise adorned many of the courts and halls of the palace, as may be seen by the inscriptions on the walls, in which his name repeatedly occurs. He built also the noble Alcazar or citadel of Malaga, now unfortunately a mere mass of crumbling ruins, but which most probably exhibited in its interior, similar elegance and magnificence with the Alhambra.

The genius of a sovereign stamps a character upon his time. The nobles of Granada, imitating the elegant and graceful taste of Yusef, soon filled the city of Granada with magnificent palaces; the halls of which were paved with mosaic, the walls and ceilings wrought in fretwork, and delicately gilded and painted with azure, vermilion, and other brilliant colours, or minutely inlaid with cedar and other precious woods; specimens of which have survived, in all their lustre, the lapse of several centuries. Many of the houses had fountains which threw up jets of water to refresh and cool the air. They had lofty towers also,

and majesty of his appearance to grow to a dignified look. He had an excellent knowledge of science and erudition; he was accounted the best poet of his age; his manners were gentle, affable, and his courage common to all his subjects. His genius was more calculated for peace than for war, though obliged to take up arms, he was generally unobtrusive. He was generally unobtrusive in his nature, and his wanton cruelty, and enmity towards women and the infirm, and all friars and monks, were his only faults. Among other illustrious undertakings he undertook a great campaign against the king of Morocco, against the Alamo, but was defeated in the Alamo; a disastrous reverse, and a death-blow to the Moslem

truce after this defeat, directed himself to the instruction and improvement of their morals for this purpose he established schools and a simple and uniform system in every hamlet of more than a hundred inhabitants, and a mosque, and prohibited games and amusements that had been introduced from the East, and the festivals and the people. He attended to the city, establishing nocturnal vigils, and superintending all municipal affairs, and was also directed towards architectural works commenced and erecting others on his own plan, which had been founded by his father, and was now completed. Yusef ordered the Gate of Justice, forming the citadel, which he finished in the city, and ordered many of the courts and palaces, which may be seen by the inscriptions on the walls, his name repeatedly occurs. The Alcazar or citadel of Malaga, where a mass of crumbling ruins, and a noblely exhibited in its interior, and its magnificence with the Al-

sovereign stamps a character upon the architecture of Granada, imitating the style of Yusef, soon filled the city with magnificent palaces; the halls of the Alcazar, the walls and ceilings were covered with mosaic and delicately gilded and painted, and other brilliant colours, and the woodwork with cedar and other precious woods, which have survived, in all their splendour, several centuries. Many of the towers, which threw up jets of water to the clouds. They had lofty towers also,

of wood or stone, curiously carved and ornamented, and covered with plates of metal that glittered in the sun. Such was the refined and delicate taste in architecture that prevailed among this elegant people: insomuch that to use the beautiful simile of an Arabian writer, "Granada in the days of Yusef was as a silver vase, filled with emeralds and jacinths."

One anecdote will be sufficient to show the magnanimity of this generous prince. The long truce which had succeeded the battle of Salado was at an end, and every effort of Yusef to renew it was in vain. His deadly foe Alonso XI of Castile took the field with great force, and laid siege to Gibraltar. Yusef reluctantly took up arms and sent troops to the relief of the place; when in the midst of his anxiety, he received tidings that his dreaded foe had suddenly fallen a victim to the plague. Instead of manifesting exultation on the occasion, Yusef called to mind the great qualities of the deceased, and was touched with a noble sorrow. "Alas!" cried he, "the world has lost one of its most excellent princes; a sovereign who knew how to honour merit, whether in friend or foe!"

The Spanish chroniclers themselves bear witness to this magnanimity. According to their accounts, the Moorish cavaliers partook of the sentiment of their king, and put on mourning for the death of Alonso. Even those of Gibraltar who had been so closely invested, when they knew that the hostile monarch lay dead in his camp, determined among themselves that no hostile movement should be made against the Christians. The day on which the camp was broken up, and the army departed bearing the corpse of Alonso, the Moors issued in multitudes from Gibraltar, and stood mute and melancholy, watching the mournful pageant. The same reverence for the deceased was observed by all the Moorish commanders on the frontiers, who suffered the funeral train to pass in

safety, bearing the corpse of the Christian sovereign from Gibraltar to Seville.

Yusef did not long survive the enemy he had so generously deplored. In the year 1354, as he was one day praying in the royal mosque of the Alhambra, a maniac rushed suddenly from behind and plunged a dagger in his side. The cries of the king brought his guards and courtiers to his assistance. They found him weltering in his blood, and in convulsions. He was borne to the royal apartments, but expired almost immediately. The murderer was cut to pieces, and his limbs burnt in public to gratify the fury of the populace.

The body of the king was interred in a superb sepulchre of white marble, a long epitaph in letters of gold upon an azure ground recorded his virtues. "Here lies a king and martyr, of an illustrious line, gentle, learned, and virtuous; renowned for the graces of his person and his manners, whose clemency, piety, and benevolence, were extolled throughout the kingdom of Granada. He was a great prince; an illustrious captain; a sharp sword of the Moslems; a valiant standard-bearer among the most potent monarchs," etc.

The mosque still remains which once resounded with the dying cries of Yusef, but the monument which recorded his virtues has long since disappeared. His name, however, remains inscribed among the ornaments of the Alhambra, and will be perpetuated in connexion with this renowned pile, which it was his pride and delight to beautify.

"Y los Moros que estaban en la villa y castillo de Gibraltar, despues que supieron que el Rey Don Alonso era muerto, ordenaron entre sí que ninguno non fuesse osado de fazer ningun movimiento contra los Christianos, nin mover pelea contra ellos, esto vieron todos quedos, y dexian entre ellos que aquel dia muriera un noble rey y gran principe del mundo."

THE END.



LE-MONNAIE.



